

*Encyclopedia of*  
**CURRICULUM  
STUDIES**

Craig Kridel, EDITOR

*Encyclopedia of*  
**CURRICULUM  
STUDIES**

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# Reader's Guide

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The Reader's Guide assists readers in locating articles on related topics and classifies entries into 10 general topical categories:

1. Biography and Prosopography
2. Concepts and Terms
3. Content Descriptions
4. Influences on Curriculum Studies
5. Inquiry and Research
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Integration of Schools  
Lacanian Thought  
Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices  
Lyotardian Thought  
No Child Left Behind  
Piagetian Thought  
Resegregation of Schools  
Ricoeurian Thought  
School Prayer in the Curriculum: Case Law  
Secular Values in the Curriculum: Case Law  
Special Education: Case Law  
Spivakian Thought

### **Inquiry and Research**

Action Research  
Aesthetic Education Research  
AIDS Education Research  
A/r/tography  
Arts-Based Research  
Biographical Research  
Case Study Research  
Class (Social-Economic) Research  
Comparative Studies Research  
Complementary Methods Research  
Critical Theory Research  
Documentary Research  
Ethnicity Research  
Ethnographic Research  
Gay Research  
Gender Research  
Genealogical Research  
Grounded Theory Research  
Hermeneutic Inquiry  
Historical Research  
Indigenous Research  
International Research  
Latino/a Research Issues  
Lesbian Research  
Mixed Methods Research  
Multi-Vocal Research  
Narrative Research  
Neocolonial Research

Neo-Marxist Research  
New Literacy Studies  
Performance Ethnography  
Personal Practical Knowledge Research  
Phenomenological Research  
Political Research  
Postmodern Historiography  
Poststructuralist Research  
Qualitative Research  
Quantitative Research  
Quasi-Experimental Research  
Race Research  
Reliability  
Sexuality Research  
Social Context Research  
Survey Research  
Teacher Lore Research  
Theological Research  
Transgender Research  
Transient Children Research  
Transnational Research  
Validity, Catalytic  
Validity, Consequential  
Validity, Construct/Content  
Validity, External/Internal  
Validity, Transgressive  
White Studies Research, Critical

### **Nature of Curriculum Studies**

Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies  
Curriculum, Definitions of  
Curriculum, History of  
Curriculum Change  
Curriculum Design  
Curriculum Development  
Curriculum Evaluation  
Curriculum Implementation  
Curriculum Inquiry  
Curriculum Knowledge  
Curriculum Leadership  
Curriculum Policy  
Curriculum Purposes  
Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4

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 Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1  
 Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2  
 Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3  
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 Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Administration  
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 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Policy  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Supervision  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Teacher Education  
 Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Social Context of Education  
 Curriculum Theory  
 Fundamental Curriculum Questions, The 26th NSSE Yearbook  
 Instruction as a Field of Study  
 Supervision as a Field of Study

### Organizations, Schools, and Projects

American Association for Teaching and Curriculum  
 American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies  
 American Educational Research Association  
 American Educational Research Association Division B  
 American Educational Research Association SIG on Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies  
 ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development)  
 Bergamo Conference, The  
 Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies  
 Canon Project of American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies  
 Charter Schools  
 Coalition of Essential Schools  
 Committee of Fifteen of the National Education Association

Committee of Ten of the National Education Association  
 Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference  
 Dewey Laboratory School  
 Educational Testing Service  
 Eight Year Study, The  
 Ethical Culture Schools  
 Freedom Schools  
 International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies  
 Magnet Schools  
 Man: A Course of Study  
 National Assessment of Educational Progress  
 National Society for the Study of Education  
 Professors of Curriculum  
 Radical Caucus of Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development  
 Society for the Study of Curriculum History  
 Summerhill  
 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study  
 Waldorf Schools Curriculum  
 World Council for Curriculum and Instruction

### Publications

*American High School Today, The*  
*Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*  
*Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*  
 Commission on the Secondary School  
 Curriculum Reports  
*Crisis in the Classroom*  
*Curriculum, The*  
*Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue*  
*Curriculum Books*  
 Curriculum Canada, Proceedings of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies  
*Curriculum Construction*  
*Curriculum Development*  
*Curriculum Inquiry*  
 Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship (Web Site)  
*Curriculum Theorizing*  
*Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*  
*Democracy and Education*  
*Educational Imagination, The*  
*Educational Leadership*  
*Educational Researcher*  
*Educational Wastelands*  
*Education and the Cult of Efficiency*

*Education of Blacks in the South, The*  
*Equality of Educational Opportunity*  
*Frames of Mind*  
*Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*  
*General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard  
Redbook)  
Goals 2000  
*Handbook of Research on Curriculum, The*  
*Horace's Compromise*  
*How to Make a Curriculum*  
*Ideology and Curriculum*  
*International Encyclopedia of Curriculum*  
*International Handbook of Curriculum Research*  
*Journal of Critical Inquiry Into Curriculum and*  
*Instruction*  
*Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*  
*Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*  
*Journal of Curriculum Studies*  
*Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*  
*Journal of the American Association for the*  
*Advancement of Curriculum Studies*  
*Journal of World Council for Curriculum and*  
*Instruction*  
*Keeping Track*  
*Life in Classrooms*  
*Nation at Risk, A*  
*Place Called School, A*  
*Preparing Instructional Objectives*  
*Process of Education, The*  
*SAGE Handbook on Curriculum and*  
*Instruction, The*  
*Schooling in Capitalist America*  
*Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*  
Synoptic Textbooks  
*Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook*  
*I: Cognitive Domain*  
*Teacher as Stranger*  
*Teachers as Intellectuals*  
Textbooks  
*Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

Academic Rationalism  
Aesthetic Theory  
Antiracism Theory  
Autobiographical Theory  
Cognitive Pluralism Curriculum Ideology  
Colonization Theory  
Conceptual Empiricist Perspective

Critical Pedagogy  
Critical Pragmatism  
Critical Praxis  
Critical Race Feminism  
Critical Race Theory  
Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology  
Critical Theory Research  
Cultural Epoch Theory  
Cultural Identities  
Cultural Literacies  
Cultural Production/Reproduction  
Curriculum Discourses  
Curriculum Thought, Categories of  
Curriculum Venues  
Developmentalists Tradition  
Diversity  
Ecological Theory  
Empirical Analytic Paradigm  
Experientialism  
Feminist Theories  
Humanist Tradition  
Institutionalized Text Perspectives  
International Perspectives  
Learning Theories  
Metatheory  
Modernism  
Multicultural Curriculum Theory  
Postcolonial Theory  
Postmodernism  
Post-Reconceptualization  
Progressive Education, Conceptions of  
Psychoanalytic Theory  
Queer Theory  
Rational Humanism Curriculum Ideology  
Reconceptualization  
Religious Orthodoxy  
Curriculum Ideology  
Reproduction Theory  
Resistance Theory  
Social Control Theory  
Social Efficiency Tradition  
Social Meliorists Tradition  
Structuralism  
Traditionalist Perspective  
Tyler Rationale, The

### **Types of Curricula**

Child-Centered Curriculum  
Common School Curriculum

Competency-Based Curriculum  
Core Curriculum  
Deliberative Curriculum  
Discipline-Based Curriculum  
Embodied Curriculum  
Experienced Curriculum  
Formal Curriculum  
General Education  
Hidden Curriculum  
Holistic Curriculum  
Informal Curriculum  
Intended Curriculum  
Life Adjustment Curriculum  
Mindless Curriculum

Montessori Curriculum  
National Curriculum  
Null Curriculum  
Official Curriculum  
Outside Curriculum  
Place-Based Curriculum  
Planned Curriculum  
Problem-Based Curriculum  
Project-Based Curriculum  
Subject-Centered Curriculum  
Teacher-Centered Curriculum  
Teacher-Proof Curriculum  
Teacher-Pupil Planning  
Tested Curriculum



# About the Editor

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**Craig Kridel** is the E. S. Gambrell Professor of Educational Studies and curator of the Museum of Education at the University of South Carolina. His research focuses on progressive education, biographical inquiry, and documentary editing, and he has recently published, with Robert V. Bullough Jr., *Stories of the Eight Year Study: Rethinking Schooling in America*. Other publications include *Books of the Century* (featured in *Education Week* and *Educational Leadership*), *The American Curriculum*, *Curriculum History*, *Writing Educational Biography*, *Teachers and Mentors*, and *Classic Edition Sources: Education*, and he served as associate editor of the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Education*, advisory board member of the SAGE *Encyclopedia of Reform and Dissent*, and consulting editor of *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*. His work has received the American Educational Research Association–Curriculum Studies Book

Award, American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education Outstanding Writing Award, the Educational Press Association of America Distinguished Achievement Award, and the Choice Magazine Book of the Year Award–Education.

He was the founding editor of the journal *Teaching Education*, served on the editorial board of the *History of Education Quarterly* and the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, and has served as president of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, member of the board of directors of The Maxine Greene Foundation, founder and chair of the American Educational Research Association Biographical Research Special Interest Group, and program chair of American Educational Research Association–Curriculum Studies. He is currently researching 1940s Black progressive high schools in the American southeast and is beginning an examination of cooperative studies from the 1930s and 1940s.





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# Introduction

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## The Field of Curriculum Studies

During the past decades, much effort has been devoted to defining *curriculum studies*, an ever-changing academic field that at times proves amorphous and bewildering. In fact, few areas of education have so conscientiously scheduled symposia to ascertain the field's health and to suggest future directions. More than 75 presentations during the past 15 years have been staged at American Educational Research Association (AERA) conferences to define and to determine whether if the field of curriculum is "moribund," as famously asserted by Joseph Schwab and Dwayne Huebner, or merely engaged in the ongoing quest for meaning and relevancy today. Moreover, few professional terms appear so omnipotent as well as baffling as *curriculum*. Defining the word has become a regularly practiced activity, yet consensus is illusive. While authors seek to construct conceptions with great precision, definitions remain idiosyncratic and sui generis. Often, *curriculum* is defined simply as a course of study. Other characterizations view the term more as a state of mind or act of inquiry that results in some form of growth. For this publication, an operational definition of *curriculum* consists of conceiving and configuring experiences that potentially lead to learning, and *curriculum studies*, thus, becomes the examination of this process. No doubt this explanation may well be as generic and flaccid as any that will ever appear in an educational encyclopedia. Yet, a careful reading of conceptions of curriculum through the years, notably Philip W. Jackson's analysis in the 1992 *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, causes one to quickly realize that an open-ended, fluid definition is necessary to confront the complexity that characterizes and sometimes seems to threaten the field.

The study of curriculum, beginning in the early 20th century, served primarily the areas of

educational administration, pedagogy, and testing and was seen as a method to design and develop programs of study for schools. In what became a distinct academic field, curriculum subsequently expanded to draw on various disciplines from the arts, humanities, and social sciences in order to examine broader educational forces and their effects on the individual, society, and conceptions of knowledge. Many curriculum leaders at mid-20th century represented an avant-garde in educational studies where "middle-range theorizing"—exploratory theory integrated with thoughtful practice—took form in different ways, as conventional program development as well as more expansive forays into educational design. In the early 1980s, *curriculum studies* became a more commonly used term to separate itself from "the field of curriculum" and its emphasis on program design and development and "curriculum and objectives" traditions. The field of curriculum studies has now emerged to embrace a contested conception of academic scholarship and research. Although similarities to other educational fields—social and cultural foundations, educational policy and administration, cultural studies, instruction and supervision, assessment and evaluation—are pronounced, the differences are profound.

## How the Encyclopedia Was Created

The *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*' conception and administrative structure were developed by William H. Schubert long before I became involved with the project. Because of the failing health (and impending death) of his wife, Dr. Ann Lopez Schubert, Bill was unable to serve as editor, and I was invited to accept this position. As I assumed this role, Bill proved to be an extremely helpful consulting editor; however, the orientation of the encyclopedia shifted as I began reconsidering

the role and intent of the project. Bill had originally expanded the parameters of the encyclopedia to include a strong representation of the “outside curricula,” a concept that he has introduced into the field. In contrast, with my prior experience in documentary editing and reference-archival work, I came to see the encyclopedia in a slightly different way. Rather than attempting to reconceive and redefine curriculum studies, I viewed the publication as a form of service to help the reader understand the field and those core terms and concepts that comprise its essential features.

I proceeded to develop a list of topics by reviewing the major synoptic textbooks and handbooks. My tabulations were supplemented by two previous research projects where I classified and analyzed the titles of more than 10,000 presentations from the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Division B: Curriculum Studies meetings and the Bergamo Conferences between 1973 and 2005. I was also afforded the opportunity to examine the galley proofs of *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, thanks to the professional kindness of its editor, Michael Connelly, so that I could consider including important terms and concepts from that work, and I elicited suggestions for topics from emeriti faculty as well as junior colleagues while receiving listings from each member of the editorial board. My intent was to compose an encyclopedia as a comprehensive supplement to the many introductory and advanced publications in the field. From all of this research, I prepared a listing of topics for a two-volume encyclopedia of 500 entries and approximately 600,000 words.

### Rationale for the Encyclopedia

The field of curriculum studies stands first among equals in its efforts to explore various conceptions of educational research and inquiry. Scholarship has become intricate in its effort to address persistent questions and issues. What becomes apparent quite quickly, however, is the need for a work that supports and assists the efforts of the neophyte who has entered this “booming, buzzing confusion” known as curriculum studies. This is where an encyclopedia establishes its unique role, differing substantially from textbooks and handbooks. Curriculum studies is resplendent with

these synoptic overviews. From the legendary texts of Hollis Caswell and Doak Campbell’s *Curriculum Development* and Harold Albery and Elsie Albery’s *Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum* to the well-known handbooks—*The Handbook of Research on Curriculum* and the recently published *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*—numerous works have mapped the arenas of curriculum research and scholarship, design and development, and narrative and discourse. Although the content of these publications has varied with their differing perspectives and paradigms, the intent remains similar: to develop “comprehensive frameworks” to portray an overwhelming array of ideas for a field of study that continues to expand and change.

The *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, in contrast, does not seek to introduce new configurations of the field. In recognition of the lexiconic heritage of an “encyclopedia,” this two-volume set serves as an introduction and general education, supplementing and assisting those newcomers who want to understand the professional and specialized knowledge component of curriculum studies. This publication, extending Ernest Boyer’s types of research in *Scholarship Reconsidered*, represents a form of service scholarship, providing a place of respite to read succinct statements, to learn unfamiliar terms and concepts, to become more comfortable with specialized phrases, and to supplement one’s understandings of those many significant and perplexing concepts and questions that characterize the field.

### Content and Organization of the Encyclopedia

The *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* has attempted to anticipate, carefully and cautiously, the needs and interests of newcomers to curriculum studies. A review of the reader’s guide on pages xiii–xix displays the listing of entries configured categorically and along the following 10 specific themes:

1. Biography and Prosopography
2. Concepts and Terms
3. Content Descriptions
4. Influences on Curriculum Studies

5. Inquiry and Research
6. Nature of the Curriculum Studies
7. Organizations, Schools, and Projects
8. Publications
9. Theoretical Perspectives
10. Types of Curricula

Topics (headwords) have been selected in recognition of their significance and frequency of usage in the literature. Although some curriculum scholars may object to certain entries that have been included, an encyclopedia accepts a vow to represent and portray fairly the entire field. “To list is to exclude,” and other veterans from the field will examine the reader’s guide with an eye toward not what appears but, instead, what is absent. A few headwords may be missing not because of the editors’ disregard but, alas, because these terms have indeed lost their usefulness and, thus, significance for current dialogue. Although three past presidents of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History sit on the encyclopedia’s editorial board, the publication has taken a more contemporary than historical appearance. Little-known, antiquated terms and concepts, once of considerable importance, do not appear in its pages because the encyclopedia seeks to reflect current and to anticipate future trends. I should note here, however, that the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* could not fully embrace one of the more pronounced contemporary developments in the field: the internationalization of curriculum studies. A decision was made, in accord with the guidelines and urging of SAGE Reference staff, to focus this publication primarily on work in North America. With the inclusion of overviews of curriculum research throughout the world, the encyclopedia represents a mere introduction (and homage) to the transnational work that is currently under way. *The International Encyclopedia of Curriculum*, edited by Arieh Lewy, was published in 1991, and a new international encyclopedia project is long overdue.

The *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* includes many distinctive features and entries. The field of curriculum studies recognizes the limitations if not dangers of official knowledge and an authorial voice. Thus, in what may be considered unusual among the SAGE Reference family of encyclopedias,

this publication includes a series of five essays attending to “the nature of curriculum studies” and five essays describing the “future of curriculum studies.” Each account, although different in its portrayal, is also authentic and honest in its description of the nature and future of the field. In addition, a series of headwords describes curriculum studies in relation to (and distinct from) eight other fields of study as a way to help articulate what distinguishes and separates the field. Another unique component of the encyclopedia stems from its treatment of the *26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, a 1927 two-volume set that has rightfully taken on legendary dimensions for the field of curriculum studies. In an effort to display the timeless quality of this work and of its 18 guiding questions, two curriculum scholars were invited to address each of the queries. We encourage readers to turn to the encyclopedia’s appendix, “Fundamental Curriculum Questions,” and follow the treatment of these perennial issues from contemporary points of view.

Various literary styles are intentionally depicted in the encyclopedia, partly as a way to portray the breadth and vitality of the field. As editor, I reviewed submissions with attention to balance but also with generous acceptance of different writing styles. Distinctive approaches to topics offer the reader greater insights into the field of curriculum studies, and I enjoyed encouraging authors to reconceive the detached encyclopedic tone when appropriate. For that reason, submissions by certain contributors, though significant and informative, differ greatly from the typical “simple and direct” encyclopedia style influenced by Jacques Barzun, William Strunk and E. B. White.

For those readers who will explore this publication by reading numerous entries, repetition is inevitable. I allowed seminal concepts to be noted and described regularly throughout the encyclopedia because, it is assumed, one turns to this type of reference work to consult a few specific topics. Rarely would one read the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* to learn, for example, a definition of “malefic generosity” and then decide to continue reading the prior entry, Magnet Schools, or the subsequent headwords Man: A Course of Study, Marginalization, and Mastery Learning. For that reason, the Tyler Rationale has become

a regular apparition throughout the two volumes along with other names and terms. But for those who decide to roam and explore the pages of this publication, interesting commonalities will appear from the work of distinguished curriculum studies leaders, and readers will most likely come to create their own conceptual unity among the entries. And, in its own way, the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* offers the careful reader a surprisingly revealing depiction of the conventions, mores, and accepted research and writing practices of the field of curriculum studies. Further, I suspect a review of entries, when placed in juxtaposition with common headwords from the SAGE *Encyclopedia of Educational Leadership and Administration*, the SAGE *Encyclopedia of the Social and Cultural Foundations of Education*, and the SAGE *Encyclopedia of Educational Reform and Dissent*, will offer further insights into the nature of the various fields of education. In essence, a comparison of identical headwords from these and other encyclopedias will prove most important as researchers study the dissemination of knowledge and examine further “the curriculum” and the nature of educational and curriculum studies.

One administrative decision will prove somewhat disconcerting to certain readers. As one who has devoted his career to championing biographical research in education, I found myself receiving queries from scholars and contributors expressing disbelief that entries about certain contemporary authors were not included. I approached the encyclopedia, instead, as an opportunity to identify and portray “exemplary” concepts, terms, books, and phrases, developed by those who have defined the field. As the founder and coordinator for nearly two decades of the AERA Biographical Research Special Interest Group, I found myself implicitly criticizing the standard biographical encyclopedia entry that consists of occupations, dates, and career details. Further, I recognized that much reference-oriented, life-history details are accessed by curriculum students from Internet sources. Thus, I accepted the SAGE Reference staff’s restrictions on the number of biographical entries, a figure greatly reduced from those allocated for already published encyclopedias. I used this limitation, however, as an opportunity to encourage authors to craft entries that featured the realm of intellectual biography rather than the typical scholarly chronicle treatment

of listing career facts. Further, the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* introduces a novel form of prosopography (group biography) in the form of a series of institutional “curriculum collectives,” historical portrayals of universities whose faculty have influenced greatly the development of the field. In addition, a number of “bibliographic entries” have been included that feature specific writings by curriculum leaders who have defined the field. Rather than congratulating a large number of contemporary authors (and dismissing too many others) with individual entries, I have honored our field’s leaders by featuring their emblematic terms and concepts and by inviting them and others to place their own stamp onto the professional literature by describing their defining concepts.

### Acknowledgments

My appreciation and sincere thanks to participating contributors can never be fully expressed. I invited many recognized scholars to contribute entries of 500, 750, 1,000, or 2,500 words—former presidents and vice presidents of AERA, ASCD, American Educational Studies Association, Professors of Curriculum, Professors of Education, and other related curriculum organizations as well as chaired professors, directors, deans, and recipients of AERA Division B’s lifetime achievement award. Mentioning in my letter of invitation that their days of encyclopedia writing may have ended long ago, I appealed to their goodwill and professional responsibility to view this project as an opportunity for many disparate and diverse perspectives to come together for a common good in the preparation of entries for this first (North American-oriented) encyclopedia of curriculum studies. With an assortment of good-natured responses, distinguished professors throughout the field of curriculum studies agreed, altering this encyclopedia from a writing activity “for the neophyte by the novice scholar” to a collection of carefully composed descriptions by recognized and renowned scholars. You, the reader, are the beneficiary as you now have the opportunity to review succinct, comprehensive statements from curriculum studies’ senior leaders—Michael Apple, Jean Clandinin, Michael Connelly, O. L. Davis Jr., William Doll Jr., Geneva Gay, Maxine Greene,

Madeline Grumet, the late Joe Kincheloe, the late Paul Klohr, Marcella Kysilka, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Sonia Nieto, William Pinar, Thomas Popkewitz, Edmund Short, Christine Sleeter, Daniel Tanner, Max van Manen, and so many others.

I greatly appreciate the assistance and advice of William H. Schubert; his gentle touch permeates the encyclopedia. I wish to thank the distinguished board of editors who, while selected by Bill, have so graciously and willingly devoted hours of writing to this project: William Ayers, Tom Barone, Noreen Garman, Janet Miller, Thomas P. Thomas, and William Watkins. They have served admirably in their own way as have the SAGE research scholars who willingly and valiantly accepted substantial research and writing responsibilities: Lucy Bailey, Donna Breault, Kara Brown, Ming Fang He, Timothy Leonard, and Erik Malewski.

The administrative staff at SAGE Reference is most important to the success of any such undertaking, and I have found this so true with the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*. My initial conversations with Rolf Janke, acquisition editor,

convinced me that this was a project worth devoting considerable time. Carole Maurer, development editor, and Kate Schroeder, production editor, both assisted with thoughtfulness, kindness, and good cheer. Similarly, Robin Gold, Renee Willers, Laura Notton, Michele Thompson, and Leticia Gutierrez provided great assistance and conclude their *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* duties with many entertaining anecdotes to amuse their colleagues. A most important staff member for such an enterprise is the managing editor, and this was certainly the case as Mary Bull provided the organizational acumen, detailed eye, and generous tone to guide this project to completion as well as, in her role as a skilled reference librarian, discovering and obtaining documents of great importance for many authors.

For all those involved with the SAGE *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, I greatly appreciate your participation and support of our effort to bring together the scholars from the field of curriculum studies.

*Craig Kridel*







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## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

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The modern concept of curriculum predates by about two centuries the principle of intellectual freedom to teach, or *lehrfreiheit*, derived from Humboldt's model (ca. 1810) for the new German universities, but this principle was not defined and defended within the U.S. university system until the early 20th century. Today, academic freedom seems more contentious than ever with conference titles such as *Free Inquiry at Risk: Universities in Dangerous Times*. The following questions are now common: Is academic freedom a constitutional and legal right? Who has academic freedom? Is the classroom a closed or open forum? To what degree is curriculum severed from instruction in academic freedom protections? These derive from one question: Who or what has authority over curriculum? Following a brief historical analysis of definitions, this entry focuses on the K–12 level and this overarching question.

Definitions of academic freedom reflect the American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) 1915 Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, which identified three key elements: freedom of inquiry and research, freedom of teaching within the institution, and freedom of extramural utterance and action. Following the AAUP's lead in the United States, the National Education Association (NEA) passed a "Freedom of the Teacher" resolution in 1928 to protect the public schools from corporate and private interests. The NEA expanded this in 1935 to

include the principle that administrators and teachers should have an opportunity to present various points of view on controversial issues to help students understand changing social conditions. Authority over the curriculum was particularly troubling through the 1920s and 1930s, and questions of academic freedom were part and parcel with reform of the schools. John Dewey reasoned in 1936 that academic freedom was a key aspect of political freedom and a necessary condition for democratic citizenry.

Thirty years later, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan underscored the importance of safeguarding academic freedom as a special concern of the First Amendment in the 1967 *Keyishian v. Board of Regents* decision. Yet at this time, only 55 of 2,225 public school district contracts protected academic freedom with provisions stating that educational and democratic values were best upheld in an atmosphere free from censorship and artificial restraints on free inquiry and learning. Current definitions reiterate this freedom of expression for teachers and students, but the courts have been imprecise in legal definitions of academic freedom. *Keyishian* aside, the Supreme Court's support of academic freedom is predominantly found in dissenting opinions, and it remains unclear whether academic freedom is a constitutional right. Signaling a clear message to K–12 teachers, the Supreme Court has refused to hear their academic freedom cases since January 1988. Twenty years after *Keyishian*, Justice Brennan wrote in the 1987 *Edwards v. Aguillard* decision that public education curricula are prescribed by



state boards of education and, thus, academic freedom as commonly conceived is not a relevant concept in the public school setting. Nevertheless, since 1988 the precedent case for K–12 teachers and students has been *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*. In April 1983, Hazelwood East High School (St. Louis, Missouri) Principal Robert E. Reynolds censored the journalism class's student newspaper by pulling two articles on teen pregnancy and divorce. Three students (Cathy Kuhlmeier, Leslie Smart, and Leann Tippett) contacted the American Civil Liberties Union and filed suit. On January 13, 1988, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision with a 5–3 majority opinion that established a precedent for K–12 teachers' cases: School officials were given permission to impose reasonable restrictions—related to legitimate pedagogical concerns—on the speech of students, teachers, and other members of the school. In dissent, Justice Brennan wrote that the case illustrates how schools camouflage viewpoint discrimination under a pretense of protecting students from controversial issues.

Although *Hazelwood* dealt with academic freedom for students, subsequent lower court cases involving academic freedom, such as *Boring v. Buncombe Board of Education* (1998) and *Board of Education v. Wilder* (1998), have tested this standard of legitimate pedagogical concerns against teachers' authority over curriculum. *Boring* makes it clear that authority over curriculum depends on how it is defined. Using *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, the judges concluded that curriculum means all *planned* school activities (including extracurricular), and administrators are authorized to ensure that it bears the imprimatur of the school, providing confidence for parents. The voices (e.g., textbook authors) that enter the classroom are sanctioned to speak through the curriculum for the state or school board. In this way, classrooms are closed forums for teaching the adopted or planned curriculum, which administrators can actively safeguard on grounds of legitimate pedagogical concerns. The use of non-prescribed or *unplanned* materials requires a judgment by the teacher that something is sufficiently controversial to warrant a formal review for approval, and even when granted, as in *Boring's* case, approval may not translate into protection. *Boring* suggests that when in classrooms, teachers speak through the curriculum, meaning that

constitutional free speech protections stop at the classroom door. Hence, there are no distinctions between in-class curricular and in-class noncurricular teacher speech. For now, in the United States, if not in Canada, power in the conception of curriculum is legally invested in administrators and a few appointed or elected officials, and execution rests in teachers.

Stephen Petrina

*See also* Commercialization of Schooling; Creationism in Curriculum: Case Law; Critical Pedagogy; Indoctrination; Teacher-Proof Curriculum

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## ACADEMIC RATIONALISM

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Academic rationalism is an orientation to the curriculum that honors the role of traditional content in the development of the rational human mind. Along with many adherents to other orientations, academic rationalists understand that, because of time constraints, not all available curriculum content can be taught in schools. To avoid an overstuffed curriculum, academic rationalists recommend a distinct criterion for answering the classic curriculum question regarding what knowledge is of most worth. For them, the most worthwhile learning centers on those enduring ideas and artifacts that have stood the test of time. The works that contain the greatest products of the human mind thus become the canon of the school curriculum.

Academic rationalists believe that human nature is unchanging and that there are eternal truths to

be discovered in a world outside of human beings. They therefore emphasize those perennial issues of human life as embodied within the traditional academic disciplines. For some academic rationalists, this includes all of the lasting productions of humanity. For others, these disciplines are those that have survived for centuries primarily within Western civilization, especially those originating in ancient Greece. Proponents of this latter form of academic rationalism that ignores important ideas and objects originating in non-Western cultures have been accused by critics of Eurocentrism.

Academic rationalists are closely associated with the liberal arts tradition within the academy. The ideas within, and products of, the liberal arts are viewed as the sources of human enlightenment. Following the lead of Plato in *The Republic* (Book VII), academic rationalists believe in the power of reason for guiding humankind closer to enhanced understanding and appreciation of the eternal standards of truth, goodness, and formal beauty. The mental activities of logic and contemplation are seen as means for moving humans away from the sources of confusion emanating from within the manual and practical activities of mundane experience and toward the formal realities that are the province of the human intellect. In that manner humans become liberated, able to transcend the ephemera of earthly affairs as they engage with other intellectuals in a Great Conversation about the common heritage of all humankind. Liberated from earthly emotions and passions through the elevated discourse of the curriculum, humans are freed to become less like animals (or for the ancient Greeks, slaves) and ever more human.

Dimensions of academic rationalism, usually under the label of the liberal arts tradition, can be found throughout the history of Western civilization. After ancient Greece, the orientation continued in the classical Roman period, and later, modified by Christian scholars in the Middle Ages, the curriculum philosophy could be found permeating church schools. Academic rationalism has prevailed in both Europe and the United States in much of the last three centuries. During this time, the historical reality continued: A liberal education was generally available only to wealthy young men, the classical canon of academic rationalism became the curriculum of the elite, leisure, and moneyed classes.

In the United States, however, during the 20th century, the influence of academic rationalism slowly declined as a result of the growth of the middle class and its desires for a more practical, vocational based curriculum. Later, the tenets of academic rationalism (sometimes referred to as the *traditional curriculum*) were challenged by progressive educators, such as the pragmatist philosopher John Dewey. But the liberal tradition and academic rationalism have rebounded at several points in U.S. educational history. Perhaps the most notable resurgence was the result of the work in the 1930s and 1940s of a group of University of Chicago professors that included Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer Adler.

Today, vestiges of academic rationalism can be found in practice in U.S. schools, especially in the curriculum of various Catholic and other private secondary schools. Moreover, the liberal arts tradition has hardly disappeared from the (especially core) curriculum at U.S. universities, even if its influence has been eroded by professional orientations and a more modernized, and postmodernized, approach to university studies that is often viewed by students as more suited to their interests.

*Tom Barone*

*See also* Core Curriculum; Curriculum, History of; Curriculum Thought, Categories of

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## ACCOUNTABILITY

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*Accountability* is the state of being in schools today whereby all curricular decisions are made according to measures established by each state according to the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). Accountability has become the clarion call for pundits and politicians in response to the argument that the nation has “fallen behind”

others. Measures for accountability through NCLB are predicated upon closing the achievement gap found among disadvantaged and minority students.

### Measures of Accountability

Based upon the act, each state identified standards for every level in reading and math and, more recently, in science for Grades 3 through 8. Further, each state developed annual tests to measure the degree to which their students meet the standards. The data from the tests are made public in annual report cards for each school. According to the act, each state determines what students should learn in each grade, and each state determines the appropriate measures that indicate students are making adequate yearly progress (AYP).

According to the act, all students are included in the testing, and all students should be proficient in math and reading by 2013–2014. The act emphasizes that students in specific subgroups (racial/ethnic groups, the economically disadvantaged, those with limited English proficiency, and students with disability) are also expected to meet the state's designation of "proficient," unless the subgroup within a school is too small to ensure statistical validity.

Other measures are also included in a school or district's designation of AYP. High schools must use graduation rates as one indicator. Elementary and middle schools must also identify at least one measure beyond the test scores. Often, this measure involves attendance rates.

### State-Level Responses to Accountability

The act indicates that states should use test data to identify areas where additional support is needed. However, critics contend that schools that fail to make AYP do not get sufficient additional financial support. For example, the first year that a school fails to make AYP, the state provides resources to help the school determine how to reallocate the resources it has. Some of the resources that may have previously been used to support instruction may be reallocated to read data more carefully, to revise school improvement plans, and to extend learning time for students who need remediation. Often schools have to implement new reform models and may have to use significant resources for

professional development and monitoring the implementation of these models. If a school does not make AYP 2 years in a row, it must reallocate some of its resources to provide supplemental educational services to students from low-income families. If a school fails to make AYP for 3 years, it is required to choose at least one of the following options: replace staff, implement a new curriculum model, decrease its decision-making power, extend the school day or year, seek the services of an outside consultant, or reorganize the school. Any school that does not make AYP 4 years in a row is subject to restructuring where it may become a charter school, be run by a for-profit corporation, be taken over by the state, or remain a district school by replacing the principal and staff.

### Accountability and the Curriculum

Because so much of NCLB measures achievement in math and reading, many schools have narrowed their curricular focus to these areas at the expense of other subjects. Further, many schools have shifted the general nature of the classroom experience from active, relevant, and creative curriculum to drilling specific skills in the critical areas.

The national movement toward greater accountability through NCLB has also changed the manner in which curriculum materials are developed nationally. According to the act, curriculum must be developed according to scientifically based principles. Therefore, textbook publishers must use empirically based measures to create their curriculum. Further, they must use random and controlled experimental trials to demonstrate that their materials promote student achievement (according to each state's standards). Schools cannot adopt textbooks or reform models until the curricula have been deemed "scientifically based" according to the U.S. Department of Education's Institute for Educational Sciences (IES).

These measures of curricular accountability significantly affect textbook companies and makers of reform models. Because companies have to undertake extensive experimentation to achieve the status of "scientifically based," their programs are often costly and the companies are less likely to disclose the content of the programs to anyone other than those who purchase them. Ironically, while the government evaluates the companies,

they shield themselves from external critique in order to protect their intellectual property. Further, because companies have to ensure reliable means through which students can achieve according to state standards, they require schools and districts to implement their materials in prescribed ways. Deviations from the prescribed models and materials would compromise the integrity of the curricula. To this end, schools and districts often have to invest even more resources in training teachers to implement materials in prescribed ways, and they must maintain external reviewers to ensure the fidelity of implementation of the models. Finally, because much effort and many resources are devoted to the scientifically based curricula specifically designed to produce achievement on state tests, the overall nature of each school's curriculum is whatever is tested. As Elliot Eisner warned years ago, what gets measured is the only thing that matters.

*Donna Adair Breault*

See also Achievement Tests; No Child Left Behind

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## ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

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Achievement tests are assessment tools that aim to measure what students know and what they are able to do in relation to academic learning objectives or learning standards. Achievement tests are relevant to curriculum studies because test scores are frequently used to determine the level of

instruction for students. These testing instruments attempt to provide evidence of what and how much a student has learned from past experiences or how much of a body of knowledge a student has mastered.

The most common type of achievement tests are standardized tests, which are given and scored in a consistent manner across testing sites. Standardized achievement tests typically measure knowledge and skills gained through classroom instruction at a certain grade level. To ensure all students taking the test receive the same amount of direction and time, administrative instructions are provided that may include scripted directions for the instructor to read to the group or individual as the test is being administered.

Achievement tests also are usually norm referenced, meaning they measure a student's performance compared with a normed group of peers who have previously taken the same test. This normed group is selected by test makers to be a sample group from the target grade level. This sample normed group is supposed to represent a typical group from the target level (e.g., all 6th graders across the state). When a school's or a student's test scores are reported in percentiles (i.e., Mark scored at the 89th percentile), it indicates the results are from a norm-referenced test. Percentiles range from 1 to 99 with 50 representing the average student. If Mark scored at the 89th percentile, it means he scored higher than 89% of the students in the normed group did. Scores can also be reported as a stanine or a grade level. A stanine is a standard point scale that indicates broad differences in performance. For example, if a student scores a stanine of 2 in Reading and 8 in Mathematics, it would indicate a significant difference in the student's learning in these two content areas. Most norm-referenced achievement tests consist of multiple-choice questions but may also include open-ended short answer questions.

Achievement tests are commonly contrasted with aptitude tests. An aptitude test intends to predict how well a student would be able to learn something when given the opportunity to do so. They look at general cognitive traits. For example, the SAT is used as a tool to predict students' success at the college level. Achievement tests do not predict a student's ability to learn but rather measure what students have already learned.



When a student scores high on an achievement test, it usually indicates he or she has mastered a great deal of the curriculum. Low scores might designate the need for remediation or the use of alternative methods of instruction or materials. The content of achievement tests is said to be valid when it has been taught to the test-taker. Achievement tests are meant to align with learning objectives and standards so that test results can be effectively analyzed to determine curriculum development and direction. This entry continues with examples of achievement tests and discusses the controversy around them.

State achievement tests currently used in many of the nation's schools attempt to measure the match between a state's learning standards, a school's curriculum delivery, and students' learning. Many states test students across grade levels and content areas to determine whether they are mastering the learning standards. Common commercial achievement tests include the California Achievement Test, Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, Stanford Achievement Test, and Woodcock Johnson III Achievement Test.

The increased use of achievement tests in schools during the past two decades as a result of federal policies such as Goals 2000 and No Child Left Behind has spurred controversy over their purpose and value. Achievement tests have taken on the role of assessing students', instructors', and schools' academic proficiency at a particular grade level. Schools and students are expected to increase and maintain high achievement scores and to turn out more proficient students than ever before. Schools' report cards are provided on the Internet, displaying the school's performance on achievement tests to the world. Performance pressure has led some to use the term *high stakes* to refer to the testing structures currently mandated in many districts.

For some, achievement tests represent a tool that inspires confidence and for others cynical distrust. Proponents say that achievement tests are the only objective measure there is of a school's effectiveness and of students' learning. Tests can confirm progress and learning and can identify needs. Advocates propose that students with special needs and schools in which test scores are consistently poor can be identified through testing programs. Funding and other resources can be fairly allocated to schools with high needs as indicated by overall test scores. Tests can indicate where support is needed.

Conversely, critics of achievement tests contend they can contain items that may be culturally biased or unfamiliar to some populations. Tests may include some questions that favor one culture or social class over another for reasons that have nothing to do with the content being tested. Certain test items may reflect knowledge or experiences gained outside of a school context that are more commonly acquired by middle- or upper-class students than by students in lower socioeconomic groups. Timed tests may penalize students whose first language is not English or who have learning disabilities. Or, achievement tests may contain test formats, such as short-answer responses or multiple-choice questions, that prove difficult for students with learning disabilities to decipher and respond to with proficiency. Critics also argue that testing may cause teachers to focus on tested content and ignore untested content or subjects that do not appear on the tests. Finally, testing may cause student anxiety, which may skew results.

*Cynthia A. Lassonde*

*See also* Goals 2000; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind; SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test); Standards, Curricular

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## ACTION RESEARCH

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Action research is a process through which teacher-researchers carefully and methodically examine their educational practice. Action research provides a systematic way for teachers to measure the success of curriculum, materials, and instructional methods. Teachers who conduct action research

intend to inform, compare, and possibly change classroom practices.

Action research offers a systematic and orderly plan for small-scale, real-world investigations designed toward intervention in a specific setting, often a classroom setting. Action research focuses less on large-scale relationships or on testing theory, and more on an individual problem encountered by the researcher. This method empowers practitioners to investigate a problem or issue, create a detailed account of the situation, and devise plans to deal with existing problems. In the realm of research on the curriculum, action research provides an authoritative method by which to measure the relative usefulness of varying curricular structures, reforms, and materials.

Action research is preplanned and organized, can be shared explicitly with other interested researchers, and can be replicated, although not usually for the purpose of generalization. The process of action research is not often linear but is often iterative. Because it is based in daily practice, action research is persuasive and accessible to those in the field of practice. It challenges the established system of educational research, based on university expectations, and allows participants to develop and to own both the problem and the solution rather than to be dictated to by university experts.

According to Ernest Stringer, there are four key components to the process of action research. First, *relationships* need to be developed: Action research rests on the equal status of all participants and relies on conflict management, acceptance of difference, and consensus building. Next, *communication* is central to action research. Participants commit to frequent attentive listening and to truthfulness during the gathering and analysis of data. Third, *continuous participation* is key to the success of action research. Participants must remain involved from start to finish, offer support for one another, and celebrate the accomplishments of the process. Finally, *inclusion* plays a vital role in successful action research: as many pertinent participants as possible need to be included to gain full benefit from the process.

### Reasons for Implementation of Action Research

For providers of services in community organizations and institutional settings, action research

offers a tool to solve problems, usually with a focus on the problems of a whole group, rather than of individuals. The process of action research adds to the practitioner's functional knowledge about the issues and information with which he or she deals every day, and its success can be measured by the practitioner's ability to make a difference in the organization. The study of issues in real school or classroom settings leads to better understanding of curriculum content and to improved teaching and learning. The mere recording and reporting of information by an outside observer is not adequate to complete these tasks: Members of academe and daily classroom teachers need to see one another as valuable and skilled collectors and analysts of relevant information.

### History of Action Research

The process of action research developed in the 1930s through a series of citizen group activities designed to improve schooling and other living conditions subsequent to the aftermath of World War I and the Great Depression. The history of action research has been reported disparately—sometimes conflictingly—but often includes the work of Kurt Lewin, Stephen Corey, Peter Reason and John Rowan, and Stephen Kemmis. The reputation of action research suffered extensive negative criticism during the 1960s because of its reported affiliation with radical political activism, but the process resurfaced in the 1970s in Great Britain, the United States, and Australia, where it has become established as an acceptable and authoritative alternative to traditional educational research.

Lewin has been credited with first coining the term *action research*, but Corey brought the process to bear as a means to improve school practice and empower teachers. Corey urged teachers to research their own curricula, methods, and materials scientifically to better to understand their workings and to make improvements. In the model that Corey presented, teachers became experts in curriculum development and reflective teaching.

Two designs persist for action research: practical action research and participatory action research. Practical action research offers improvement in individual cases to better practice, especially in classroom or school settings. Participatory action research is oriented for social and community organizations

and places an emphasis on research leading to equity, emancipation, and social change.

### The Process of Action Research

Action research follows an iterative and overlapping cycle of activities. The steps include asking a question or identifying a problem, making decisions about data (i.e., about ways to collect and frequency of collection), collecting and analyzing the data, deciding ways that the findings can be used, and reporting out. In some contexts, the report can also be embedded in a traditional theoretical context through a review of literature in the field.

Several experts in the process of action research define the steps as “look, think, act.” Participants look: They gather information and record raw data. Then they think: They analyze and interpret the information that has been gathered. Finally, participants act: They bring to bear the findings from the data gathering and analysis to resolve the problem that initiated the action research study. The detailed design of action research remains flexible, based on each situation. However, the general core of the process includes an initial assessment of the overall situation, the gathering of as much pertinent information as possible, the development of a network among interested parties at all levels, the inclusion of as many participants as can be recruited, and the creation of an understanding of the reality of the situation at hand.

The researcher in action research needs to assume an acceptable role, and that role differs dramatically compared with the role of the traditional university-based educational researcher. The researcher in action research assumes the role of facilitator, leads participants in a collaborative approach to the investigation, and buffers the process against outside “expert” judgments. As an insider, however, the researcher cannot serve as an enabler or facilitator in the same way that an outsider could, so he or she needs to build collaborative relationships with critical helpers or consultants from outside the research setting.

The practice of action research bridges the gap between ongoing university-based academic research and the daily work of teachers in the field. Action research empowers teachers and provides opportunities for professional development: Classroom

teachers can focus on a classroom challenge, a teaching method, or an area of content interest and conduct their own research to discover potential solutions to their difficulties. Action research can assist preservice teachers to recognize important elements of teaching in an authentic context and coach them to benefit from structured classroom observations.

Teaching professionals naturally solve problems every day in the course of their daily work. As school districts move away from centralized policy and decision making, instructional professionals in individual school buildings and classrooms face increased responsibility to solve their own problems. People who might previously have been regarded as mere “subjects” in a research study become directly involved as participants so the process of action research could benefit as many interested parties as possible. Data that might previously have been regarded as extraneous become important as the participants sift through many layers of information: The process of action research acknowledges that school settings are messy and constantly changing, so researchers examine as many types of information as possible to look for repeated patterns and themes and to make sense of information. Different types of data may be important at different times in action research projects: action researchers gather as much information in as many different forms as possible.

Action research relies on inductive analysis: The researcher and other participants observe and create order by organizing information into groups and categories. Generally, action research results in correlational or causal-comparative conclusions. Action research cannot be considered experimental because it involves no manipulation of variables, only the observation and acceptance of existing facts. Action research does include the statement of concrete conclusions based on reasoned deductions; recommendations or suggestions for change; and a plan of action, that is the purposeful intent to follow the conclusions of the research.

### Rigor in Action Research

Academic rigor is just as important in action research as in all other forms of research: The researcher needs to be clear about the methods for data collection, to challenge and test assumptions

about situation and data, to access as many different views of the situation as possible, and to ground diagnoses in existing theory. Action research is empirical but not in the sense that the process follows procedures prescribed by the scientific method.

Proponents of action research describe the method as legitimate, authentic, and rigorous. Even though the results of action research are pragmatic and immediately applicable in the field, and despite the engagement of “subjects” as research participants, the execution of action research demands that same careful planning and the same level of checks and balances required by more traditional research methods. Reflective practice is a key element to the success of action research: researchers cannot simply move quickly through data collection and analysis to some foregone conclusion: they need to think, sort, deconstruct, and compare before they conclude their studies.

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*See also* Teacher as Researcher; Teacher Empowerment

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looking at the daily activities of adults. With this method, every range of human experience must be subjected to analysis, including language activities, citizenship activities, occupational skills, health activities, and religious practices. Curriculum developers would study the adults who are the best at the various activities in order to select and perpetuate the most efficient skills. Once the daily activities of the most efficient adults have been analyzed and catalogued, these activities should become the basis for curriculum in the schools.

Activity analysis is one of the most powerful and enduring ideas in the field of curriculum. It became popular during the 1910s and 1920s, especially during the years immediately following World War I. John Franklin Bobbitt, a professor of educational administration at the University of Chicago, and W. W. Charters, a professor of education at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, were deeply influential in the spread of activity analysis.

In his 1923 book, *Curriculum Construction*, Charters uses the example of a cook to illustrate the central idea of activity analysis. To produce efficient cooks, curriculum workers should find the best cook possible, study his daily activities scientifically, catalog everything that he does, and then use these data as the basis for a curriculum that is designed to produce efficient cooks. This same process should be used for all human activities, both vocational and nonvocational.

Activity analysts such as Bobbitt and Charters sought numerous goals through the popularization of activity analysis. First, they wanted to make curriculum relevant during a time when the United States was undergoing rapid changes because of industrialization and immigration. Millions of children were immigrating to the United States during the early 1900s, and schools needed a way to develop curriculum that was relevant to these new students, many of whom came from eastern European countries such as Russia, Romania, and Poland. Second, Bobbitt and Charters presented activity analysis using the language of science and industry, which made the method popular among business leaders who wanted schools to operate like businesses as well as train workers. Third, activity analysis gave school administrators a way to create a curriculum that was not directly tied to the traditional subjects. Bobbitt and Charters were

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## ACTIVITY ANALYSIS

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The basic idea of activity analysis is that the best place to begin when creating curriculum is by



part of the early 20th-century progressive movement that sought to displace the traditional curriculum of subject-matter disciplines with something different, most often a curriculum based either on the individual desires of students or on the needs of industry. Educational reformers who followed Bobbitt and Charters could look to the adult activities in their local communities as the basis for their curriculum. At the same time, they could marginalize the traditional subjects—for example, Latin—that many of them found distant from the students who were enrolling in their schools.

Almost from the time it was introduced, activity analysis became the subject of criticism. The most common criticism has been that it relies too heavily on the current activities of adults and thereby leaves no room for social improvement. In other words, if all curricula were created using activity analysis, we would be training students to perform only the activities that adults currently perform, not the ones they will perform in the future. A method that at first glance appears to be forward looking turns out to be deeply conservative in its outlook, argue the critics. Activity analysis also has been criticized because of its heavy emphasis on vocational training. Traditional subjects such as history and philosophy are no longer studied for their own sake, but only for their functionality in the world of work. This overreliance on utility, argue traditionalists, eliminates many of the joys that come with learning for its own sake. Critics also argue that activity analysis neglects a central dimension of moral education, which can come only from learning such challenging subjects as mathematics, philosophy, and foreign languages for their own sake rather than for the use that students will make of them later in life.

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*See also Curriculum, The; Curriculum Construction*

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## ADULT EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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The concept of curriculum remains underdeveloped in the field of adult education, although many of the issues concerning knowledge, power, and identity addressed in curriculum studies also manifest within education for adults. The lack of explicit recognition of curriculum and the concomitant lack of engagement with curriculum theory and the literature of curriculum studies derives from a highly diversified field with few broad curriculum structures and an entrenched commitment to learner-centered planning. This is changing, however, as increasing numbers of adult education scholars are coming to embrace perspectives that focus on the politics of curriculum, including race, gender, class, and sexual orientation, as integral aspects of the formal, hidden, and lived curricula of adult education. Adult education scholars are also exploring cultural studies approaches to curriculum, and thus are taking up conversations concerning popular culture that have occurred for some time in curriculum studies.

### The Scope of Adult Education Curriculum

In general terms, adult education can be considered as a set of deliberately designed educational activities aimed at people over the age of compulsory schooling. This includes adult literacy and numeracy education, English as a second language, and some professional development and continuing education activities, though it has historically excluded formal settings such as colleges. There is a great deal of diversity of purpose, methods, audience, and curricular approach within those activities. One reason for this diversity is the lack of legislation framing adult education with any degree of consistency. Different organizations and jurisdictions take a different view of what education should be available to adults, where it should be provided, and how that provision should be funded. For example, adult literacy education, which one might expect to be relatively uniform, can be delivered by community organizations, community colleges, national nongovernmental bodies, or municipal organizations, and be taught by volunteers, part-time tutors, or K–12 accredited teachers. The diversity of adult education is a key feature of the field.

Adult education has a strong tradition of radical, social justice–oriented education. Adult educators claim the work of Jane Addams’s Hull House in the 1920s and 1930s, Myles Horton’s Highlander Folk School of the 1930s, Moses Coady and the Antigonish movement in Canada in the 1930s, a variety of workers’ education programs, and the work of Paulo Freire. Despite these radical examples, adult educators have often embraced a progressive, humanist view of curriculum in practice.

Since the late 20th century, there has been increasing use of the term *lifelong learning* to indicate education beyond schooling, a term that includes higher education and community colleges as well as more traditional nonformal sites of adult education. The lifelong learning agenda has created opportunity for adult educators by aligning their work with a broad set of policy priorities, but at the cost of accepting a marketized view of education. The idea of education as an instrument of human capital development is often an uncomfortable one for adult educators. These tensions and expectations profoundly affect the approaches to knowledge that manifest in adult education theory and practice.

### Curriculum Approaches in Adult Education

Adult education has a long history of “classical” technical curriculum development, to some extent reflecting the pragmatic bias of the field. Ralph Tyler’s *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* is currently used in many graduate adult education courses on program planning to illustrate early approaches to curriculum that were adopted and practiced within adult education. Tyler’s rationale was adopted by adult educators and has been the basis of most theories of program planning in adult education since the 1950s; many adult educators argue that the Tylerian model has become the “classical” approach to adult education program planning. Although Tyler’s approach is critiqued in current graduate courses and by adult education scholars in general as being too linear and for not capturing the politics of the planning process and the complexities of how planners actually operate (see Ronald Cervero and Arthur Wilson’s work on the politics of program planning), Tylerian perspectives to planning can still be found in current adult education practice.

For example, recent funding within the lifelong learning sector is often tied to specific instructional objectives and demonstrations of learner progress, and these are used as a basic element of program accountability.

Within adult education, the term *curriculum* is infrequently used; this both underlines the differences from schooling and emphasizes the potentially idealized progressive nature of adult education’s pedagogy. The preferred term used within adult education is *program planning*, often signaling a collaborative process between educator and learners. Malcolm Knowles, who in the 1960s popularized the learner-centered approach to curriculum called *andragogy*, recommended replacing the idea of “curriculum” with that of “program.” Knowles believed that the notion of “curriculum” did not work for adults because adults are motivated to learn because of key traits believed to be consistent for all adults and directly relevant to the process of program planning:

- Teachers have a responsibility to help adults in the normal movement from dependency toward increasing self-directedness.
- Adults have an ever-increasing reservoir of experience that is a rich resource for learning.
- People are ready to learn something when it will help them to cope with real-life tasks or problems.
- Learners see education as a means to develop increased competence.

These principles emphasize the role of educator as facilitator, and the need to involve adults in the co-construction of the program. From this point of view, the idea of “curriculum” is considered inappropriate to use for education involving adults. Adult educators such as Knowles argued instead that adult learning should be organized by *problem*, not *subject*, area.

Scholars such as Cervero and Wilson, however, believe that although Knowles brought a new focus on the involvement of the learners themselves in the curriculum development process, he did not fundamentally change the normative focus of the classical model—telling educators what they should do in idealized educational settings. Cervero and Wilson argue that classical models such as these do not consider how adult

educators actually operate, and fail to consider political, economic, and social contexts within which educators operate. Although the “naturalistic” program planning models that developed within adult education in the 1970s and 1980s attempted to account for the messy, nonlinear ways in which real adult educators worked, these, too, failed to engage fully with the politics of curriculum development.

Because of the contrast between the espoused commitment to learner-centeredness and the pragmatic need to respond to external requirements, adult educators often experience significant dilemmas in the area of curriculum. A key example is credentialing learning. The proponents of progressive adult education would argue that credentialing learning is artificial and unhelpful, misrepresenting learners’ motivations and accomplishments as well as reshaping programs. Others see credentials as extremely valuable to learners, representing real achievement for them as well as increasing their employability or opportunities to continue their education. Credentials have both benefits and costs, and decisions about whether to incorporate them into programs are philosophically and pragmatically difficult.

### The Politics of Curriculum in Adult Education

Some critical adult educators such as Colin Griffin have regretted that curriculum studies scholars examining the curriculum as political text have had little impact on mainstream adult education. Part of the reason for the rarity of explicit references to curriculum is the tendency for adult education researchers and practitioners to separate themselves from school educators and school-based education, and from the kinds of curriculum work prevalent in curriculum studies. Adult education theorists have relied on philosophy and psychology, but more political, sociological approaches have been largely absent. Critical adult educator Griffin argues that the views of curriculum studies scholars such as Michael Apple and Henry Giroux, who raise vital sociological issues about power, ideology, and curriculum, have had little impact within adult education, where the focus remains grounded in philosophical and psychological approaches to learning and pedagogy.

This has changed somewhat since the 1990s, as adult educators are increasingly drawing from the work of critical curriculum theorists within curriculum studies, and are addressing adult education curriculum in terms of power relations and examining race, class, sexuality, and gender issues. Adult educators have within the last decade or so also begun examining issues of the hidden curriculum in adult education settings and have expanded definitions of curriculum to include a focus on popular culture and everyday life as curricular spaces.

The tension between the more recent power-based theories of curriculum within adult education research and the classical Tylerian approaches found in practice is remarkably reminiscent of the paradoxes of other educational areas, including curriculum studies. The common questions of power, knowledge, and pragmatism reach across the boundaries of field to permeate education as a broad endeavor. Adult education has developed an eclectic approach to these questions that, although avoiding the language of curriculum studies, can offer valuable insights to educators in every sector.

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*See also* Andragogy; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## AESTHETIC EDUCATION RESEARCH

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The relationship between aesthetic research and the area of curriculum consists of at least two

aspects. The first, dating to the second half of the 20th century, is research into school curriculum that incorporates aesthetics through the arts, as well as the aesthetic dimensions of the general curriculum. The second aspect, dating to the 1990s, draws on aesthetic-based research methodology to study curriculum. Both aspects focus on the operational, day-to-day curriculum, and students' experiences of curriculum, using mostly but not exclusively qualitative methods.

The term *aesthetics*, coined in 1735 by Alexander Baumgarten to denote a theoretical and practical discipline aimed at the perfection of sensory cognition, derives from the Greek *aisthanomai*, perception by means of the senses. Aesthetics has since evolved to refer to the philosophy of art and the philosophy of aesthetic experience.

What forms of aesthetic education exist in the school curriculum? This question is particularly interesting given the multiple rationales of teaching the arts, from cultivating self-expression to inculcating cultural values, and given the historical and contemporary pressures for academic subjects and marginalization of the arts. Research on aesthetics in curriculum focuses on arts instruction and students' encounters with the arts, as well as on the general academic curriculum that possess aspects susceptible to aesthetic appreciation.

Long-standing questions on the educational (broadly interpreted) aspects of the arts and aesthetics were raised by philosophers from Plato and Aristotle to Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Nietzsche. More recently, the work on aesthetics of philosophers John Dewey, Susanne Langer, Nelson Goodman, and Harry Broudy, among others, pointed to the interconnectedness of perception, thinking, and feeling. Questions concerning the type of cognition involved in the arts were intensified in the late 1950s and 1960s with increased attention to school disciplines, triggered by the Russian launch of *Sputnik* and the U.S. anxiety about being left behind in the technological cold war race. The arts were not exempt from the need to justify their inclusion in the curriculum in terms of their contribution to the total enterprise of education. In these discussions, Broudy acknowledged that each discipline has its own methods of investigation and that each domain develops an internal logic, modes of inquiry, and canons of evidence. His rationale for the arts as part of general

education was based on aesthetic literacy as integral to life, based on aesthetic experience, and cultivated through arts appreciation, with *scanning* as a mode of inquiry.

The power of aesthetics in learning, teaching, and living, presenting diverse aesthetic dimensions to curriculum is the focus of George Willis and William Schubert's *Reflections From the Heart of Educational Inquiry*, including essays by Ted Aoki, Elliot Eisner, Maxine Greene, Madeleine Grumet, William Pinar, Susan Stinson, and Elizabeth Vallance, among others. In this volume, as in Dewey's earlier work, and increasingly in other literatures, the body is recognized as key to knowledge. The arts, unlike the traditional academic areas, are an arena in which the body is central to the engagement in the discipline. This makes dance, drama, music, and visual art education a particularly rich place to explore what embodiment means for curriculum and instruction. Philosopher Richard Shusterman proposes a systematic theory of philosophy as an art of living, conceived as a discipline of theory and practice with implications to curriculum, called *somaesthetics*. Somaesthetics is concerned with educational aims and offers new perspectives and techniques with respect to learning.

### Field-Based Research to Aesthetics in the Curriculum

The Aesthetic Education Program (AEP) of the late 1960s and 1970s was a comprehensive model for a curriculum in aesthetic education for elementary schools, using music, visual art, drama, dance, and literature as its content base. It was carried out by the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory (CEMREL), and conducted by Stanley Madeja, Louis Smith, Harry Broudy, and others. Introduced to correct the lack of recognition of the importance of the arts and their potential in the normal education of the child, the term was coined with the commitment to the importance of art and the aesthetic as an integral rather than marginal constituent of early curriculum, to be shared by all children. AEP aimed to enhance children's aesthetic perceptions and provide teachers with rich arts curriculum to complement existing arts programs. It advocated that aesthetic education should be concerned with the introduction of aesthetic



values and the development of aesthetic ways of perceiving and knowing. Research functioned in several roles: (a) extensive review, analysis, and classification of existing and relevant research in aesthetic education; (b) existing research in creativity, in child development, and in learning theory, was used to resolve curriculum issues and to help develop curricular activities; (c) research by evaluators who developed instruments to measure student achievement as a result of work with curriculum materials; and (d) research on the AEP program, its effects on teachers and students, and problems of implementation.

In the late 1980s, case studies of arts education and aesthetics in the curriculum were conducted by Robert Stake, Liora Bresler, and Linda Mabry, with additional observations in 50 other sites, supported by the National Endowment for the Arts and part of the National Art Education Research Center at the University of Illinois. This study noted the differences between the arts taught casually and occasionally by classroom teachers and the weekly arts production activities led by specialist teachers. It found extramural arts in reasonable health, dominated by instrumental music curriculum. Within the regular curriculum, the range of opportunities for artistic explorations and activities was remarkably broad: Some children had been denied arts for months as teachers responded to pressures to raise test scores. Others in the same district created a Navajo-inspired sandpainting under the watchful gaze of Vincent Van Gogh's self-portraits. In general, the message from the community to schools was summarized as "Keep art and music a part of the curriculum; keep it modest and conventional; continue the traditional performances and exhibits."

The Reggio Emilia preschools in Northern Italy, known for their creative, sophisticated aesthetic curriculum, first opened in 1963 (a development of preschool run by parents after World War II). Discovered by international scholars in the early 1990s, they have generated broad interest among early childhood educators. Described as an adventure and research undertaken by teachers and children, the operational curriculum is based on teachers' careful observation and documentation of what children say and do, highlighting children's artwork (which constituted the "Hundred Languages" exhibit that traveled across the globe). Referred to as an integrated art approach to

curriculum, it has been a learning-site, adopted widely in many countries, and the focus of research.

The centrality of the microcontexts (teachers' commitments and ownership) combined with shared visions and institutional support, is a consistent finding of successful programs. Boo Yeun Lim explored various approaches to aesthetic education in early childhood settings in the United States that were used in Waldorf schools, the Bank Street School for Children, and Reggio Emilia-inspired programs. Each of these programs had a different philosophy, but all were characterized by a child-centered curriculum. Lim found that the teachers teaching the arts, specialists and classroom teachers, shared some common images of aesthetic education, viewing it as a means to help children to see the world with sensitivity and become aware of aesthetic elements in artworks. Teachers' views were also shaped by the respective philosophies of the individual programs (social beings in the Bank Street school, higher order thinking skills in the Reggio-inspired school, and a focus on spirituality in the Waldorf).

Focusing on the cognitive aspects of visual art education, the Getty Education Institute for the Arts introduced in the early 1980s the discipline-based-arts-education (DBAE) approach, integrating visual art history, appreciation and aesthetics, and studio studies into elementary, middle, and high schools. Brent Wilson conducted a 7-year study of six programs for the Getty Institute. Data sources included observations in more than 100 schools in which DBAE programs were implemented. The study focused on the curricular level. Change initiatives concerning efforts for reform around art and aesthetics succeeded when the following occurred: (a) Change was systemic, especially when school leaders steered the initiative and increased ownership; (b) professional development and curriculum planning were pursued; (c) there was ongoing communication and collaboration within and among change communities; (d) there was collaboration between teachers and experts in specific subject areas; (e) museums and other community institutions provided settings for immersion and contents; and (f) skills, even those of the highest order relating to critical thinking and creative invention, were not ends in themselves, but were means for understanding human purpose and creating new visions of it.

Another Getty Institute research project, initiated in collaboration with the College Board, and conducted by Bresler focused on the integration of music, visual art, dance, and drama into academic subjects in five high schools. The schools, located in South Texas, New Mexico, Washington, Maryland, and Boston, Massachusetts, were chosen for their strong support for the arts integration by principals and teachers and for their diverse student population. Curricular contents, assignments, and evaluation measures encouraged students' higher level thinking and creativity. The integrated curricula emphasized personal and social relevance, connecting the past to present and faraway cultures to that of contemporary United States. Teachers' evaluation strategies drew on portfolios and projects (instead of essays and tests), encouraging the presentation of concepts and ideas in a variety of modes of representation and learning styles. The arts/aesthetic curricula changed the roles for both teachers and students. For teachers, curriculum design became an act of creation rather than just implementation. Teachers moved away from reliance on textbooks toward the active identification of overarching themes and broad issues. For students, their emergent ownership of the integrated work was connected with issues of identity, voice, and pride in their ideas and creation. Students' communication of their work to an interested audience of teachers and peers provided an additional aesthetic element and incentive to excel.

### Ethno-Aesthetics

In the postmodern paradigm of the late 20th century, aesthetic concepts were commonly acknowledged to be context-dependent and relationally embedded. The notion of aesthetic universality, along with other universals, has been deconstructed as contextual and social. Accordingly, research turned to examine the nature of the aesthetic in specific personal and cultural contexts. Although *aesthetics* refers to the philosophy of art, ethno-aesthetics refers to the emic study of any non-Western art forms. In addition to studying the aesthetic values of art forms in non-Western cultures, ethno-aesthetics focuses on art as perceived by people who produced it and use it, corresponding to anthropology of art and ethno-science of art. By using ethno-aesthetic approaches, the unique

aesthetic traditions and art forms within their social and cultural contexts can be understood.

Drawing on Jerome Bruner's notion of folk pedagogy, Yu-Ting Chen and Daniel J. Walsh explored how Chinese aesthetic education is perceived and valued at two elementary schools in Taiwan. Using qualitative methods, the research explores how arts teachers guide children to experience arts through the arts curricula in school and the local culture. Findings highlighted a respect for nature and a concern for local culture as well as cultivating children's character, and integrating the arts into everyday life. The teachers' shared views provide a broad picture of these folk beliefs in Taiwan as well as a cultural lens for examining aesthetic education in Taiwan and the larger Asian culture.

### Aesthetic-Based Research of Curriculum

Aesthetic-based inquiry is based on the contributions that the processes and the products of aesthetics make to research. It is grounded within a complex relationship between the constructs of aesthetics and research. These relationships go back two and a half millennia. The dichotomous view of reason/truth versus perception, a legacy of Plato, was maintained and developed by most Western philosophers. According to this dichotomy, aesthetic-based research is an oxymoron. The work of Dewey, arguing that art and science share the same features with respect to the process of inquiry, and the subsequent erosion of these traditional dichotomies in the late 20th century proved a fertile ground for aesthetic-based research.

Eisner's work has been critical in highlighting attention to the central role of the senses in research. In his conceptualization of research as connoisseurship and educational criticism, and his notion of connoisseurship and the *enlightened eye*, Eisner expanded the modes and expressions of research from the verbal and numerical to the senses. Many of his students drew on these ideas to study various curricular settings, notably Tom Barone's study of a visual art curriculum in Appalachia and Bruce Uhrmacher's study of the Waldorf schools.

The field of aesthetic-based inquiry has grown tremendously in the past 15 years and with it came a proliferation of genres, reflecting different purposes and commitments. Of particular relevance to curriculum is *a/r/tography*, the work of Rita Irwin

and her colleagues, highlighting seamless connections among art-making, research, and teaching. Bresler places the perceivers at the center, keeping a (soft) distinction between works of art and qualitative research of curriculum. The multiple forms that these inquiries can take are integral to the nature of the aesthetic as the capacity to perceive.

Aesthetic-based research, grounded in perceptual awareness, highlights the significant role of the body as reciprocal medium for negotiating understandings. Anthropologist Tom Csordas examines *somatic modes of attention*, which he regards as culturally elaborated ways of attending to and with one's body in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others. The literature on the body as a key research medium and the investigation of ways of knowing through the senses are relatively new areas of scholarship advocated by Marjorie O'Loughlin, Margaret Macintyre Latta, Susan Rasmussen, Paul Stoller, and Liora Bresler, among others. Extended to research, aesthetic-based inquiry attends to how the body forms and informs the processes of data collecting, (i.e., interviewing, observing,) interpreting, and analyzing.

Engagement of audience is a key issue. Positioning audiences to respond in ways that are integral to the reciprocal participation required of aesthetic experience has led to artist/researcher performance inquiries in the works of Norman Denzin, Donald Blumenfeld-Jones, Robert Donmoyer, and Celeste Snowber, among others.

### Further Issues

Aesthetic research in the two aspects presented in this entry—research on aesthetic curriculum, and aesthetic-based inquiry of curriculum—requires the researcher's aesthetic sensibilities. This has implications for researcher education. What competencies and sensibilities are useful in the training of researchers in general education? What are some aesthetic aspects that shape lived experience that need attending to? These diverse ways of conceptualizing aesthetic-based research promote innovative ways to understand aesthetics as disciplined, critical inquiry, highlighting imagination and intellect in constructing knowledge that is not only innovative, but is also compassionate and enables the transformation of human understanding.

Liora Bresler

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; A/r/tography; Arts Education Curriculum; Arts Education Curriculum, History of; Eisner, Elliot

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## AESTHETIC THEORY

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Aesthetic theory in curriculum studies brings a world that is interesting, surprising, frightening,



or beautiful together with students who meet that world through sensation, thought, and emotion. The world does not come to us hermetically contained in rational categories. Our thoughts and understandings of the world are thoroughly intertwined with the sensory experiences of our bodies, feelings, and emotions, as well as our habits of perception and applications of logic and analysis. Creative thought that generates new knowledge, as well as art, is drawn to the very edges of these categories that sort and organize our lives. Because philosophies of education, stretching from classical idealism through medieval scholasticism and the Enlightenment, celebrated the rationality of disembodied intellect, aesthetic theory in curriculum addresses the false distinctions of mind/body, thought, and feeling inherited from these eras.

Aesthetics played an important role in the thinking of progressive educators in the early 20th century. In *Art as Experience*, John Dewey portrayed the experience of aesthetic pleasure as the resolution of a situation that presents tension or resistance, recognizing harmony and beauty as expressions of that pleasure. Dewey and his colleagues at Teachers' College, William Heard Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg, recognized the importance of exploration, imagination, and participation in play and art to meaningful learning. By mid-century, though, these curriculum approaches were sequestered in early childhood education or in specialized schools such as the Waldorf Schools of Rudolf Steiner.

Contemporary curriculum theorists have elaborated on Dewey's location of aesthetic experience in the everyday lives of students and teachers. Elliot Eisner has studied the synthesis of feeling and thought in both art instruction and the evaluation of curriculum, welcoming the solutions and surprises that emerge in the processes of art-making. Recognizing teaching as artful, Eisner brought the categories and sensibilities of art criticism to the art of teaching. Following postmodern suspicions of convention and totalizing generalizations, aesthetic theory has generated new ways of studying educational experience, extended into research and scholarship in education. Scholars have turned to narrative, celebrating fiction's capacity to express desire and to theater where movement, improvisation, and the use of space and sound express ideas often muted in the rhetoric and method of social science inquiry.

Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences added visual, bodily kinesthetic, musical,

interpersonal, and intrapersonal orientations to the linguistic and logical/mathematical skills that dominate school curricula. This theory of cognition is consistent with Dewey's understanding that to learn something is to fully participate in life, engaging all of one's faculties. Maxine Greene's work brings an existentialist edge to Dewey's emphasis on tension and resolution in aesthetic experience in her focus on freedom and on the intentionality and vitality that art works bring to the expression of alternative visions and imagination. Kieran Egan's focus on imagination leads him to challenge the hierarchies that dominate theories of child development. He points to the richness and complexity of children's imaginations and argues for arts curricula that will sustain and augment their capacities for play and fantasy instead of abandoning them to pursue only discursive and logical modes of thinking and expression. Challenging the obliteration of the body in curriculum and theories of instruction, feminist curriculum scholars have also turned to aesthetics to integrate sensuous experience into curriculum. In Wendy Atwell Vasey's study of language arts, Paula Salvio's study of Anne Sexton's pedagogy, and Stephanie Springgay's study of body knowledge in the curriculum, the arts are identified as sustaining intimacy, bringing a rich and complex expression of experience to curriculum. Arts integration projects take up this approach as the arts are intertwined with instruction in the academic disciplines. Integration becomes a theme even in arts instruction focused exclusively on the arts as educators debate the proper relationship between the making of art and the study of its history and critique.

Aesthetic theories have also been applied to the study of ideology and education. The work of Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, and Theodore Adorno, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, explored the ways that culture encodes and embeds hierarchies of privilege and poverty. Recognizing that these relationships saturate religious, social, aesthetic, and educational processes, curricularists use aesthetics to name the ways that space, time, light, movement, sound, and texture express and reinforce hegemonic values. The powerful work of Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* incorporates aesthetic theory in its use of semiotics, reading the experience of poverty and domination from visual representations of

lived experience. Dwayne Huebner's analysis of the languages that represent schooling pointed to the absence of aesthetics in the culture of curriculum, and Landon Beyer's study of aesthetics and schooling addressed the distinction between fine and popular arts, the marginalization of art experiences in the curriculum, and the arts' capacity to serve as a media for social criticism.

Psychoanalytic theory, which addressed the ways that consciousness is structured to suppress nonconventional thought and feeling, suggests that art and creativity thrive at the edge of the ego, incorporating the exiled material of dreams and primary process into artistic work. The integration of arts in the curriculum broadens and deepens students' interpretations of it, allowing creative thought to challenge the status quo. The feminist movement has also challenged the male dominance of normative categories of the arts and art making, and national aesthetics are frequently critiqued for the exclusion of underrepresented groups.

Most generative, perhaps, is aesthetic theory's attention to form and transformation, supporting integration of the arts with the academic disciplines and inviting multiple symbol systems into the discourse systems of the classroom.

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*See also* Critical Theory Research; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Psychoanalytic Theory

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## AFRICAN CURRICULUM STUDIES, CONTINENTAL OVERVIEW

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Africa is the second largest continent in the world and comprises 53 individual countries. Although

one might broadly identify historical periods (precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial) in Africa's history, developments during these periods differ when it comes to individual countries. This may explain why studies with a curriculum focus in Africa tend to be country specific, focusing on developments at a particular moment in time, and often emphasizing a single dimension of the curriculum problem. It is not possible in an overview of African curriculum studies to refer to developments in each of the 53 countries, so this entry provides a general picture of the kinds of studies that focus on curriculum design and planning, acknowledging that there are limitations in referring to Africa in any unified sense. By way of background, this entry briefly speaks about curriculum activities in precolonial and colonial Africa, but the main focus of this overview is on curriculum studies in the period after political independence was achieved in most countries—the period following World War II, when control of colonies by European countries weakened.

Although there was no systematic study of curricula, attempts at curriculum development date back several centuries. Efforts at developing curricula at a local level can be traced back to the 14th century, when Islamic education reached Africa from the Middle East. Two main curriculum areas, Arabic and Islamic traditions, were taught to children at elementary Arabic schools called Quranic schools. At age 3, children learned short chapters of the Quran by rote. At later stages, children committed the meaning of verses to memory by repetition. Colonial education began at a later date with missionary education, when the first missions were opened in some countries at the beginning of the 16th century. Curriculum activity of this period involved the construction of syllabi for schools, which were mainly vocational and religious. Many have argued that missionary education destroyed African indigenous education. School curricula were replicas of those that existed in European countries and were therefore foreign and irrelevant to Africa's development. Curriculum changes only occurred when the colonial governments expanded their exploitation of a country's natural resources. After independence, curriculum studies focused on reforms linked to the development of national

education policies—these studies largely focused on explaining the successes and failures of postcolonial curriculum policy initiatives.

The field of curriculum studies in Africa is largely underdeveloped. There is a paucity of curriculum scholars, and as a consequence, there is very little research, theory, and writing on curriculum planning and design. In some countries, curriculum scholarship is conducted mainly by visiting professors, international consultants, and postgraduate students from Europe and the United States. There are no journals dedicated to African curriculum studies, few books have been written on the topic, and few (if any) conferences have been held on the continent specifically devoted to the study of curriculum development. Very few African scholars publish in international journals of curriculum studies such as *Journal of Curriculum Studies* and *Curriculum Inquiry*. Most articles published on Africa in these journals during the last decade are by South African scholars. However, a more representative picture of African curriculum studies might be gained from reading international journals with a more general focus on education. Specific journals that would be particularly useful are *Comparative Education*, *International Journal of Educational Development*, and *International Review of Education*. Insights could also be gained from reading national education journals, but these are not always easily accessible to international audiences. The *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* has two chapters devoted to curriculum studies in Africa: one focuses on the decolonization of the curriculum in Botswana and the other on what scholars write about curricula in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Insights into the study of curricula in Africa could also be gleaned from reading research reported in journals in established fields such as mathematics education and science education.

In the main, studies that focus on the curriculum are of the following kinds: historical studies of curriculum change, literature reviews of curriculum reconstruction, case studies of curriculum innovation, and comparative studies. Comparative studies have been conducted between countries such as South Africa and Gambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and Rwanda and South Africa, but comparative studies between, for example, Anglophone and Francophone West African countries have also been reported.

## Major Trends in African Curriculum Studies

This section focuses on some of the major trends that have characterized curriculum studies in Africa. These include studies that critique colonial curricula and argue for the inclusion of indigenous knowledge; studies of curriculum innovations; studies of diversification of the curriculum; studies of language policy; and studies of assessment and examination systems.

### *Colonial Versus Indigenous Curricula*

A key debate that has characterized curriculum studies in Africa is colonial versus indigenous curricula, or exogenous versus endogenous models of a curriculum. After independence, there was much critique of colonial curricula in many African countries, and arguments have been made for greater relevance of curricula to African conditions and the cultural heritage of Africans. The extent to which these aspirations need to be balanced with the demands of technological process and economic development has also been a focus of curriculum studies in Africa. Tensions exist between Western conceptions and traditional African conceptions of education in West, East, Central, and Southern Africa, as well as between Western and Islamic conceptions of education in North African countries such as Egypt.

In the field of science education, there has been sustained discussion on the sociocultural frameworks of African learners and their experience of cognitive dissonance when they encounter school science—the latter framed in Western cultural and philosophical terms. Studies suggest that the culture of a learner's immediate environment plays a significant role in learning and that it determines how concepts are learned and stored in the long-term memory as schemata. Therefore, any science curriculum that does not take particular account of the indigenous worldview of the learner risks destroying the framework through which the learner is likely to interpret concepts. Through a process of collateral learning, an indigenous learner can perform excellently in a Western science classroom without assimilating the associated values. Studies suggest that in science classrooms, the teacher needs to take on the role of cultural broker, that is, he or she should help learners mediate or negotiate cultural borders. When cultural border

crossing (from life-world culture to school science culture) is difficult for the learner, the teacher needs to take on the role of a *tour guide*. In other instances where learners require less guidance when border crossing, the teacher may take on the role of *travel agent*, whereby the teacher provides learners with incentives such as topics, issues, activities, or events that create the need to know the culture of science.

Other studies propose the decolonization of curricula in African countries through integrating insights from critical pedagogy and African traditional values such as *ubuntu* (humanness). The humanness referred to here finds expression in a communal context rather than in the individualism prevalent in many Western societies. The argument is that in settings where human beings have been oppressed (their minds colonized through Western curricula) and deprived of their human rights, critical pedagogy and notions such as *ubuntu* invigorate vectors of escape.

### *Curriculum Innovations*

Curriculum innovations have been a central focus of curriculum scholars in Africa. In countries such as Zimbabwe and Namibia, every major curriculum innovation became the subject of intense study to understand the possibilities and constraints of curriculum change after independence. Comparative studies have also been done in, for example, West Africa between Anglophone and Francophone countries. Innovations included the following areas: the management of curriculum development, enrichment of learners' experiences, diversification of content, tools for teaching, and teacher education. In most cases, innovations did not attain their desired goals and studies raise critical questions about whether innovations were introduced to please foreign donors or whether they were introduced to bring about substantive changes in education. As noted, diversification of content and subjects forms part of curriculum innovations; however, given its prominence in African curriculum studies, it is discussed separately.

### *Diversification of the Curriculum*

Diversification of the curriculum refers to a shift from a focus on mainly academic subjects to

include practical and vocationally oriented subjects. Diversification of curricula has occurred in most African countries and, as in the case of "developed" countries, it is often the outcome of periods of crisis. Studies report that diversification of curricula has been initiated by governments, but in certain cases such as Sierra Leone, it was thrust on the country by the World Bank. Diversification of curricula has been a focus of study in Africa because it ostensibly offers a solution to economic and social problems faced by African countries and, in particular, the high unemployment rate among youth as well as the escalating costs of formal education. Studies on the diversification of curriculum focus on the following: attempts by African countries to vocationalize education; the evaluation of the impact of such programs; and making recommendations for future projects. Studies that have been conducted so far show that diversification of programs has not met its intended objectives, but that there remains an interest in curriculum vocationalization in Africa.

### *Language Policy*

The language policy adopted by countries is another important theme that is emphasized in African curriculum studies. The key issue here is the choice of language of instruction. Most African countries are multilingual countries. For, example, South Africa has 11 official languages and many more spoken variations. Some studies focus on the role of African languages in multilingual contexts, and other studies focus on the effects on African languages when English is chosen as the medium of instruction (Namibia is a case in point). Other studies raise concerns about children's learning when they are taught in the vernacular to Grades 3 or 4 and then have to switch to English as the medium of instruction in the next grade. Teachers instructing subjects such as science and mathematics through the medium of English are often not proficient in the codes and languages of their mother tongue at the most crucial moments when concepts are explained.

### *Assessment and Examination Systems*

Assessment and examination systems have received much attention in studies of curricula in



Africa. A major concern reported in studies is the continued use of foreign examination systems such as the Cambridge Examination System in countries such as Namibia and Zimbabwe and that such systems continue to place constraints on curriculum change in these countries. Even in cases where there have been changes in the name of the examination system, old practices remain entrenched. There has, however, been a shift in several countries where continuous assessment (CA) has been introduced. But studies show that several factors hamper the implementation of CA, such as lack of teacher experience and expertise; substantial increase in teacher workload; when CA includes project work, then learners from wealthy backgrounds benefit; there are several sources of unreliability within school-based assessment; and so on.

### Recent Trends

This section briefly describes some recent trends in African curriculum studies. A trend that emerged in the 1990s is using curriculum policy as a lens through which to understand political and social transition in postcolonial Africa. In other words, what is studied is how curriculum reform illustrates the tensions between change and continuity in postcolonial societies. More recently, studies of curricula in Africa focus on policy borrowing. This includes transnational policy borrowing whereby curriculum policy is imported from elsewhere into African countries, such as the case of outcomes-based education in South Africa. But policy borrowing also occurs between African countries such as South Africa's National Qualifications Framework (NQF), which is now being used by Kenya. The most recent trend in African curriculum studies is examining how societies emerging from violent conflict do or do not use curriculum policy for asserting a political vision for a new society

### Conclusions

Some attention has been devoted to the study of curricula in Africa, particularly since the achievement of independence by most countries. The main focal points of the study of curricula relate to the transition from colonialism, the challenges of nation-building and legitimizing new states in

postcolonial Africa. These studies include the extent to which curricula will include indigenous knowledges, while providing opportunities for learners to develop skills that can be used in contributing to the economic development of these nations. Concerning the latter, diversification of school subjects has been a key point of focus. Furthermore, much attention has been given to curriculum innovations in African curriculum studies, but there remain questions about the motives for introducing curriculum innovations—whether they are introduced for symbolic reasons or to bring about substantive changes in education. Because assessment and examination systems often placed constraints on curriculum change, these areas also feature prominently in studies of curricula in Africa.

There are also more recent trends. In a rapidly globalizing world, policy borrowing occurs. But there have also been recent trends that focus on African conditions, that is, how the curriculum is (re)imagined in postconflict societies and how a curriculum might be used as a lens to understand social transition.

Finally, although there is evidence of the study of curricula in Africa, this field remains underdeveloped in all countries. There are no dedicated journals, and there are no strong socio-intellectual communities constituting the field. Even in a country such as South Africa, where scholarship is reasonably strong, the field is fragmented.

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*See also* Asian Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; European Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; Latin American Curriculum Studies

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## AIDS EDUCATION RESEARCH

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Curriculum scholars must address acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) because of its enormous impact on human lives and because the competing representations of AIDS offer opportunities to redefine, in more exclusive or inclusive terms, what it means to be a citizen, a human, and a sexual being. AIDS curricula also offer lessons about the complexity of knowledge and the limits of commonsense curricular approaches. AIDS is a life-threatening virus transmitted via bodily fluids. AIDS was recognized by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in 1981 but obscured as a gay men's disease until popular culture icons Freddie Mercury of the rock band Queen and basketball legend Magic Johnson became public faces of the disease. Southern Africa is the epicenter of the disease today, with a persistent infection rate greater than 30%. There is no cure for AIDS, but under the right conditions, the disease can be managed and lives prolonged by continuous health monitoring, a nutritious diet, and drug therapies. Because treatment is not universally available, preventing

new infections has become the primary health initiative, and education is central to these efforts. However, AIDS education encounters many obstacles including the continuing stigma of AIDS, lack of political leadership, the design of the curriculum, and the desire of many to remain ignorant of issues related to sex, illness, and death.

Worldwide, education is still the central intervention/prevention against human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and AIDS. However, education has, in general, not prevented new infections. Education alone cannot overcome stigma and the absence of political leadership. The dominant curricular approach in developing countries also has limitations. The "ABCs," an acronym for programs that emphasize abstinence, being faithful, and condom use, highlight knowledge of the virus, groups at greatest risk for infection, and safer sex practices. The ABCs conform to a biomedical model of public health, which views sexual practices separate from socioeconomic and cultural contexts and uses a rational model of behavior change. The ABCs pedagogy is weighted toward conveying facts about HIV/AIDS, and these facts are believed to possess the power to change behavior. Most national AIDS prevention programs are designed according to these biomedical models of individual risk and rational behavior change, and they have not been successful. In addition to the drawbacks of the curricula, teachers and students may avoid discussing HIV/AIDS for its associations with sexuality, illness, and death or with people deemed of lower social, racial, or moral status.

Teachers (in U.S., Australian, and European studies) believe that HIV/AIDS is an important topic for all grades, but feel unprepared to teach AIDS and sexuality. Specifically, teachers feel least comfortable with social, emotional, and societal issues and most prepared to discuss factual information such as HIV transmission. Additionally, teachers report discomfort with more interactive teaching strategies, such as role-playing, problem-solving activities, and small-group discussions. Finally, research confirms that teachers have limited inservice and preservice education in HIV/AIDS and sexuality education. Generic recommendations for greater teacher training on HIV/AIDS and sexuality conclude most studies. But this research story about teachers' experiences requires

critique and contextualization. Studies do not probe the nuances of teachers' discomfort, for example, its sources, its manifestations in the classroom, or its school, societal, and political contexts. This latter omission is particularly striking, given the intense political climate around sexuality in most countries, where conservative viewpoints have cemented an approach to sexuality education that is carefully regulated and abstinence centered. In stating narrowly the problems that face teachers in teaching HIV/AIDS, the "solutions" are likewise narrowed to increased teacher training. Consideration of potential changes in the wider context of schools and society is elided.

One significant omission in studies of AIDS and teachers is an understanding of the multiple discourses of HIV/AIDS in circulation in news coverage, public policy statements, health initiatives, curriculum, and children's books. Because HIV/AIDS exists at the intersections of sexuality, morality, and health, it produces what has been called an *epidemic of meanings* alongside the *epidemic of a life-threatening virus*. AIDS has been interpreted as a punishment for immorality, a Western pharmaceutical plot against Black African sexuality, and a re-statement of racist views of racial inferiority, among others. In general, teachers and curricula, in both developed and developing contexts, adhere to the biomedical discourse on HIV/AIDS, considered to be neutral and scientific, and eschew political, public service, and explicitly moral views of AIDS.

Despite the staggering consequences of the HIV/AIDS pandemic for world health, economics, politics, and justice, AIDS education has been stunted by a narrow focus on neutral scientific facts, individual behavior change, and rational decision making. Furthermore, AIDS education has been undermined by a lack of broad political will, cautious approaches to sexuality, and neglect of the multiple registers and meanings of HIV and AIDS. In conclusion, AIDS education tends to *overestimate* the inherent power of "the facts" to effect change and to *underestimate* the enmeshment of safe sex education in political, economic, gender, and social networks of meaning.

Nancy Lesko

See also Gay Research; Health Education Curriculum; Sexuality Research

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## ALBERTY, HAROLD

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Harold Alberty (1890–1971), professor of education at the Ohio State University, had a remarkable career that spanned the progressive education movement in the United States as well as the neo-progressive curricular practices that emerged toward the end of his life in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Alberty profoundly influenced the field of curriculum studies through his most widely cited text, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*. In his book, Alberty described curriculum integration across a continuum that illustrated how content knowledge can be organized to achieve more or less integration of major concepts, skills, beliefs, and so on. Although some scholars suggest that there were six types of curriculum integration in Alberty's model, the preponderance of curriculum theorists describe five major types ranging from the least integrative to the most integrative.

The Type One design was the separate subjects approach in which content was dispersed into curricular "silos" that had little, if any, relationship with other content areas. This was essentially the model for the high school curriculum envisioned by the Committee of Ten in 1898 and was largely driven by the traditional disciplinary structure of colleges and universities. This design was based on separate courses (algebra, chemistry, Spanish, U.S. literature, U.S. history) that students took in a segmented, fragmented structure. The Type Two design, which has been labeled as a correlated curriculum, provided the opportunity for teachers to temporarily integrate two distinct courses, usually by creating



teaching units that linked, for example, U.S. literature and U.S. history by having students read *The Grapes of Wrath* in U.S. literature class while studying the Depression in U.S. history. Each teacher taught separately but planned their units jointly.

The Type Three design became known as the fusion model because courses were actually created that permanently connected two or more separate subjects. So, botany and zoology became biology; geography and geology became earth science; history, economics, political science, and geography became social studies; English, speech, and drama became language arts; and so on. Content could also be fused through thematic units within these courses by connecting language arts and social studies, math and science, social studies and science, and so forth, through thematic blocks covering the entire morning, afternoon, or full day. The Type Four and Type Five designs constituted the “core curriculum” either in a preplanned core that was focused on common societal problems (e.g., war, pollution, global warming, terrorism) or problems that adolescents would frequently experience as part of their developmental cycle. The Type Five design was considerably more student centered than the Type Four design, which was problem based. The Type Five design allowed teachers and students to cooperatively plan the student’s learning experiences by using learning contracts or similar types of negotiated agreements.

Although Alberty’s model for reorganizing general education was targeted to the high school curriculum, his greater influence may have been on the postsecondary curriculum and the middle school curriculum that emerged in the 1960s. Certainly, the middle school curriculum model created by Gordon Vars and John Lounsbury drew heavily from Alberty’s concept of the general education core curriculum, and many colleges and universities make frequent reference to their general education “core” classes although their use of the term *core* differs from Alberty’s original concept. Many agree that Alberty’s views on curriculum design, democratic education, curriculum integration, and the core curriculum are still relevant and are still central to the study of curriculum development at all levels.

Although Alberty began his career as an educator while still a student at Baldwin University (Baldwin-Wallace College) in 1912, his interests

soon turned to law school where he completed his graduate degree in 1913 at the Cleveland Law School. His love of teaching and desire to practice law drew him to seek advanced graduate work in educational administration at The Ohio State University where he came under the influence of Boyd Bode, a disciple of John Dewey’s, who profoundly affected Alberty’s philosophy, beliefs about teaching and learning, and ultimately, his career. Bode saw in Alberty an intellectually gifted and highly analytical thinker, and Alberty found Bode to be a challenging yet beloved professor who would provide him with an assistantship in the department that would later evolve into a faculty position. Through Bode, Alberty found a mentor and a philosophical connection to the experimentalism of Dewey and his contemporaries in the progressive education movement.

Initially attracted to the writings of W. W. Charters and his emphasis on activity analysis, perhaps because of Alberty’s own analytical approach to thinking, by the early 1930s, Alberty was beginning to meld the Deweyan notions of democracy in the classroom and the school as the vehicle for engaging students in the realities of democratic citizenship with the problems of providing a general education for all learners. As a result, through his work on the Eight Year Study first as a staff member on the study’s curriculum team and then as a member of the study’s committee that reported on the role of science in general education, Alberty became acquainted with the views of Wilford Aikin, director of the Eight Year Study. These various experiences helped form Alberty’s thinking about general education, curriculum integration and, ultimately, the core curriculum that provided the basis for his curricular model of general education in *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*, published in 1947, 1953, and 1962 with the third edition co-authored with his wife, Elsie Alberty.

As a result of Alberty’s work on the Eight Year Study and his desire to implement the concepts and practices he had formulated regarding the organization of content knowledge in the curriculum, he became attracted to the directorship of The Ohio State University School, where he served from 1938 to 1941 as the school’s director and instructional leader. He also helped formulate a position paper for the Progressive Education Association

(PEA) in 1941 in which he attempted to strike a balance between the child-centered wing and the social reconstructionist wing of the PEA. By all accounts, this attempt was a dismal failure, and the schism between the two factions set the stage for the decline of the PEA.

*Leigh Chiarelott*

*See also* Committee of Ten of the National Education Association; Core Curriculum; Eight Year Study, The; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

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Alternative education has been an integral part of public education in the United States since the 1830s; however, alternative education became a widespread movement across the country during the 1960s to 1970s. Fueled by the social discontent of the populace and the marginalization of many of U.S. youth, advocates of alternatives to the traditional public school structure became more vocal and more socially and politically active. Today, alternative education and alternative schools are a significant part of public education.

Much of the philosophy behind alternative education can be traced back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau who believed education should parallel a child's growth not society's need, and to the progressive era of education where people like John Dewey and Francis Parker thought children's education should serve their needs and interests and focus on understanding, action, and

experience rather than on rote memorization and accumulation of factual knowledge.

The purpose of public alternative education/schools is to provide different approaches to teaching and learning that enhance the opportunities to learn for students who do not function well in the "state approved" programs found in the traditional public schools. The ideals of public alternative schools include diversity, autonomy, and providing school choice.

In 1970, Charles Silberman published *Crisis in the Classroom*, based on a Carnegie-funded study of U.S. education. This book substantiated the growing discontent of parents and educators with the status of public education in the 1960s and stimulated the support for public alternative schools. Silberman's focus for reform was to make schools more humane with more attention on students' interests, desires, and concerns.

By the early 1970s, the federal government became more involved in developing public alternative education programs. In 1970, the White House Conference on Children called for massive funding for the development of alternative forms of public education. Title III funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were used to establish public alternative schools. The Experimental Schools Program (ESP) sponsored by the Office of Education was a huge effort to develop public alternative schools. Eight planning grants were approved; the three largest were for the Berkeley, California, Schools; Minneapolis Schools; and Seattle-Tacoma Schools. The Educational Alternatives Project (EAP) at Indiana University held a series of meetings and conferences on the development of alternative education programs. The initiative had three thrusts: (1) encouraging major professional organizations to include alternative public schooling in their national programs, to publish articles in their professional journals, to encourage private foundations to support public alternative education, and to organize conferences on public alternative education; (2) the development of the Alternative School Teacher Education Program, a graduate program that placed students in public alternative schools for their internships; (3) the creation of the International Consortium on Options in Public Education (ICOPE), which published the newsletter, *Changing Schools*, that shared information on public alternative schools, conferences on

public alternative education, and reviewed books, program descriptions, and research reports on public alternative education programs and initiatives.

Also during the early 1970s, various state departments of education supported the development of public education alternatives. Most of these programs were compensatory in nature and strongly supported by businesses, state governments, and federal agencies. By 1973, 30 states offered some form of public alternative education programs or schools.

In 1975, Robert Barr created a categorization of the types of alternative schools that were developing. Although true alternative schools were supposed to be based on free choice of attending, he discovered that the largest number of alternative public schools, continuation schools, were designed to deal with “behavior problems” where students were assigned to attend these schools. Other types of schools included Learning Centers, which focused on specific skills or knowledge such as vocational education, health studies, technology, and so on, in addition to a full academic program; Schools Within Schools divided a large school into smaller communities each focusing on different approaches to teaching and learning to best meet the diverse school population; Open Schools, often described as child centered, that built curriculum around the experiences children brought to school and organized around learning or resource centers; Schools Without Walls, which used community-based learning experiences and community resource people to provide the guidance and instruction; Multicultural Schools with ethnically and racially diverse populations and a curriculum that valued cultural pluralism including courses such as Native American Studies, Women Studies, or African American Studies; Free Schools that subscribed to the principles of democracy including students’ active engagement in setting learning goals and activities in a humane and caring sense of community; Others, those schools that because of their amalgamation of methods did not fit into the other categories. Newer alternative schools such as fundamental schools, magnet schools, and charter schools would best fit into this category.

The alternative education movement provided parents with multiple conceptions of what a good education means. Recent government, industrial, and public desires to standardize curriculum and testing as a means of evaluating a school’s

performance have challenged alternative schools to function according to these societal basic beliefs and meet the new accountability standards. However, the overpowering desire to democratize the schools by providing school choice to ensure all students have equal opportunities to receive a quality education will continue to guide the future of alternative education.

The 1960s through 1970s changed the mosaic of public education. The one-size-fits-all concept of education is no longer valid. According to Robert Newman, this was the legacy of the public alternative school movement.

*Marcella L. Kysilka*

*See also* Charter Schools; Child-Centered Curriculum; Experienced Curriculum; Individualized Education—Curriculum Programs; Magnet Schools; Project-Based Curriculum; School Choice

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## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR TEACHING AND CURRICULUM

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The American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC) was founded October 1, 1993, as a national learned society for the scholarly field of teaching and curriculum. Although many universities had established departments of teaching and curriculum before the end of the 19th century, the scholarly field of curriculum and instruction was not represented in the transformation of U.S. scholarship that began during that same period.

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1995	O. L. Davis, Jr., University of Texas at Austin	2004	David Flinders, Indiana University
1996	Francis Hunkins, University of Washington	2005	Cheryl Craig, University of Houston
1997	Ann Converse Shelley, Ashland University, Ohio	2006	William Veal, University of Charleston
1998	Sylvia Hutchinson, University of Georgia	2007	Alan W. Garrett, University of Eastern New Mexico
1999	William Segall, Oklahoma State University	2008	Karen Riley, Auburn University at Montgomery
2000	Stephen Fain, Florida International University	2009	Robert Boostrom, University of Southern Indiana
2001	P. Bruce Uhrmacher, University of Denver	2010	David Callejo-Perez, University of West Virginia
2002	Ron W. Wilhelm, University of North Texas		
2003	Gretchen Swarcz, University of Oklahoma, Tulsa		

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Thus, AATC founders John A. Laska and O. L. Davis Jr., both professors at the University of Texas at Austin at the time, sought to create a professional organization to promote the idea of the scholarly study of instruction and curriculum development at all levels of education.

AATC promotes scholarship in teaching and curriculum through its conference and journal, *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue*, published yearly by Information Age Publishing. The editorial advisory board of the journal is composed of Michael Apple, Jean Clandinin, William Reid, Thomas Barone, Elliot Eisner, and Steve Selden.

Both venues encourage the use of all analytical and interpretive approaches appropriate for the scholarly study of teaching and curriculum.

Since 2002, AATC has recognized the contributions of young scholars with annual distinguished dissertation awards in teaching or curriculum. Past recipients of the award in curriculum include Wesley Null, Stacey Elsasser, Donna Spirka, Stephanie Soliven, Michelle Sharpswain, Shijing Xu, and Steven Fleet. Recipients of the award in teaching include April Luehmann, Sarah Ramsey, Sandra Musanti, Mark Seaman, and Sherri Colby.

AATC annual conferences have featured keynote addresses by internationally recognized scholars such as Michael Apple, William Ayers, C. A. Bowers, D. Jean Clandinin, Renee Clift, Michael Connelly, O. L. Davis Jr., Robert Donmoyer, Eleanor Duckworth, Elliot Eisner, Geneva Gay, Carl Glickman, Maxine Greene, Madeleine Grumet, Burga Jung, Wilma Longstreet, Nel Noddings, William Pinar, William Reid, William Schubert, Steve Selden, and Suzanne Wilson.

John A. Laska served as the first secretary-treasurer of the organization. The position of executive secretary was then created, and Marcella L. Kysilka, University of Central Florida, served in that position from 1998 to 2008. Presently, Lynne Bailey, American Public University System, serves as executive secretary.

Susan C. Brown, Portland State University and University of Central Florida, and Barbara Slater Stern, James Madison University, served as first editor and associate editor, respectively, of *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* from 1999 to 2005. Currently, Slater Stern serves as editor, and James Moore, Cleveland State University, serves as associate editor.

Presidents of AATC have included the those listed at the top of the page.

*Ron W. Wilhelm*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction; Instruction as a Field of Study

#### Web Sites

American Association for Teaching and Curriculum:  
<http://www.aatchome.org>

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## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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The American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (AAACS) was established in



2001 as an affiliate of the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS). The AAACS, like its parent association, adopted as its mission the promotion and progress of curriculum studies as an academic discipline and field of study. AAACS is an advocacy organization that promotes the development of strong and viable curriculum studies departments and associations across campuses throughout the United States. Directed primarily at the faculties of institutions of higher learning in the United States, the AAACS advocates the continuation and strengthening of the field of curriculum studies as an interdisciplinary source and method of inquiry intended to foster a rigorous and scholarly conversation concerning curriculum, teaching, and learning.

Recognizing the importance and inevitability of the internationalization of curriculum studies, AAACS desires the conversation concerning curriculum in the United States to be informed by issues in other countries around the world, and to inform those conversations with thought and research from the United States. And though its local developments and constructions differ widely across borders, AAACS recognizes that curriculum studies is an international disciplinary field, and the organization recognizes that curriculum is a local project with national and even parochial contents and contexts.

To facilitate this conversation, the AAACS advocates the establishment of local curriculum units at colleges and universities. These units would actively engage in maintaining rigorous courses of studies in curriculum, advocate for the continuing strength of the field, and sponsor local projects to develop learning and research in the field. Such projects would derive from specifically designated and local curriculum studies units. These units would advocate for hiring of faculty with expertise in teaching curriculum courses, for undertaking collaborative research projects, to facilitate the development of regular and special local events to promote the continuation of complicated conversations on campuses, and to inspire the intellectual development of curriculum scholars and students in the advancement of the field of curriculum studies.

Acknowledging historical memory, the AAACS hopes to advance the field by drawing into the conversations essential texts that have been important to the development and advancement of the field of

curriculum studies. To this purpose, the AAACS established the Canon Project in 2007 to develop a curriculum bibliographical mapping of texts central to the field of curriculum studies.

The AAACS sponsors a yearly spring conference, bringing together curriculum scholars from across the United States and around the world to engage in complicated conversations about the field of curriculum studies in its efforts to advance the field. AAACS also promotes its agenda in the sponsorship and publication of the online *Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies*.

Alan A. Block

*See also* International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies*

#### Further Readings

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#### Web Sites

American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies: <http://calvin.ednet.lsu.edu/~aaacs/index.html>

International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies: <http://iaacs.org>  
*Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies*: <http://www.uwstout.edu/soe/jaaacs>

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## AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

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The American Educational Research Association (AERA) started in 1916 as a national organization for education researchers with the aim of strengthening education through research. Since then, it has grown into a worldwide professional membership organization with more than 25,000 members. AERA has an expressed goal of advancing

high-quality educational research and fostering excellence in its reporting for scholarly productivity and practical application. This goal is further interpreted in the mission to advance knowledge about education, to encourage scholarly inquiry related to education, and to promote the use of research to improve education and to serve the public good. To realize this mission, AERA provides its members with multiple forums for open expression of ideas and discussion in response to the needs of members and to advance the field.

### The Members

The membership of more than 25,000 is richly diverse in academic preparation, professional roles, and scholarly interests. Members represent university and college faculty, graduate students, leaders and practitioners in school systems, policy makers, counselors, testing and evaluation professionals, and representatives from federal, state, and local agencies. AERA is well recognized as comprehensive in representing a cross section of education scholars from various areas of study compared with other organizations that represent a singular focus (e.g., mathematics, science, reading). This society's mission and scope attract other disciplines outside of education such as psychology, history, sociology, economics, philosophy, anthropology, and political science.

### The Organizational Structure

The scope and diversity within AERA necessitates a focused, yet responsive, organizational structure to unite members into smaller, meaningful groups with shared professional and research commitments. Thus, members are further organized into 12 divisions and more than 160 special interest groups (SIGs) that facilitate meaningful, substantive professional/scholarly communities. The number of divisions and SIGs has changed over the history of the organization in response to member interests and advancements in the field. The current divisions are:

- Division A: Administration, Organization & Leadership
- Division B: Curriculum Studies
- Division C: Learning & Instruction

- Division D: Measurement & Research Methodology
- Division E: Counseling & Human Development
- Division F: History & Historiography
- Division G: Social Context of Education
- Division H: Research, Evaluation & Assessment in Schools
- Division I: Education in the Professions
- Division J: Postsecondary Education
- Division K: Teaching & Teacher Education
- Division L: Educational Policy & Politics

A committee and officer structure provides additional member opportunities for engagement and leadership. AERA is governed by a legislative and policy-determining body called the council, which comprises elected members and the president, president-elect, immediate past-president, two members-at-large, vice presidents of each of the 12 divisions, chair of the SIG Executive Committee, and the chair of the Graduate Student Council. The AERA executive director serves as the ex-officio member of the council.

### The Program

The AERA annual meeting is the most widely attended program of the association with more than 13,000 attendees each spring. The annual meeting hosts researchers from around the world who present in various session formats that have changed over time to represent the diversity of knowledge, research, and ideological paradigms and assumptions of the membership. There is particular attention paid to using these formats to provide comment and critique to scholars to advance the quality of research, to stimulate discourse, and to improve education. In addition to the numerous sessions, the annual meeting also includes various professional development seminars, an address by the president, awards, and session/activities for each division and SIG.

The AERA peer-reviewed journals also widely disseminated and recognized include *Educational Researcher*, *American Educational Research Journal*, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*,



*Review of Educational Research*, and *Review of Research in Education*. Other publications are produced based on important education and research imperatives.

Other AERA programs include the Annual Brown Lecture in Education, introduced in 2004, the year of the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The *Standards for Reporting on Empirical Social Science Research* published in 2006 promotes high-quality education research. Four fellowship and grants programs are offered: The AERA–American Institutes for Research (AIR) Fellows Program, the AERA–Educational Testing Service (ETS) Fellowship Program in Measurement, the Minority Fellowship Program in Education Research, and the AERA Grants Program.

### A Statement on Curriculum Studies

Curriculum studies is a prominent division among the 12 in the society. A small group of approximately 45 with an interest in curriculum knowledge started to meet at AERA in 1973 and called itself The Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge. This group grew to 300 members and changed its name to Critical Issues in Curriculum. The division is now titled Curriculum Studies and builds on its predecessors in providing space for the study, scholarship, and discourse of curriculum.

*Beverly Cross*

*See also* American Educational Research Association Division B; American Educational Research Association SIG on Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies

### Web Sites

American Educational Research Association: <http://www.aera.net>

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## AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION DIVISION B

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American Educational Research Association (AERA) Division B focuses on the field of curriculum studies.

The origins of Division B stem from 1963, the year AERA President N. L. Gage appointed a five-member division planning committee. One member of that group, John R. Mayor, was asked to chair an organizing committee for “Curriculum and Objectives,” which became the original title for Division B. Mayor recommended four others to serve on the division’s organizing committee, of which Vernon Anderson and Robert Gagne were selected. With a budget of \$100, the division held its first meeting at the 1964 AERA annual meeting in Chicago. As a founding division, Curriculum and Objectives was assigned its letter designation alphabetically (following Division A: Administration). That same year, John I. Goodlad was elected the first Division B vice president. B. O. Smith served as the division’s first secretary.

A statement written by Anderson and Gagne at the division’s founding sought to specify efforts to promote research in the area of curriculum and objectives. With an emphasis on interpreting research for school practice and increasing the general public’s appreciation of curriculum research, the group sought to schedule regular meetings to present research and to establish more interdisciplinary approaches to curriculum inquiry. Since its inception, Division B has reflected the multiple and often competing goals of the curriculum field at large. In particular, the division was conceived not only as a venue for research. Its charge also included cooperating with other groups, interpreting research for practitioners, and helping the public understand the applications of research. Casting this broad net fit well with the field’s long-standing efforts to employ an expert model in the work of curriculum professionals—a model that relied on interdisciplinary knowledge to solve practical problems. From Edward L. Thorndike to Franklin Bobbitt, those who shaped the early development of the field aspired to the use of research and professional expertise as a guide to educational practice.

This expert model was particularly strong preceding and during the decade in which Division B was founded. The inclusion of the term *objectives* in the original division title signaled an affiliation with the practical affairs of schooling. At that time, objectives were a key element in systematic approaches to program development, and the

**American Educational Research Association Division B  
Lifetime Achievement Award Recipients and Vice Presidents**

*Vice Presidents and Program Chairs*

<i>Vice Presidents</i>	<i>Program Chairs</i>	<i>Vice Presidents</i>	<i>Program Chairs</i>
1964 John I. Goodlad		1988 Herbert M. Kliebard	Philip L. Smith
1965 John I. Goodlad		1989 Herbert M. Kliebard	Linda McNeil
1966 J. Thomas Hastings		1990 Michael W. Apple	Reba N. Page
1967 J. Thomas Hastings	Robert L. Baker	1991 Michael W. Apple	Steven Seldon
1968 B. O. Smith	Arno Bellack	1992 Elizabeth Vallance	Hugh Socket
1969 B. O. Smith	Kenneth Rehage	1993 Elizabeth Vallance	Lauren Sosniak
1970 Arno A. Bellack	Henry J. Hermanowkz	1994 Linda McNeil	Jose R. Rosario
1971 Arno A. Bellack	Louise L. Tyler	1995 Linda McNeil	David T. Hansen
1972 O. L. Davis	James B. Macdonald	1996 D. Jean Clandinin	Patricia Hogan and Sandra Hollings worth
1973 O. L. Davis	David Turney and Walter Gullins	1997 D. Jean Clandinin	Stefinee Pinnegar and June Y. Donmoyer
1974 Robert E. Stake	Marcella Kysilka	1998 Janet L. Miller	Mimi Ormer and Barbara Brodhagen
1975 Robert E. Stake	Thomas Grayson and Ulf Lundgren	1999 Janet L. Miller	Craig Kridel and Barry M. Franklin
1976 Decker F. Walker	Edmund C. Short	2000 William H. Schubert	J. Dan Marshall
1977 Decker F. Walker	Louis Rubin	2001 William H. Schubert	William H. Watkins
1978 Louise L. Tyler	Louis Rubin and Joel Weiss	2002 Reba N. Page	John Wills
1979 Louise L. Tyler	Joel Weiss and Gary A. Griffin	2003 Reba N. Page	Barry M. Franklin
1980 Marianne Amarel	Thomas Popkewitz	2004 Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones	Jesse Goodman
1981 Marianne Amarel	Elizabeth Vallance	2005 Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones	Anna V. Wilson and Delese Wear
1982 Elliot W. Eisner	Gail McCutcheon	2006 Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones	Elizabeth E. Heilman
1983 Elliot W. Eisner	William H. Schubert and Ann Lopez Schubert	2007 David J. Flinders	Beverly Cross
1984 Philip W. Jackson	Karen Kepler Zumwalt	2008 David J. Flinders	Stephen J. Thornton
1985 Philip W. Jackson	Ian Westbury	2009 David J. Flinders	Rob Helfenbein
1986 Ian Westbury	George Posner and Jean A. King	2010 William C. Ayers	Therese Quinn
1987 Ian Westbury	Jean A. King and Susan Florio-Ruane		

*Lifetime Achievement Honorees*

1981	Arno Bellack, Hollis Caswell, Henry Harap, Thomas Hopkins, James B. Macdonald, Alice Miel, B. Othanel Smith, and Ralph W. Tyler	1993	Jane Roland Martin
1982	A. W. Foshay, J. Galen Saylor, and Joseph Schwab	1994	William A. Reid
1983	Louise Berman, John Goodlad, and Maxine Greene	1995	Philip W. Jackson
1984	William Alexander, Paul Hanna, J. Paul Leonard, and Gordon Mackenzie	1996	O. L. Davis Jr.
1985	Elliot W. Eisner, Mauritz Johnson, and William O. Stanley	1997	Miriam Ben-Peretz
1986	Benjamin S. Bloom, Harry S. Broudy, Jeanne Chall, Robert Davis, and A. Harry Passow	1998	Michael W. Apple and Robert S. Gilchrist
1987	Ted T. Aoki and Mary Budd Rowe	1999	F. Michael Connelly
1988	Dwayne Huebner, Paul R. Klohr, and J. Harlan Shores	2000	Nel Noddings, William Pinar, and Max van Manen
1989	George A. Beauchamp	2001	David E. Purpel
1990	Paulo Freire and Phillip Phenix	2002	D. Jean Clandinin
1991	Herbert Kliebard	2003	Ian Westbury
1992	(No Award)	2004	William H. Schubert
		2005	William E. Doll, Jr
		2006	Daniel Tanner
		2007	Laurel N. Tanner
		2008	Janet Miller and Thomas S. Popkewitz
		2009	Madeleine Grumet

*Wayne J. Urban*

word alone raised images of highly trained experts guiding school districts through the process of defining their objectives. In the aftermath of *Sputnik*, moreover, school curriculum was perceived as woefully out of date, whereas faith in modern techniques promised ways in which to help schools catch up with the times.

By the 1970s, however, the expert model began to fall out of favor among Division B members. Tensions arose from the very purposes that Anderson and Gagne's statement sought to embrace. On the one hand, many curriculum scholars were drawn to emulate the social sciences. Under the sway of AERA's emphasis on positivism and experimental science, these scholars found themselves identifying not with school practitioners but with researchers in the cognate disciplines of psychology, behavioral science, and sociology. For this group, the need for rigor came to trump the need for relevance.

Another source of tension accompanied the rise of reconceptualism. This movement drew on

philosophy, politics, and social criticism to suggest that the expert role in curriculum and its dictates for practice was illusionary at best and oppressive at worst. The purpose of curriculum scholarship was not to tell teachers what to teach or to inform top-down policies. Instead, the reconceptualists set out to examine how curriculum decisions are made, by whom, and for whose benefit. Curriculum was to be studied, not foisted on those with relatively little power.

Reconceptualist scholarship continues to occupy a major role in Division B. The other prominent purposes—scientific research and support for program development—are also secure in the contemporary landscape of the division. Many scholars see this inclusiveness as the result of difficult tensions that have come with the growth of the division and of AERA as an organization. Although this may be the case, the seeds of the division's current inclusiveness were essential from the start.

*David J. Flinders*

See also American Educational Research Association; American Educational Research Association SIG on Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies; Reconceptualization

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See also American Educational Research Association; American Educational Research Association SIG on Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies

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## AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION SIG ON CRITICAL ISSUES IN CURRICULUM AND CULTURAL STUDIES

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The American Educational Research Association (AERA) is the premier professional association for academics in the field of education in the United States. Within this organization a structure exists that enables a variety of ways to engage in the association. For example, special interest groups (SIGs) in AERA are spaces for unique and specific windows into contemporary scholarship and move within the larger fields of education addressed by the major divisions in the organization. It takes a group of dedicated AERA members to develop a proposal and circulate a petition among like-minded members to gain permission to create a SIG. The Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies SIG is one such historic window of contemporary scholarship. It was developed to provide a more flexible space within the larger organization for reconceptualist curriculum scholars to share and discuss their work that addressed theoretical issues and research studies framed by a critical approach centered on questions of power and exclusivity in curriculum. This was a historic move within and against the more traditional notions of curriculum that, at that time, framed the larger structure

of Division B (Curriculum). The SIG provides a welcome place for graduate students and established scholars to network and to learn from each other regarding the latest fringe efforts of the field of curriculum.

Originally, the SIG was titled Critical Issues in Curriculum Studies. However, it evolved over time to include scholars and research in the area of cultural studies in education. Thus, the SIG developed into the current group with the addition of “Cultural Studies” to the title. According to the AERA Web site for the SIG, this group supports transdisciplinary research in education focused on experience and understanding. It works to destabilize traditional boundaries in the field of curriculum. Specific areas of interest in the group include research and theory ranging from critical theory and autobiographical inquiry to postmodern theories and performative autoethnographic inquiry.

Lisa J. Cary

See also Autobiographical Theory; Border Crossing; Critical Theory Research; Postmodernism

### Further Readings

- Short, E. C., Willis, G. H., & Schubert, W. H. (1985). *Toward excellence in curriculum inquiry*. State College, PA: Nittany Press.

### Web Sites

- American Educational Research Association. AERA SIG: Critical Issues in Curriculum & Cultural Studies: [http://www.aera.net/Default.aspx?menu\\_id=420&id=5832](http://www.aera.net/Default.aspx?menu_id=420&id=5832)

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## AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL TODAY, THE

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*The American High School Today: A First Report to Interested Citizens* was published in 1959 by James B. Conant. A noted U.S. chemist, long-time president of Harvard University, participant in the development of the atomic bomb in the 1940s,

and educational commissioner of Germany in the early 1950s, Conant turned to a Carnegie Corporation-funded study of U.S. high schools as his major project after stepping down from his post in Germany.

Conant's interest in high schools was longstanding, though it should also be said that he had little experience with, and in, the institutions about which he wrote. His notoriety as Harvard president, however, made him a formidable voice in any educational arena in which he spoke. His interest in elementary and secondary education issues was cultivated through a long relationship with elementary and secondary educators with whom he served on the Educational Policies Commission (EPC), a blue-ribbon panel of U.S. educational leaders founded by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators in the 1930s. Conant served several terms on the EPC and by the late 1950s when he wrote *The American High School Today*, he had spent more than a decade as an EPC member. Conant himself spoke often of the significance of his work on the Educational Policies Commission.

Of particular importance for Conant was the 1944 publication of the EPC's *Education for All American Youth*. That volume endorsed an approach to the high school that valued both the traditional academic studies that had been the backbone of the high school curriculum and the newer vocational studies that were making their way into that curriculum. Thus it should not be surprising to find in *The American High School Today* a firm endorsement of both academic and vocational education in the high school.

Conant based his findings and argument in *The American High School Today* on a study of many U.S. high schools he conducted, with a four-person research team. In this volume, Conant analyzed, and praised, the "comprehensive" high school as an institution capable of building U.S. society in the present and future. For Conant, the term *comprehensive* denoted a high school that served several groups of students under one roof. These students included those with academic talent and interest, those with vocational background and goals, those with other needs relating to commercial pursuits, and those needing education for

their futures as U.S. parents and citizens. For Conant, the key point was that only in a comprehensive high school offering a full range of curricular options were the needs of the wide variety of youth who enrolled accommodated. He added that the best examples of comprehensive high schools were found in smaller cities and some suburban locations, where there were enough students of various types to fill the spaces in classes in the various curricula. Larger cities and rural communities were prevented, largely through considerations of size, from getting a wide variety of students and offering the proper range of courses that those students needed. Conant stressed that comprehensiveness was a key in achieving the proper goals of a secondary education in a democratic society. Those goals were of two kinds: studies appropriate to the various destinations toward which the different groups of students were headed, and studies that were geared to unifying the diverse groups of students despite their varying backgrounds, abilities, and destinations.

The comprehensive high school that Conant advocated had to be sizable to generate the curricular choices that students and their needs demanded. Academically, size was important to generate the laboratories and other facilities needed to facilitate appropriate science courses both for the college bound and the noncollege bound. Size also facilitated the development of vocational courses and the provision of facilities needed for their instructional effectiveness.

Conant's grant from the Carnegie Corporation to conduct his study of U.S. high schools was given to the Educational Testing Service (ETS) for administrative purposes. Conant had a long relationship with the testing service, a relationship that was geared for both Conant and ETS to identifying talented U.S. students and providing for the academic enrichment to which he thought they were entitled. Because of this emphasis, Conant is often tagged with the label of educational elitist. His devotion to identifying and cultivating talent in all segments of the population, however, combined with his genuine respect for nonacademic studies and students, lead to the conclusion that his elitism, if it existed, was more meritocratic than it was aristocratic. Thus, the charge of elitist, although not definitively refuted, is mitigated to some extent



if one considers Conant's complete program for the high school.

Wayne J. Urban

*See also* Comprehensive High School; Secondary School Curriculum

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## ANDRAGOGY

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*Andragogy* is a perspective on humanistic learner-centered curriculum development and enactment that was popularized by Malcolm Knowles within the field of adult education in the 1960s, when adult education as an academic and professional field was still young, and when those involved in this professionalization were seeking to establish adult education as an important arena of study distinct from K–12 education. Knowles argued that adults learned differently from children and thus should be taught differently from children, a stance he modified during the course of his career, as he came to accept that *all* learners benefit from the learner-centered instruction championed by andragogy. As such, andragogy was initially grounded in the perception that the prescriptive curricular models used in K–12 settings were inappropriate for adult education, and Knowles positioned his work specifically as a reaction against classic Tylerian approaches to curriculum development. Whereas Knowles's approach evokes a core thematic of Deweyan and reconceptualist curriculum studies' theorizing, specifically around the involvement of learners in curriculum deliberation and learning processes, some adult education scholars see little difference between Ralph Tyler's approach and Knowles's approach because

both consist of prescriptive steps that educators *should* do in idealized educational situations, and both fail to account for the politics of curriculum as well as the social, political, and economic contexts within which education operates.

Based in the educational philosophy of liberal humanism, the prevailing approach within U.S. adult education, andragogy has been conceptualized in many ways: a set of assumptions about adult learners, a method of teaching adults, and a theory of adult learning. Critics have also described it as an ideology grounded in Western, middle-class values of individualism. The term originated in the workers' movement educational programs in 19th-century Germany and is currently used in many Central and Eastern European countries in the same way British and U.S. educators use the term *adult education*—that is, as a broad umbrella term defining a professional field of practice. In Britain and the United States, however, the term *andragogy* denotes a more specific approach to adult learning and teaching, which will be described here.

Knowles famously defined andragogy as *the art and science of helping adults learn*. Andragogy creates an image of adult learners based on six assumptions: (a) as adults mature, their self-concepts move from dependence toward self-directedness; (b) adults enter educational activities with life experience, which is a resource for learning; (c) adults are “ready to learn” when they experience a need to know something or to change a life situation—adult learning is tied to the need to perform one's various social roles; (d) learning must be immediately relevant to adult learners; (e) adults are internally motivated to learn; and (f) adults need to know why they are learning something. As a method of teaching adults, andragogy draws on these assumptions to design, enact, and evaluate educational experiences that best resonate with adult learners. Andragogy emphasizes *process* rather than *content* and focuses on adult educators as *facilitators* who are responsible for creating comfortable physical climates and welcoming psychological climates of mutual trust and respect; these teaching/learning situations should be collaborative, supportive, open, authentic, pleasurable, and learner-centered. Facilitators using andragogical methods, for instance, use “learning contracts” with learners, wherein adult learners



diagnose their own learning needs, create learning goals, identify resources, carry out their learning, and evaluate their learning. These contracts and other andragogical methods are used to foster self-directed learning and nurture a sense of autonomy among learners.

Andragogy has been mired in controversy in the academic adult education literature since Knowles first popularized the idea. Critics have questioned andragogy's assumption that adults and children learn differently and thus should be taught differently. Other debates center on defining andragogy—is it a set of assumptions about adult learners? A set of normative statements about how adult learners *should* be? A learning theory? A guide to practice? Critics have argued that andragogy falls short as a learning theory because it provides little insight into the process of adult learning. Adult educators have argued that andragogy is more useful as a guide for teaching, although they point out that the assumptions on which andragogy's teaching model is based are not universally true. In general, little empirical research has been undertaken to directly test the validity of andragogy's assumptions or the effectiveness of using andragogical methods with adult learners. Though some research has shown, for example, that almost all adults engage in self-directed learning projects, and thus we might assume adults prefer some autonomy in the classroom, research focusing specifically on andragogical methods in classrooms remains inconclusive; some speculate this results from poorly designed research.

A different sort of critique has emerged from adult educators who subscribe to more critical and sociological views of adult learning. They argue that through focusing on practical teaching techniques, andragogy positions itself as politically neutral and fails to acknowledge that knowledge is inherently value-laden and socializes and shapes behavior. Andragogy is also critiqued for promoting the illusion of a generic adult learner with White, male, Western middle-class values—individualism, self-fulfillment, self-reliance, and self-directedness—as universal. Andragogy ignores the relationship between self and society by decontextualizing the learning process and describing the individual in psychological terms separate from social, political, economic, and historical contexts. Consequently, andragogy does not

account for structural systems of privilege and oppression, based on race, gender, and class, that influence learning and does not consider how culture affects a person's development and ways of learning. Finally, because andragogy promotes itself as neutral while upholding mainstream values, it omits a critical analysis of commonsense assumptions about cultural, sociopolitical, and institutional constraints on learning; thus, it is critiqued for reproducing inequalities, for sustaining hegemonic social arrangements, and for supporting exploitative structures and conservative agendas.

Andragogy has had an enormous impact on the field of adult education and was considered the lynchpin of adult education for decades. Despite the various critiques outlined in this entry, andragogy continues to be an important part of adult education's shared knowledge base and is still arguably the most well-known idea in adult education. Although academic adult educators have turned their research agendas toward other theories of adult learning, practitioners continue to find andragogy useful as a guiding set of assumptions about adult learners and continue to practice andragogical methods in their classrooms.

Jennifer A. Sandlin

*See also* Adult Education Curriculum; Humanist Tradition

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## ANTIRACISM THEORY

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Ideas about race and racism are virtually as old as the human experience. The ubiquitous presence of

these ideas certainly permeates curriculum studies in its exploration of what counts as knowledge, whose knowledge is valued, and the complex relationship between people and knowledge. Around the world, groups have been identified by racial categories that have been used to create social hierarchies employing various forms of racism. This prevailing reality does not suggest that it is natural or inherent for racism to exist somewhere at all times. In fact, perspectives on race and racism play out differently in different sociopolitical contexts and vary across time and as political, cultural, or demographic shifts occur. In many contexts and at certain times as perspectives change, diversity in race is either valued, accepted, or the basis of outright conflict. Even within such dynamic social contexts, racism seems intractable as a world issue and results in the need for continuous antiracism work at virtually every level of society, including education. The UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice speaks to this world issue as one that is ever changing but that is paradoxically consistent in the forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, and apartheid.

### **Definitional Concepts of Race, Racism, and Antiracism Theories**

Before discussing antiracism theories, a few perspectives on race are important as an entry point even though the meanings of race are continually in dispute as an ideological concept in any sociopolitical context. This contested terrain is natural, expected, and is testimony to its active role in shaping the human experience. It also gives evidence of race and racism as permanent fissures in creating a harmonious social order.

Historic conceptions of race are complex and have long been accepted as a biological, fixed idea that is based largely on encoded phenotype (e.g., skin color, hair color and texture, eye or nose shape). From this perspective, racial variation is believed to be scientific, objective, and based in biological differences that are intrinsic, definite, and fixed. However, skin color holds prominence as the key determinant of one's race because it is permanent and a visible appearance marker. Biological differences provide ease in categorizing groups and ascribing innate DNA, genetics, and ancestry to any differences (including differences

that are not biological but that are social constructions). With the backing of science and its privileged status as truth producing, racial differences that play out as social differences are explained as innate and natural. From this perspective, race is used to explain social hierarchies and structures of injustice and inequality. For example, differences in social status are explained and justified as objectively predetermined by race. Thus, a natural social order exists based on biology and racial inferiority.

In attempts to shift from biological determinism, particularly after the gains of the civil rights movement, culture and ethnicity became frequently used concepts to replace race as the dominant discourse. This shift should have resulted in more than linguistic change. It had the potential to challenge the idea of race as biological and to embrace race as a social construction. In some instances, however, culture and ethnicity are used as referents for race, and they are viewed to be similarly fixed, distinct, and permanently assigned to certain groups in a return to biology. In still some other instances, the concepts of culture and ethnicity afforded many the safe illusion that they are avoiding race and the images and connotations that circulate with its history and racist practices. But all too often, they became mere replacements for race rather than recognizing that culture is a complex set of characteristics described by James Banks as (a) values and behavioral styles; (b) non-verbal communications; (c) perspectives, world-views, and frames of reference; (d) identification; (e) cultural cognitiveness; and (f) languages and dialects.

Although culture may have taken some hold as a discursive concept, the complexity of it as an idea has not. Race (i.e., skin color) is simple to determine in social practice, whereas culture was too complicated and less easy to identify through a single physical trait. The stronghold of the truth and the commonsense of race leaves culture as an important additional concept that would not greatly alter the strength of race as an idea that frames human difference and explains the social positions of different groups and that pathologizes some groups.

Even more recent challenges to the conceptions of race define it as a modern idea with no genetic basis because human subspecies don't exist. Here

race is defined as a social construct rather than a biological reality. In *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, medical doctors, a geneticist, a paleontologist, a microbiologist, a biological anthropologist, and a science historian, for example, provide evidence that race is not a biological construct but is a social one. This multidisciplinary team concludes that race, although not based in biology, remains a powerful social force that shapes the realities of groups in very distinct and inequitable ways. These authors further conclude that race as biology is not real but race is still a powerful social idea that is reified in a way that distributes access to opportunities, resources, and status inequitably along racial lines. Race as a biological construct still has huge currency both in social and as a material dimensions and is employed to explain and defend who is subordinated and who is pathologized. Efforts continue to define race as a social construct and to examine how it shapes group experiences, social realities, life opportunities, economic conditions, and virtually all elements of life. Robert Terry explains that distinct racial realities are produced as a result of whiteness, power, and racism with deleterious effects on everyone. To ignore these distinct realities along racial lines sets up another invisible means to ignore (a) racism, (b) that it exists, (c) that Whites benefit from whiteness whether or not they want to and despite other oppressions they may experience, and (d) that whiteness is separate and distinct from racial prejudice because it is reinforced at the institutional and cultural levels. This establishes the importance of antiracism to challenge the negative and harmful effects of the operationalization of race through racism at both the individual and institutional levels.

The distinction between the traditional views of racism at the individual and institutional levels is critical to understanding antiracism. Individual racism has generally focused on the acts of racial prejudice and discrimination between and among individual persons or groups. This level is not unimportant and affects the quality of life and the lived experiences for individuals groups daily in negative and harmful ways. At the institutional level (which is paramount to curriculum studies analyses), racism works invisibly and insidiously through systems, such as curriculum systems and educational systems. Iris Young distinguishes

individual and institutional racism and oppression clearly as a shift from outright acts of domination and conquest to the everyday racist practices that operate throughout a society and its systems and institutions through structural phenomena. For example, at the individual level, a teacher may disallow a student from doing a report on the Black power movement because it is too political and is null in the curriculum even though it meets all of the specifications for the class assignment on selecting and analyzing a key historical example of grassroots organizing. At the institutional level, banning such topics from the school curriculum as district policy because it might stir racial disharmony reflects a structural means to support racism. Accepting Eurocentric curriculum across the United States as an unexamined, unacknowledged form of privileging White children is an example of institutional racism. It operates at the invisible, unspoken level but continually denies children from racial minority groups a curriculum that bolsters their presence in the learning experience, respects their cultural integrity, and uses their history as a foundation to their learning.

Antiracism theory is a complex set of issues interwoven with power, equity, social status, privilege, and, for curriculum studies, opportunities to learn that particularly challenge institutional racism and its many manifestations. These theories also acknowledge the role of race in social experiences, personal identities, and educational opportunities. The definitional concepts presented here call upon the traditions of critical race theory as a predominant perspective because of its emphasis on institutional structures that are racist and support racism and must, therefore, be the target of antiracism theories and practices. Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic frame critical race theory as focused on (a) analyzing the relationship between race, racism, and power; (b) including analyses of economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, consciousness, and culture; (c) questioning the social order including equality theories and rationalism; (d) containing an activist dimension; and (e) questioning how society organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies and how to transform society for the better. These tenets are taking hold in education discourse and have profound potential to frame an approach to antiracism.

## Antiracism and Curriculum Studies

Conceptions of race have been inconsistent as indicated. Even so, these conceptions of race raise contemplative issues for curriculum studies, and these issues have changed over time. Antiracism theories hold both philosophical and sociopolitical power to produce social change. This is precisely why antiracism is so important to curriculum studies. Antiracism theories have implications for analyzing the social structures of education and of curriculum and for articulating what should be done to ensure equitable educational opportunities and treatment of diverse racial groups in its schools.

At a fundamental level, antiracism theory is relevant to curriculum studies by first acknowledging that school curriculum is not benign but is always imbued with culture, language, and power. Curriculum studies was once thought to be predominately prescriptive and limited to the study of subject matter only. And that subject matter was thought to be a preset fund of accumulated objective knowledge to be passed on to students. Many contemporary schools do not believe that curriculum is objective. It is grounded in various worldviews or sets of beliefs about the world, social relations, schools, and students. It is based in conceptions of what counts as school knowledge, what is worthy to be known, and who deserves to know what. It is either inclusive of, responsive to, and effective for racially diverse students or it serves as an institutional tool that is exclusive, nonresponsive, and ineffective for racially diverse students. Therefore, curriculum studies can reinforce racism or challenge racism as a key element of educational systems.

Many argue that curriculum has been and continues to be used to maintain racism. This occurs through what is taught (a Eurocentric curriculum), what is not taught (multicultural curriculum), curriculum implementation (dominant pedagogies), and the language of curriculum (English dominant). Efforts have been exerted to challenge curriculum as a tool of racial discrimination and oppression. These antiracism challenges are related to other curricular considerations, all focused on providing quality education and equitable education for diverse groups in diverse societies and diverse schools. For example, Carl Grant suggests that multicultural education is a humanistic concept connected to principles of equality, human rights, and social justice. James

Banks stresses the importance of multicultural education to reform schools so that diverse groups experience educational equity. Gloria Ladson-Billings characterizes culturally relevant pedagogy as a means to use student culture to maintain it and to transcend the negative effects of dominant culture and to prepare students to effect change in society. These curriculum reforms illustrate the active role of curriculum studies in antiracism work. And recent work connecting curriculum studies to critical race studies magnifies the significant role that curriculum studies plays in challenging racism and promoting antiracism. This may give lead to “critical curriculum studies” as a subset of curriculum studies in general.

What might frame critical curriculum studies? Curriculum studies as a field is distinctively qualified to ask what is worthy to be known and why. This question is often thought of as the quintessential question that guides the field philosophically. As a participant in the antiracism struggle, curriculum studies can increasingly ask what is worthy to be known and why and according to whom, whom does it privilege, whom does it disadvantage, how can it be pluralistic, and how can it challenge racism in its many manifestations. The five faces of oppression (exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence) advanced by Young represent a more precise analytical framework for analysis of antiracism. Critical curriculum studies could examine how these are manifested throughout education. Using this framework would result in such questions as these:

1. What is the role of curriculum in maintaining class structures that increasingly shape access to equal citizenship?
2. How does curriculum reinscribe social divisions?
3. How does curriculum buttress cultural imperialism at the expense of denigrating others?
4. How can curriculum unmask the unspoken and for some, unseen, fears that maintain the isms of our society?

Curriculum can play a considerable role in analyzing the relations of power and critically analyzing how racism works and how it is manifested materially to maintain inequities and injustice.



Curriculum can continue to interrogate and oppose social relations that produce racism in invisible and explicit ways every day across the world.

Beverly Cross

See also *Democracy and Education*; Diversity; Equity; Eugenics; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Hidden Curriculum; *Ideology and Curriculum*

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## AOKI, TED T.

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Ted T. Aoki is well known for his powerful performative pedagogy that discloses his own struggles

as a way of hermeneutically, phenomenologically, and poststructurally dwelling in the gaps between theory and practice. His career began as a teacher in the Alberta public school system (19 years) before joining the faculty of education at the University of Alberta (U of A). He later became the department head of secondary education (7 years) at the U of A. During his retirement, he became adjunct professor at the University of Victoria as well as at the University of British Columbia; he maintained his strong dedication to preservice and inservice education at each university. However, during his tenure at the U of A he worked with Max van Manen, a graduate student, who pushed the limits of writing a dissertation by writing a phenomenological study. This marked the beginning of a shift at the U of A under Aoki's leadership. Also during this same period, William F. Pinar began writing about *currere* as a form of movement in curriculum and pedagogy. Aoki joined Pinar (and others) in the reconceptualist movement within the field of curriculum studies. His work with these influential scholars explains why Aoki is known as a phenomenologist and poststructuralist; however, he is best known for dedicating his career to examining the theory/practice divide. In particular, his scholarship argues for de-centering ideas while not erasing prior conceptual understandings. These pursuits have led him to study the etymological meanings of words and the semiotics of language structures. Many believe his semiotic scholarship will become his legacy over time.

During his career, Aoki reconceptualized the traditionally understood notion of curriculum implementation as a bureaucratic device to be curriculum as a form of communicative action and reflection set within a community of professionals. Arguing against instrumental action, he discusses situational praxis as an alternative. Curriculum implementation becomes a way of bridging the gap between curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-as-lived.

Aoki is adept at bridging the theory/practice divide. Indeed, he also bridges the traditional and reconceptualized fields of curriculum studies. Aoki explores the in-between spaces between many practices, such as implementing technology *and* the language of the situation, and calls this in-between space a third space. To study this space, he advocates

a mindfulness that allows individuals to listen to what the situation is asking. Aoki's point is not to overcome the tension between curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-as-lived, but rather, to dwell within it. Following a phenomenological ethics, his work often describes teaching as thoughtfulness and teaching as watchfulness, urging teachers to reach into their autobiographical memory and lived experiences. He encourages educators to linger in the multiplicity that plays within the curricular landscape, asking them to study the effect of their identities on our being and becoming. In doing so, he does not stress "either/or" but rather "and," thereby legitimating thoughtful everyday narratives.

Working in second language education, Aoki understands bilingualism as a hermeneutic dialectic where education is inherently a bilingual matter occupying the lived *and* educational spaces between mother *and* additional languages, thus resisting cultural assimilation. Moving beyond binaries and dwelling in the "and," Aoki cautions us to resist dualisms.

Working from the premise of responsibility before freedom and rights, Aoki suggests that the triad of teacher-centered, subject-centered, and child-centered curricula constitutes a triad that exists in every pedagogical situation. Educators need to abandon the ideas that classroom life exists *in* the teacher, *in* the subject, or *in* the child, but rather between and among them. Thus, Aoki advocates de-centering (a poststructuralist idea) these ideas without erasing them within the language of pedagogy.

Aoki is well known for his scholarly investigation of the etymological meanings of words we have taken for granted. For instance, examining the word *interest* (what *interests* the learner?), he suggests that it is derived from "inter/esse" meaning to be in the in-between. Thus to dwell in the place of difference allows something different to be created in a middle space. The voices rising from this in-between space share an interlude (another idea often used in Aoki's writing). Aoki worries that tolerance tends to be indifferent to community *as* difference, which leads him to describe interspaces of difference existing in each person. Examining the binary between East and West, Aoki enters the world of semiotics and introduces the concept of metonymy (using the name of one thing for

another), suggests that pedagogy is the fold between curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-as-lived, and claims that presence *is* absence. Juxtaposing various binaries (e.g., Western knowledge/aboriginal knowledge; translation/transformation), Aoki attempts to create new curricular language with the use of the "/", a space that is neither vertical nor horizontal, but is both *and/not*, a space of generative possibilities. Aoki would say this is an inspired place for being and becoming. Aoki recalls his wife June Aoki's calligraphy representing presence/absence: a metonymic contiguity of "is not" that critiques the hegemony of representational discourses that attempt to erase nonrepresentational discourses. Aoki's writing is filled with metaphorical images like this. Yet Aoki's use of metonymy is most striking. Here, the metaphor represents the vertical (fixed) and the metonym represents the horizontal (not fixed). Aoki uses both to understand curricular discourse.

Aoki is always teaching. Most of his essays began as speeches in which he taught complex ideas to educators in ways they could understand: His work serves as a bridge (used as a noun and verb) between theory/practice.

Rita L. Irwin

*See also* Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies; Curriculum Implementation; Deleuzian Thought; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Lacanian Thought; Lyotardian Thought; University of Alberta Collective of Curriculum Professors

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## A/R/TOGRAPHY

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A/r/tography is a form of practice-based research that is steeped in the practices of artists, researchers, and educators. Using the understanding of *currere* (curriculum as verb instead of a noun) as a basis for this work, the practices are viewed as active, contextually situated, and creative while recognizing that subjectivity transforms objectivity. This entry describes a/r/tography as a research methodology and as a process of *currere* that leads to deep learning.

A/r/tography as a research methodology is reflective, reflexive, recursive, and responsive. Bringing the arts and graphy (writing text) together, a/r/tography also performs itself by persisting in using forward slashes to represent folds between the broadly conceived identities of artist, researcher, and teacher (educator/learner). These folds are contiguous representations of identities colliding, merging, and separating as the dynamics of a situation are revealed. Although action research has a long and extensive history in education, there is less of a history in the art world. Having said this, artistic processes are reminiscent of action research enacted as living inquiry. Beginning as an action research approach, a/r/tography pursues ongoing engagements through living inquiry—that is, continuously asking questions, enacting interventions, revising questions, and analyzing collected data, in repeated cycles. While practicing their art forms and their pedagogy, a/r/tographers are committed to knowledge creation that is rhizomatic in nature, complex in its entirety, and enhanced with aesthetic understandings. The creative practices of dancers, musicians, performers, visual artists, and other artists becomes a basis for engaging and critiquing what is learned or created. Rather than seeking to answer an initial set of research questions, a/r/tographers allow research questions to evolve as they simultaneously and continuously theorize what they are learning. A/r/tographers are committed to investigating that which is taken for granted while examining that which appears obvious. Pursuing these practices allows for a disposition of openness, creativity, and critical reflection. It is also based on the premise that a/r/tographers do not separate theory, practice, and making, preferring

to use all three ways of knowing in complementary or even contradictory ways.

Like arts-based educational research, a/r/tography is concerned with possibilities rather than probabilities. Therefore, understanding how to create the conditions for investigating or examining practices is essential. A/r/tography employs all forms of qualitative research data collection (interviews, observations, document collection, field diaries, etc.), yet it also involves the processes of artistic engagement (creating art forms in response or collaboration, or as evocation or provocation). Using data from a range of vantage points, knowledge is created in a never-ending state of becoming. Thus, a/r/tographers are committed to their living inquiry in and through time, regardless of the current research questions.

Theoretically, a/r/tography involves individuals working in a community of inquiry. Here, four commitments to a/r/tographic communities have been described. The commitments describe an a/r/tographic community of practice as a community of inquirers working as artists, researchers, and pedagogues committed to personal engagement within a community of belonging that troubles and addresses difference. Listing the commitments embedded in this statement, we see four commitments: (1) a commitment to a way of being in the world; (2) a commitment to inquiry; (3) a commitment to negotiating personal engagement within a community of belonging; and (4) a commitment to creating practices that trouble and address difference.

Relationality permeates our lives, and for a/r/tographers, this means that meaning is constituted between beings, and being is both unity and uniqueness, the singular plural of becoming. It is the betweenness that interests curriculum theorists the most. *Currere* thrives in the in-between. Moreover, a/r/tographers prefer to work from concepts rather than from methods. Concepts are flexible intersubjective locations of understanding, and methods are technically oriented pursuits. Both are needed, in research and pedagogy, but the emphasis is placed on conceptual renderings. A/r/tographers are concerned with conceptual renderings such as living inquiry, metaphors, and metonymy (and synecdoche), contiguity, openings, reverberations, and excess. These renderings assist a/r/tographers in understanding what they are seeing,

experiencing, and analyzing. Each of these renderings should be present in the processes and products created within a/r/tographic practices. A/r/tographers use relational forms of inquiry (conditions) and renderings (concepts) to conduct their practices.

A/r/tographers are necessarily skilled at their practices and continue to pursue refined understandings over time as they pursue “being” a/r/tographers in the world. Recently, scholars in a variety of areas have pursued a/r/tographical inquiry: for instance, architecture, health care, and the humanities. A/r/tography as a creative and educative form of inquiry is being transformed as interdisciplinary frames are employed to use its processes and structures. As more dancers, poets, musicians, actors, and multimedia artists engage with a/r/tography, other understandings will emerge to extend the richly visual understandings that have developed since its inception.

This entry has described the conditions and concepts used in the practice of a/r/tography. Moreover, four commitments were described that underpin the practices employed by a/r/tographers. For curricularists, these commitments coupled with the conditions and concepts of a/r/tography begin to describe how currere is developed in and through time with the help of the arts and focuses on learning. Currere is a living practice that lingers in the in-between of binary notions such as theory and practice. It is a negotiated space that dramatically broadens what it means to be a teacher and learner. And perhaps most importantly, currere as conceived through a/r/tography allows subjectivity to transform objectivity, and encourages a community of inquirers (learners) to become engaged in very deep, yet evocative or provocative ways.

Rita L. Irwin

See also Arts-Based Research; Currere; Deleuzeian Thought

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## ARTS-BASED RESEARCH

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Arts-based research is an approach to curriculum inquiry that looks to the arts instead of to the social sciences for its investigational and representational strategies and its epistemological premises. This form of inquiry has been used to explore a wide range of curriculum commonplaces, such as curriculum guides, textbooks, and other materials; elements of the hidden curriculum; the curriculum-in-use; and so forth. This entry focuses on the term’s origins: its growth in acceptance; forms of arts employed by arts-based researchers in curriculum studies; and the premises, purposes, and design elements associated with this form of curriculum evaluation and research.

### Origins and Growing Legitimacy

The term *arts-based research* was coined by Elliot Eisner of Stanford University in the 1990s. It has an antecedent in Eisner’s earlier notion of *educational criticism*, an approach in which the curriculum is researched and evaluated in a manner similar to that carried out by critics within various fields of the arts. The term was first publicized widely through a series of seven Winter Institutes of the American Educational Research Association co-directed by Elliot Eisner and Tom Barone of Arizona State University. Despite some skepticism and outright rejection by many traditionalist research methodologists, arts-based research gradually achieved visibility, credibility, and legitimacy as an acceptable qualitative inquiry approach in curriculum studies, within other fields of education, and in the humanities, social sciences, and various professional fields.

The approach has been linked primarily (although not exclusively) to curriculum studies as a result of the many presentations sponsored by Division B (Curriculum Studies) of the American Educational Research Association and has been featured prominently at meetings of other professional organizations devoted to the curriculum field, such as the annual conferences of the *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* and the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*. Articles advocating and exemplifying arts-based research have appeared in numerous curriculum journals. Books and book chapters have also been devoted to the perceived attributes and detriments of the approach.

One measure of its development is the number of related research approaches it has spawned since the 1990s by scholars within and outside of the curriculum field. These include *arts-inspired research*, *arts practice as research*, and *alr/tography*. Most arts-based research employs literary formats, although many other forms are available in principle, and are sometimes used in practice. These include, among others, literary essays, poetry, short stories, novels, ethnodrama, music and musical improvisations, dance, photography, multimedia presentations and installations, painting, sculpture, performance arts, and so on.

### Epistemological Premises and Research Purposes

One of the most distinguishing features of arts-based research is the rationale for the research engagement. The point of doing this sort of research is not the traditional one of making knowledge claims or achieving validity and reliability, at least not in the usual sense of those terms. The purpose for doing arts-based research is not to move the reader or percipient toward the comforts of greater certainty. Instead, a student of curriculum would engage in arts-based research for the purpose of re-viewing curriculum phenomena that have come to be perceived or conceived of in a manner that is usual, conventional, or orthodox. This aim has also been expressed in other (related) ways, including offering the possibility of multiple meanings, of deepening and complicating the conversations about curriculum terms, issues, and phenomena. Ultimately, the reader or viewer may be brought to see dimensions of the curriculum in

a new, previously unavailable, light. These alternative perspectives and interpretations may not promote greater consensus, but instead produce disequilibrium, a disturbance that leads to further interrogation of meaning beyond what has come to be taken for granted within the field.

### Design Elements and Vicarious Experiences

This aim of extending the conversation about curriculum phenomena may be achieved within other forms of research as well. It is, however, a purpose that, advocates claim, is achieved in a unique way through the use of artistic design elements. Eisner and Barone have identified several of the design elements that are associated with research and inquiry based in the arts. These design elements may sometimes also be found, to some degree, infusing the inquiry and disclosure processes of other (more traditional) forms of qualitative inquiry, including case studies and phenomenological, narrative, and ethnographic approaches. However, to the degree that they permeate the inquiry process and product, the research may be identified as *arts-based*.

The most important of these elements is the presence of an aesthetic form within which the researcher embodies his or her observations. The design elements employed within the creation of this form will vary with the kind of art engaged in. Whichever art form is selected, an arts-based researcher does not aim to explain, or argue, the correct meaning of curriculum phenomena within the work. Instead, the work that is crafted will offer an invitation to the reader or percipient to enter into a virtual world that has been embodied within the work. Moving into this virtual world allows the percipient to engage vicariously in an experience that has both cognitive and emotional dimensions. In other words, the reader or viewer may come to understand curriculum phenomena from a fresh perspective, persuading him or her to reconsider the finality of seemingly commonsensical understandings. The quality of the work of arts-based research will therefore be judged on its potential for promoting that reconsideration through the vicarious experience it offers.

Tom Barone

See also *A/r/tography*; Educational Connoisseurship; Eisner, Elliot

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## ARTS EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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The curriculum in arts education in K–12 schools may refer to the various arts—visual art, music, theater—or to the visual arts curriculum only; this entry addresses visual arts education. Though arts education is a long-standing part of the U.S. school curriculum, its rationale, structure, and content have changed substantially over the years. The arts education curriculum has evolved in response to changing conceptions of the purposes of schooling and of the role of creativity in human development, and it challenges traditional conceptions of assessment. At its best, art education produces citizens who can respond appropriately to their visual environment with skills that go beyond those readily measured.

### Visual Arts Media and Curriculum Structure

In the visual arts, the curriculum has generally covered art forms that are in traditional media, purely visual, and static in their finished forms. These include painting (in oil, watercolor, acrylic); drawing (in pencil, charcoal, oil pastels); other two-dimensional media producing original compositions such as murals, printmaking, collage, and photography (darkroom and digital formats);

ceramics (wheel-thrown and hand-formed); fibers and textiles; sculpture (subtractive carving as well as additive building in three-dimensional forms with armatures or assemblage); jewelry making. In recent decades, as the world of professional art has embraced new art forms, the art curriculum has begun catching up with these options; more complete art curricula offer experience in videography, large assemblages even occupying entire rooms as mixed-media “installations,” and improvisational performance art distinct from scripted theatrical productions.

The role of the arts in the public school curriculum varies by state, with most states leaving art instruction beyond a required introductory course as an elective. Nowhere is art education required in the extended sequence common to language arts or social studies; it has, however, enjoyed some strength in individual schools, districts, and states whose educational leaders have argued for the need for the arts in a well-rounded citizenry. Generally, secondary schools have at least one full-time art teacher each with a dedicated art room; students meet their art classes daily, for a full year, a semester, or shorter blocks such as 9-week sequences. Larger high schools may have specialized art teachers, each focusing on an art area such as two-dimensional, ceramics, or photography. Elementary school art-teacher assignments vary considerably with district resources. Just over half of elementary schools have an art specialist (one, more, or shared with other schools), teaching in a dedicated art classroom or working from a mobile cart. In elementary schools, student contact with art class is typically once a week; each art teacher may teach hundreds of children each week. For schools lacking an art specialist, art education falls to general classroom teachers with minimal, if any, preparation in art.

### Historical Background

The purposes of the school art curriculum have changed dramatically during the past century in the United States. Initially, art was part of a goal of schooling that prepared children for life in the work force, and much of what is now called visual arts education took the form of teaching precision drawing and draftsmanship, providing individual discipline and technical skills useful in commercial



areas or as a support to industrial growth. Early in the 20th century, especially with the rise of progressive education and an increasing focus on a child-centered curriculum, art came to be appreciated for its value in assisting in the complete development of children's capabilities, and an interest in "creative self-expression" as promoted by Viktor Lowenfeld helped argue for including the arts in the school curriculum. In this approach to the art curriculum, emphasis was placed on making art in the traditional art media, assessment of results was limited, and little was required of teachers to incorporate the history or philosophy of art systematically. The art curriculum lost in public favor with the school reforms that followed the USSR's launch of *Sputnik* in 1957, when increased emphasis was given to the "hard disciplines" of math, science, and reading, and the contributions of art to the national good seemed less clear than their contributions to individual growth had been. Nonetheless, committed art educators kept art in the schools, and starting in the 1960s, statewide efforts throughout the country succeeded in creating state arts councils, advocating for and supporting all the arts both in the school curriculum and in local communities. One of the strongest arguments for art education has, for a number of decades, been that at its best it teaches children to express themselves—and the ideas in their culture—in creative new ways that could not have been fully anticipated. The 1980s saw the introduction of the concept of "multiple intelligences" through Howard Gardner's work at Harvard University's Project Zero, giving new impetus to the argument that artistic ways of responding to the world are valid and worthy of attention in school.

### Assessment

The 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* again focused attention on the importance of education in math, science, reading, and in being able to assess student progress and compare U.S. schools' success with those in other countries. Assessment, increasingly important whenever national attention is directed to measuring school effectiveness, is a challenge to those who would assess the art curriculum consistently and reliably. Many educators have especially decried the 2002 No Child Left

Behind Act for its insistence on measurement and the damage this can do to the goals and practices of art education: Assessing the art curriculum is always more complex than in disciplines where unpredictable and surprise outcomes are less valued. Nonetheless, most art educators agree that clear standards in art education are critical both for ensuring the quality of teaching and for maintaining art's standing among the other disciplines: standards of quality, craftsmanship, and the communication of ideas can be applied even to student products that are new, creative, and surprising, and the best preservice teacher programs help art teachers develop appropriate assessment techniques. Advocates for art education seek assessment methods that reliably reflect the purposes of art education without requiring fully predictable products; portfolio assessment rather than achievement tests is one emerging approach.

### Current Trends

#### *Discipline-Based Art Education*

Art education in the United States took a major new direction in the 1980s with the tremendous success of the efforts of the Getty Center for Education in the Arts (as it was then called) and the scholars it pulled together to create a new direction called discipline-based art education (DBAE). The elements of DBAE were not new and had been successfully operating in many individual classrooms across the country for many decades, but they had not been combined into a coherent and organized approach to art teaching that could be taught to teachers and adopted districtwide. Getty funding provided for teacher training institutes; teacher-oriented publications including background books, curriculum guides, and full-color sets of posters with background and teaching suggestions on the back of each; and national conferences to clarify DBAE and make it accessible to teachers previously ill-equipped to teach in this way.

Before DBAE, and following on the heels of creative self-expression and progressive education's focus on developing children's "natural" abilities, art teaching emphasized the single discipline of art making. Art teachers had taught drawing, painting, sculpture, ceramics, and other art forms as art-making skills, and some did this extremely well,



producing admirable outcomes in student art projects. And before DBAE, art teachers received little systematic training in the content and practical uses of the other three “disciplines” of DBAE: art history, art criticism, and aesthetics. The resources of the Getty Center, and the scholars it attracted to its work on reformulating art education, gradually changed the direction of art teaching in K–12 schools to embrace this broader conception of “art.” Revising the “art curriculum” to go beyond art production was resisted by some who feared that time spent on art history, criticism, and aesthetics would detract from teaching the traditional skills of art making. Gradually, however, art teachers at all levels realized that the repertoire of visual resources provided by looking at the history of art, the discussion/analysis skills provided by working with guided art criticism, and the broader perspective on defining art through discussions of aesthetic questions—all combined to enrich students’ abilities to create interesting and meaningful visual images and objects. Teachers became comfortable with using these four disciplines, if not always in the structured, systematic, districtwide way that advocates for a full “DBAE curriculum” had initially proposed. Today, the K–12 visual arts curriculum still emphasizes art making, but art making is regularly enriched by the use of art history, criticism, and aesthetics incorporated by teachers whose own art education training in college has incorporated these perspectives. Emerging new national and state standards in art education tend to assume a discipline-based orientation.

### *Visual Culture Studies*

The art curriculum continues to evolve and change, and DBAE’s tacit success in broadening the art curriculum beyond art production to include art history, art criticism, and aesthetics, and especially its heightened emphasis on criticism and interpretation of visual images, laid the groundwork for a strong new approach to art education called visual culture studies. With the support of the large and influential National Art Education Association and the affiliated state-level organizations, contemporary art educators both in the classroom and in university teacher-training programs are finding ways to keep art instruction current and relevant to students’ lives while assessing

the effectiveness and impact of art instruction. Whereas DBAE added three new disciplines to the study of art, visual culture studies—referred to simply as “visual culture”—seeks to further broaden the definition of art education by admitting the broad array of images and design available in students’ everyday lives as legitimate content. The visual-culture approach to the art curriculum allows and encourages teachers to incorporate, critique, and reinterpret images of popular culture that exemplify compelling design and relevant content and styles. With visual culture as a focus, teachers of art can effectively introduce art making (and art history, criticism, and aesthetics) with images from comic books, magazine advertisements, television commercials, film, Japanese manga and anime, pop-up ads on Internet sites, Barbie dolls, commercial design on billboards and in downtown shop windows, CD covers, movie posters, and many other sources of visual composition available in everyday settings. When used appropriately, these popular-culture sources of imagery can be analyzed and understood both as compelling and meaningful compositions in their own right and by comparison to subtle or explicit art-historical precedents.

Art educators who advocate for teaching based on visual culture are divided about whether this approach is a distinct break from, or a continuing evolution of, the reforms reflected in the DBAE platform of the 1980s and 1990s; however, it is unlikely that it could have been as appealing as it is without teachers’ first feeling comfortable with art history, criticism, and aesthetics. Critics of the new call to visual-culture studies express concern that a curricular focus on popular culture will crowd out traditional “fine art” imagery (on which DBAE generally relied) and deprive students of contact with the great works of art from cultures worldwide. Most who advocate visual culture studies for art teachers and for K–12 students argue that traditional “fine art” is itself a subset of “visual culture,” the larger realm of visual experience to which art education properly should attend. The disciplines of art production, history, criticism, and aesthetics can be brought to bear on images from popular culture, but some visual-culture advocates argue that new methodologies and new aesthetic criteria are necessary for exploring this source appropriately. Visual culture studies is supported

by research by scholars from universities across the country, notably (at this writing) Pennsylvania State University, Ohio State University, Northern Illinois University, Indiana University, the University of Oregon, the University of Arizona, the University of Maine, George Mason University, and others, and by the classroom results by art teachers who have trained under them.

### *The Role of Art Museums*

Art museum education is distinct from the traditional K–12 arts curriculum, but bears mentioning as both a resource for K–12 teachers and an alternative career path for educators trained as art teachers. Almost every art museum in the United States has an education department, with professional art educators supervising and implementing a range of programs for both the general public and K–12 teachers and students. Art museum programs focus on the museum’s permanent collection and on temporary exhibitions, and are designed to be accessible to art novices, people with limited prior knowledge of art or art history. Museum program formats include thematic and highlights tours usually given by volunteer docents trained by the museum staff; teacher workshops designed to help teachers in many subject areas use the arts in their teaching; public lectures in the galleries and in lecture halls; family festivals; film series; conferences or symposia on selected topics; teacher resources such as slide kits and curriculum guides focusing on the collection; self-guiding tour brochures allowing visitors to move at their own pace; recorded audiotours, usually produced by professional production companies working with educators and curators; and many other resources. K–12 art teachers and their students are among the most regular attendees of many of these programs. Annual meetings of the American Association of Museums (AAM) include sessions on museum education, and the AAM’s Bookstore (available online) lists sources pertinent to using museum collections with visitors and K–12 students.

### **Concluding Comments**

Though the goals of art education have changed frequently in recent decades, the overall purpose remains constant: to teach children to see well, to

interpret their visual and cognitive environments clearly in visual terms, and to appreciate art that has done so. Art educators in schools and museums address the images and objects of the world’s cultures over time. The art curriculum teaches skills not covered in other subjects, skills that are vital to understanding and responding to the world. Though it can enrich the teaching of history, language arts, science, and other disciplines, its history in schools is a story of evolving rationales and approaches as a discipline of its own.

*Elizabeth Vallance*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Curriculum Evaluation; Eisner, Elliot; *Nation at Risk, A*; No Child Left Behind; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice; Traditional Subjects

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## **ARTS EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF**

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The purposes and content of the school art curriculum in the United States have evolved in a kind of spiral since the institution of comprehensive public schooling in the late 19th century, varying the emphasis on art appreciation, art-making skills,

and art as a basic humanities discipline according to the prevailing reform movements of the time. Though arts educators argue for the value of art in its own right, art has never been a central core subject in the school curriculum; its importance and its integration with other subjects ebb and flow, and today art is taught in ways that allow it to be integrated with other subjects. That states now have a minimum arts requirement for high-school graduation testifies to the tenacity of the advocacy efforts of arts educators in recent decades.

Through the years, the art curriculum has been shaped by changing societal perspectives. It has evolved from emphasizing technical training and moral uplift to encouraging creative-self-expression, from teaching art as a multidisciplinary humanities discipline to helping connect students to their own visual lives. Its history is a history of our changing definitions of art and of learning. This entry discusses art curriculum from early industrialization to the present.

### The Visual Art Curriculum and Early Industrialization

In the late 19th century, romantic idealism led to the picture study movement and other efforts at providing exposure to works of high moral character: Art education served a kind of social reform purpose. Concomitantly, however, art was also taught as a practical skill, tied to the rise of industrial production; as the early-20th-century matchbook advertisements for “art school” suggest, much of what is now called visual arts education then consisted of lessons in draftsmanship and precision drawing, teaching individual discipline and technical workforce skills. Learning art meant learning to draw well.

The focus changed with the advent of progressive education before mid-century, emphasizing both child-centered education and Viktor Lowenfeld’s “creative self-expression.” This approach emphasized manipulation of art media and mastery of skills to enhance creative self-expression. Teachers taught painting, drawing, ceramics, printmaking, sculpture, and other art forms, all “art production” with little contextual study of the cultures that produced exemplars. The training of art teachers was inconsistent in its inclusion of art history and criticism techniques; assessment was limited.

### The Art Curriculum and Modern Crises

Modern history of art education has been a cycle of decline in times of national crisis and rescue by committed art educators and policy makers. Two events more than two decades apart—the USSR’s launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 and the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983—separately changed professionals’ and the public’s attitudes toward art education. Both events threatened the resources of the art curriculum by shifting policy attention to science, math, and reading. But committed arts educators between these two events had kept the arts alive in schools and communities partly through the 1960s’ creation of state arts councils and the National Endowment for the Arts, raising the visibility of art in public life and—with the National Art Education Association—providing important support to art teaching. Coincidentally, at about the time *A Nation at Risk* was published, the introduction of the concept of “multiple intelligences” through Howard Gardner’s work at Harvard University’s Project Zero clarified the role that less-measurable ways of knowing can play in individual development. The resulting openness to creative disciplines is now challenged by the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act, difficult for disciplines that value unpredicted and surprise outcomes; its lasting impact on the art curriculum is still unclear.

### Recent Decades

The art curriculum notably changed after the mid-1980s with the development of discipline-based art education (DBAE), promoted through publications and teacher-training conferences by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts. DBAE redefined “art” beyond art making to include also art history, art criticism, and aesthetics. Initially resisted by traditional teachers ill-prepared to teach these disciplines, DBAE has gradually come to pervade the art curriculum nationwide, whether acknowledged by name or not. K–12 art classes regularly study artists, talk about images, and discuss what is art and what is not; research indicates that students’ creative art products reflect a broader understanding of art principles and world cultures than before DBAE.

Today, the art curriculum teaches art-making skills as well as art history, criticism, and discussion

of aesthetics issues, often using both fine-art exemplars and imagery from popular culture. Since the 1990s, some art educators have advocated visual culture studies, arguing that students should learn to critique and respond intelligently to visual design in everyday life. Comic books, live and animated film, advertisements, Barbie dolls, billboards and other imagery can introduce principles of composition, history, and cross-cultural connections between fine art and everyday life. Critics of visual culture studies, echoing the romantic idealist case for art appreciation, argue that visual culture studies detracts from students' contact with world civilizations' great works of art; advocates of visual culture argue that fine art is itself a subset of "visual culture" and that neither can be fully understood without the context of the Other.

Noteworthy also in recent decades is the increasing availability of high-quality programs on-site at art museums, in museum outreach programs, and through online Internet resources developed by museum educators. Traditional guided tours, image packets, teacher workshops, and family gallery programs are now complemented by a wealth of teaching resources on museums' Web sites, with images, information, lesson outlines, and materials for students doing research on art and its context.

*Elizabeth Vallance*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Curriculum, History of; *Democracy and Education*; *Nation at Risk*, A; No Child Left Behind; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## ARTS OF THE ECLECTIC

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What constitutes an effective relationship between theory and practice is contested in education. Curricula based solely on either have proved ineffective in closing the gap between the curriculum guide and the learning moment. Joseph Schwab's unique solution to this problem is arts of the eclectic, whereby educational problems are examined through multiple perspectives instead of a solitary theory. He called this process *polyfocal conspectus*, which is needed because no single theory from the social sciences, for instance, can explain or define the curricular basis for effective teaching. The use of three or four theories in combination is key to the problem-posing stage of curriculum deliberation, in which the problematic situation is defined in various ways by each theory. The art of discerning the integrated approach that emerges from the various formulations of the situation develops educators' abilities to exploit a range of solutions rather than a simplistic answer.

The curriculumist uses arts of eclectic with commonplaces of education and arts of problemation. The commonplaces are common because of their interconnection; they are places whose reality cannot be sidestepped. These essential components of curriculum deliberation are learner, subject matter, teacher (social and cultural milieu), and curriculum making. They are established when scholarship in a subject or field is able to discern what things, concepts, or activities constitute the whole subject of which any one is a part. This is the source of the eclectic choices.

The fit of any given theory on a specific situation is inexact and incomplete, so the theory needs modification by other theories before it is effective. This radical move involves an art, the ability to see which of the possibilities is most likely to combine into an effective view that enables fruitful formulation of the problematic situation.

Schwab believes there are several kinds of eclectic arts. The first engages the incompleteness of each subject of the behavioral sciences. The second selects, adjusts, and combines the incomplete views. These join with practical arts concerned with the real details necessarily omitted by the generalizations of theory. Mutual accommodation develops between principle and case. This commingling of



the practical and eclectic arts requires collaboration among experts in the theories who must have deep concern to solve a pressing problem by crossing arbitrary boundaries of their specialties.

Schwab's use of intrapersonal commonplaces was based on extensive study of every theoretician from Plato to Erik Erikson. These involve such factors as reason, desire, social concerns, and the therapist. At Camp Ramah, after a review similar to Practical 2, Schwab asked the directors how the rational ego grows to be healthy and strong under the guidance of another. Freud barely considered this question because he was interested in intrapersonal mechanisms that could explain how the id, representing our desires, interacts with the super-ego, representing our inhibiting social conscience,

Freud posited the existence of an autonomous ego to manage these internal interactions but, unlike Plato's *Republic*, failed to tell us how such an ego can rationally develop. Schwab proposed that the counselors work to expand the young egos, not by therapeutic means, but by bringing energy and pleasure to the camping activities so the campers could develop both social competence and religious connection. This modification solved the problem by joining its practical with its theoretical aspects.

Thomas W. Roby IV

*See also* Commonplaces; Curriculum Implementation; Deliberative Curriculum; Schwab, Joseph

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## ASCD (ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT)

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For almost a century, ASCD (the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) and its

two predecessor groups have fostered attention of many of the nation's educators to instructional improvement and the development of curriculum, initially in the United States, but more recently throughout the world. Rather than focus on particular school roles or positions (e.g., English teachers, supervisors of science, superintendents), ASCD has focused on functions common or similar to different roles and tasks in and across school divisions (e.g., elementary school, high school; differentiated instruction, reading). Deliberately, it always has welcomed to its membership all individuals—not only professional educators, but also people who do not hold professional credentials (e.g., school board members, parents) who are concerned with improvement of the school curriculum and teaching as well as those who participate in local improvement efforts. From the time it began operations, ASCD has continued to be an anomaly among professional organizations in U.S. education. To be sure, the contemporary ASCD differs in some remarkable ways from its beginnings in 1943 even as it maintains, at least in name, some of its early programs, purposes, and structures.

### Origins of the Organization

ASCD was the fruit of the merger of the National Education Association (NEA) Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction and of the Society of Curriculum Study. Both of these organizations began in the 1920s.

The supervision group, founded in 1921 as the National Conference on Educational Method, brought together school leaders who were particularly interested in the potential of William Heard Kilpatrick's "Project Method." Several years later as the Project Method waned in popularity, the organization recognized the value of highlighting various general teaching methodologies. In 1929, the conference became a department of the NEA with changed name. Its membership was never large, but most of its members were school supervisors. College and university faculty members as well as state level instructional supervisors constituted two other significant but smaller constituencies. Its major publication was *The Journal of Educational Method*, subsequently retitled *Educational Method*. In 1928, ASCD began the



publication of a series of well-regarded yearbooks. It held twice yearly meetings, at the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) in the late winter/early spring and at the NEA annual meeting in the summer.

Especially important to this group was James F. Hosis, formerly a supervisor of English in the Chicago public schools and the founder of the National Council of Teachers of English. As a doctoral student at Teachers College, Columbia University, he came to believe that Kilpatrick's Project Method was one that was appropriate for use in almost every course offered at every school level. Hosis called what became the organizational meeting of the conference and, later, as a faculty member at Teachers College, he served as the group's executive secretary and editor of *Educational Method*.

The second party to the merger that created ASCD was the much smaller Society for the Study of Curriculum. This group's beginnings can be traced to a very small and informal discussion group convened by L. Thomas Hopkins, then a consultant to the highly publicized Denver Curriculum Program. The discussants were six school curriculum leaders who met at the 1924 AASA meeting and who agreed to invite a few colleagues and to meet again the following year during the AASA convention. This informal group slowly added members, and in 1929, it formally organized itself and, after two name changes, it took the name of Society for the Study of Curriculum. Like the Department of Supervisors and Curriculum Directors, the society met annually at the AASA winter/spring convention.

This slowly enlarging society attracted mainly school administrators and university professors actively involved in local school curriculum development projects. Its central purposes were to discuss features of practical, ongoing curriculum work in schools and to consider ideas and proposals for curriculum development. The society published *The Curriculum Journal* under the editorship of Henry Harap, who also served as the small group's executive secretary. The society also issued a short series of significant yearbooks. Probably its major project was its support and general sponsorship of the *Building America* series of pamphlets for use in secondary schools. Championed by Paul Hanna and initially supported by a General

Education Board grant, these instructional materials for secondary schools immediately attracted hostile editorial attention. Nevertheless, *Building America* survived the merger as an ASCD-related publication until 1948 at which time it became a casualty of the anti-Communist hysteria of the times.

Merger of the two groups was hotly contested. Led by California's Helen Heffernan, many supervisors were concerned that the new organization would marginalize both the function of supervision and women leaders. The initial merger proposal failed. On the second effort to merge in 1943, members of the two groups used a mail ballot and the merger proposal passed. Ruth Henderson, a Norfolk, Virginia, supervisor and the president of the supervisors group, became ASCD's first president. Nevertheless, Heffernan's concerns about the new organization became perceived reality even as ASCD's stature grew.

Notably, most members of the merged groups quickly become ASCD members. Although ASCD membership expanded in its first two decades, it grew quite slowly. Following a revision of its policies in the 1960s, ASCD initiated regular mass-marketing campaigns that yielded substantially increased rises in membership, mostly from school administrators, and grew steadily from some 10,000 members to more than 175,000 members.

### Purposes and Programs

The new ASCD continued to foster several of the previous groups' purposes and programs. Especially, for example, it stressed the importance of democracy in U.S. schooling, of the necessity to consider the uniqueness of individuals and their contexts in fashioning curricula and teaching practices in different classrooms and schools as well as the provision of attention to the potential of individual pupils, the importance to school faculties of shared governance, as well as cooperative planning and research in local curriculum development efforts and inservice education/staff development programs. Many of its early members also understood ASCD as a renewal of concern for principles and practices of progressivism in U.S. education. Additionally, many of these members welcomed the intellectual excitement of ASCD conferences.

As one effort to stress its concern for individual participation in a local curriculum enterprise, ASCD changed the name of its annual meeting from “convention” to “conference.” The conference structure, for many years, de-emphasized large “talk at” general sessions and substituted small discussion groups in a number of formats. Recent annual conferences, likely as a function of ASCD’s vastly increased membership, have adopted the typical convention format that mainly features large sessions and very few small group sessions. ASCD currently offers throughout the year a menu of small conferences and institutes.

With promotion of democracy as an explicit goal, ASCD early on sought to encourage democratic actions and study in schools. It also worked to create its own governance structure to reflect that commitment. For example, it convened a large board of directors at whose sessions policies could be debated and decided. To stress increased member involvement in the work of ASCD as well as to expand its program, association leaders also constituted a number of continuing and ad hoc committees, commissions, and task groups whose work yielded research studies, analyses of issues, and recommendations for both policy and decisions intended to enhance the organization’s program. A major organizational innovation was the creation of a review council that studied actions of the executive council and staff members. Recent years have witnessed steps away from such democratic involvement of members. Instead, fewer members are involved in governance than previously, and headquarters staff members, sometimes with consultation of a few members, develop plans for approval by senior staff and elected officers. The Review Council has been disestablished. This loss of attention to democratic decision making can be understood as a problem that accompanied ASCD’s massive membership growth.

### Publications

*Educational Leadership*, ASCD’s journal, has become one of the premier journals in the entire field of education. From its beginning, articles routinely have offered analyses and promoted both practical and speculative attention to concerns and issues of the field. Some of these matters have been

progressive in nature and often advocated attention in curriculum and teaching to important social concerns (e.g., intergroup/racial understanding), relationships of the nature of knowledge to curriculum content and teaching, and matters of personal individuality characterized by a long-running, popular column in *Educational Leadership*, “The Importance of People.”

Until recently, ASCD published annual yearbooks, some of which (e.g., Arthur Combs, *Perceiving, Behaving, Learning*, 1962) were reprinted several times. Across a number of years, ASCD’s publication efforts have expanded to include a number of popular video-based staff development programs as well as publication each year of several professional books on contemporary topics. As a means of emphasizing the value of research to curriculum, supervision, and leadership practices and policies, ASCD launched the *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* in 1985 to publish scholarly, peer-reviewed research reports and essays that informed the field. After 20 volumes, ASCD abruptly ceased publication of this journal in 2005, at the time the world’s largest circulation scholarly journal in curriculum and supervision. Currently, ASCD cooperates with two universities to publish the online *Journal of Education Policy and Leadership*.

### The Nature of the Membership

What is noteworthy is that ASCD publicly and decisively undertook efforts during the 1960s and 1970s to reverse its tacitly discriminatory policies toward women and ethnic minority members. Although women constituted most of its members, few women had been elected to its top leadership positions. Membership of African American educational leaders in ASCD was very low until school desegregation in all parts of the nation achieved some success. ASCD leadership, prodded routinely by advocates, slowly recognized its inadequate positions on gender and race and implemented several initiatives that, in a very short period, increased participation and elected leadership of both women and non-White members of the Association. Indeed, ASCD was one of the first professional education groups to attend so self-consciously to such matters of inclusion and recognition.

### Recent Actions

ASCD recently has mounted an educational policy presence to influence congressional actions. Also, recent official action by the Association seems to have altered both its identity and purposes. With its new official name, ASCD, the organization begins to reflect a corporate rather than a professional education mission. The decision to omit both curriculum development and supervision from its name, mission, and governance appears to have severed its relationship with the historic curriculum field.

O. L. Davis, Jr.

See also *Educational Leadership*; *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*; Kilpatrick, William Heard; Project Method

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## ASIAN CURRICULUM STUDIES, CONTINENTAL OVERVIEW

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In recent years, within the educational field, increasing attention has been given to Eastern/Asian traditions and Asian education including curriculum studies. The movement for school-based curriculum development (SBCD) in many Asian countries has called for the reconceptualization of SBCD concepts, restructuring of the context for SBCD, and reculturing the role of stakeholders in SBCD, which endorse the values of grassroots curriculum reforms, participatory decision making, knowledge construction, and student-oriented approaches to learning. These theoretical concerns have been partially addressed by Asian curriculum scholars.

### Research Published in English

In addition to books and book chapters, this review mainly covers research articles written in English from or about Asian countries published in the journals from 1990 to the present. These journals are *Curriculum and Teaching* (Australia), *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* (United States), *Curriculum Inquiry* (Canada), *Curriculum Journal* (United Kingdom), *Curriculum Perspectives* (Australia), *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* (United States, now out of print), *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* (United States), *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* (United States), *Journal of Curriculum Studies* and *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry* (Australia), as well as two international Asia-based journals, *Asia-Pacific Education Review* and *Asia-Pacific Journal of Education*.

Interestingly, in terms of geographical origins, there were more articles from or related to Israel, Hong Kong (China after 1997), China, Singapore, and South Korea. There were some articles from or related to India, Russia (formerly USSR), and Japan. The publications related to Asian curriculum studies could be broadly categorized (individually or in combination) as follows: curriculum issues reflecting political, economic, social, and educational changes; reconceptualization of curriculum theories based on Asian/Chinese traditions; and employment of Western theories and frameworks for conducting curriculum inquiry.

### Israel

In the case of Israel, where multiculturalism is related to its political origins and sustained conflict, a number of published papers have been connected to broader social changes. Julia Resnik, for example, undertook a historical study of the curricula in Jewish schools and assessed how national ideology with regard to particularistic versus universalistic content had varied over time. Four national images were portrayed: “nation with a right to a state,” “nation by right of religion,” “a state for a persecuted nation,” and “a state for all its citizens.” Amos Hofman, Bracha Alpert, and Izhak Schnell have identified three stages of curriculum development: promotion of hegemonic national goals, emphasis on academic structure of knowledge, and multiple conflicting

goals. They call for a transcultural approach in which a core curriculum is offered to all groups and beyond which each group may display its uniqueness. On the other hand, Ruth Firer in 1998 analyzed the values and perspectives of human rights education in history textbooks, civic texts, and peace education manuals published from the 1950s onward, and Halleli Pinson recently examined the tensions between inclusion and exclusion in civic education. In addition, Majid Al-Haj, based on the content analysis of the new history textbooks in Jewish schools, explored the status of multicultural education in light of fluctuating conflict and peace in Israel–Palestinian relations, and Deborah Court, using John Dewey’s ideas on democracy and education, examined the role of education in helping build trust and enhancement of democracy at the level of individual interactions between citizens. Jonathan Cohen adopted Joseph Schwab’s practical and eclectic arts to derive educational implications from two rival theories by Harry Austryn Wolfson and Julius Guttmann in preparing for the discipline of Jewish philosophy for instruction at the high school level.

Apart from curriculum issues echoing historical and social changes, some articles are related to subject-specific or cross-curricular curriculum and teaching innovations as well as school reforms. Asher Shkedi has engaged in studies on curriculum development and teaching culturally valued texts and found that there was a lack of compatibility between the subject-matter and educational understandings of the curriculum writers and that teachers create their own approaches to teaching culturally valued texts. This may have implications for school-based workshops for curriculum adaptation, which may be desirable to relate the teachers’ thinking and deliberation to the curriculum development process and producing curriculum guides that match teachers’ narrative world of knowledge and thought.

### *Hong Kong*

For Hong Kong, there have been more empirical studies on curriculum studies compared with articles from or on other Asian countries. Among papers and books published, two areas of focus included curriculum-related policy issues and territorywide or cross-curricular curriculum reform.

The former is exemplified by Paul Morris’s analysis of the postwar Hong Kong secondary school curriculum. These studies reflect state control and are associated with a collection code with an emphasis on disciplinary and public knowledge but being opposite to the curriculum features that the government has advocated during the last two to three decades. The latter is illustrated by the target-oriented curriculum (TOC) initiative in the 1990s and other cross-curricular issues such as media education, civic education, and environmental education. In addition to the large-scale evaluation studies of TOC led by Morris, David Carless adopted a case study approach to illustrate how three primary school teachers of English as a second language interpreted Hong Kong’s cross-curricular TOC initiative. There were also papers related to specific curriculum change and school-based curriculum development. John Chi-kin Lee and his colleagues have published works on geography teachers’ lived experience of curriculum change, primary school teachers’ receptivity to environmental education, and humanities teachers’ perspectives of integrated curriculum development. Edmond Law and Maurice Galton have published an article on how teachers’ participation in curriculum decision making in a school-based curriculum project in Hong Kong could enhance their professional growth. Yiu-chun Lo’s work on micropolitics of curriculum leadership of three primary schools found that curriculum leaders’ interpersonal skill is a critical factor promoting school-based curriculum development.

Teachers’ and students’ conceptions of subjects and teaching and learning have been an area of attention. These were shown in Bick-har Lam’s study focusing on conceptions of teaching art held by secondary school teachers and the study by Chi-chung Lam, Ngai-ying Wong, and Patrick Wong of students’ conceptions of mathematics learning. Although most of these studies were qualitative, Derek Cheung and Hin-wah Wong have developed a quantitative curriculum orientation inventory to measure teachers’ curriculum orientations.

Teaching and learning was another area of interest. Ming-tak Hue’s work explored the influences of Chinese culture on teacher-student interaction in the classrooms of Hong Kong secondary schools. Kam-wing Chan’s study highlighted constraining



factors affecting the use of cooperative learning in primary schools. Louisa Yan, however, investigated the contextual influences on the formation and behavior of out-of-class study groups through case studies.

Publications related to school–university partnership projects were also quite prominent. Amy B. M. Tsui and her colleagues have published a number of studies on tripartite supervisory conferencing processes (among the supervisor, the cooperating or mentor teacher, and the student-teacher) and teacher learning. A team of researchers led by Munling Lo also used Ference Marton’s theory of variation through a number of learning study projects to help teachers plan lessons for better teaching and learning. At the Chinese University of Hong Kong, a number of large-scale school improvement projects were launched, and many Chinese and English publications related to the improvement of curriculum, teaching, and learning were generated.

### *China*

Hua Zhang and Qiquan Zhong remarked that Chinese curriculum research was bound up with political ideology, especially during the 1950s and the 1960s. There had been emphasis on the study of curriculum history and Chinese curriculum theory depended heavily on curriculum practice. They also recognized three kinds of curriculum wisdom in China—namely Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist. Confucian curriculum wisdom, for example, highlights the sociology of mean-harmony. Taoist curriculum wisdom based on the teleology of nature has implications for the deconstruction of curriculum discourses. By contrast, Buddhist curriculum wisdom provides possibilities for revitalizing the curriculum through an emphasis on spirituality. Apart from traditional wisdom, Yuzhen Xu has examined the images of school teachers, students, and other related education constituencies as shown in China’s popular movies and television series. However, there have been studies of curriculum and instruction on specific themes or subject areas. Jeffrey Fouts and Jack C. K. Chan analyzed the historical development of Chinese social studies education in the contexts of both traditional China, with a pervasive influence of Confucian values, and modern China under Mao and the Communists. In addition to work on

curriculum theorizing, there were studies using narrative inquiry under the influence of Michael Connelly. Ming Fang He, for example, undertook narrative inquiry of three Chinese women teachers with regard to their cross-cultural movements in China and the United States. Conversely, there was a study by Hui-lin Hung on learning experiences of Asian international students in U.S. higher education from cognitive and sociocultural perspectives.

### *Taiwan*

For Taiwan, there were only a small number of curriculum studies in English. By contrast, a review of the literature from 1994 to 2003 by Shin-Jiann Gau and Yu-works Chien Hsu revealed that there were 492 funded projects by the National Science Council, 243 academic books, 417 peer-reviewed journal articles, and 817 master’s and PhD dissertations and theses on curriculum studies published or completed. Some trends were identified, such as the primary sector and the interface between primary and secondary schooling tended to receive more scholarly attention compared with preschool and senior secondary education. In key learning areas, science and technology education tended to be the areas for most research outputs. In addition, more works were published related to curriculum implementation, curriculum development, and curriculum design, but less attention was paid to curriculum decision making and the hidden curriculum. Moreover, perceptual, operational, and experiential levels of curriculum, as suggested by John Goodlad, had fewer publications than those targeted at ideal and formal curriculum levels. Notably, many reputable postmodern and critical curriculum theorists in Taiwan had actively engaged in curriculum reform, and future studies could explore the impact of their endeavors on Taiwan’s curriculum change.

### *Singapore*

In this century, Singapore, which has experienced substantial economic and infrastructural changes, has witnessed a series of curriculum and school reforms, captured in the slogan, “Thinking schools, Learning nation.” Against this backdrop, Charlene Tan discussed the curriculum challenges in creating thinking schools, and Aaron Koh has



pointed out the limitations of critical thinking as a strategy to nurture students to be creative and critical thinkers. It has been suggested that given that pragmatic and instrumental functions of the educational policies were fulfilled, there could be spaces for the introduction of critical literacy. Apart from teaching thinking, other publications reflected varying curriculum and instruction agendas, such as multiculturalism, citizenship education, and national identity, many of which appeared in *Asia-Pacific Journal of Education*. In addition, Jason Tan examined the short-lived development in introducing religious knowledge in Singapore, and one of the issues was treating curriculum as a contextualized social process instead of a technocratic plan. There were studies on the global-local dynamics of curriculum policy development in the Chinese high school by Lesley Vidovich and Tom O'Donoghue.

### Japan

For Japan, the articles tended to be comparative education oriented. Edward R. Beauchamp, for example, analyzed the educational reform in post-war Japan under U.S. direction, and Hua Yang compared the role of the middle school teacher in Japan and the United States. Gundel Schumer, conversely, examined mathematics education organized privately outside the school, which involved homework, voluntary studies at home, and private supplementary lessons. The findings revealed that parents and supplementary schools contributed substantially to the learning process of Japanese students.

### South Korea

For South Korea, many curriculum- and teaching-related papers could be found in *Asia Pacific Education Review*. There were, however, a few articles focused on the reconceptualization of curriculum and instruction. Young Chun Kim, for example, endorsed the theme of curriculum as a postcolonial text as a feature of Korean curriculum studies. He also called for demystifying the validities of U.S. curriculum theories and gaining insights from both Korean and Asian knowledge such as Taoism and Buddhism to create new curriculum languages. Seungbin Roh suggested the imperatives

of intercultural equality, bilingual instruction, integration of culture and language, and multicultural perspectives for reforming English as a foreign language (EFL) education in Korea.

### India and Other Neglected Regions

Despite India being a massive Asian country with strong traditions of Buddhism and Hinduism, and a complicated historical heritage associated with colonialism, partition, and postcolonial independence, there have been only a small number of publications published in international curriculum journals. These include the following examples: a review of primary education by Tapan R. Mohanty; a review by Sandhya Paranjpe of using behavioral objectives and differentiation as a means to cater to children with special needs; and using the pedagogy of extensive reading in an ESL course at the tertiary level by Rachel Lalitha Eapen. For the Philippines, the journal *Asia-Pacific Educational Researcher* has published some articles related to curriculum studies. Russia as a vast country and the Middle East with its dominant Muslim, though multifaceted, culture are also neglected regions in the English-language curriculum literature.

### Research Published in Chinese

Apart from English publications, it is notable that in the Chinese communities of the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, there were many books and articles in Chinese related to curriculum studies. In China, the People's Education Press under the Ministry of Education published *Curriculum, Teaching Materials and Method* in 1981. In Taiwan, the Association for Curriculum and Instruction published the *Curriculum and Instruction Quarterly* and another *Journal of Curriculum Studies* was launched in 2005. In Japan, the *Japan Society for Curriculum Studies* appeared in 1989.

### The Future

This review illustrates the diversity of the landscape of curriculum studies in selected Asian countries or regions. Many of the Asian developing countries, because of political, socioeconomic, cultural (including linguistic), and other reasons, are weakly

represented in both the English-language and other Western academic publications focused on curriculum inquiry. More work could be done through international collaboration or partnership to help consolidate their curriculum research endeavors and participate in the formulation of international, Asian, or indigenous curriculum discourses. As Claudia Eppert and Hongyu Wang remark, there are potentials for the Asian traditions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Taoism, and other invisible traditions to offer insights for specific curriculum scholarship such as critical pedagogy, environmental education, holistic education, character education, literature, and arts education as well as women's and gender studies.

*John Chi Kin Lee*

*See also Curriculum Inquiry; Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy; Journal of Curriculum and Supervision; Journal of Curriculum Studies; Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*

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## AT-RISK STUDENTS

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However one analyzes the frustration, behaviors, and attitudes of troubled youth and their often seemingly “aimless existence,” one fact is becoming increasingly clear. In a society undergoing a revolution in its folkways, norms, and values, its youth (quite possibly all of them to some degree) are at risk. The popular definition of students who are at risk is, by default, those students who are affected most by the risk factors. Those risk factors are low achievement, retention in grade, behavior problems, poor attendance, low socioeconomic status, and attendance at schools with large numbers of poor students. All of these factors are closely related to dropping out of school, which, as it turns out, is what the at-risk label is identifying.

Extrapolating selected perceptions from the entire spectrum of human behavior, one notices the fragility as well as the breakdown of traditional family life and ultimately its effect on the school's curriculum. Also, given the rise in numbers of structurally dysfunctional families, a rising divorce rate, the prominence of single-parent households, and childhoods victimized by violence, sexual abuse, and incest, one can readily witness major impacts on a child's social and emotional development. The school's curricular response has often been past the fact and somewhat limited in perspective. These kinds of events all affect our youth's behaviors. They can twist, shape, or disorient psychological and social functioning and the multiple relationships each of us has from childhood through young adulthood. These behaviors are often the essence of at-riskness. These factors all contribute to the ever-changing needs of these students and their well-being.

Important research has found that by the time students are in the third grade, one can fairly reliably predict which students will ultimately drop out and those who will complete their schooling. These risk factors are usually stress related and ultimately affect the identification and predictability of dropouts with actual performance as the most reliable predictor.

With these ideas concerning being at risk in mind, it becomes much easier to picture the “classic dropout.” That individual will likely be a member

of a racial, ethnic, or language minority group and from a family where education is not a high priority; the individual will have academic difficulties, including the possibility of being behind in grade level; the individual will be bored or frustrated with school. The process of dropping out will often include a growing number of tardies and absences, disruptive classroom behavior, and a decline in academic performance. The classic dropout simply stops coming to school one day.

One common factor brought to light is that schools and school systems that are effective in reducing the numbers of dropouts do not permit this classic scenario to reach fruition. Through early identification, the high-risk student is not permitted to become just another statistic. Absences or behavior problems are not merely observed; action is taken to understand the causes and to prevent unnecessary repetitions. Students should not be allowed to “disappear,” but when the decision to leave school is not reversible, the school should point the dropout to alternative programs and options for keeping the door to an education open. The student, in general, needs to know that some individual cares, and that the school cares.

A number of possible program formats offer simple but effective techniques for organizing and managing diverse school and community resources to develop and conduct programs for at-risk youth. Numerous studies show that school programs alone are not well equipped to address those non-school causes that place children at risk of school and life failure. It is, therefore, imperative that school boards network with multiple resources (school, community, family, business, and industry) that can serve the needs of at-risk children both in school and outside of school.

*Robert C. Morris*

*See also* Achievement Tests; Alternative Schools; Elementary School Curriculum; Middle School Curriculum; Secondary School Curriculum

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## AUDIT CULTURE

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*Audit culture*, in general, refers to the implementation across a wide range of businesses and institutions of systems of regulation, in which questions of quality are subsumed by logics of management. The term began to be employed in the 1990s by British accountants, anthropologists, and sociologists to refer to the increasing use of regulatory mechanisms, designed to monitor and measure performance, in fields other than accounting, insurance, and finance, where the mechanisms originated. More recently, the term has been used to refer to and theorize the emergence within the human services of these regulatory practices and the language and values accompanying them. For example, terms such as *performance outcomes*, *quality assurance*, *accountability*, *transparency*, *efficiency*, *best practices*, *stakeholder*, *benchmarking*, and *value added* circulate within and anchor the discourses that constitute audit culture. The values that shape audit culture are primarily those of objectivity, efficiency, and productivity. These values inform and are sustained by setting measurable performance outcomes; generating quantitative data to evaluate and inform programs, policies, and interventions; and monitoring and rewarding progress in achieving numerical goals.

Within curriculum studies, the concept of audit culture is used to refer to the adoption by educators of what are often referred to as the practices and discourses of standards and accountability and to the consequences of that adoption. The concept has proved helpful in understanding the transformation that has occurred in education during the last decade, when, at all levels of schooling, audit has emerged as the preferred way to hold schools accountable and to determine whether federal, state, and local spending on education produces benefits. In the United States, examples of audit culture include No Child Left Behind's emphasis on quantitatively measuring learning by using high-stakes testing; the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education's insistence on performance standards, numerical data, and the deployment of data aggregation systems; state and local movements to tie teacher pay to test scores; and colleges' benchmarking student writing and measuring value added through standardized tests.

The spread in Europe of the Bologna Process, which seeks to standardize curriculum and diploma requirements, and the implementation at all levels and throughout most of the developed countries of procedures that standardize teaching and the curriculum, quantify student learning, and hold teachers and administrators responsible for numerical results further exemplify the practices constituting audit culture.

Curriculum theorists have been critical of audit culture overall, but have focused particularly on two aspects of audit culture. The first concerns the way audit culture renders schools, teachers, and the curriculum auditable. The second concerns the relationships between audit culture and neoliberal economic interests.

### **Rendering Schools, Teachers, and Curriculum Auditable**

The curriculum, teachers, and schools become auditable through implementation of a system that defines, measures, and monitors performance, and can monitor the regulatory system itself. The first step in rendering teachers, the curriculum, and the school auditable is to establish standards, which determine how problems are phrased and prioritized and what constitutes the single best way to address such problems. Some curriculum theorists argue that because standards, in the name of neutrality and equality, treat diverse groups, individuals, communities, and histories as commensurable, the standards diminish or mask inequities in resources, power, access, and treatment. Because disparities exist among individuals and groups, the standards, which do not recognize these disparities, ultimately result in a hierarchy of differences that are then cast as the fault of the schools, the students, their families, or the teachers.

The second step in making teachers, the curriculum, and schools auditable is to convert standards into measurable performance outcomes, which can be translated into numerical data. Thus, several curriculum theorists argue, audit naturally results in the widespread use of tests, the transformation of the curriculum into bits of information, the retention of which can be measured by tests, and a narrow focus on behavioral measures that can easily be quantified. Furthermore, because

performance standards define specific demonstrable behaviors, for example, performance on a test, doing group work in class, or putting an aim up on the board, and because the level of success in demonstrating these behaviors must be assessed by standardized measures, activities such as teaching are broken down into finer and finer units. Thus, the operationalizing of standards divides teaching and the curriculum into component parts, which, some curricularists have argued, strips teachers of autonomy and the curriculum of intellectual substance.

The last step in rendering teachers, the curriculum, and schools auditable involves quantification. Quantification emerges as the way to further make commensurable diverse phenomena. In reducing everyone and everything to quantifiable data, ranging from test scores and attendance records to performance on behavioral check sheets, all historical, personal, idiosyncratic, and context-specific details about the person or event are erased. These data, produced in relation to standards, in turn demarcate the domain for academic interventions. But these interventions, many curriculum theorists argue, are not sensitive to the specificity of context or history, or to the unique experience of the subject/object of intervention.

### **Audit Culture's Links to Neoliberal Economic Interests**

Another aspect of audit culture that has come under increasing scrutiny within curriculum studies concerns its relationship to neoliberalism or free market capitalism, which can loosely be defined as the belief that the free market offers the best way to regulate all aspects of social life. According to some curriculum theorists, since the early 1980s, as public education has been transformed into a multibillion dollar market, audit culture has both advanced that transformation and been spread by it.

It has facilitated the transformation by reducing the enormously complicated work of teaching and curriculum development to standardized practices, by equating education with quantifiable outcomes on standardized exams, and by tying teacher pay and school funding to bottom-line success. If all that matters are the end results, for example exam results, and if particular practices and particular curricula purport to produce good results, then a



market is created to package and sell those practices and curricula, as well as those tests. Public education, itself, as well as the value of an education and the art of classroom teaching, recede in importance as the measurable bottom line of exam results takes precedence.

In addition to advancing the marketing of education, audit culture has also been spread by it, in two ways. First, some educators, worried about accusations of incompetence and the takeover of schools and teacher education by for-profit corporations and city and state governmental agencies, have embraced the practices, language, and values of audit culture to ensure professional status and autonomy. The assumption is that if education had the same established standards, protocols, practices, and systems of accountability that, say, medicine, law, and engineering have, then teachers and educators would be treated with the same professional respect as physicians, attorneys, and engineers. Such professional status would shore up autonomy and stave off privatization and governmental intrusion. Some curriculum theorists argue, however, that the embrace of audit culture has had the paradoxical effect of rendering teachers and the curriculum more vulnerable to for-profit corporate interests, governmental intrusion, and charges of ineptitude. A focus on quantifiable results, rather than a teacher's expertise and the value of education for its own sake, allows those who are not professional educators to claim they can achieve the same results more cheaply and efficiently. Furthermore, the inherent variability and contingency of such results, for which teachers are held responsible, exposes teachers to constant charges of incompetence.

Second, some educators embrace audit culture in response to the demand that funding for education be tied to bottom-line results. Educators and teachers are asked to prove that what they are teaching has an impact, a "bang for the buck." Because audit culture promotes standardized and quantifiable outcomes, comparisons can be made that educators hope will prove that, for example, accredited teacher education programs achieve better results than alternative certification programs or that a body of pedagogical knowledge learned formally over time exists that produces results. The problem, according to several curriculum theorists, is, again, that the intangible value of

education has been reduced to a cost-benefit analysis.

Audit culture offers an important heuristic for curriculum theorists who want to understand the transformation in education that has progressed during the last decade under the twin banners of standards and accountability and the effects of this transformation.

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*See also* Accountability; Benchmark Assessment; Best Practices; Curriculum Auditing; No Child Left Behind; Outcome-Based Education; Standards, Curricular

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## AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL THEORY

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Before the 1970s, virtually no autobiographical scholarship existed in the field of curriculum studies. In the realms of literature and literary criticism, classical Western autobiographies for a number of years had focused on public figures and were, for the most part, written by men. Works that did theorize autobiography primarily treated men's life writing. Until the mid-1970s, little work was done in literary studies, especially, on theorizing women's autobiographies other than through formalist categories, such as history and genre. And those theories most often were grounded in liberal feminists' notions of essentialist, universal, singular, and unitary conceptions of "woman," "gender," and "voice."

However, by mid-20th century, autobiography as both literary genre and curriculum discourse in U.S. curriculum studies paired well



with existential-phenomenological theories, partly because autobiography was fertile ground for considering ways to reconceptualize curriculum conceptions and studies from a focus on “external,” behaviorally oriented learning objectives and predetermined subject-matter content to investigations of students’ and teachers’ “inner” experiences and perceptions of their lived curriculum.

Since the late 1980s, autobiographical theories have been and continue to be influenced especially by feminist poststructuralist, transnational, postcolonial, and queer theories, to name a few anti-foundational perspectives and philosophies. These theories enabled curriculum theorists and researchers, from various epistemological and ontological positionings and agendas, to consider divides between fact and fiction as well as the impossibilities of autobiography as a “self-expressive” act; to challenge possibilities of presenting a life “objectively”; and to examine how shaping forces of language prohibited any simple attempts at “truth,” reference, or accurate and unmediated representations of “self” and “others.”

### Autobiographical Theory and Method as Groundbreaking Inquiry in Curriculum Studies

In the mid-1970s, William F. Pinar and Madeleine R. Grumet introduced autobiographical inquiry as a form of curriculum theorizing and research into the U.S. curriculum studies field. They did so by denoting the Latin root of curriculum, *currere*, meaning to run the course, or the running of the course, thus interrupting the dominant technical-rational focus of the field that conceptualized curriculum as a noun—as in “the racecourse” itself, the “content,” the “syllabus,” the “lesson plan.” Influenced by existential phenomenological philosophy as well as by literature, the arts, and psychology, Pinar and Grumet elaborated the method of *currere* so that students and teachers could study relations among school knowledge, life history, and subjective meaningfulness in ways that potentially could function self-transformatively.

Autobiography as both method and a form of curriculum theorizing certainly was regarded as not normal or typical in the 1970s. Uses of

autobiographical theory and practices dramatically changed the nature of curriculum theorizing in that it directly challenged mechanistic, efficient, and technologized as well as political constructions of curriculum and theory that ignored, minimized, or cast in abstractions individuals’ lived experience of schools.

The autobiographical method of *currere* thus provided impetus as well as theoretical groundings for the reconceiving of a managerially oriented U.S. curriculum field, spawned in the 1920s by demands for efficiency, prescription, and standardization, into a field filled with multiple and differing descriptions and interpretations of conflicting, changing, and divergent human needs, desires, and hopes.

*Currere*, as initially conceptualized by Pinar, included four stages of autobiographical reflection: the regressive, the progressive, the analytic, and the syncretic. This method provided an accessible and yet fully theorized means of analyzing “the nature of educational experience.” As a method of curriculum inquiry, it insisted on inserting descriptions and analyses of teachers’ and students’ gendered, raced, classed lives and psycho-social/cultural contexts into what heretofore was a faceless, mechanical, and supposedly neutral processes of “designing,” “developing,” and “mastering” the curriculum conceived only as “content to be covered.”

Further, both Pinar and Grumet, in elaborating Pinar’s method of *currere*, drew attention to the necessity of rendering multiple accounts of selves and school knowledge and experiences to cultivate individuals’ capacities to see through the outer forms, the habitual explanation of things. Those multiple accounts fractured the dogmatism of a singular telling and called attention to social and political aspects of autobiographical analysis and interpretation.

According to Pinar, three streams of scholarship followed, the first of which included *currere* as an inquiry method, uses of dialogue journals, autobiographical analyses of place, and myth and imagination. The second stream was feminist autobiography. The third included efforts to understand teachers’ experiences biographically and autobiographically, among them teacher lore; the personal practical knowledge of teachers; collaborative autobiography and biography; biographical

studies of teachers' lives; and interviews autobiographically focused but termed "personal biographies."

Autobiographical curriculum theory more currently has dispersed, for example, into cross-cultural theory, psychoanalytic theory, and women's studies, as well as into studies of innovative pedagogical practices, life-history theory and methods, and ecological theory.

### Phenomenological and Psychoanalytic Feminist Autobiographical Theorizing

Women's autobiographical practices, as both an expression of women's life experiences and a source for developing feminist theories, were acknowledged as constituting a field of study around 1980. Significant early feminist literary critics focused on the overlappings of women's lives and their writing in studies that attempted to map a women's tradition and to legitimate feminist scholarship.

Concurrently, during the 1970s and 1980s in U.S. curriculum studies, some feminist theorists explored uses of hermeneutical and existential phenomenology as philosophical frameworks, and others used particular aspects of psychoanalytic theory for describing, in relation to education writ large, structures of "experience" and subjectivity as they present themselves to consciousness. Grumet, for example, in her analyses of the "feminization" of teaching, used the ego psychologist Nancy Chodorow's postulation that the feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and in connection to other people more than does a masculine personality. Grumet worked with the psychoanalytic implications of Chodorow's findings that women are less individuated than men and thus have more flexible ego boundaries to argue for "relationality" as one way to theorize women's subjectivity in autobiographical curriculum inquiries and as one way to understand teaching as a feminized and thus generally devalued profession.

The tracings of existential phenomenological contributions to the development of *currere* as an autobiographical method of inquiry compelled some curricular feminists to focus particularly on their work and experiences as women teachers, attempting to suspend their presuppositions about

their perceived fragmented "teacher selves" to enter into a female academic life-world and to study the specific phenomenon of the gendered nature of their teaching.

Some feminists struggled particularly to "bracket" their teaching experiences, to engage in Edmund Husserl's phenomenological reduction so as to describe the intentionality of their teaching and theorizing practices. Others aligned with Martin Heidegger's emphasis on making manifest what is hidden in ordinary, everyday experience and with Maurice Merleau-Ponty's denial of the possibility of "bracketing" existence. These versions of phenomenology encouraged some feminist curriculum theorists to focus on methods of interpretation to support calls for studies in curriculum that examined the "self" in relation to social, cultural, and political contexts—in relation, for example, to the "hidden curriculum" of ordinary, everyday gendered educational experience.

### (Mis)Appropriations of *Currere* as Autobiographical Method

Ironically, since the mid-1980s, the initial theorizings of autobiographical curriculum research prompted such an embracing of autobiography and the method of *currere* as a "way of knowing" in education, writ large, that a variety of un-theorized appropriations appeared in the educational arenas of teacher education, especially.

For example, many of the still currently circulating uses of autobiography in teacher education and research often work toward definitive and conclusive portraits of "developed," "reflective," and thus "effective" teachers, students, and teacher-researchers. Normalized conventions of positivist educational inquiry and practice also are reinforced when autobiography is used as means of arriving at solutions and answers to pedagogical and curricular issues and problems, and when the arrival at a solution through an autobiography is somehow seen as proof or evidence of some fully examined, accessible, and thus "accountable" teacher or student "self."

Further, many current uses of autobiography in teacher education and research assume a developmental "end" product as well as possibilities of "best practice" in constructions of teacher selves, curriculum materials, and pedagogical approaches.

Un-theorized conventions of using autobiography in teacher education also assume the possibility of a relatively quick (e.g., in a one-semester-long “methods” course for preservice teachers) and conclusive self-reflective examination that can illuminate “flaws” or “problems” that then can be “corrected” in the student’s educational philosophy or her pedagogical approach or her conceptions and constructions of curriculum.

Further, admonitions in teacher education to just “tell your story” as a form of autobiographical curriculum theory and practice often lead to versions of teacher-research in which teachers learn about and then implement new pedagogical approaches and curriculum materials without a hitch. Ironically, such (mis)appropriations of autobiographical method as *carrere* often lead to autobiographical accounts of how teachers were “mistaken” or “uninformed” or “ill-prepared” but now have become fully knowledgeable and enlightened about themselves, their students, and their teaching practices. Such distorted versions of autobiographical curriculum theory thus maintain a dominant educational narrative in which one passes, in linear and sequential ways, from ignorance to knowledge about both the “self” and other.

However, such constructions and uses of autobiography in teacher education that promise self-reflection and self-understanding as unmediated by language, culture, constructions of sexualities, or the unconscious, for example, simply maintain and even reify current emphases in education that insist on producing predictable, stable, and normative identities and curricula that can be measured, compared, and compartmentalized into hierarchical “achievement” categories.

Further, such “identity-constituting” discourses of teacher education and many of its current uses of autobiographical practices, for example, maintain the status quo and reinscribe already-known situations and identities as fixed, immutable, locked into normalized conceptions of what and who are possible. Such (mis)appropriations of autobiographical curriculum theories ignore ways in which such theories sought to explore autobiography’s social and political potential to examine “selves” and curricula as sites for what Judith Butler calls for in conceptualizing any identity, or, for that matter, any curricular categorization: permanent openness and re-signifiability.

### Multiple, Fluid, Contingent, Situated Autobiographical Theories

Current versions of autobiographical curriculum inquiry, because they have been inflected with feminist poststructuralist, postcolonial, indigenous, critical race, and queer theories, for example, that began circulating in the late 1980s and eventually into contemporary iterations, focus on questions of how the subject might know herself “differently.” Strategically producing a difference out of what was once familiar or the same about what it means to “be” a teacher or student or researcher or woman, for example, cannot happen by “telling my story” if that story repeats or reinscribes already normalized identity categories. However, uses of autobiographical inquiry, from these various anti-foundational perspectives, can cast in new terms ways in which educators might investigate multiple, intersecting, unpredictable, and unassemblable identities.

Feminist poststructuralist versions of autobiographical theorizing, for example, often focus on the constitutive aspects of autobiographical subjectivity, which include memory, embodiment, identity, experience, and agency. Such aspects increase determined subjectivities as never unitary and complete, as never able to simply escape the mediations of discourse, and as always located in particular times and places. Subjects may occupy multiple, differing, and often-shifting positions in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality, for example, that no autobiographical method or practice could easily sever, separate out, or subsume under one another.

Instead, by examining disjunctures, ruptures, breakups, and fractures in normative, modernist versions of the unified life-subject and her own and others’ educational practices, these anti-foundational forms of autobiographical theory and practice can function, for example, to “queer” or to make theory, practice, and the self unfamiliar. To “queer” is to denaturalize conceptions of one singular, whole, and “acceptable” curriculum theorist, researcher, or student “self” as well as versions of autobiographical inquiry that rely on such conceptions.

The political leverages of conceiving of and enacting autobiographical theories as such reside in situated, local, contingent, and thus powerful

challenges to traditional forms of educational research that normalize the drive to sum up one's self, one's "curriculum" as content, one's learning, and "the other" as directly, developmentally, and inclusively knowable, identifiable, and even measurable. For example, many current anti-foundational forms of autobiographical theorizing and research suggests a focus on a range of sexualities as well as racialized and classed identities that exceed singular and essential constructions of "student" and "teacher." Poststructuralist, postcolonial, transnational, or "queered" autobiographical theories, although differently framed epistemologically and ontologically, also might compel curriculum studies scholars and practitioners to consider aspects of being implicated in desires for and performances of, as well as in fears and revulsions toward, those identities and practices that exceed the "norm."

To use autobiographical forms of inquiry that incorporate aspects of poststructuralist, postcolonial, queer, or transnational feminists theories, for example, is potentially to produce stories of self and other that can't be easily identified with or contained within one linear and transparent rendering or reading.

Thus, feminist poststructuralists, for example, offer challenges to writing autobiographically without essentializing selves through the very categories one has received as "naturally" constructed or as the only ones available to talk about those selves. Such autobiographical theories encourage curriculum scholars and practitioners to research identities and research processes that have been produced and reiterated, for example, through gendered, raced, classed, sexualized cultural norms taken to be fixed and permanent and thus regulatory, rather than provisional and unstable and thus able to be changed. These theories also point to the necessity of tracking how power circulates, of theorizing how subjects spring from the discourses that incite them, and of challenging unproblematized representations of "self" and "other," even as one might need to engage in representation as one way to intervene critically in the constitutive constraints of discourses.

When embodied, contingent representations of self are analyzed in terms of discourses available with which to constitute any one version of subject

or subjectivity, as well as juxtaposed with now-transnational swift flows and mobilities of mediated images, or mass migrations, or commodities, cultures, and capital, there results a new order of instability in the production of subjectivities. Autobiographical theories, at this historical juncture, need to evoke fractured, fragmented subjectivities as well as provoke discontinuity, displacement, and even estrangement in self-referential forms of curriculum inquiry to highlight how (self) knowledge can only ever be tentative, contingent, situated, and constantly re-situated in momentary yet swift streams of global mobilities.

From the introduction of *carrere* as a groundbreaking theoretical conception of autobiographical inquiry in the 1970s, autobiographical inquires continue to expand in theoretical orientations and complexities. They must continue to proliferate, to challenge, contradict, and interrupt one another to address inquiries into dislocated and destabilized versions of "selves," of nations, cultures, and languages, as well as of multiple and competing transnational discourses that now frame and constitute any iterations of "identities" and subjectivities. The future task of autobiographical curriculum theories will be to conceive of methods and forms of inquiry that bring difference to the fore of the curriculum field's deliberations.

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*See also* Biographical Research; *Carrere*; Feminist Theories; Multi-Vocal Research; Performativity; Phenomenological Research; Postcolonial Theory; Poststructuralist Research; Queer Theory; Subaltern Curriculum Studies; Teacher Lore Research; Transgender Research

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## BAKHTINIAN THOUGHT

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Bakhtinian thought contributes to curriculum studies by recognizing that voices cannot exist in isolation; rather, our utterances represent some aspect of our interactions and experiences within society throughout the duration of our lives. In this respect, classrooms represent a microcosm of society where differing voices come into contact to construct a polyphonic truth. Individuals within a modern society must work to understand and value the voices of one another as well as to comprehend the reasons for why they speak certain utterances within specific contexts.

Mikhail Bakhtin focused his work around the notion that speech and language belonged to the social domain as opposed to being constructed within the individual. Bakhtin's theories attend to the multi-voicedness of individuals, dialogicality of meaning, the centrality of language in social contexts and meaning making. The following description of Bakhtinian thought highlights key conceptions that relate directly to curriculum studies.

### Dialogism

Dialogism argues that meaning is relative because it always represents a relationship between two objects where reality is perceived and experienced from a particular social location. The cultural tools that individuals draw upon during dialog depend upon their individual experiences and social location, meaning that their voices represent

more than just the literal meaning of the words they utilize. Speech is always contextual. Bakhtin devised the notion of utterance to argue that the locus of interaction, between both the speaker and listener, displays the sociocultural and sociohistorical worldview of the individuals engaged in dialog. Utterances reflect the sociohistorical backgrounds that inform our ideologies, and through dialog, utterances become the tools that help individuals communicate those histories. Thus, the process of meaning making and understanding must be constructed through dialog between and among social actors.

### The Novel

Bakhtin claimed that discourse embedded within the novel represented differing types of speech from multiple contexts, which he termed *heteroglossia*. When viewing these multiple voices (characters, narrator, etc.) in multiple contexts we can better understand the nature of the author's true intention. The novel highlighted the polluted messiness of the world. In addition, when characters who did not achieve resolution revealed themselves through showing rather than through telling, polyphony contests the primacy of the narrator's voice such that the self and the Other are both subjects rather than objects. Polyphony is the dialogic discourse of self and other because meaning exists only if an utterance is social or in relation to another utterance. Polyphony can thus be summarized as a relationship between "I" and another where identity formation is constructed within a

social context as opposed to solely within the mind of the individual.

### Carnival

Typically, carnival, as practiced by peasants and artisans in their feasting, game playing, and symbolic inversions, represents a malleable public space where traditional social hierarchies are dissolved and reconstructed within a new context free of hegemonic forces. Carnival is produced through the transgression of boundaries and prevailing norms, creating the inversion of hierarchies and the union of opposites. Carnival opposes a classical, serious, somber, and grave official culture that is alien to the subject. Carnival provides a glimpse into the transformative possibilities that exist outside popular tradition. Bakhtin maintains that the polyphonic truth is constructed through the spirit of carnival. During this time, multiple competing, complementary, and contradictory voices conflate to provide a tapestry of truth. A messy and impure world is carnival.

Bakhtin was born in Russia in 1895 and became one of the most important literary scholars of the 20th century. Bakhtin was part of an active group of Russian intellectuals who began building a body of literary and social theory during the 1920s. This work was dangerous considering the political climate in Russia at that time. Consequently, Bakhtin was arrested in 1929 and sentenced to exile in Kazakhstan. After serving his sentence, he returned to Russia where he lived in relative obscurity until his later life when his original works were rediscovered by a new generation of Russian intellectuals. The importance of his work was not clearly understood by Western scholars until after his death in 1975. Currently, Bakhtinian thought provides postmodern scholars with a theoretical framework for understanding the multiple and competing interests within curriculum studies.

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See also Cultural Identities; Currere; Curriculum Discourses; Identity Politics; Voice

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## BALKANIZATION OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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Derived from political fragmentation of the Balkan Wars in 20th-century Europe, the term *balkanization* applies to curriculum studies because the discipline has also experienced processes of division into smaller entities that are hostile to one another. The phenomenon is, however, more complex and requires historical background to comprehend.

The curriculum field emerged in the early 1900s largely to facilitate the project of universal schooling in the United States. Different schools of thought about the character of curriculum inquiry emerged in what Herbert Kliebard referred to as a crucible, that is, a place in which ideas and practices of several prevailing interest groups (humanist, developmentalist, social efficiency, and social meliorist) were combined with or repelled by one another and with progressive influences of John Dewey and others. Many attempts were made throughout the first half of the 20th century to prevent balkanization and to arrive at agreed-upon ways to support curriculum development in schools. Some of these include the rise of synoptic curriculum textbooks that tried to conceptualize new common threads in diverse theory, research, and practice; many attempts by the National Education Association (NEA) to forge common statements through committee and commission reports (e.g., the Committee of Ten report of 1894, the Committee of Fifteen report of 1895, the report on the economy of time in education of 1913, the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* report of 1918, and nearly 100 policy documents between the late 1930s and the 1950s by the NEA Educational Policies Commission); a project led by Harold Rugg in the 1920s to develop central questions and a common purport for curriculum scholars as guidance for practitioners and policy makers; and the formation of the ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) in 1943 by combining

the NEA's Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction with the more scholarly Society for Curriculum Study to offer a unified force to contribute to curriculum development.

Meanwhile, however, turmoil and balkanization persisted, countering attempts at centralization and unification. Those who controlled educational policy through testing and measurement were continually at odds with those who trusted expressions of personal and democratic growth. Thus, a long history of division between traditional and progressive educators ensued. In the late 1930s, there were deep divisions among progressives alone. Dewey and Boyd Bode worked to little avail, for instance, to repair bifurcations between proponents of child study and social reconstructionist camps. Within ASCD, as well, more radical scholars sought a greater forum, ultimately seeing their progeny leave that organization for others—such as the American Educational Research Association (AERA), especially its Division B (initially titled Curriculum and Objectives in the 1960s and changed to Curriculum Studies in 1982)—and an influential Special Interest Group (SIG) on Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge begun in 1972, later becoming the SIG on Critical Issues in Curriculum and more recently Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies. Combined with a new set of conferences developed by William Pinar, Paul Klohr, Janet Miller, and others, beginning in 1973, an emphasis was initiated to reconceptualize curriculum studies by drawing upon a broader array of theory and practice that enabled greater understanding. Understanding curriculum and how it is embedded in complex social, cultural, economic, and ideological milieus was viewed by some as more important than merely researching designs to more efficiently deliver curricula mandated by governmental agencies and the corporate forces that govern them.

The emergence of curriculum scholars who sought to understand and reconceptualize curricular phenomena may be seen as a kind of balkanization. If they did not support what states wanted to be conveyed by schools, then why should states fund them? The group that began in an effort to reconceptualize curriculum studies by drawing upon diverse literatures (e.g., literary, artistic, critical theory, radical psychoanalysis, non-Western,

indigenous, feminist, phenomenology, and post-structuralist) has become known by the label *Bergamo*, taken from their most prevalent conference site. The 30-plus years of influence by this group has influenced markedly orientations to curriculum studies within AERA. A number of smaller groups have emerged as well: Curriculum and Pedagogy (C&P); the IAACS (International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies) with affiliates in many nations, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (AAACS), the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC), and the Society for the Study of Curriculum History (SSCH). Each of these has influenced larger conceptions of curriculum scholarship relative to their dominant thrusts, for example, C&P on multiple orientations to critical pedagogy, IAACS and AAACS on global perspectives, AATC on the centrality of teaching in school curriculum, and SSCH on the necessity of historical perspectives. Although each of these groups contributes much more than this quick synopsis can convey, the point is that balkanization can be seen as a beneficial opportunity for sustenance that yields new perspectives to wider audiences.

The wider audiences to date, however, remain scholarly and research audiences, despite the finding that Craig Kridel revealed in an elaborate historical look at the history of Bergamo conference presentations; his study revealed that the dominant topic of such presentations has been teacher education. This emphasis is grassroots, intellectual, and reflective; thus, it differs considerably from the dominant packaged approach purveyed by ASCD in its current incarnation and is even more unlike the spate of consultants that roam the sales centers of the school business today. Therefore, the balkanization that curriculum studies decries, in its several scholarly realms, is a balkanization due to public influence. It has been argued that state and corporate interests have set the intellectual organizations (scholarly associations and department of curriculum in universities) apart, balkanizing them with the intent that they would have little influence on the sorting machine that serves acquisitive and colonial (or possible well-meaning) goals. Thus, societal powers have created outlets for publication that intentionally do not influence public policy, but instead breed contention among curriculum

scholars (of slightly different intellectual persuasions) who are influenced to police one another. This disconnection from education in the public sphere is the chief kind of balkanization that threatens curriculum studies today.

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*See also* Colonization Theory; Curriculum, Definitions of; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Curriculum Venues; Subaltern Curriculum Studies

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## BANKING CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

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The idea that education can be a process of depositing, banking, or lodging information and knowledge within a passive learner has its origins with Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. The idea of banking education as it relates to curriculum studies has been given its fullest expression in Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. What Freire was critiquing was the notion of education as a submissive act in which a largely compliant learner was a recipient of knowledge developed and conveyed by somebody else. At the core of the banking concept of education is a transmission view of education based on the belief that knowledge is mostly of a factual kind that exists in order to be conveyed to learners, who accept it without question. There are obvious similarities with John Dewey's notion of teaching by "pouring in" and of learning as a process of passive absorption.

There are several overlapping issues that flow directly from or accompany a banking view of education as it relates to curriculum studies. First, there is the question of power, or who has a legitimate right to know. Related to this question is the second aspect: the clear and unambiguous separation of the role of the knowledgeable teacher on the one hand from the deficient or less than knowledgeable learner on the other hand. Third, there is the nature of knowledge, which is seen as factual, certain, agreed upon, and therefore amenable to easy and amenable transfer from teacher to learner. It is as if there is a private granary of knowledge that is warehoused and that has to be unlocked and delivered to those unfortunate enough to be suffering from a deficiency. Fourth, flowing from these concepts is a presumption that the nature of learning, and by implication the act of teaching, is essentially about remedying a defective situation by filling knowledge deficits or gaps. Fifth, it follows, furthermore, that the nature of the relationship is a hierarchical one as between an authority who knows and a person who is underdeveloped and whose deficiencies have to be remedied or rectified. Finally, knowledge is presented as being disinterested, neutral, objective, and value-free and as purportedly being above and beyond politics.

Freire found the banking concept of education that he described to be troublesome at several levels. First, the depository view of knowledge seemed to fly in the face of reality. In many instances learners do not come to learning as empty vessels; they bring with them rich knowledge and understandings gained through the experiences of living. Second, learners do not always present as passive absorbers of others people's proclamations or diktats—human beings come to learning situations with active and inquiring minds, which make them powerful and active cocreators and coproducers of knowledge. Fourth, in the process of learning, teachers are not unaffected by the process; their students can reveal to them things they previously had not known. Power is thus much more dispersed, less hierarchical, or even inverted, and hence, learning is more democratic than a banking view of education would have us believe. And finally, as long as knowledge is treated as being hermetically sealed, then those whose dominant positions are represented in what is regarded as legitimate or worthwhile knowledge are bolstered



or buttressed against the possible incursion from those whose views are excluded, and the status quo is maintained.

The banking concept of education has clear implications for curriculum studies. Behind it is a view of curriculum as a largely settled body of knowledge, conveyed in a delivery or transmission mode, to acquiescent and passive learners. Although this might appear to have some appeal to education systems and politicians who would prefer that things be settled and that education attend to the basics in traditional ways, it is a view that to many in the field of curriculum studies is decidedly out of fashion and that resides somewhat uneasily in a contemporary world that believes in an active, inquiry-oriented, problem-posing, and inclusive approach to teaching, learning, and engagement with curriculum issues.

*John Smyth*

See also Conscientization; Dewey, John; Freire, Paulo; Official Knowledge

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## **BASIC PRINCIPLES OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION**

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Few single publications have so influenced the field of curriculum studies, both positively and negatively, as Ralph W. Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, published in 1949 and still in print today. Philip Jackson referred to it in the *Handbook of Research in Curriculum* as the Bible of curriculum making. In what arose from a 1940s course syllabus, Tyler developed a rationale for understanding the principles of educational programming and classroom problem solving. He maintained that his intent was never

to construct a curriculum theory, but merely to outline questions that should be asked by educators when examining their practices. His series of questions, a common communications tool that he had developed during his career as an educational consultant and program evaluator, became known as the Tyler Rationale and has served as a flashpoint for current discussions about the significance of curriculum studies.

Tyler (1902–1994) served as chair of the Department of Education and later dean of the Division of Social Sciences at University of Chicago, during which time he taught courses in education. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* was first prepared as a 71-page mimeographed syllabus for Education 360 at the University of Chicago in the late 1940s. The content was said to have been dictated by Tyler throughout the course and distributed in sections to the students. The document was published by the syllabus division of the University of Chicago Press in 1949 as an 83-page pamphlet for Education 305 with very few changes. During the 1960s, a more standard 128-page book was prepared with a table of contents. This version is the one that remains in print today even though there have been many variations through the years in the way the questions have been summarized and abbreviated. The four questions of the Tyler Rationale (appearing in slightly restated form as chapter headings in *Basic Principles*) are as follows: What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? A fifth question, how can a school or college staff work on curriculum building, constituted the final chapter of the publication and addressed the application of the rationale. At the 1976 Milwaukee Curriculum Theory Conference, Tyler mentioned that although the questions remain significant, he would give more attention to the role of the learner and the nonschool dimensions of curriculum design and development.

The rationale rests upon a conceptual foundation, as articulated by Tyler, to help the student of curriculum and instruction understand the formation of educational objectives. Objectives arose from three sources—the needs and interests of the



learners, examination of society (life outside of schools), and recommendations from content specialists—and the final determination of objectives (leading to purposes) is guided by two screens (or filters): (1) social philosophy that examines objectives in relation to a conception of a good life and a good society and (2) the psychology of learning that serves to define conditions that would lead to the fulfillment of objectives. In the final chapter, on curriculum implementation, Tyler states that curriculum design and development should not follow a rigid sequence of steps.

For Tyler, the rationale is seen as defining the elements of curriculum planning, and any of the four questions may serve as an entry point for the process of design and development. In his prior role as a curriculum consultant while engaged in service studies with classroom teachers, his first comment to anyone engaged in curriculum development consisted of articulating and naming the problem. Tyler's caveat that the rationale was not conceived as a linear model becomes more apparent when one views his questions as a conversation about problems (which would serve to define the nature of the curriculum design and development).

With the appearance of this publication in the early 1950s, at a time when school systems were being consolidated and curricula were being standardized, educational administrators found in Tyler's publication a simple way to better understand curriculum (in relation to instruction and evaluation). *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* offered a clear description for an administrative approach to the field, popularizing professional terminology of continuity, sequence, and integration, serving as a primer for the construction of resource units, core curriculum, general education, specialized education, and describing the then evolving conceptions of student and program evaluation and the terms *objectivity*, *reliability*, and *validity*. Tyler's ability to clarify procedures and to state ideas in simple ways has been noted by many. The publication permitted educational administrators to bypass additional professional development workshops in the evolving field of curriculum and with a careful examination of *Basic Principles*, to talk with clarity and confidence.

One problem with this famous publication, however, was that it turned from being read to

becoming myth. Tyler's use of the word *behavior* was often translated by others into an endorsement of behavioral objectives, even though Tyler maintained that behavior was not limited to overt behavior and that he disagreed with the behavioral objectives movement that reduced education to mere training.

*Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, embodying the most fundamental attributes of 1950s and 1960s curriculum design and development and representing a type of production model for curriculum construction, was reappraised in 1971 by Herbert Kliebard in what became a major event for helping to establish the reconceptualist movement. Kliebard questioned Tyler's assertion that *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* was a value-free curriculum development process. Further, he maintained that the rationale oversimplified formulating objectives and selecting forms of evaluation and that its very rationality obscured the complicated issues and problems that must be addressed for the process of curriculum design and development. When Kliebard, in "Reappraisal: The Tyler Rationale," noted that much ideological blood had been spilled in the previous decades among competing curriculum studies doctrines, he also helped to usher in an era of ideological critique regarding the importance, significance, and usefulness of what is considered one of the more important curriculum books of the 20th century.

Craig Kridel

See also Reconceptualization; Tyler, Ralph W.; Tyler Rationale, The

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## BAUDRILLARD THOUGHT

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Jean Baudrillard (1929–2007) has been hailed as a genius and as one of the most forward thinking social theorists of the 20th century, who utilized Marxism and theories of consumerism first and later utilized semiotics to explore everyday life. He reveled in the role of theoretical provocateur whose major contributions to theory and curriculum studies are simulation and hyperreality—that is, disrupting the assumption that it is possible to represent a foundational reality. Simultaneously, Baudrillard was reviled as an imposter, unnecessarily theoretically dense, and lacking in rigor. The breadth of Baudrillard’s impact within curriculum studies was broad: from new media and technology studies to creating productive analytical tools for the studies of consumerism and curriculum, educational methodology, and sociology of education. The concepts of simulacra and hyperreality disrupted the ways in which curriculum might be offered and altered how researchers and theorists might consider the role of education and the construction of knowledge within educational spaces.

Baudrillard was born in Rheims, France, and was the first in his family to attend university. He taught German at the high school level and employing a largely Marxist theoretical frame, completed a PhD (under Lefebvre) in sociology at the relatively advanced age of 37. Soon thereafter, Baudrillard began his academic career at University of Paris (Nanterre).

Baudrillard’s early studies, *System of Objects* and *The Consumer Society*, focused on the ways in which late capitalism precipitated a change in consumerism. Toward the end of this period, Baudrillard began to apply the work of linguist Ferdinand Saussure and relocated the focus of study from the object that was to be bought (sign usage) to the sign-value or image of the commodity. Initiating his break with Marxism, Baudrillard explored the ways an individual functions within a system of signs when acquiring and consuming goods.

Baudrillard completed his most influential work on the concepts of hyperreality and simulation from 1972 to 1982. Baudrillard interrupted the, at that time, epistemological reliance on a direct connection between a representation (that which represents

the real) and the external object (the real). In this stance, a researcher or theorist could offer an authentic, true representation of that which was studied. Alternately, any representation, Baudrillard argued, were a simulacra, simulations or copies of reality without a linkage or referent to the real. Rather, signs and images (media representations, for example) have become that upon which the real is judged, analyzed and become the real upon which new representations or images rely. However as copies, they are unanchored and decontextualized reproductions of reproductions, or hyperreality. Hyperreality questions any possibility that representations within media (and elsewhere) could be tied to the material world. Thus the material world, as the entity upon which analysis and theory rely, lost its meaning. Baudrillard argued that hyperreality replaced any possibility of realness; the illusion became the reality. In this spectacle of hyperreality, authenticity is lost to the illusion of authenticity borne of the image. Reality has become our simulation of it.

Within curriculum studies, Baudrillard offers avenues to, as Trevor Norris suggests, analyze the role of consumerism and the dangers of such conceptualization within curriculum where knowledge has become consumable, a commodity marked by hyperrealities, but rarely analyzed as such. That is, in the present moment, teaching, learning, and consumerism cannot be disentangled from popular culture, the spectacle of media and the imaginary representations about education, and its influences. That is, the realm of the real within schooling can be analyzed through Baudrillard’s questioning of reality and our comfort with simulation.

Baudrillard’s refutation of a truthful representation adds support to those whose methodologies in curriculum studies have forefronted the failure of terms such as *good student*. If the representation of good student is interrupted and perpetuated within meanings detached from that student, if it is a simulacrum, how does a researcher analyze what is true or advocate for a faithful representation of the student, curriculum, or research? Baudrillard’s work calls into question the possibility of research that represents a singular truth; it calls for a range of truths understood as partial.

The critiques of Baudrillard have been many; however, within curriculum studies, Deron Beron asks if Baudrillard’s claim that the determinism of

the simulacra and hyperreality precludes youth agency and a youth-driven critical analysis of schooling. Others argue that the inevitability of the simulation leaves little room for youth disruption of the simulacra. Is it possible and productive, these critics would ask, to problematize consumerism, the pedagogical uses of the use of media and popular culture, if they are doomed to circle back on themselves? Are there ways, as proponents of Baudrillard have argued, to read his theories outside of a mass uncritical consumption?

At the very least, Baudrillard's theories require an interrogation of representation within curriculum and pedagogies, and some would argue that the role of theoretical provocateur who troubles the commonsense notions of the real is legacy enough.

*Lisa W. Loutzenheiser*

*See also* Postmodernism; Technology

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## BEHAVIORAL PERFORMANCE-BASED OBJECTIVES

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Behavioral performance-based objectives in curriculum refer to lesson objectives for students set by the teacher that are precise and observable, for example, "The student will demonstrate the ability to add integers where regrouping is needed." Behavioral performance-based objectives have become increasingly important in the field of curriculum studies as teachers work with their students to demonstrate mastery of objectives in high-stakes testing. This type of objective became popular in the 1970s when behavioral science was at its peak and when B. F. Skinner, a prominent behavioral scientist, claimed that all human learning was a result of stimulus-response. Skinner believed that by observing the response we would observe learning. Objectives such as "The student

will understand the meaning of place value" were pushed aside to make room for "The student will show understanding of place value through converting number words such as 'one hundred and one' into its numeric equivalent with 90% accuracy." Teachers infer knowledge on the part of the student by the student's ability to perform a task. Performance based meant that the learning was reflected through some action by the learner, whether it was serving a volleyball in physical education or solving an algebraic equation in writing. By reducing all learning to behavioral objectives that could be observed, assessment of learning became more precise and more easily measured.

Learning objectives are normally set for each lesson by the teacher, and they should drive the instruction and the assessment of student learning. They are written in response to goals and standards for curriculum usually set by the district and/or state. In this era of high-stakes testing, having students demonstrate learning through behavioral performance is taken seriously in the field of curriculum studies. The focus has shifted from what was taught to what was learned. No longer is it sufficient for the teacher to cover the subject. The students must demonstrate they have learned the skill or concept through their observable actions or satisfactory performance utilizing the skill or understanding.

Each behavioral performance-based objective should have the following four parts: (1) the type of knowledge being inferred, for example, factual, procedural, conceptual; (2) the behavior the learner will exhibit; (3) the conditions under which the learning will be exhibited; and (4) the parameters of the student's performance such as time limits, order of information, and so on.

The focus on writing behavioral performance-based objectives is on the verb, which needs to be an action verb and the level of success expected. "The student will write three sentences using capitals and ending punctuation correctly 80% of the time" is an example of a behavioral performance-based objective. In contrast, "The student will know when to use capitals and ending punctuation" is not a behavioral performance-based objective because there is no observable action to show the student possesses the knowledge. Objectives also should include the conditions under which the

performance occurs. Such as “After reading *The Scarlet Letter*, the student will write a letter to Hester from Mr. Dimsdale’s point of view, using appropriate grammar, letter form, and point of view.”

Many curriculum standards today reference intended learning outcomes, which may be written as a behavioral performance-based objective or not. In the field of curriculum studies, there are opponents of behavioral performance-based objectives. These opponents state that not all learning results in observable behavior and trying to reduce all learning to behavioral objectives results in trivial and often rote learning as opposed to concept attainment and learning the big picture. Although behavioral objectives can be written for concept attainment and other higher level thinking skills, it is true that most often the behavioral objectives reflect the lower levels of thinking such as knowledge and comprehension. Another criticism of behavioral performance-based objectives is that they seldom reference the affective domain. Many teachers have a goal of students valuing or appreciating a content area such as communication skills. Finally, behavioral performance objectives can be so specific and of such small scope that they proliferate to the point of overwhelming the teacher.

The current emphasis in curriculum studies on the tested curriculum and student achievement on high-stakes tests brings the focus back to behavioral performance-based objectives usually aligned with the tested curriculum. Because the standards are written in broad terms, many teachers turn to the tested curriculum and the format of the test to create behavioral performance-based objectives where the type of knowledge, the behavior, and the conditions of the objective align with released test items. This structuring of the objectives in turn narrows the scope of their curriculum. As an alternative, teachers may align their student objectives with the broader curriculum and standards and reflect the quality of the student’s performance through a rubric. Exemplars may also be used with this type of assessment of the student’s performance.

*Janet Penner-Williams*

See also Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Standards, Curricular; Tested Curriculum

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## BENCHMARK ASSESSMENT

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Benchmarking is the practice of identifying, understanding, and adopting the successful business practices and processes used by other companies to increase success. In terms of curriculum studies, benchmark assessment is the means of assessing student knowledge for the purpose of being accountable or competitive, resulting in curriculum decisions being based on what other schools and school districts do for their students in another place and time rather than on the needs of one’s current students.

Linked to the concept of mastery, this practice has its roots in the Middle Ages where the guild required a masterpiece for admission into a trade. The later roots of this current educational practice came from the Xerox Corporation where it was developed to improve the company’s performance in the face of increasing international competition. It is this factor that is probably most closely tied to the efforts to make the curriculum more relevant to a global market and to make schools, teachers, and students more accountable and more competitive.

Although it does involve learning from one’s competitor, benchmark assessment is more focused and narrowly defined for educational purposes. In terms of the teaching and learning process, assessment refers to activities used by teachers to evaluate students’ work. Thus, benchmark assessments serve as indicators of the students’ overall performance and knowledge base for the entire school year as well as their likely performance on accountability assessments. With benchmark assessments, teachers and administrators are supposed to be able to identify those students in need of additional instruction or instructional intervention.

In a move toward increasing global competitiveness as measured by standardized test scores, the



U.S. federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) signed into law in late 2001 aimed for a uniformity of goals, curriculum, teaching methods, and assessments. At the center of NCLB is the use of standardized tests to document the achievement of students and schools. The basic premise is that this uniformity offers the most straightforward means of addressing the inequities that exist among classrooms and schools by providing equality of curriculum and instruction that are measured by the benchmark assessments. To improve student learning across the country, all students must receive the same education and be held to the same high standards on standardized tests.

Tied to the use of content standards that set the directions for the curriculum content, benchmark assessment is being used as the means to satisfy the need for public accountability that currently requires that skills and knowledge be tested and results made public. Benchmarks specify what the students should know and be able to do as a result of instruction and are easily converted into test items—hence benchmark assessment. Thus, these benchmarks can set the conditions for a test-driven curriculum, particularly in a high-stakes context, such as NCLB.

Large scale testing as mandated by this federal law can result in several unintended consequences for students, teachers, and school systems. Many school administrators view centralized curriculum and prescribed instructional programs as the most direct way to increase student test scores, even though these types of assessments narrow the curriculum by emphasizing basic skills and not higher order thinking skills. These assessments also tend to detract from authentic teaching and learning, and student motivation for learning can be negatively impacted resulting in a higher dropout rate when high stakes such as graduation are tied to the test results of benchmark assessments. Benchmark assessments also narrow the professional discretionary space of teachers in making professional decisions about what to teach and how long to teach it if the subject is not tested by the state.

Perhaps one of the most negative consequences of NCLB is due to the standardization of the teaching and learning process that decreases interest in and understanding of curriculum studies. As a result, teachers' professional discretion is being constrained in all subject areas, but especially in

those subject to high-stakes testing. By deskilling teachers, this reductionism leads to classroom decisions being circumscribed by pressures and time demands that devalue teachers' professional experience, judgment, and expertise. This narrowing of discretionary space is further exacerbated by administrators who, under pressure to increase test scores, increasingly choose to mandate curricular and instructional choices as means to control what happens in the classroom, thus hopefully improving test scores as identified by benchmark assessments.

*Louise Anderson Allen*

*See also* Accountability; Achievement Tests; Best Practices; Deskilling; High-Stakes Testing; *Nation at Risk*, A; No Child Left Behind

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## BERGAMO CONFERENCE, THE

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The Bergamo Conference is an annual meeting of curriculum theorists and practitioners at the Bergamo Center in Dayton, Ohio. The conference started as a series of annual meetings beginning in the early 1970s that were hosted by various curriculum leaders at their home institutions with the first one being hosted by William Pinar at the University of Rochester. Subsequent meetings were held at or near other major universities in the Midwest and in the East. By the late 1970s, the meetings briefly found a home at the Airlie House, a rather rustic conference center outside Washington, D.C. These early years of the conference were marked by major presentations by leading figures in the field of curriculum theory, many



of whom had been highlighted by Pinar in his book *Curriculum Theorizing* in 1975. These theorists included James Macdonald, Dwayne Huebner, Maxine Greene, Paul Klohr, Ted Aoki, and the students whom they had influenced and mentored into the field.

By 1983, the conference sought a permanent home, and through the efforts of administrators and faculty at the University of Dayton (Ohio), the Bergamo Center, which was affiliated with the University of Dayton, was identified as that site. From 1983 to 1993, the Bergamo Center (and hence, the Bergamo Conference) became the primary location for both established and emerging leaders in the field of curriculum theory to present thoroughly articulated as well as nascent theoretical positions in a supportive and engaging environment.

The influence of the presentations made at the Bergamo Conference cannot be overestimated. Ideas and theoretical positions that were frequently ignored or rejected by mainstream conferences such as American Educational Research Association (AERA) or ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) in the 1970s became central themes of the Bergamo Conference and subsequently redirected the field to such an extent that by the early 21st century they had become highly visible at AERA, its Special Interest Groups (SIGs), and most professional education organizations. These ideas and theoretical positions included such methodologies and theories as qualitative research, autobiographical and phenomenological research, gender studies, critical theory, hermeneutics, postcolonialism, and so on. The Bergamo Conference provided a forum and incubator for new, emerging, avant-garde research, and it literally redefined the field of curriculum theory in the last quarter of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century.

Like many cutting edge organizations such as the Progressive Education Association, the Bergamo Conference experienced its periods of growth and decline. From its halcyon years of the early 1980s to mid-1990s, its attendance declined from a high point of over 400 attendees to a low of under 100 attendees in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century.

After a 5-year hiatus when the conference met at a different site, the conference returned to the

Bergamo Center in 1999. The conference organizers sought to sustain both the original intent and purpose of the conference sessions, and they were largely successful in doing so by attracting a new generation of graduate students and faculty just entering the field. The Bergamo Conference continues to attract an audience of curriculum theorists eager to present new ideas and perspectives and to allow for supportive critique of emerging theory. The rich history and influence of the Bergamo Conference appears poised to continue into its fifth decade.

*Leigh Chiarelott*

*See also* Aoki, Ted T.; *Curriculum Books*; *Curriculum Theorizing*; *Curriculum Theory*; *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*

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## BERMAN, LOUISE M.

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From the first book that brought Louise Berman recognition as a scholar in the field of curriculum studies (*New Priorities in the Curriculum*, 1968) to her present scholarship, the centrality of ethical decision making to improve the human condition is her continuing priority for curriculum. The influence of her humanities-inspired approach to curriculum studies can be traced to her childhood, educational pathways chosen, and her compelling interest in literature and language as a prior student of English literature. Just as the humanities seek to explore and understand forms of human existence with a focus on the ethical life, the just

society, and educated citizenry, the themes in Berman's curriculum scholarship reveal her commitment to these ideals. The heart of her curriculum inquiry is rooted in norms, values, judgments, and decision making that enrich the human spirit. Berman was born in 1928 in Hartford, Connecticut. Growing up in the Depression era, Berman experienced a home that was opened to strangers who gathered around the family table, bringing stories of their hardships as well as of their joys. She was witness to the alleviation of suffering as her family helped refugees fleeing from war-torn Germany. These life lessons followed her through undergraduate studies at Wheaton College in Illinois (BA 1950) and graduate school (Teachers College, MA 1953 and EdD 1960) where the human condition found its claim on her through literature, especially poets, from around the world. But it was in her work with children while at Teachers College as a kindergarten and elementary teacher in lab schools linked with Central Connecticut State College that she made her turn to curriculum studies. She also taught in several private and public schools. Under the mentorship of Alice Miel, Berman came to share an interest in democracy and education, a consequent grounding for Berman's development of ethical decision making.

Upon completion of her doctoral degree, Berman went to the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee where she taught general curriculum and supervision courses from 1960 to 1965. Her interest in international education brought her to Latin America during this time to conduct research in a community development project, an interest that she later continued in a teaching context.

In 1965, Berman became Associate Secretary of the ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development), a position she held for 2 years. Throughout this time, her scholarship evolved from prior projects begun at Teachers College. From a Seminar on Creativity in which Berman assisted Alice Miel, to participation in a workshop for international students, she began her founding scholarship with the publication of a handbook for teachers (*From Thinking to Behaving*, 1967) that became the basis for her first major book (*New Priorities in the Curriculum*, 1968).

While at ASCD, her interest and commitment to international education grew as she sought to

increase the role of ASCD in international understanding. She recommended that a commission on international education be formed with Miel as chair of this ad hoc group. The first international conference was held at the Asilomar Conference Center in Pacific Grove near Carmel, California, in 1970. From this conference, the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction was born in 1971, an organization for which Berman was a founding member and to which she has been committed throughout her professional career, becoming the third president, from 1979 to 1981.

In 1967, Berman became a professor of curriculum at the University of Maryland, Department of Administration and Supervision and also served as the director of the Center for Young Children from 1967 to 1975. Her rise as a scholar in curriculum studies was swift from three early interrelated books that marked her scholarship in existentialist dimensions of the person through process-oriented approaches centered on the following concepts: perceiving, communicating, loving, decision making, knowing, patterning, creating, and valuing (*New Priorities in the Curriculum*). Always concerned with helping teachers and schools work with children and adolescents in the development of these dimensions of thinking and being, she expanded these concepts in the book *Curriculum: Teaching the How, What, Why of Living*, 1977, coauthored with Jessie Roderick. Three pervasive themes guided this work: persons and social settings, decision making, and peopling (living life fully with others). Also in 1977, she coedited an ASCD yearbook with Roderick, *Feeling, Valuing and the Art of Growing: Insights Into the Affective*.

Berman's scholarship and teaching evolved in her work with doctoral students and colleagues as she drew on phenomenological foundations. Two significant texts written with Francine Hultgren and doctoral students illustrate this work: *Toward Curriculum for Being: Voices of Educators*, 1991, and *Being Called to Care*, 1994. Throughout her prolific career, her scholarship continued to reflect her core themes around the struggle to become more human. A hallmark question that echoes throughout her scholarship is the following: What does it mean to dwell in ethical community?

Berman has been a sought-after senior curriculum scholar through numerous visiting professorships and curriculum project consultancies around the

country and world. She was recognized with the Distinguished Alumni Award at Wheaton College in 1981, and was awarded Distinguished Contributor to Curriculum in Division B of the American Education Research Association in 1983. Many additional honors and citations recognize her significant contributions to curriculum studies, two of which are being elected to the Professors of Curriculum Group and Laureate Counselor to Kappa Delta Pi.

In 1992, Berman retired from the University of Maryland. As a testimonial to the vast number of doctoral students she mentored, the Louise M. Berman Curriculum Award was established in her honor to forward the educational ideals of her lifetime commitment to inquiry into the human condition and cross-national projects that are designed to encourage dialogue across diverse groups of people. Berman's legacy to curriculum studies is exemplified in this award.

Berman was inspired by the humanities, and she inspired her colleagues, students, and curriculum studies through her valuing of the poetic. Through these poetic contributions to curriculum studies, Berman has revealed a way to bring about expression of the inner self and opened possibilities for defining and creating more just and compassionate worlds. And the priority for her has always been to ask and live in provocative questions that are most central to the human condition—enhancement of persons dwelling in community.

*Francine H. Hultgren*

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; American Education Research Association Division B; Aoki, Ted T.; Appendix: Fundamental Curriculum Questions; ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development)

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## BEST PRACTICES

Best practices tend to be those that are suggested by respected professionals as well as those for which there is some level of research regarding the usefulness of the practice. Although evidence-based practice is used in various fields such as medicine and nursing, it has not always been used in curriculum in particular or in education in general. At one time, teachers based their curricular decisions on their personal perspectives as well as on their knowledge about the students in their classrooms. This personal perspective served as a filter or lens through which they either accepted, rejected, or interpreted new practices for their classrooms. A further consideration for teacher practices was that the external expectations imposed policies that did not usually correspond to the teachers' opinions or conceptions of what constituted "good" teaching.

Prior to the current climate of a standardized curriculum and best practices as defined by others than the classroom teacher, best practices tended to evolve from workshops, professional development series, and from research. Because teaching is a personal and private endeavor, teachers viewed a change in their practices from the perspectives of what they changed and what prompted the change. Thus, teachers were the ultimate arbiters of what was taught (and how). They made decisions about how much time to allocate to a particular school subject, what topics to cover, when and in what order, to what standards of achievement, and to which students. Collectively, these decisions and their implementation defined the content of the curriculum. Using their best judgment in making these decisions, teachers received advice and support from a variety of sources, including and perhaps especially from each other, as to what constituted best practice in the classroom.

That has changed, however, since 1983 with the publication of *A Nation at Risk* and even more so since the passage of the federal No Child Left Behind law in 2001. Now federal and state education agencies have directed huge resources into identifying and promoting the use of best practices by teachers and other educators so as to improve student achievement as measured by standardized tests. The argument for best practices is that they represent the hope that a systematic comparative

evaluation of different programs or program components would yield definite conclusions about what were the most effective, best ways to teach, to deliver the curriculum, and to improve test scores.

Critics contend that such a comparative analysis is difficult when programs have different goals and schools serve different populations with different needs. Best practices need to be specific in identifying best for whom, under what conditions, for what purposes, in what context, with what evidence and criteria were they judged to be best, and in comparison to what alternatives. At the heart of best practices is the concept of generalizability that means that the practice can be successfully transferred to any other similar setting.

Clearly, the concept of best practices was conceived of and touted to be the simplification of the complex task of teaching. As a nonlinear task, however, teaching does not easily lend itself to being reduced to a formula or to a recipe. Nor is teaching a dispassionate act having no emotional connection to each other or to the topic being studied. Finally, teaching at its best and with its most potency calls for a search for meaning, for significance, and for making a difference in the lives of students. The identification of best practices by other entities outside of the personal classroom makes the teaching and learning process external. As scholars in the field of curriculum studies have demonstrated, best practices also deskills teachers, and it leads them to question the relevance of their work over which they now have such little control. The argument could be made that best practices are the culmination of the 1960s movement that moved curriculum studies away from the center of school work toward the error proofing of the teaching-learning process.

As the gold standard for what works best in classrooms, current best practices have been identified through research studies that critics argue tended to discount tremendously useful information about the conditions under which successful teaching and learning occurred. In other words, the studies failed to capture the big picture of how ideas, theories, and personal connections interact to create a learning situation. By looking for a representative sample, researchers lumped all learners together as if they all learned in the same way, under the same conditions. The differences and difficulties that learners bring to the classroom are not seen as a part of the teaching-learning equation. Because it is

these statistical research studies that are accepted as “real” research now by government funding agencies, school districts now make curricular decisions for teachers based upon the best practices from other districts from other regions in the country.

Because statistical studies are used to help identify best practices, it is also easier now to tie the best teaching practices to benchmarking that calls for identifying, understanding, and adopting the successful practices and processes (best practices) used by other schools and systems who have significantly improved student learning and achievement as defined by the standardized curriculum, methods, and assessments. With the educational system currently focused on standardization of curriculum, instruction, and assessment as the means to ensure that students are learning, teachers are now encouraged—in fact, required—to be compliant deliverers of what someone else has determined as best practice with quality control in the guise of standardized test scores.

*Louise Anderson Allen*

*See also* Accountability; Achievement Tests; Benchmark Assessment; Deskilling; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind

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## BILINGUAL CURRICULUM

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Bilingual curriculum, or a curriculum that is bilingual, refers to subject matter content taught and



learned in two languages. Variations in instructional program models and teaching strategies are influenced by an intricate combination of issues including inadequate funding, national identity, teaching philosophies, and diverse political ideologies. In the United States, a bilingual curriculum includes English as one of the languages. Students enrolled in bilingual curricular programs are identified as English learners. One of the goals of a bilingual curriculum is to ensure that all students in public schools learn to speak English. A discussion of the history of bilingual education, current language policies, and instructional program models follow.

Decades of theory, scholarship, and empirical research have informed practices of a curriculum that is bilingual. Various teaching strategies and modes of instruction falling under the definition of bilingual education have evolved over time. Historically, bilingual education was common in the ancient world. A scarcity of written resources created a need for people to be literate in multiple languages in order to share and access limited materials. Today, in most parts of the world, bilingualism and bilingual education are the norm. However, in the United States, bilingual education has a complex history marked by conflicting theories, ideologies, and language policy trends. When European explorers came to the New World, what is now the United States, there were between 250 and 1,000 indigenous languages. Carlos Ovando, a bilingual education scholar, maintains that the cultural and language differences between the indigenous people and the Europeans initially set the stage for linguistic controversy that continues today and is fueled by issues of power, ethnocentrism, and cultural and national identity.

In 1974, language policies were initially legislated by *Lau v. Nichols*, the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that first addressed the academic language instruction of non-English-speaking children in public schools. Informed by the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Supreme Court stated in *Lau v. Nichols* that equal education for all students could not exist if non-English-speaking children were taught in a language that they could not understand. The Court stated that native language instructional support for non-English-speaking students must be provided to make certain that their learning opportunities were equivalent to

English-speaking students'. As significant as the *Lau* decision was to bilingual education, the Court did not define the nature or type of instruction needed to support the schooling of non-English-speaking students.

The ambiguity of the *Lau* decision resulted in other law suits, such as *Otero v. Mesa County School District No. 51* (1977), *Guadalupe v. Tempe School District No. 3* (1978), and *Aspira of New York, Inc. v. Board of Education* (1975), that attempted to explicitly recognize native language instruction as an important component in the schooling of English learners. In terms of program models, the variety of instructional approaches stimulates debate regarding which is the most effective in teaching English learners in schools. In addition, bilingual language programs vary considerably in terms of district funding and support, academic and language goals, the percentage of instructional time allotted to the child's native language, and the amount of time devoted to English.

Some programs focus on developing biliteracy, literacy in both English and another language. These programs are known by various names: two-way bilingual education, bilingual immersion, dual language immersion, and two-way immersion. Although other student ratios exist in these programs, the ideal situation in this model is classrooms with half native English speakers and half native speakers of the same non-English language. In this model, both groups are immersed in a non-native language and both develop native and second-language knowledge, skills, and competencies. Other biliteracy instructional models, such as developmental bilingual education, late exit programs, maintenance education, and heritage or indigenous language programs, segregate non-English speakers. Generally, in these language programs, the native language is used extensively in the early primary grades and decreases as students move into the intermediate grades. A goal is to eventually remove students from a language program and transition them into classrooms with all English instruction.

Some of the most popular and most limited bilingual education programs disregard the maintenance and development of the home language and focus exclusively on English acquisition. The major goal is to transition students as quickly as possible into classroom with instruction only in



English. It is assumed that teachers receiving these emerging English learners have teaching skills in English as a second language. Models under this type are known as early exit, transitional bilingual education, sheltered English, content-based English as a second language, specially designed academic instruction in English, and structured instructional observation protocol.

Theoretically, regardless of the language program model used, a curriculum that is bilingual provides non-English-speaking children a greater opportunity to learn. Proponents of bilingual education expect equitable language learning conditions for linguistically diverse children and acknowledge that children in the United States learn English. Because language is a critical tool for learning, advocates point out that English learners need instructional support in their native language. Attention to the language needs of linguistically diverse children provides comparable services that are readily available to monolingual English-speakers.

*Rosa Hernández Sheets and Ana Berta Torres*

*See also* Diversity Pedagogy; Latino/a Research Issues

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## BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

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Biographical research in curriculum studies constitutes the study of a life, focusing primarily upon an individual who in some way is affiliated with the professional field of education and specifically with the field of curriculum, broadly conceived. Many other research methodologies for examining a life exist in educational studies—life history writing, portraiture, oral history, memoir,

autobiography, narrative inquiry, and teacher–student lore—and are situated primarily within social science research traditions of qualitative research. Biographical research, in contrast, is aligned more with fields in the humanities—literature and cultural studies—however, most biographical research in curriculum studies is still guided by traditional research conceptions from the field of educational history. Five basic types of educational biography exist in curriculum studies: scholarly chronicles, intellectual biography, life history writing, memoir biography, and narrative biography; these orientations may take the form of full-length books or vignettes. Yet, biographical inquiry has been slowly supplanted in the qualitative research literature in education. Its presence, although highly popular with the general reading public, has yet to be fully accepted in the field of curriculum studies.

The most fundamental type of biographical research in curriculum studies is described as scholarly chronicles, with a focus on the documentary, historical portrayal of an individual life. This traditional research orientation involves telling the subject’s story in chronological order with emphasis upon developing a quest plot (life pattern-stage) and describing those life periods of recognition (or notoriety). Such biographical scholarship is commonly embraced by educational and curricular historians and remains popular in the field of education. The scholarly chronicle is often viewed as synonymous with biography; however, this research orientation is markedly different from another form of scholarship, intellectual biography with its focus on a conceptual analysis of the subject’s motives and significance in the world of ideas. The intellectual biography, exemplified in the work of Leon Edel, defines human character and constructs an agreeable aesthetic shape to the writing. One need not draw fine distinctions between these areas; realms are crossed continually as the intent and purpose of the biographer become more clearly defined. Those writing intellectual biography have often overcome the interpretive angst displayed by many educational researchers who include pages of student–teacher transcripts in their articles, but who refuse to interpret motives and feelings.

A third form of biographical research is defined as life history writing (and the narrative study of lives) with an accompanying allegiance to social science research traditions. This research type has

taken many forms, perhaps resonating most in the area of teacher education with the burgeoning first year teacher research and the study of teachers' lives scholarship. In recent years a fourth form, memoir biography (still distinct from autobiography) has begun to appear with a focus upon the researchers' motives in relation to the biographical subject. The analysis of the writer alongside the biographical subject becomes part of the research. A life story is being told, but in relation to the transactional experiences of the biographer that in turn influences and foreshadows similar experiences of the reader. The fifth type, narrative biography, represents a dynamic portrayal of a life without the need for absolute facticity or a comprehensive account from birth to grave. Neither is this style burdened by the definitive interpretation of the subject that must be accepted by the reader. Facts are recognized, and some interpretations prove more thoughtful than others, but the biographer, though consciously aware of his or her personal emotions and reactions to the subject, acknowledges that the telling of the story is primarily defined by the subject in relation to the reader. Narrative educational biography insists that the significance of the biographical subject is constructed in relation to the anticipated needs and interests of the reader. Interpretive biography is not recognized as a distinct type of scholarship because all biography should be viewed as interpretive.

During the current era of blurred research genres in curriculum studies, fine distinctions cannot always be drawn between biography and other forms of qualitative research. Nuances of research methodology, however, become quite clear when considering the way in which the biographer perceives the biographical subject and treats research materials—documents, interview transcripts, material culture. Insider–outsider relationships, interviewee sense of trust, and triangulation—these defining methodology topics of the ethnographer and oral historian prove not as important to the biographer as other crucial topics and perspectives. In contrast, interpretive and documentary issues of biographical inquiry cause researchers ultimately to define themselves and their craft. Interpretive research issues include (a) establishing the biographer's voice and the manner in which the subject will be portrayed (elicited rather than refashioned), (b) ascertaining the existence of nature and character (Edel's "figure under

the carpet") or dismissing any conception of a unifying essential self, (c) defining the parameters of research accuracy and biographical truth, (d) determining the biographer's relation and fascination with the subject, and (e) articulating moral judgments made by the biographer. Documentary research topics include (a) deciding which biographical gaps in the life of the subject will be filled and how information will be obtained and conveyed, (b) addressing issues of copyright and archival access, (c) ascertaining the archival significance and importance of documents and interviews, and (d) articulating the biographer's ethics of documentation and the appropriate use of private information being made public. These topics may not be addressed in all forms of biographical research; the issues remain crucial for the thoughtful biographer and are markedly different from those questions posed by researchers who work in other forms of qualitative research. Further, these topics create a dramatic divide between biography and autobiography. Although some qualitative researchers view the term *auto/biography* as being descriptive and accurate, there are dramatic differences between biography and autobiography—much more than any slash or solidus can convey.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Autobiographical Theory; Narrative Research; Qualitative Research

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## BLOCK SCHEDULING

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Block scheduling is a class schedule alternative that offers fewer classes each day for longer blocks

of time. Following the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, public schools in the United States entered a period of reform and restructuring designed to improve student academic performance and to make better use of instructional time without lengthening the school day. Reformers called for a creation of smaller schools, the development of a standard core curriculum, the elimination of student tracking, and a reexamination of the use of time. Changes to pedagogical practices and the curriculum demanded more flexible scheduling. In the face of these demands, many secondary schools implemented variations of block scheduling based on Trump's Flexible Modular Scheduling Design. Robert Lynn Canady and Michael D. Rettig identified five basic scheduling models used in schools across the United States, four of which were block scheduling models. The two most frequently implemented models were the  $4 \times 4$  design and the alternating day (or A/B) design. In the  $4 \times 4$  design, four classes meet 90 minutes per day for 90 days, followed by another four classes, and so on. In the alternating day design, classes meet 85–100 minutes per day every other day for the duration of the school year. By the year 2000, an estimated half of U.S. high schools had tried some form of block scheduling in efforts to improve the use of instructional time.

Quality and quantity of teaching and learning time were the major concerns to be addressed in the changes of schedule. Theoretically, in a longer block of instructional time, teachers and students have more time for exploration, delve more deeply into specific topics, and focus more on project- and problem-based tasks. Teachers enjoy increased planning time, face reduced preparation and grading duties, participate in professional development to diversify teaching techniques, and increase collaboration among students. Block schedules provide a less industrial, less compartmentalized framework for teaching and learning, encouraging teachers to work together across disciplines to function in teaching teams and to focus on contextual teaching. Block scheduling affords schools the opportunity to include more advanced subjects in the curriculum. Students are able to complete more courses in 3 or 4 years of high school block scheduling than in 3 or 4 years of traditional seven-period day scheduling, increasing their preparedness for the work force or for higher

education. Further, the extended time available per class session in a block schedule allows the curriculum to be focused on student engagement and learning rather than on materials available, teacher convenience, or administrative preference.

Teachers and students who participated in early block schedule reforms reported positive results in modified curriculum and instructional approaches. More time was spent on activities other than teacher-centered lectures. Students settled more readily into class activities and caused fewer classroom disruptions, resulting in fewer disciplinary issues. Teachers expanded the content of lessons and both deepened and broadened the required curriculum: Students participated in more independent projects and in some teaching activities with classmates. Because block schedules allowed time to cover concepts in more depth, both teachers and students found their work more interesting, engaging, and challenging.

However, no empirical data have shown conclusively that participation in block scheduling affects student academic performance, either positively or negatively. Results of some school-based studies have been refuted by the results of other studies. Further, in some cases, improvement in student test scores during the first year of implementation have been negated by losses in subsequent years. The most consistent improvements in academic performance data have occurred in schools that combined some block scheduling with some traditional, based on individual student strengths and challenges.

Positive nonacademic outcomes, on the other hand, have been widely reported and documented. These outcomes include improved class climate, enhanced opportunities to experiment with teaching techniques, fewer discipline problems, improved student interaction, and increased parent and teacher satisfaction with local schools.

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*See also* Curriculum Development

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## BORDER CROSSING

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Border crossing is a central concept in the field of curriculum studies. It reflects a profoundly democratic vision of curriculum and locates a set of challenges in realizing this vision. This entry communicates this vision and the associated challenges that educators must address. The entry also provides a set of promising conceptual and pedagogic practices that can help educators confront the portrayed challenges.

In common language, a border can possess positive qualities such as providing helpful conceptual boundaries and asserting the parameters of legal sovereignty. In addition, from a conventional perspective, many borders appear to be ethically neutral, natural in their origin or fixed in their essence, such as one's sex, race, ethnicity, language, or intelligence. By contrast, the primary use of the term *border* within curriculum studies is pejorative, meant to convey dynamics of dominance and exclusion, inequality, and marginalization. Rather than seen as natural, predetermined, and/or unalterable, borders within a curriculum studies perspective are characteristically viewed as historically contingent, culturally constructed phenomena, perpetuated at the personal, social, and institutional levels in ways that are variously deliberate, habitual, and unconscious.

Curriculum educators committed to a holistic vision of democratic living seek to minimize, reconfigure, transcend, that is, to cross these borders for multiple salutary purposes: to disrupt and demystify stereotypes and enhance deep mutual understanding across differences; to expand bonds of community solidarity; to foster fuller, hybridized self-realization; to problematize prevailing, often unexamined relationships of power and hierarchy; and to institutionalize more enlightened commitments to social justice.

Obstacles to advancing this vision are ubiquitous and deep seated, multilayered, and intertwined. Biological forces often conspire to prioritize familiarity, predictability, equilibrium. Historical and systemic forces, involving sociocultural-political beliefs, attitudes, and rituals, congeal to normalize "us" and villainize the Other. Dominant derivatives of these forces can be fear and disgust, condescension and self-righteousness. In both symbolic and concrete ways, these intoxicating ingredients, often incensed by religious practices, tend to metastasize into an insistent demand for invasion and colonization, certainty and control, separation or stratification. These dynamics can overwhelm the realization of alternate, more democratic impulses toward curiosity and connection, accommodation and care. These latter dispositions are instrumental to a state of more peaceful, respectful, even flourishing coexistence within difference.

Animated by biology and religion, culture and politics, this quest for certainty and control, simultaneously universalizing and insulating, unavoidably collides with the irrepressible reality of three types of controversy that crisscross all these domains of life. These three types involve factual, definitional, and value disputes.

Representing disagreement over what has happened in the past or what will happen in the future, factual controversy highlights the inherent limitations of human knowledge and the essential unpredictability of various human (inter)actions. Given the stakes in terms of affirming or shaking one's personal identity, or influencing the distribution of power and tangible resources, individuals and groups are intensely concerned about how these factual disputes are resolved. A small sample of factual issues on which many citizens, policy makers, and private individuals hold tenaciously antagonistic viewpoints includes the creationist versus Darwinist conception of the origin of the universe; the effects of sex education practices on youth's responsible sexual behavior; the impact of selected governmental regulations on affordable, quality health care and the stable growth of the marketplace; the effects of bilingual or mainstreamed special education programs on the social and intellectual development of all students; the origin and mutability of one's sexual orientation; and the relative role of structural versus personal factors in perpetuating poverty.



Besides fencing in or out various perspectives over contested factual matters, people tend to build bunkers around their particular conceptions of selected terms, asserting and debating distinctions with life-and-death ferocity. Examples of such definitional disputes include conflict over the meaning of intelligence, patriotism, responsible sexual behavior, genocide, a true liberal or conservative, the nature of legitimate research, the line between rights and privileges, public responsibility and private discretion, and the moment when a fetus becomes a human being.

Reflecting various conceptions of the essential, the true, the good, and the right, people also construct fortresses and moats to elevate and separate themselves from competing values that threaten their customs and convictions. Throughout history both verbal and physical warfare have exploded between those who prioritize freedom over equality, national security over civil liberties, truth telling over loyalty to kin, reason over faith, and the subordination versus the equality of women, gays, people with disabilities, and people of color.

Border crossing educators seek to address not avoid the siege and flight mentalities associated with these forms of controversy and the persistent barriers to insightful communication and self-examination they can generate. With tact and tenacity, hope and humility, these educators confront border crossing challenges by taking on multiple, overlapping roles: critical theorist and Socratic seminar leader, public intellectual and policy advocate, conflict mediator and counselor, social science researcher and reflective practitioner. They expose learners to multiple cultures and the struggles and dreams these cultures commonly and uniquely experience. They model and offer conceptual tools to foster critical interrogation of the self and the complex conditions of possibility within which the self is continuously constructed. And they structure yin and yang processes of methodological believing and doubting, encouraging students to view controversial perspectives from both a generous spirit (“These ideas may have merit from which I can learn.”) and a skeptical one (“I need to question the veracity and ideological interests of all text’s premises and arguments.”).

Compelling in its cause yet daunting in its demands, the enterprise of border crossing

highlights the hopes and challenges for curriculum studies in a democracy.

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*See also* Colonization Theory; Critical Pedagogy; Diversity Pedagogy; Hegemony; Hybridity; Marginalization; Resistance and Contestation; Subaltern Curriculum Studies

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## BOURDIEUIAN THOUGHT

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Bourdieuian thought is a systematic and audacious approach in the sociology of education that has effected a set of suppositions that have influenced greatly the fields of education and curriculum studies. The French sociologist of education Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) developed his theories from an array of resources drawn from statistical analyses, structuralism, and the social theories of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim, setting forth a sustained and critical analysis of the role of schooling in reproducing class structures of domination and subordination. Through his analysis, Bourdieu contended that the educational system is extensively involved in the reproduction of social structure, and it ensures the perpetuation of privilege by the mere operation of its internal logic. The way social and cultural reproduction is effected through the symbolic power of the school has placed the sociology of the curriculum at the center. Bourdieuian thought and the concept of social capital addresses issues embedded within curriculum studies, education, and teaching, and it has generated many criticisms that are relevant to the field of curriculum studies. The examination of the structures of schooling, relationships among players



in education, and issues dealing with hidden curriculum, oppression in the curriculum, as well as who legitimizes knowledge to be taught at schools, who has access to it, and who participates in decision making are issues relevant to the fundamental curriculum questions. Based on sociological perspectives, educational inequality is embedded in the institutional practices connected to the transmission of curriculum, and in the principles of knowledge itself.

Bourdieu's central contribution has been the extension of the reproduction pattern beyond the boundaries of epiphenomenal economic-based superstructure models to analyze the internal logic of an educational system that, while concealing its role, simultaneously reproduces and legitimates the capitalist social formation, contributing to cultural and social reproduction. Bourdieu has articulated the argument that the dominant group, whose culture is embodied in the schools, controls the economic, social, and political resources of the capital of different subgroups. This capital is embodied in the habitus of subgroups, a system of durable, transposable dispositions that are the basis of structured, objectively unified practices, attributed by family, the educational system, and the force of social class. Economic capital refers to monetary assets that can be accumulated and invested as part of class strategy. Cultural capital refers to linguistic, stylistic, and knowledge attributes that are acquired from family through socialization as part of the habitus and that can enhance one's position in the cultural field. Social capital is the collective of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of essentially institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. As per the Bourdieuan thought, the cultural capital the schools take for granted becomes an effective filter in the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society: Just as dominant economic institutions are structured to favor those who already possess economic capital, so educational institutions are structured to favor those who already possess cultural capital, defined according to the criteria of the dominant hegemony.

Bourdieu's theories include also notions such as the reproduction of structures, which is a system of objective relations that preexist the individuals and impart their relational properties to them.

Misrepresentation is a systematic and collective illusion of the class-based power networks that secure the permanence and stability of social structures. Permanence is also secured via the misrecognition of the arbitrary aspects of dominant cultures, usually taken as universal and legitimate, avoiding the real violence that lies behind. For example, the work of Bourdieu in the 1970s illustrates that educational systems foster a misrecognition of the part that schools play in cultural and social reproduction. Symbolic violence is the symbolic effect exerted by social power that never presents itself in its naked form as brute force.

Researchers and educational theorists in the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s, like Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Henry Giroux, and George Willis, have not only discussed the sorting functions of schooling, but also identified gaps in Bourdieu's model.

*Nikoletta Christodoulou*

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Cultural Production/Reproduction; *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Structuralism

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## **BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION, BROWN I DECISION**

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The landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education (Brown I)*, interpreted the equal protection of the laws clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, maintaining that separate was inherently unequal and overturning the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that permitted segregation. The *Brown I* decision

actually represents the culmination of several court cases: *Briggs v. Elliot* (South Carolina, 1952), *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (Virginia, 1952), *Belton v. Gebhart* and *Bulah v. Gebhart* (Delaware, 1952), *Bolling v. Sharpe* (District of Columbia, 1954), and *Brown v. Board of Education* (Kansas, 1954). All were later folded into the other cases when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) encouraged the plaintiffs to turn them into school desegregation cases. This entry briefly introduces the context of the case and discusses current debates and additional aspects of the decision that are not often addressed. Finally, this entry focuses on the factors contributing to *Brown I*'s landmark status.

### Background

The primary referent for *Brown* is the 1896 Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In this case Homer Plessy, a light-complexioned African American, tested the Louisiana segregation laws by riding a train car reserved for Whites. The law stated that segregation was legal as long as the facilities maintained for Blacks were equal to those established for Whites. Plessy argued his case on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, but the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court Judge John Howard Ferguson's ruling and in doing so validated segregation throughout the nation.

As a consequence of *Plessy* separate and segregated facilities (schools, hospitals, drinking fountains, restrooms, bus and movie theater seating, etc.) continued to be prominent throughout the South in the United States. However, it was clear that these separate facilities were not equal, yet there was no enforcement of the equal aspect of the law. The family of Linda Brown sued the Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education because Linda had to walk past several schools (that enrolled only White students) to attend her all-Black elementary school, thus testing the separate-but-equal aspect of the *Plessy* decision.

### Current Debates

Current debates often focus on the motivation for *Brown*. Some argue that the nation was changing and that the Supreme Court's decision was part of

the natural evolution of race relations in the nation. This perspective suggests a more altruistic motive for changing the law and ultimately public policy. Others suggest that the proactive strategies of civil rights groups and citizens and the sheer volume of legal cases that was challenging segregation pushed the Court. However, some scholars such as Mary Dudziak suggest that the impetus for *Brown* was to facilitate foreign policy and to improve the international image of the United States in the midst of the cold war. Soviet propaganda was taking full advantage of the racial discord in the United States to appeal to nonaligned nations and to embarrass the United States as a hypocritical nation that offered freedom on the one hand and regularly denied it to Black citizens on the other.

Derrick Bell endorses Dudziak's thesis and calls the *Brown* decision a good example of interest convergence, where *Brown* assured U.S. Blacks that World War II and the struggle for equality and freedom abroad could be applied in the United States. Although many people think of *Brown* primarily as serving Black interests, the case also served White interests (e.g., improving the national image, quelling racial unrest, and stimulating the Southern economy). This convergence of interests is what made *Brown* possible and reflects the critical race theory assertion that all civil rights legislation is designed ultimately to benefit Whites. Ostensibly, the *Brown* decision was to be the open door of opportunity for Blacks and other people of color, but its benefits to Whites were considerable.

In 1989, Bell creatively used storytelling to relate "The Chronicle of the Sacrificed Black Children" to tell the mythical story of a community where all the Black students suddenly disappear on the day they are scheduled to be bused to a White community to attend school. Initially, the White community is elated. Their protests and angry demonstrations seem to have worked. The Black children were not coming. The Black parents became distraught and frightened because they could not find their children. After a few weeks of no Black children, many of the advantages the desegregation plan was to afford the White school begin to slip away. The bus drivers must be laid off because there are no children to bus. The buses themselves must be sold. The professional development leaders and school desegregation coordinators were let go. The extra cafeteria workers were laid off, the lunch

orders were reduced, and even the local merchants found themselves unable to move the extra inventory—candy, snacks, and comic books—they had ordered in anticipation of a larger school population when the Black children entered the school.

At the end of the chronicle, Bell depicts the White community members as so economically damaged that they begin hunting for the Black children themselves because they need them in order to garner the benefits that desegregation offers the White community. The story is a fantasy, but in the storytelling Bell reveals the multiple levels on which Whites gain through civil rights rulings. His point is not that Whites should not benefit, but rather that the primary focus of civil rights legislation in the United States is ultimately what it does for those in power and privilege rather than what it does for the dispossessed it purports to benefit.

### Additional Aspects

An aspect of *Brown* that has received scant attention is the sacrifices by so many African Americans. This is not to suggest that *Brown* was not a worthy goal, but rather to look carefully at the civil rights balance sheet and calculate what the decision cost the African American community. One tangible cost of *Brown* came in the loss of teaching and administrative jobs among Black teachers and principals. The estimates suggest there were 38,000 Black teaching and administrative jobs in 17 Southern states between 1954 and 1965. Although *Brown* defined the rights of Black students, it said nothing about Black teachers. In addition, some states enacted laws that allowed school boards to dismiss Black teachers without cause. In the 1965 to 1966 school year, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported that only 1.8% of the Black teachers in the 11 states of the former Confederacy taught on a desegregated faculty. There was not one Black teacher in Alabama, Louisiana, or Mississippi teaching in a school where there were White teachers. This occurred despite the fact that 85% of Black teachers in the nation were located in the South.

And perhaps the most bewildering aspect of *Brown* is that it was premised on the notion of Black inferiority. Even the plaintiff attorneys used this discourse to undergird its case. The strategy

of the plaintiff experts was to essentially pathologize Black children rather than address the underlying pathology—White supremacy. Thus, in order to gain access to quality education the plaintiff attorneys had to argue the inferiority of Black children (and by extension Black people) rather than attack the problem of inferior facilities and inferior education. The implementation of the ruling became one of moving Black children near White children regardless of the quality of the school and its teachers.

### Landmark Status

*Brown* gained its landmark status because of the sweeping changes it signaled for the use of and access to public schools as well as for other public accommodation. At this point in U.S. society, race relations were primarily a function of state laws and customs. Soon after Reconstruction, Southern states codified their beliefs about race, preventing Blacks and others from voting, attending state sponsored K–12 or postsecondary schooling, and using the same public accommodations as Whites such as bus depots, buses, drinking water fountains, and restrooms. *Brown*, though flawed, was the first step in easing these barriers. The case would be reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1955 in what became known as *Brown II*.

Gloria Ladson-Billings

*See also* *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown II* Decision; Critical Race Theory; *Education of Blacks in the South, The*

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## **BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION, BROWN II DECISION**

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In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (*Brown I*) that separate schools for White and Black children were inherently unequal. This landmark court decision, interpreting the equal protection of the laws clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, called for the end of racial discrimination in education; however, the means to achieve the integration of schools were not specified. The Supreme Court decided in 1955 to solicit arguments from the Attorney General of the United States and the Attorneys General of all states requiring or permitting racial discrimination in public education. The parties presented their views on the question of how they might implement the decree and included, in addition to the U.S. Attorney General, the states of Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Texas.

According to Chief Justice Earl Warren, who issued the opinion for the Court, the presentations from the states were informative and helpful as the Court ascertained the complexities that would arise during the transition to an educational system free of racial discrimination. The Court believed that the implementation of the *Brown I* decision would require a variety of strategies depending on the local school district and that decisions as to how well a district complied with the original order should be remanded to the local courts for judicial appraisal.

In *Brown II*, its 1955 decision to delegate the task of carrying out school desegregation to district courts so that desegregation could occur with all deliberate speed, the Supreme Court set an ambiguous standard by which states and school districts could engage in endless delaying tactics. Indeed, many states and school districts interpreted this decision as legal justification for delaying, resisting, and avoiding school integration for many years.

In the case of Prince Edward County, Virginia, one of the five original cases that constituted the 1954 *Brown* decision, the school district failed to move on the original order. In 1959, when another court case ruled that the county's schools had to desegregate, the county board of supervisors stopped providing funding for the public schools and as a result Prince Edward County schools were closed for 5 years. Although Black children had no schooling options in the county, the county provided assistance for Whites to attend White-only private academies where their former public school teachers were teaching.

A related event during the initial *Brown* decision was that President Dwight Eisenhower wrote a longtime friend, Navy Captain Swede Hazlett in the fall of 1954 mentioning that he thought the issue of segregation would either intensify or lessen depending on the *Brown II* ruling that, he assumed, would be very moderate and ultimately relegated to the local courts. Eisenhower believed that the overwhelming sentiment toward state's rights would mitigate any aggressive attempt to enforce the *Brown I* decision. Thus, on one level he could be heralded on the international scene as presiding over a nation that had stood up for the rights of its Black citizens while remaining a friend of Southern constituents (or at least giving them a way to remain entrenched in their segregated school policies). It has been noted that Eisenhower was not happy about the 1954 decision, but felt duty-bound to accept it as the law of the land, having sworn to uphold the constitutional process. Further, liberals and conservatives alike contested the all-deliberate-speed language of *Brown II*. Those who defended the Warren court argued that they had no choice but to move slowly and cautiously so that schools might be permitted to work out the practical problems of redistricting, reassigning teachers and students, and constructing new bus routes. They also argued both then and later that great social changes take place gradually and that the Court was being realistic by applying the all-deliberate-speed standard. The empirical evidence suggests that all deliberate speed resulted in little or no change in school desegregation. In most instances school desegregation proceeded only when the court intervened in specific districts.

*Gloria Ladson-Billings*



See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown I* Decision; Critical Race Theory; *Education of Blacks in the South, The*

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## BUSING AND CURRICULUM: CASE LAW

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Busing policies and the associated case law have shaped our understanding of the role race may play in assigning or admitting students to schools. The legal framework that emerged from busing litigation is particularly salient for curriculum studies as it relates to race-based admission protocols for schools with specialized academic emphasis. Where de jure segregation remains in a school system the courts have offered wide latitude for school boards to maintain forced busing programs, among other measures, to reverse the course of historical discrimination. However, absent de jure segregation, the courts have limited the schools' ability to establish admission and assignment policies based on race.

The first forced busing programs were designed to enforce desegregation policies in compliance with *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and *Brown II* (1955). In the wake of the *Brown* decisions a body of case law emerged at the district and appellate levels that distinguished between de jure and de facto segregation. The lower court interpretations held that schools experiencing de facto segregation were not required to overcome the lack of racial balance that was an inherent consequence of segregated housing patterns. Schools with evidence of de jure segregation, however, were compelled to enact policies (e.g., busing) to eliminate the vestiges of past discrimination.

In 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court reviewed a student assignment plan that allowed free choice between two schools in the New Kent County (Virginia) School District. New Kent was a racially

mixed community with a history of de jure school segregation. The school system supported busing across the district for students choosing to transfer between the traditionally all-White New Kent School and all-Black Watkins School. The High Court ruled that the plan was ineffectual in facilitating a transition to a unitary system in that not one White student had elected to transfer to the all-Black school in the 3-year history of the program. The court opined that the district board had simply transferred the burden of integration from the school board (as was required by *Brown II*) to the parents of children in the district. In addition to finding that choice busing programs were unconstitutional if they failed to result in an integrated school system, the court proposed a set of six factors to consider when determining whether a school had reached unitary status. The six factors are student assignment, faculty, staff, transportation, extracurricular activities, and facilities.

The *Swann v. Mecklenburg* case of 1971 was the most significant early case addressing forced busing programs. The court considered a North Carolina statute that was known as the Anti-Busing Law N.C.Gen.Stat. § 115–176.1 (Supp. 1969) read, “No student shall be assigned or compelled to attend any school on account of race, creed, color or national origin, or for the purpose of creating a balance or ratio of race, religion or national origins. Involuntary busing of students in contravention of this article is prohibited, and public funds shall not be used for any such busing.” The court ruled that the Anti-Busing Law significantly hampered the district’s ability to remedy the segregation problem. If race must be considered when evaluating whether a school system is in violation of desegregation mandates, then the court offered that race would in all likelihood be a necessary consideration when crafting a remedy. As for the use of busing to desegregate schools, the opinion in *Swann* stated that “bus transportation has long been an integral part of all public educational systems, and it is unlikely that a truly effective remedy could be devised without continued reliance upon it.” Three years after *Swann* in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the Supreme Court refined its position on racial balance policies by ruling that a federal court could not require a multi-district busing remedy to address a single district’s de jure segregation.



Since the early 1970s, the case law with the greatest impact on busing practices has not dealt directly with busing policies. Several cases have addressed the role of race in student assignment and admission to programs of choice (both competitive and open). Most notably, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) and *Gratz v. Bollinger* (2003) rejected the use of racial quotas in student admissions, but retained the constitutionality of using race as a factor in admission decisions. Although many of the race-based admissions decisions were in a higher education setting, these cases became more important for K–12 schools as school choice became more prevalent, particularly in urban settings. In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007), the Supreme Court struck down a district policy that used race as a factor in school assignment.

Although the Seattle case was not a busing case, the case law that emerged from it has significant implications for the legal fate of race-based busing programs. The Seattle schools operated a school choice system and classified students as either White or non-White for the purpose of using that classification as a tiebreaker in assigning students to a school. The Court ruled that the Seattle policy was unconstitutional because the racial balance sought by the district did not serve a compelling state interest and the policy they used to achieve greater student diversity was not narrowly tailored. Important to note is that the Seattle system was never found to operate as a de jure segregated school district. Absent a court order to desegregate, according to *Seattle*, school districts do not have the latitude afforded them by the *Swann* court to implement race-based student assignment policies. Moreover, any racially based student assignment pattern, including a busing program, can be implemented only if workable race-neutral alternatives have been considered.

*John Pijanowski*

See also *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Brown I* Decision; *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Brown II* Decision; *Desegregation of Schools*; *Resegregation of Schools*

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## BUTLERIAN THOUGHT

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Butlerian thought refers to the work of poststructuralist and queer theorist Judith Butler (1956– ). In curriculum studies, her theorizing is used to deconstruct binary concepts of gender, reconceptualize identity as nonunitary, and posit an ethics based on the limits of self-knowledge. Her most influential book, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, critiqued the work of feminists who asserted woman as constituting a category with common interests and traits that reified an essentialist notion of gender. In de-essentializing gender, Butler conceptualizes identity as free-floating, as not connected to an essence, but instead to performance. In some of her later works, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories of Subjugation*, *Excitable Speech*, and most recently *Antigone's Claim: Kinship Between Life and Death*, published in 2000, Butler examines the implications of a nonessentialized notion of identity for theorizing subjectivity, power, and ethics.

For Butler, subjectivity is constructed through historical and anthropological positions that understand gender as a relation among socially constituted subjects in specifiable contexts. Gender is not a fixed category, but is fluid and shifting, changing in different contexts and times. Drawing on Michel Foucault, Butler argues that gender is flexible and not caused by stable factors. There is not a gender identity behind expressions of gender. Gender, in other words, is a performance; it is what one does, rather than what one is. Subjectivity is not the result of an authentic inner core self, but is the dramatic effect of performance.

The issue of power and agency is central to Butler's work. A central goal of feminism has been social change to improve the specific life circumstances of women. However, when woman as a category no longer exists, what becomes of political resistance? When subjectivity is no longer unitary

and fixed, what becomes of agency? How is power reinterpreted and understood without a subject? In her examination of censorship of hate speech in *Excitable Speech*, Butler disrupts the myth of the independent subject who holds power. Instead, she posits a notion of power as embedded in language and discourse. The discourse of censorship in this case functions ironically to construct power as constitutive of the state that subsequently subverts the positioning of the “I” that draws on agency in opposition to the state. Butler thus questions the very possibility of any genuine oppositional discourse. For Butler, subjects no longer have power but are produced in the very relations of power that they seek to oppose. Gender is consequently an effect of power that functions as a truth.

In *Giving an Account of Oneself*, published in 2005, Butler develops an ethics based on the rejection of a Western notion of the unitary self that no longer has a referential “I.” Drawing on Foucault, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Emmanuel Levinas, Butler examines what becomes of ethics when the subject is understood as being in a continual state of flux and constituted in relation to the social. Given that our self knowledge is limited, the concept of responsibility is one of acknowledging that we can never know ourselves except in relation to the social world. Consequently, social critique is at the core of ethical practice.

The theorizing of Butler has been taken up by curriculum theorists (Janet Miller, William Pinar, Debra Britzman) in order to deconstruct the ways in which identity, difference, and power are implicated in the construction of modernist notions of teaching, pedagogy, and curriculum. In curriculum studies, Butler’s theorizing has been engaged to deconstruct the binary ways in which education has been constructed as male–female, teacher–student, curriculum–pedagogy, and teaching–learning. Drawing on Butler, Miller critiques dominant conceptions of curriculum as a product. Embracing the notion of working the tensions, Miller highlights curriculum as a process that is continually constructed and negotiated in complex ways in the lived experiences of educators.

*Petra Munro Hendry*

*See also* Poststructuralist Research

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## CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR CURRICULUM STUDIES

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The Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies (CACS) is a constituent association of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE). The mission of CACS is to support discussions of curricula that are of interest to Canadian educators. Curriculum is broadly understood to mean any complex structure(s) that supports learning and teaching.

Although CACS is concerned with curriculum in general, the association has a particular interest in several areas as defined by the following five special interest groups: (1) Arts Researchers and Teachers Society, (2) Canadian Critical Pedagogy Association, (3) Science Education Research Group, (4) Language and Literacy Researchers of Canada, and (5) Francophone Group for the Study of Education in a Minority Context.

CACS is a constituent association of the CSSE along with 10 other associations and one graduate student committee. In turn, the CSSE is a constituent organization of the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS), a group that brings together over 66 scholarly associations and 73 universities and colleges, representing more than 50,000 scholars, graduate students, and practitioners from across Canada. The federation supports the advancement of research in the humanities and social sciences, and CSSE is one of a very small number of large associations within the organization. The CFHSS

offers its member organizations a range of programs. For instance the CFHSS hosts the single largest annual multidisciplinary gathering of scholars in North America (approximately 9,000) and administers a series of research seminars on Parliament Hill (federal government). But perhaps more importantly, the CFHSS acts as a representative to the federal government on matters relating to research in the humanities and social sciences. This means that CSSE, and thus its constituent associations (including CACS), has a voice on Parliament Hill as well.

In recent years, CACS has sponsored a biannual mid-year conference called *Provoking Curriculum*. In addition to this, CACS has typically sponsored a 1-day preconference before the 4-day CSSE congress (in which CACS is the largest constituent group offering sessions). The online *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies* is well regarded in the field.

CACS presents awards each year: two PhD dissertations awards, two master's theses awards, an outstanding publication in Canadian curriculum studies award, Ray Ryan Statistics Canada Prize for Curriculum Studies, and finally, a Ted T. Aoki Award for Distinguished Service in Canadian Curriculum Studies.

CACS is also affiliated with the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies and through CSSE provides an occasional research session at the American Educational Research Association annual conference.

Rita L. Irwin

*See also* Discipline-Based Curriculum

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### Web Sites

- Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies:  
<http://www.csse.ca/CACS/home.html>

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## CANON PROJECT OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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To strengthen the disciplinarity of U.S. curriculum studies, in 2007 the general membership of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies voted to establish a Canon Project to suggest the main ideas, texts, and scholars in the historical formation of U.S. curriculum studies. To know a discipline obligates one to acknowledge the already existing conversation in which one is presuming to participate. Acknowledging the discipline-specific historical context in which academic knowledge becomes intelligible is one marker of disciplinarity. Through the discipline of the disciplinarity, one contributes to the field's intellectual advancement.

Concepts have histories that require elaboration if present usage is to have disciplinary resonance. For example, learning is a concept thoroughly discredited by Dwayne Huebner, a curriculum theorist whose seminal scholarship was conducted during the 1960s. Huebner showed that educational psychology was overidentified with academic psychology (and during his period, with behaviorism), thereby effacing questions of politics and culture. Huebner argued that other intellectual traditions must be employed in order to advance our understanding of educational experience.

Skepticism toward disciplinarity is, however, engraved in U.S. curriculum studies, aggravated by progressive education's efforts to reconfigure the school curriculum as child centered and focused on social reconstruction. Skepticism toward disciplinarity had also been affirmed by social efficiency advocates' ascription to adult activity the organizer of school curriculum. In later synopses of possible designs of the school curriculum, the academic disciplines represented only one of five possibilities. Add to these historical dispositions the contemporary preference for interdisciplinary studies and resistance to creating a canon for curriculum studies is predictable.

Verticality and horizontality structure the disciplinarity of curriculum studies, concepts replacing Joseph Schwab's syntactical and substantive structures. Focused on methodology and the concepts research methods generate, Schwab's schema is more appropriate to the natural and social and behavioral sciences than it is to the humanities and the arts that inform contemporary curriculum studies. The cultivation of verticality and horizontality supports—but does not guarantee—the field's intellectual advancement. Without knowledge of the intellectual history of curriculum studies, without understanding of its past and present circumstances (both internal and external to the field), one cannot contribute to the field. One cannot advance its conversation and thereby complicate its understanding. Nor without such knowledge can one claim expertise. The key curriculum question in the United States—what knowledge is of most worth?—is the uniquely vocational call of curriculum studies. The Canon Project of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies is dedicated to providing an answer.

*William F. Pinar*

*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies

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American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies Canon Project: [http://calvin.ednet.lsu.edu/~aaacs/canon\\_project.htm](http://calvin.ednet.lsu.edu/~aaacs/canon_project.htm)

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## CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

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The 1918 report by the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE) was published as a bulletin by the U.S. Bureau of Education and titled *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. The CRSE's seven main objectives have become a classic statement of curriculum aims. In light of an analysis of the typical adult activities of a citizen in a democracy, the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* identified seven principal objectives of education: (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character. The CRSE maintained that all subjects at all levels of education should contribute as appropriate to the achievement of each of these seven objectives for all students. The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* suggested ways that high school subjects could achieve these objectives and intended for the objectives to unify an otherwise fragmented secondary curriculum.

Over time, the CRSE's seven objectives of education became conflated with the title of its report. Why this happened remains unclear. Perhaps the perception that the CRSE's seven objectives elaborated and clarified Herbert Spencer's well-known classification of five areas of life activities—direct self-preservation, indirect self-preservation, parenthood, citizenship, refinements of life—lent the seven objectives their appeal to educators. Historians also have tended to focus on the seven objectives, homing in on them as a manifestation of social efficiency–social control ideology and as part of a wider trend to deemphasize the traditional academic subjects in

the secondary curriculum. The CRSE's recommendations, however, were a far cry from contemporary social efficiency–social control proposals, and the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* endorsed the traditional academic subjects. In any event, to this day, some curriculum textbooks continue to use the term cardinal principles of education or even seven cardinal principles of education to refer to the CRSE's seven objectives.

What is clear is that the preoccupation with the seven objectives has distracted readers from the other 18 principles of secondary education presented in the 1918 report. These principles addressed matters such as the goal of education in a democracy, education as a process of growth, the division of education into elementary and secondary, the articulation of higher education with secondary education, the specializing and unifying functions of secondary education, the comprehensive high school as the standard secondary school, and secondary education as essential for all youth. Taken together, these principles represent the blueprint for the U.S. comprehensive high school.

The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* represents the efforts of progressive educators to respond to emerging conditions in school and society. By calling for greater participation in culture of all youth through secondary education, for the application of new educational research and theory to educational practice, for differentiation of curriculum and instruction according to student needs and interests, and for the expansion of the secondary curriculum to include academic and vocational education, the cardinal principles sought to accommodate the expanding secondary school population. As such, these principles can be viewed as a quintessential manifestation of progressivism in education. The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* also had a profound influence on curriculum reforms through the middle of the 20th century. As such, the significance of the 18 cardinal principles of secondary education proposed by the CRSE is much greater than its identification of seven main objectives of education.

*William G. Wraga*

*See also* Comprehensive High School; Curriculum Purposes; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Secondary School Curriculum

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## CAREER EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Career education—preparing students with the skills to earn a living—did not come out of nowhere; it had its precursors. The first and maybe the most important of these was accountability. Performance contracting was one of the ways that accountability could operate. Performance contracting guaranteed that schools would achieve specific, measurable results within a specific time period at specific costs for a specific purpose. In other words, the schools would deliver on their promises. The process called for a school district to enter into a contract with an outside firm or teachers' group to accelerate the skill development of a limited number of educationally deficient youths, usually in such curriculum areas as mathematics or reading. Reimbursement to the contractor was based on the actual performance of students as measured by standardized achievement tests or by criterion-referenced and performance-based tests. When the period of the contract ended, the contractor turned over to the school system, the instructional program, and the learning systems that had been designed, packaged, and successfully demonstrated. The school system could then continue with the program. The program, often referred to as the curriculum or program of study, would become the essence or heart of the career area being developed.

It was against this backdrop that career education came into being. The chairman of the General Subcommittee on Education in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1970, Roman Pucinski, believed that the schools of the day had one final chance to prove their worth to the nation by dedicating

themselves to the preparation of students for the world of work. This was the vision of education for the 1970s.

Career education became a tidal wave in U.S. schooling. Nowhere in the history of education had a movement surfaced, spread as quickly, and had such far-reaching effects in such a short time as has career education. As the 1970s progressed, career education enlisted an impressive array of professional and civic associations as official supporters. Among these were the National Education Association, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals to name a few.

Career education was held out as the remedy for the then dismal state of affairs. It constituted a systematic attempt to integrate the school's curriculum for all students at all levels of the public schools. Career education was to help rectify the increasing numbers of dropouts. Educators were now called on to begin the mammoth, but indispensable, work of reform. The cause of career education was advanced by the efforts of Sidney Marland Jr., U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1970. In fact, career education became widely known as his pet project. Marland maintained that career education would be a part of the curriculum for all students, would encompass a student's entire academic career, and would ensure that every student leaving school, whenever that occurred, would possess the skills necessary to earn a livelihood. Few schools could afford not to make the switch to career education, Marland argued, because of the deplorable, wasteful record of general education that prepared the young neither for a job nor for further education. Marland pledged a major part of the Office of Education's discretionary funds to career education.

Career education, with its motto of "All Students, All Occupations, All Subjects," surely stood as the epitome of an educational panacea. And Sidney Marland's role in this chapter in the history of reform qualifies him as the savior of U.S. education. But despite the optimism, career education was destined to fade, as other proposed panaceas had faded before it, only to reappear in the altered form of school-to-work initiatives some two decades later.

In general, most career education programs had in the beginning three main thrusts: basic business

education, office skills, and distributive education. The first, although often offered in combination with the other two, was less skills oriented. It was the program most often pursued by those desiring to study business at the university level. It was also aimed at meeting many general education functions of the secondary school. The second and third thrusts were more skills oriented; the intent was for the student to gain job-entry-level competencies.

The climate of society of the 1970s and 1980s exerted a tremendous pressure on school curricula. This phenomenon was well illustrated by the pressures on career education. There was pressure on career education to provide a better understanding of capitalism and business practices for all secondary school youth and not just for those pursuing specific business vocational skills. Simultaneously, there was criticism of career education for presenting an overly favorable picture of business practices.

Adding to this dilemma was another set of dichotomous demands. On the one hand, well-meaning business people saw career education's mission as providing a ready-made workforce, one that was literate, knowledgeable, obedient, and skilled for entry-level employment. Yet on the other hand, many educators argue that career education should foster individuality and place the student (individual) far above the demands of business people. Thus career education often faced an identity crisis. What should be the best loyalty of a career educator?

Historically, the workplace has been viewed as the end result of learning rather than seeing it as a learning opportunity in itself. The school-to-work legislation of the 1990s challenged the old assumptions by changing the perceptions of the workplace. It is now viewed as a place where education could be reinforced while at the same time providing a framework for the choices students would be making for their own futures. The current economy, the large number of retirees from the workplace, and rapid workplace changes due to technology all contributed to the openness gained at the close of the 20th century. The school-to-work programs of today have employers who now understand and promote the concept of learning rather than training. The key to continued gains remains with the requirement that local partnerships move responsibility from schools alone to

community-wide efforts, with specific roles and responsibilities outlined for each stakeholder.

*Robert C. Morris*

*See also* Accountability; Career Education Curriculum, History of; Comprehensive High School; Individualized Education–Curriculum Programs; Life Adjustment Curriculum; Performance Assessment; Project-Based Curriculum; Secondary School Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## CAREER EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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Differing conceptions of desirable goals for secondary education persisted during the 1960s and into the 1970s. A differing conception of goals for secondary education curricular studies was characteristic of the back-to-basics advocates of the 1970s. They saw the goals of schools as teaching the three R's supplemented by formal teaching of separate subject matter content. Their views often reflected their predecessors', who conceived of secondary education as a vehicle for meeting college entrance requirements. Another major group of critics of education during this period focused on the high school in particular and advocated a marked increase in the use of the community in secondary education. The committees and commissions that supported reforms of secondary education in the mid-1970s stressed community-conscious schooling, new transitions to adulthood, and less time on academic instruction. The sponsors reflected earlier emphases on vocational

curriculum and community participation. Their emphasis on the socially useful was similar to that fostered by the U.S. Office of Education during the 1970s—career education. Sidney P. Marland, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, pointed out that career education has had a long and honorable ancestry, dating back to Benjamin Franklin's advocacy of more useful education. Career education advocates urged that schools' curricula orient and equip young people to earn a living in a personally significant and satisfying career field. However, they contended that more than vocational education was needed; career education should be an integral part of general curricular study by young people in all courses throughout both elementary and secondary school years.

Career education has become one of the most diversified program areas in the secondary school. Often referred to today as career pathways, a quick glance at the program areas of concentration under the career education rubric of a secondary school illustrates that diversity: agriculture; architecture, construction, communications, and transportation; business and computer science; culinary arts; education; engineering and technology; family and consumer sciences; healthcare science; marketing, sales, and service. Under each of these program areas exists a number of varied courses.

In 1974, career education received its first official federal dollars, as part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments. Even though the allocations were not earmarked for program implementation, approximately \$40 million was spent supporting career education initiatives at over 400 sites throughout the country. The U.S. Office of Education had finally made career education a priority. In 1976, another focus on career education with a number of guided research studies laid the groundwork for today's school-to-work planning.

Although career education was a curriculum model originally proposed for the total school program, it has been more widely accepted by vocationally oriented subject areas. Within career education, two of the four career education models developed by the U.S. Office of Education have been used. These are the school-based model developed at the Center for Vocational and Technical Education at the Ohio State University and the employer-based model developed jointly

by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in San Francisco.

In the school-based model, there are eight areas of educational experience that form the basic conceptual elements of career education: career awareness, self-awareness, appreciations and attitudes, decision-making skills, economic awareness, beginning competency, employability skills, and educational awareness. These eight elements were then translated to eight educational outcomes. Primary among these were career identity, self-identity, employment skills, and career placement. Career educators have used this model in their attempts to blend together student pressures for self-fulfillment and business's demand for a skilled workforce. The model lends itself both to the general education function and to the preparation of students for postsecondary schooling.

The second model frequently used is the employer-based model, which emphasizes year-round operation and open entrance and exit by students. In this model, a student may learn job entry skills for a secretarial position then exit to work as a secretary. For instance, assume the new secretary goes to work with a local lawyer who is participating in the program. After a period of time, the student decides that being a law clerk would be more rewarding. He or she reenters the program to gain those skills and then rejoins the lawyer as a law clerk. As can be seen, this model offers endless opportunity for training, exploration, and retraining. To some extent, this is the model often used for distributive education programs.

A third model is known as the residential-based model. This model was designed to rehabilitate whole families, not merely the individual breadwinner. A prescription for a whole family is given that could include such things as counseling, recreation, home services for the family, or vocational preparation. Employment on completion of a residency was to be guaranteed, and assistance with job searches was to be provided.

The final model is the home-based model. The inspiration for this home-based model was *Sesame Street*, a successful, long-running educational television series for children. An attempt to develop and coordinate learning systems to reach certain home-based populations caught between formal education and work, the home-based model was never fully operable.



All four of these models were practical inventions based on existing ideas and examples, not research. It became apparent that the school-based model did not have in place the necessary changes in curriculum, school environments, teacher counselor training, and infrastructures. The employer-based model found that industry and business were not geared to provide high volumes of academic training and were not yet predisposed to do so. The residential model became a cumbersome and expensive model with few proven effects and questionable objectives. The home-based model did not produce its goals, primarily due to underfunding and lack of existing mediated instruction.

Historically, the workplace has been viewed as the end result for learning rather than seeing it as a learning opportunity in itself. School-to-work legislation and activities challenge the old assumptions by changing our perceptions of the workplace. It is now viewed as a place where education can be reinforced while at the same time providing a framework for the choices our children make for their futures.

Robert C. Morris

*See also* Career Education Curriculum; Comprehensive High School; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History; Individualized Education–Curriculum Programs; Life Adjustment Curriculum; Secondary School Curriculum; *Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*; Vocational Education Curriculum, History of

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## CARING, CONCEPT OF

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A caring perspective in the curriculum recognizes that learning is most likely to develop in students who feel cared for and takes into account both the

cognitive and moral dimensions of the curriculum. Although the term *care* has sources in ancient literature, mythology, and philosophy, recent attention to the notion of care increased significantly after the publication of Carol Gilligan's groundbreaking work, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Gilligan's thesis that there are two different moral voices—one of impartiality or justice and one of relationships and care—fueled further work on what variously became known as caring, a care perspective, or an ethics of care. These discourses were further elucidated and vigorously debated in a variety of locations including bioethics, women's studies, psychology, education, and curriculum studies.

Nel Noddings's *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Development* was one of the most important works to follow Gilligan. Like Gilligan, Noddings makes distinctions between thinking guided by rules and principles and thinking guided by relationships. The former, what Noddings refers to as the approach of the father, is grounded in abstraction, away from complicating factors; the latter approach of the mother is grounded in those very complicating factors such as context, feelings, and personal histories. These approaches relate, then, to the distinction between acting on the basis of reason and acting on the basis of feeling. Indeed, all caring, be it that of parents, nurses, or teachers, entails what Noddings calls engrossment and motivational displacement. The former involves a deep-seated receptivity and responsiveness to others; the latter involves putting oneself at the service of the other, an approach that has significant implications to teaching and the learning environment. Arising in part from the phenomenological tradition, Noddings's theorizing has naturally found a warm reception in the fields of nursing and education. It has, however, received criticism by some feminists who argue that her conception of caring reinforces traditional female roles of giving and neglect of the self—Noddings's theorizing is infused with the language and experience of the mother—and thus may lead to or sustain unequal relationships between the caregiver and the one receiving care.

Noddings believes that the principal goal of education is to produce caring and competent persons. In *The Challenge to Care in Schools: An Alternative Approach to Education*, one of her most significant



contributions to curriculum theory, Noddings argues for a curriculum design that begins with a belief in multiple intelligences, similar to those proposed by Howard Gardner, and the unique talents, abilities, and interests of each child, similar to the goals of what she refers to as progressive education. Such a curriculum eschews a traditional design emphasis on academic disciplines in favor of a curriculum to be organized around centers and themes of care. These include caring for self; caring in the inner circle (for family and friends); caring for strangers and distant others; caring for animals, plants, and the earth; caring for the human-made world; and caring for ideas. A curriculum so designed is by definition interdisciplinary; it also releases traditional conceptions of the educated person as one who has merely mastered the academic disciplines separate from their personal experiences, capacities, and interests.

William Pinar notes several others who have looked to the concept of care as the theoretical organizer for the curriculum. In particular, he cites George Willis's work on pedagogy and parenting and Robert Starratt's work on the critical role of care and concern in the curriculum. However, as Pinar argues, no scholar has looked to care in the curriculum more comprehensively than Noddings.

*Delese Wear*

*See also* Noddings, Nel

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originally conceived to translate high school work into equivalencies for the purpose of college admission: Students earn one unit of high school credit upon completing 120 hours in one subject, accumulated in four or five meetings a week for 40 to 60 minutes for 36 to 40 weeks each year. Fourteen units constitute minimum high school preparation.

The early decades of the 20th century were a period of massive expansion of high school populations, creating a good deal of articulation about the mission of the high school and its curriculum and increasing numbers of applicants for postsecondary education. National standards for high school curriculum and college entrance requirements became necessary not only to help high schools adequately prepare their students for college-level work, but also to help colleges evaluate the increasingly large pool of applicants who had studied a wide range of high school curricula. In the 1890s, the National Education Association (NEA) appointed the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies, chaired by Charles Eliot of Harvard University, and the Committee on College Requirements to address these issues. Reports presented by these groups laid the foundation for standardizing high school curricula across the country. In 1894, the NEA indicated that every academic subject taught in a secondary school should be calibrated in course units based on contact hours and taught to the same extent to every student. Student learning was measured in terms of time spent in class on the standard curriculum. Thus, for all students who studied history, Latin, or algebra, for example, the allocation of time and the method of instruction were to be the same. The standard curriculum was provided to all students in spite of their individual educational desires or interests, and all academic subjects were to be regarded equally for admission to colleges and universities. The Carnegie Unit was designed to increase transferability of students and credits throughout the United States.

Although the Carnegie Foundation did not develop the idea of the unit, the foundation was instrumental in its widespread acceptance. When the foundation was established in 1906, Andrew Carnegie donated \$10 million to provide pensions for professors, announcing that any college failing to adhere to the definition set down by the Carnegie Foundation, in other words, requiring less than the usual 4 years of academic or high school preparation

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## CARNEGIE UNIT

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Developed in 1906, the Carnegie Unit measures the time a student has studied a subject in the U.S. secondary and postsecondary education system. It was

in addition to the preacademic or grammar school studies, would not receive retirement allowances for its professors. Because few colleges at the time had their own pension programs or annuity funds, the unit was quickly accepted in both colleges and high schools. By 1910, almost all high schools measured course work by the Carnegie Unit. Predictably, an increasing number of high schools followed the standardized unit, altering their curriculum and graduation requirements to ensure their students' admission into colleges and universities.

The Carnegie Unit has shaped major issues in U.S. secondary and postsecondary curricula and the conditions for federal-level funding, accreditation, and the accountability of educational institutions (e.g., the government requires institutions to maintain standard academic calendars built on credit or clock hours). The Carnegie Unit has continuously influenced the U.S. education system, coinciding with increasing enrollments for postsecondary education; a standardized curriculum that all students learn to a common standard; correlation of high school graduation requirements with college admission standards; pressure for public accountability, institutional efficiency, and productivity; student transfer and mobility; standardization of online and distance education; and attention to the standardized integrity of the overall curriculum.

*Eunsook Hyun*

*See also* Accountability; Curriculum Policy; Efficiency; Standards, Curricular

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## CASE STUDY RESEARCH

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Case study research is a strategy used to investigate a bounded and particular unit of study (a

case) to understand its complexity and/or the broader context in which it is situated. Scholars variously refer to the case study as an approach to designing, collecting, and analyzing data; a choice concerning which phenomenon they investigate (the case); or as a product of analysis (the form in which they present findings). As a research strategy, the case study emerged in the United States in the early 20th century. It gathered renewed momentum in the 1960s among researchers eager for methodologies that could support in-depth examination of phenomena in their natural settings. Case studies utilize quantitative and/or qualitative data and multiple data sources to explain, explore, or describe phenomena. The cases researchers choose based on research purpose reflect significant conceptual diversity: individuals, groups, organizations, places, periods of time, relationships, events, or processes can all constitute cases. In contrast to research designs that require large samples, a single case is sufficient for a case study. Whether researchers design single or multicase studies, explore relationships among cases, or analyze cases to gain insight into broader phenomena, the basic building block of case study research is rigorous attention to the complexities of the specific case under study. The case study is a well-utilized strategy in social science fields, medicine, law, business, government, education, and evaluation. The concrete and applied nature of case study research makes it particularly useful for educational and curriculum researchers striving to evaluate programs, analyze specific curricula, and improve teaching practices. This entry describes the case study approach, discusses its application and use in education, and notes some of its challenges.

### Case Study Approach

A goal of case study research is thorough investigation of the case and its context. Cases are conceptual categories researchers delineate as worthwhile to explore in detail because of their specific qualities or their potential to illuminate a given phenomenon. A case can refer to a specific person (an administrator, a hiker, a babysitter), a period of time (a school semester or election day), an event or activity (a wedding, a basketball game, a natural disaster, a birthday party), a group or community

(skateboarders, homeschoolers, volunteers, members of a culture, breast cancer survivors, antiracist activists), processes (educational reform, curricular implementation, organizational change), or places and regions (a street corner, a village, a city), among others. Because the boundaries of cases are constructed and conceptual, cases must be defined clearly and can sometimes overlap, such as a school and a neighborhood or a birthday party and a group of kindergarteners. Also, multiple small cases can comprise a larger case. For example, schools (potential cases to study) can comprise a school district (a larger case) or individual students (potential cases) can comprise a classroom (a larger case). Researchers refer to cases with multiple units of analysis as embedded or layered studies.

Researchers designate particular units to study based on theoretical framework and research purpose. A case may pique their interest or display interesting features useful to examine in depth (intrinsic case), offer insights into a broader issue (instrumental case), represent an average phenomenon (typical case), provide information on a phenomenon about which little is known (revelatory case), or represent an unusual or striking example of a phenomenon (extreme case), among others reasons. Scholars sometimes use different terms for the same rationale; for example, extreme cases are also called deviant or unique. As an example of an extreme case, researchers interested in testing initiatives might select for study the only school in a given district with high test scores. In this case, the school is the focus, and the researcher might explore the school's history, context, demographics, testing patterns, curriculum, and any other features relevant to constructing a comprehensive portrait of that unique case. Case studies can be short term or longitudinal (investigated over time), exploratory or evaluative, or single or multiple. Researchers might use findings to extend theory, modify generalizations, or connect specific events to larger patterns. However, generalizing findings to other populations is not the intent. Rather, researchers aim to explore the phenomenon of interest in depth and detail in each defined case.

Researchers choose methods and data sources for their capacity to provide rich information about the phenomenon of interest. For example, an ethnographic case study intended to examine a

particular community in depth might use methods of participant observation and in-depth interviews whereas an evaluation case study intended to improve a program might rely on surveys and focus groups. Rigorous research depends on the use of multiple data sources appropriate to the study. Researchers may draw from statistical data, interviews, documents, field notes, films, photographs, and cultural artifacts to examine their case. A researcher studying a family might conduct observations at family reunions and soccer games and analyze such documents as scrapbooks, calendars, family portraits, and letters. A researcher studying an organization might collect statistics, e-mails, mission statements, and interviews. Other promising materials might surface during the course of study.

Researchers examine single or multiple cases based on their research purpose. Some favor multiple-case designs because they offer layered evidence. Researchers immersed in a single case study might choose, once they capture the complexity of that case, to examine additional cases, compare and contrast them, or compile them to analyze larger cases. For example, a researcher focusing on a shy student in a reading class might shift attention to several gregarious students and then to classroom dynamics as a whole. He or she may also choose to examine other classrooms to illuminate the cultural climate of a larger case, the school. In this approach, each case should be defined clearly and considered as a bounded and complete entity before examining additional cases.

Case study scholars advocate varied strategies for rigorous analysis (the process of meaning making) based on their research framework and purpose. Some link multiple frameworks and prescribed analytic models with the phenomenon of interest (a more positivist approach), and others focus analytic energy on understanding the unique and particular instances of a given case (a more interpretive approach). Analysis can begin at any stage of the research process: as the researcher ponders an unusual interaction in the field, jots questions and case notes, or recognizes common patterns and inconsistencies. Indeed, some approach data gathering with a general framework that directs their attention in the field and helps guide analysis. Depending on study purpose, sustained and formal analysis might include both inductive (themes

that emerge from the data) and deductive (a framework is applied to the data) analyses. Specific techniques include scrutinizing specific instances, searching for patterns, seeking exceptions to patterns, assessing frequencies, categorizing and synthesizing, cross-case pattern analysis, pattern matching, and data displays.

A necessary component of all analysis is organizing and condensing raw data—the transcriptions, archival records, documents—into a manageable format. The organizing process is not simply a mechanical one; sifting through data by hand or with computer software is a conceptual process that can uncover themes and relationships. As patterns and themes crystallize, the researcher translates findings into a case study narrative that conveys significant elements of the case to an intended audience. A common procedure to enhance study quality is to share the case report with participants to ensure the accuracy of findings. Although the final form of the report depends on the project purpose and audience, a quality case study should clarify case boundaries, provide supporting evidence, consider alternative perspectives, and engage the reader. It may include narrative vignettes or quotes to bring case elements to life. Indeed, the potential for audiences to connect with case events offers a unique form of validity.

### Use in Education

Educators have found the applied orientation of the case study particularly useful for examining student experiences, teacher practices, and educational programs in their specific contexts. In turn, case study findings (case reports) have been used to enhance teaching and learning for decades. For example, researchers have used case studies of curriculum implementation to inform teacher training. Teachers have conducted collaborative case studies to gather data in their own classrooms and to use it to improve practice. Case studies have been conducted on educational policy, curriculum history and implementation, special education, multicultural education, technology use, student perceptions of diversity, preservice teachers, student achievement, and at-risk students, to name a few. They have also been useful in program evaluation, cross-cultural research, and exploring the experiences of marginalized people.

### Challenges

Case study research can be challenging to conduct and analyze. Scholars' different definitions of the parameters, concepts, and goals of the case study lend some confusion to understanding and applying the strategy. Some consider researchers' pursuit of case studies haphazard and insufficiently rigorous, while others consider findings of limited use because however theoretically relevant or comprehensive, they cannot be generalized to other populations. Also, as is true of other research representations, the final case study report may present particular interpretations as if fixed and timeless rather as a dynamic phenomenon that continues to expand and shift beyond the researcher's limited presence in the field. Indeed, researchers' emphasis on what they see to be unique in a given case may undermine its complexity and present a partial view of what is going on. Researchers may also focus too readily on individuals with less power in educational systems, such as teachers and students, rather than on, for example, administrators and policy makers. Despite these reservations, many educators consider the case study an important strategy for informing teaching, learning, and policy processes.

*Lucy E. Bailey*

*See also* Ethnographic Research; Grounded Theory Research; Mixed Methods Research; Qualitative Research; Quantitative Research

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## CHARTER SCHOOLS

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Charter schools are public schools of choice, chosen by teachers, parents, and students. In these schools,



teachers and students have more influence on decisions that affect the teacher–learner interaction. Instead of being accountable for compliance to state or district rules and regulations, they are accountable for academic results outlined in their charter.

Charter schools became an integral part of the public school system in the United States when Minnesota enacted the first charter school legislation in 1991 and opened the first charter school in 1992. By 2008, 42 states and the District of Columbia had charter school legislation, and over 4,000 charter schools were in operation throughout the country, serving over one million students. States with the most charter schools are California, Arizona, Florida, Texas, and Michigan. The development of charter schools grew out of the alternative education movement of the 1960s and 1970s when public education was exploring a variety of ways to educate the increasing size and diversity of the school population. A significant call for reform during those two decades came from large city school systems, for example, in, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.

Ray Buddle, professor at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, is often considered to be the father of the charter school movement. In 1975, Buddle suggested that groups of teachers be given charters by their local school districts to explore alternate and new approaches to teach students. In 1988, Buddle's book, *Education by Charter: Restructuring School Districts*, advocated empowering teachers to create innovative new programs that would meet the needs of the growing and diverse population of students enrolled in public schools. That same year, Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, called for reformation of public schools by establishing schools of choice or charter schools, which would provide teachers with the opportunities to develop more choices in public education.

The charter school concept was supported by both Democratic and Republican lawmakers. Democrats saw the development of charter schools as a means of providing more education choices for parents and students to improve the quality of education within the public school system. Republicans viewed charter schools as developing competition for quality education that would ultimately be market force driven. They believed that public

school funds should follow the students whether they attended public or private schools. With bipartisan support for the charter school concept, the number of charter schools quadrupled between 1996 and 1998.

Charter schools are public schools of choice financed by public funds, not vouchers for private schools; open to all students; distinct legal entities, operated by an array of nonprofit groups, governed by their own charter, not by public school rules and regulations; places where teachers and administrators have more decision-making authority than exists in traditional public schools; generally smaller than traditional schools, providing unique learning environments and alternative learning methods; communities using a wide variety of curriculum and instructional practices; and committed to improving public education.

In order for charter schools to succeed they have to meet three criteria: (1) proper state legislation, (2) an authorizing entity (this varies from state to state, but most often is a local or state school board, a university, or community college), and (3) people to run the school. The provisions in the various states' charter laws vary from very restrictive to very loose; however, the basis of the provisions is designed to ensure choice for parents and students, to provide quality educational opportunities for all students, to meet the needs of most students, to explore and implement innovative ideas about teaching and learning, and to develop a system of accountability that measures students' progress in understandable terms. Laws governing charter schools cover seven basic policies and legal areas: (1) charter development, which includes who may propose a school, how charters are granted, and the number of schools allowed; (2) school status—how the school is legally defined and related governing, operational, and legal issues; (3) fiscal—the level of anticipated funding from the state and other sources; (4) students—how schools are to address admissions, nondiscrimination policies, racial/ethnic balance, discipline policies, and access to special education; (5) staffing and labor relations—whether the school many act as an employer or will a management organization do so (e.g., Edison Schools), which labor relations laws apply, and a definition of staff rights and privileges; (6) instruction—the degree of control the school has over the development of instructional goals and



practices; and (7) accountability—whether the school follows a performance-based contract, how assessment methods are selected, and how the charter can be renewed or revoked.

Demographic characteristics of most charter schools are similar to those of traditional public schools; however, in many states, charter schools serve significantly higher percentages of minority or economically disadvantaged students than the traditional public schools and are more popular in urban areas than suburban areas. Charter schools are not allowed to charge tuition and are funded according to enrollment, usually at the same level as traditional public schools; some states reduce that funding by 10% to 20%. Charter schools are entitled to federal categorical funding for which their students are eligible, for example, Title I and special education funding. Federal legislation also provides grants to help charters with start-up costs as they do not receive capital funds for facilities.

Charter schools are, and likely will continue to be, an important public school entity, where experimentation can provide data and insight for future reforms of traditional public schools.

*Marcella L. Kysilka*

*See also* Alternative Schools; Magnet Schools; Project-Based Curriculum; School Choice

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### Web Sites

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Public School Review: <http://www.publicschoolreview.com>

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## CHILD-CENTERED CURRICULUM

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Child-centered curriculum is a central and contested concept in curriculum studies. In implicit and explicit ways, examination of this term raises at least three fundamental curricular questions: What are the most desirable ends of education? What are the most effective means to these desirable ends? Who should influence and determine these decisions? These core curricular decisions remain subjects of continuing controversy into the 21st century.

Historically, the child-centered curriculum is most associated with John Dewey's progressive views on education and, particularly, with his critique of the disengaging, rote-minded methods schools typically employed in transmitting to youth a traditional subject matter composed of the classics, history, mathematics, and science. Rather than organizing learning around the separate subject disciplines and insisting that students adapt to this preset curriculum, Dewey recommended a more holistic, interdisciplinary, and developmental vision of education. In his experiential, inquiry-oriented approach, students' keen expressive impulses to investigate, construct, and understand their world would be prime centers of gravity that would both energize and ground the selective introduction of curricular concepts.

Many of Dewey's educational ideas were implemented and refined in his University of Chicago laboratory school. Through a curriculum that sought to unify the practical and the conceptual around robust organizing themes (e.g., social occupations, progress through inventions and discovery), students learned about math, architecture, and the manual arts through building miniature houses, looms, and garden tools. They studied industrial history through the process of weaving cloth. They learned botany through working in a garden. They enhanced their understanding of the culinary arts through planning and cooking meals. In these and related processes, they refined their powers of observation, inference, reflection, and documentation as well as their capacities for community service and democratic living through the cultivation of group building and conflict negotiation sensitivities.

The role of the teacher in this educational dynamic is demanding and multidimensional. In

collaboration with colleagues, teachers establish a curricular structure that is horizontally and vertically coordinated as well as psychologized to resonate with and stretch students' expressed interests and latent capacities. Teachers guide students through the interactive process of posing questions and designing engaging educative projects. Done well, this teacher guidance vitalizes a formerly sterile curriculum, makes curricular concepts more concretely available for students' understanding and meaningful application, enriches students' connection to their community, enhances their sense of efficacy and responsible citizenship, and animates their desire for further, more sophisticated experience. For Dewey, these dynamics reflect the artful integration of teacher-assisted, child-centered, subject-mattering curriculum designed to promote education as a process of continuous growth.

Given competing authoritarian and democratic conceptions of the purposes of education, the asymmetric dynamics of youthful development, the bureaucratic nature of schooling with its characteristically sluggish responsiveness to individuality, among other factors, implementing Dewey's views of an integrated curriculum is tangled with challenges. On the one hand, a Rousseauian deference to Rousseauian the inherent wisdom of youth can lead to adult nonintervention in the face of youth's potentially myopic and meandering pursuit of the immediate, the pleasurable, and the interesting. Frequently diminished if not discarded are the shaping role of history, the rigorous use of the mind, and the often arduous pursuit of the genuinely meaningful.

Throughout the 20th and current century, powerful forces from a countervailing direction have tended to undermine curricular integration, an emphasis on student interest, Rousseauian and the enactment of school-based democratic community. Largely authoritarian and narrowing in their curricular impact, these forces have included the business-based social efficiency movement, the specialization of knowledge, an atheoretical approach toward teachers' professional development, the rise of globalization and the competitive, nation at risk mentality it accentuates, and the current standards movement with its high-stakes testing emphasis.

Amidst these forces, proponents of Dewey have struggled to keep his vision alive. With varying emphases and mixed results, Dewey's ideals have influenced schools associated with the Eight Year

Study, the free school movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and progressive education programs such as the Coalition of Essential Schools, Foxfire, Just School Communities, and the Institute for Democracy in Education and Rethinking Schools. Brian Schultz's resourceful efforts in integrating his curriculum, his urban elementary students' voices, and state standards around a set of social action projects represent a compelling contemporary classroom example of Dewey-inspired practice.

*Thomas E. Kelly*

*See also* Dewey Laboratory School; Holistic Curriculum; Integration of Schools; Problem-Based Curriculum; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; *Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*

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## CIVIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Civic education is a social studies discipline that addresses the teaching of government, development of the citizen, and political and civic participation, but its themes resonate through the entirety of schools. Most school mission statements claim to develop good citizens. Perspectives from curriculum studies impact the responses to the fundamental questions that define this good citizen—what kind of citizen and a citizen of what—and organize this entry.

Civic education weaves its way into schools and arises as a unique subject because it is historically and politically accepted that the future of the nation rests upon an educated citizenry. A nation is not a clearly defined entity. Although lines exist on maps, the real meaning resides in the imagination of its citizens. Their shared imaginary defines the nation and the perpetuation of that imagination maintains it. As public entities, schools are central to

developing and sustaining that imagination. Civic education is typically relegated to government or civics classes. But the concept of citizen is reinforced through the organization of the school—behaviors expected of citizens are reproduced in rules and expectations of student participation in all curricular and noncurricular arenas. Some schools assess participation through citizenship grades. Although there is agreement about the importance of citizenship, there is debate over what it means to be a citizen, particularly in this global era.

A citizen is defined against its counterpart—a subject. Citizen arose to distinguish active participants in a democracy from the disempowered masses under a monarchy. These origins frame the common representation of citizen in U.S. curriculum today. This Kantian perspective purports that a citizen is someone who belongs to a country and upholds its political institutions. In order to uphold these institutions, it is essential that good citizens are personally responsible, have a common understanding of their country's political history, understand their civic rights and responsibilities in relationship to the national government, and participate accordingly. The particular responsibilities emphasized in this literature are those that maintain the formal institutions of democratic governance such as voting, participating in community service, and acting politically through activities such as donating money, working on campaigns, and signing petitions. These forms of political participation are taught in government classes and reinforced through school elections and student councils.

A less common representation of the citizen is proposed by critical theorists who draw heavily from the civics education curriculum of the 1970s. They define democracy as a process that requires deliberation, not a product. Deliberation occurs through rich dialogue involving marginalized and empowered voices to decide what is best for the community. Deliberation entails difficult questions about how and why the community is organized as it is and who benefits from this arrangement. Although understanding institutions and structures is helpful to this dialogue, the approach shifts in emphasis from learning about the structures to developing the skills to engage with them. Teachers and curricula that privilege this form of citizenship have students actively participating in democratic structures, raising critical questions about the

functioning of these structures, and evaluating rather than accepting the core values of democracy. Critical theorists argue that good citizens do not merely uphold the image of the nation, but ask questions about why, how, and for whom that image exists.

Citizenship education currently faces the challenge of considering how students are prepared to participate in and define themselves in relationships, institutions, and systems that transcend the nation. There are two factions within political theory that theorize global citizenship. Transnationalism covers bodies of literature that focus either on institutions that transcend national boundaries or the experiences of people who reside in more than one country. In the global world, people and businesses move readily between nations. Institutions such as the International Court and World Trade Organization create policies that limit the power of a nation to act in the international community. Alliances such as the European Union offer citizenship in national and extranational communities. People migrate regularly, and as they move, they transfer citizenship experiences across national boundaries. The existence of transnational institutions challenges the centrality of the nation in citizenship affiliation. Participation in intersecting scales, overlapping institutions, and migration affects how people define and enact their citizenship in each of these spaces. In return, each of these spaces is forced to consider who is their citizenry and how those citizens should participate.

The rise of cosmopolitanism in contrast to transnationalism accompanies a worldview of interconnectedness between people. Although people may first identify with and interact with people in their communities, those communities are increasingly influenced by others through the migration of people and the transmission of ideas through goods and the media. The pervasive access to seemingly distant places and people means that the global and local are not unique entities. Local and global actions affect one another. Cosmopolitanism challenges citizens to look seriously at this interaction and purports that people have an obligation to others, others who are not directly related to them. This ethical view decenters the nation and institutions and challenges common definitions of participation. It emphasizes the demand for individual and collective deliberation about the common good—locally, nationally, and globally.

The work of deliberating between and about these forms of citizenship is a task for curriculum studies. The pervasiveness of the school in the formation of the citizen means that all of the conversations about identities and politics within and about curriculum theory impact the citizen that should arise from the curricular and educational experience.

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*See also* Dewey, John; Habermasian Thought; Participatory Democracy; Social Justice; Social Studies Education

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## CLASS (SOCIAL-ECONOMIC) RESEARCH

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Class refers to economic position based on income, wealth, or a combination, as well as social expressions of class membership. More fundamentally, class refers to structural relationships based on control over wealth and its production. Research on class in curriculum mainly asks the extent to which curriculum enables children and youth to transcend their family's class or conversely, the extent to which it helps to reproduce the existing class structure, including the position of most individuals within that structure. Surprisingly, little research directly investigates these questions, although there is considerable theory about them, rooted in quite different perspectives. The primary question asked about class and curriculum from a functionalist perspective is what is the relationship

between educational attainment, student family background, and class mobility. The primary question that is asked from a critical perspective is in what ways does curriculum contribute to the reproduction of the class structure and individuals' position within that structure. The primary question that is asked from an interpretive perspective is how do students from specific class backgrounds make sense of and respond to curriculum.

### Functionalism

Functionalism has long dominated thinking about education and curriculum. Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton were two significant developers of functionalism during the mid-20th century, but this theoretical orientation is widely held by many educationists and economic developers and members of the business community. From a functionalist perspective, schools contribute to the nation's economic development; to maximize this contribution, the structures of schooling and contents of curriculum should match needs of the economic and social system. For example, a well-known report based on functionalism was *A Nation at Risk*, published in 1983 by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, which claimed that the United States lags in international competition because schools fail to teach the skills needed by today's economy. Although functionalism views poverty as a problem, it does not view the class structure itself as a problem. Therefore, research on class and curriculum addresses mainly how schooling might overcome effects of poverty.

Specifically, functionalists investigate the relationship between income and educational attainment, including (a) the extent to which educational attainment produces individual economic mobility, (b) the relationship between student family background and educational attainment, and (c) the extent to which education can overcome effects of family economic disadvantage. For the most part, functionalist education policies approach class by infusing additional economic resources into programs for students from low-income homes to compensate for presumed deficiencies in their backgrounds, such as linguistic or motivational deficiencies. Compensatory curriculum in programs such as Head Start or early literacy teaches school skills or school readiness. Research



then evaluates the impact of such curriculum on children's learning and sometimes on their success in subsequent grade levels.

### Critical Theories

Critical theories of class are based on analysis of the desire of the capitalist class to exploit labor to maximize profit and its power to structure social institutions, including schools, for this purpose. Rather than focusing on how to overcome poverty, critical theories examine how elites control and benefit from a stratified class structure. Applied to curriculum, critical theories ask how different kinds of curriculum are distributed based on class, who benefits most and least from that distribution, and who benefits most and least from curriculum content. There are tensions among various critical perspectives regarding class and curriculum. Although some clearly delineate processes by which class relationships are structured and reproduced through schooling (including through curriculum), others emphasize challenging and changing those relations, using curriculum as a tool for consciousness raising. Some theorists address only class relations, while others address multiple relationships, usually including class along with race and gender. Britain has a more robust history of critically examining class in education than does the United States.

Research and theory that emphasizes class is generally rooted in the work of Karl Marx, who theorized how capitalism establishes processes of reproducing hierarchical relations between owners of the means of production and laborers. Although Marx did not write directly about how school participates in the reproduction of the class structure, others have taken up that inquiry. An early such work in the United States was Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis's *Schooling in Capitalist America*. Using mainly statistical analyses, they examined correspondences between the structure of capitalism and the structure of schooling. Specifically, they explored how the nature of classroom work, along with the nature of rewards students get, corresponds to the nature of wage labor, preparing the young to take their place as workers. Bowles and Gintis did not examine curriculum content, but were instrumental in laying a foundation for doing so.

Basil Bernstein, writing in *Class, Codes and Control*, theorized about how children come to accept or reject the class system as they go through school and how codes of class power structure curriculum. He posited that in a collection code curriculum, knowledge is hierarchically structured and academic knowledge is emphasized over everyday knowledge. The curriculum begins with basic facts and unfolds sequentially toward the deep structure of the academic disciplines. Conversely, in an integrated code curriculum, knowledge is viewed much less hierarchically and everyday knowledge is valued. The curriculum, usually organized around themes, emphasizes the knowledge construction process rather than accumulation of disciplinary facts and concepts. Bernstein's analytical tool *frame* refers to the degree of control teachers and students have over curriculum. Under strong framing, teachers and students receive knowledge from above; under weak framing, they actively participate in curriculum construction. Teachers and students learn their place in hierarchical relationships through the degree of power they have over selecting and working with curriculum. Integrated code curricula with weak framing empower lower-class students to use their own knowledge and questions. In contrast, collection code curricula with strong framing teach lower-class students to consume knowledge produced by elites.

Building on work of other Marxist, neo-Marxist, and critical theorists, including Bernstein, Pierre Bourdieu, Antonio Gramsci, and Geoff Whitty, Michael Apple has written extensively about relationships between class, curriculum, and power. In *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple analyzes the relationship between the structure of a capitalist economy, and formation of consciousness in which people accept both capitalism and their position within an unequal class structure. Apple focuses on the mediating role of curriculum. He distinguishes among overt curriculum (intended, often published), curriculum-in-use (what is actually taught in a given classroom), and hidden curriculum (what students learn through the everyday regularities of classroom life). He draws attention to ways in which all three forms correspond to class relations in the workplace, preparing children to view unequal class relations as normal and their position within the class structure



as legitimate. For example, in kindergarten children learn to differentiate between work and play; work—the more important of the two—is what others tell them to do and is in contrast to play, which children control, but which they learn has less value.

Apple questions whose knowledge is selected for curriculum, by whom, who benefits most from that selection, and how schools give legitimacy and value to particular kinds and bodies of knowledge. Through both overt and hidden curriculum, social relations among the classes become commonsense. Apple also argues that schools are organized to distribute different bodies and kind of knowledge depending on whether students have been sorted to become part of the capitalist elite, managerial class, or wage working class. Systems of curriculum are rendered legitimate by using scientific rationales that close off ethical questions about purposes of schools, leaving discussion at a technical level that emphasizes how to make delivery and consumption of curriculum more effective. In *Official Knowledge*, Apple applies this analysis of curriculum to standards-based and privatization school reforms of the 1990s and 2000s. Contextualizing his analysis within neoliberalism and global capitalist expansion, he shows ways in which the new Right extended control over curriculum by attempting to nationalize it, tighten accountability for teaching it, and shifting education from a public good to a profit-generating commodity for the private market.

Most of Apple's work is theoretical, but it has both guided and benefited from empirical studies examining specific relationships between class and curriculum. For example, in an early influential study, Jean Anyon examined the relationship between class and the distribution of different kinds of knowledge. Anyon conducted classroom observations in five elementary schools in neighborhoods that ranged from working class to executive elite. In the working-class schools, she found classroom work to consist largely of repetitive copying and answering lower-order questions; assignments rarely tapped into children's thinking. Curriculum was remedial, consisting mainly of facts and skills to learn and regurgitate. It was also disconnected from children's everyday lives and excluded working-class or minority history. In the affluent-professional school, classroom work was designed to foster creativity and independent

thinking; rather than memorizing facts, children were taught to analyze them. Designed to prepare future professionals, the curriculum consisted of challenging conceptual material children were expected to learn to analyze.

Recent studies have reported similar findings in the contexts of expansion of global capitalism and increased achievement testing. For example, Elaine Hampton studied curriculum in over 20 schools in communities of maquiladoras for U.S. businesses along the U.S.-Mexico border. She found the curriculum oriented toward preparing the young for factory labor. Other recent studies have found lower-class students to receive test-preparation curriculum oriented around memorization of facts rather than conceptual thinking.

Although there have been many published analyses of textbook-based curriculum through the lens of race and gender, relatively few studies have examined social class in curriculum. Anyon conducted one of the earliest and most extensive such studies in her analysis of 17 history texts. She found the texts to be written from the point of view of economic elites; readers would learn more about this group than any other and would learn to regard the poor as responsible for their own poverty. Texts suggested that the United States is not class stratified, that almost everyone is middle class, and that people have rarely struggled over distribution of wealth. Further, texts emphasized elites' resolutions of social problems: labor disputes resolved through labor-management cooperation were described as successes, but labor-controlled actions such as strikes were described as failures. Texts taught nothing about working-class history. Although her analysis was published about 30 years ago, subsequent analyses of texts have found that little has changed.

There are some efforts to fashion curriculum around a critical class analysis, largely to empower lower- and working-class students to critique and work collectively to challenge the class structure. For example, *The Power in Our Hands* by William Bigelow and Norman Diamond offers unit plans for classroom teachers to teach about the history of union organizing in the United States. Theoretical works by authors such as Peter McLaren delve into questions that connect education, class, and global imperialism and have implications for curriculum. Public school curricula, however, leave little leeway

for critical perspectives about class. Some critical educators turn to popular education of adults as an alternative, often drawing from writings of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. For example, John Holst studied implementation of adult socialist education within two revolutionary organizations within the United States (the Freedom Road Socialist Organization and the League of Revolutionaries for a New America).

### Interpretive Research

Interpretive research examines students' responses to curriculum, based on close observation of curriculum-in-use and the sense students make of it. Interpretive scholars assume that even if schools treat students as passive receivers of knowledge, students actively make meaning of curriculum. Interpretive research related to class has examined mainly lower- and working-class students' responses to the achievement ideology of schools and to the mainstream academic curriculum.

Several interpretive studies analyzed through a Marxist framework have examined the sense that working-class students make of school and its achievement ideology. For example, Paul Willis's well-known study *Learning to Labor*, found White working-class boys to reject school because they believed they would not become upwardly mobile anyway and that buying into the school's achievement ideology would separate them from their friends. However, rejecting school ironically sealed students' futures as wage laborers. Other similar studies, such as Lois Weis's *Working Class Without Work*, found working-class girls to view school as more instrumental than boys to their quest for independence, even if they largely share the boys' skepticism toward schools' achievement ideology in the context of eroding availability of jobs.

Interpretive research also examines how students make sense of specific subject area curriculum in relationship to their class backgrounds. For example, Sarah Lubienski studied higher-class and lower-class 7th-grade students' responses to mathematics curriculum in one classroom. The curriculum, following recommendations of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, emphasized thinking and problem-solving over memorization and equity of access for all students. Lubienski found the higher-class students to be comfortable with open-ended

discussion and confident of their ability to figure out mathematical problems, while the lower-class students tended to find discussion confusing, often requested the teacher to tell them the correct answer or procedure, and distrusted their mathematical ability. Familiar with both functionalist and critical research, Lubienski argued that class-based differences in students' responses in the classroom matter, but that teachers should not simply assume that lower-class students need a more didactic curriculum. Students' prior schooling probably contributed to those class-based differences. Promoting class equity might mean redesigning curriculum and pedagogy to take better account of lower-class students' knowledge without diminishing their intellectual potential.

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*See also* Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Freire, Paulo; Gramscian Thought; Hegemony; Hidden Curriculum; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Neo-Marxist Research; Official Knowledge; *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Textbooks

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## CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

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Classroom management refers to the teacher's ability to direct, organize, and facilitate the learning environment and student behavior within a learning context. Curriculum and learning are influenced by how a teacher organizes and designs instruction and how he or she motivates and engages students. Several factors that influence the progressive and proactive management of a classroom's learning environment and student behavior are described in this entry.

### Managing the Learning Environment

There is much to think about when arranging the classroom environment, arranging that includes not only the room, but also other contexts such as the media center, computer laboratory, and even places where field trips take place.

Beginning with the arrangement of desks and the creation of bulletin boards on classroom walls, the teacher manages curriculum and learning. A cramped classroom may cause friction among students. Ample space is needed for each student to promote respectful interactions. Aligning desks in rows will dissuade student interactions and collaborative learning, whereas groups of desks arranged together will promote conversations among students. When students' work is posted, they understand that it is valued.

The amount and quality of materials and equipment, such as books, paper, computers, and other resources, will help determine how a teacher manages the classroom. Substitute materials may need to be used if funding is not available, and outdated texts must be updated with newer resources.

Learning is affected differently when students are expected or choose to work on their own, with a partner, or with a small group. There are advantages to each. Working with a partner allows more

opportunities for expressing one's voice than working with more peers in a small group. Working with several peers allows students to learn from multiple perspectives. Independent work gives learners a chance to explore their interests and questions.

An educator's teaching philosophy and expectations for students' learning will guide classroom management. When teachers perceive the learning environment as an opportunity to model engaged learning and to teach in ways that motivate students to want to learn, they manage the environment in productive ways.

### Managing Student Behavior

Managing students is not the same as disciplining them. Discipline connotes rewarding or punishing behaviors. Although there are times when a teacher redirects and reprimands behavior through methods such as time out or withdrawal of privileges, classes are best managed through preventive, proactive approaches. Research shows that when teachers motivate and engage students, they encourage them to want to learn and channel their energies toward productive behaviors. Students are motivated by teachers who share their excitement about learning. Authentic tasks that are student centered or provide for student choice are highly motivating. Realistically, however, there are curriculum topics that may be state mandated or may not be interesting to learners. Providing rationale for why certain materials are required may help students develop intrinsic motivation for learning.

For students to learn, they must be attentive to and focused on learning. Students are engaged learners when they are active thinkers who spend time on task, whether that task is reading something, discussing a topic, or doing a hands-on activity. Also, when students become accountable for their learning, they engage in meaningful and purposeful learning. Students must initially be taught how to interact and learn in groups before they are expected to collaborate with peers in an academic capacity. A teacher effectively manages interactions among peers by teaching communication and social skills.

### Evolution of Management Practices

Over the past decade, as the reliance upon evidence-based teaching practices has influenced

curriculum and instruction, educators' beliefs about and practices in classroom management have begun and continue to evolve. The one-room schoolhouse image of teacher–student interactions in which the teacher initiation is followed by students responding and the teacher evaluating their responses, typically calls for students to raise their hands and wait to be called upon. In this context, classroom management is evaluated by how quiet the room is and whether or not the students are listening, following directions, and waiting their turns.

However, educators have learned through research that approaches such as collaborative learning and student-centered inquiry foster student motivation and engagement with learning. The teacher's role has changed. When collaborative learning is the expectation, classrooms are characterized by students interacting with each other, talking, problem solving, and moving about the room as needed to gather resources or consult other groups. Teachers act as facilitators and guides on the side rather than the sage on the stage or expert with all of the right answers. Therefore, classroom management takes on a different look as expectations shift.

As research continues to form new knowledge about teaching and learning, the concept of what it means to manage a classroom of students will, undoubtedly, evolve. Factors such as technology and diversity will play important roles in shaping what a productive learning environment is and what student behaviors are considered acceptable and desirable for learning.

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*See also* Accountability; Best Practices; Child-Centered Curriculum; Discipline-Based Curriculum

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## COALITION OF ESSENTIAL SCHOOLS

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A network of schools joined by a common curricular vision, the Coalition of Essential Schools (CES) grew out of a decisive moment in U.S. educational history. Reports such as the 1983 *A Nation at Risk* sounded the alarm that U.S. students and workers were dangerously unprepared to compete in the global economy. For curriculum studies, it was a time of radical rethinking and comprehensive reform. It was against this backdrop that Theodore (Ted)Sizer and colleagues undertook “The Study of High Schools.” A history teacher and headmaster turned educational researcher, Sizer set out to observe a broad range of high schools and fundamentally reexamine the institution. The result was *Horace's Compromise*, Sizer's influential portrait of the problems and possibilities of the U.S. high school published in 1984. In that same year, he launched the coalition to help realize his vision of reform.

Sizer found that high schools had become more system driven than people driven, with underpaid, overworked teachers presiding over large classrooms filled with unmotivated students. Schools were attempting to do too much, Sizer concluded, and had lost sight of their essential mission. To articulate that mission, Sizer drew on Mortimer Adler's *Paideia Proposal*. Adler advocated a shift from thinking in terms of grades and subjects to focusing on a set of core skills cultivated throughout schooling (reading, writing, speaking, listening, measuring, estimating, and calculating). This change in focus entails further shifts in pedagogy, administration, and evaluation. To cultivate thinking and communication skills, teachers would need to add modeling, questioning, and coaching to traditional, didactic methods. To support such personalized instruction, administrators would need to provide smaller classes and longer periods. To enlist students in this process, evaluation should take the form of exhibitions demonstrating



students' mastery of key skills. Sizer even suggested that schooling should cease to be compulsory once students had demonstrated their proficiency in such essential areas as literacy, numeracy, and civic understanding.

CES distilled Sizer's analysis into 10 principles. The school should (1) prioritize depth over coverage in order to concentrate on (2) its central mission of helping students learn to use their minds well, a goal that (3) must apply to all students. Teachers should be supported (4) to offer personalized instruction and expected (5) to put the school and its mission first. (6) The budget should be primarily devoted to supporting teachers and students to achieve this goal. (7) Students will be seen as workers and teachers as coaches, as students work toward the goal of (8) demonstrated mastery. The school should evince (9) an ethos of decency and trust and (10) a commitment to democracy and equity.

It is these principles that unite and inspire a diverse group of schools across the country. Beginning with just 12 secondary schools, CES now boasts approximately 1,000 schools and affiliate centers. Coalition schools are both public and private, primary and secondary, comprehensive and specialized, and urban, suburban, and rural. CES demonstrates its commitment to equity by recruiting schools serving a wide range of communities.

Far from replacing one bureaucratic system of school control with another, CES encourages its members to cultivate their distinctiveness and expects them to develop local interpretations of the common principles. Although coalition schools are autonomous, they are not isolated. CES supports its members to discuss their common aims and different approaches in regional and national workshops and in an annual Fall Forum. The central office shares best practices through its online journal, *Horace*, and offers mentoring and evaluation to its affiliates.

As with any back-to-basics movement, there will be ongoing debates over what is essential. For example, Sizer's stance that even foreign language study is inessential—another symptom of the bloated shopping mall high school—seems increasingly questionable in the globalizing world. It will be interesting to see how the coalition evolves to meet this and other challenges. In the meantime, support for CES continues to grow, as

the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation recently provided a 5-year grant to establish small schools and mentoring programs.

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and Jane Blanken-Webb*

*See also* Alternative Schools; Charter Schools; Comprehensive High School; *Horace's Compromise*; Secondary School Curriculum; Teacher Empowerment

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## COGNITIVE PLURALISM CURRICULUM IDEOLOGY

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Cognitive pluralism is a theory of knowledge acquisition that argues that there are multiple ways of receiving and perceiving information and that each individual's learning experiences are unique in the values, beliefs, assumptions, and ideas that accrete to his or her personal knowledge. As a consequence, these multiple-perspective inputs are incorporated into the learner's accumulated knowledge through mediating processes that reflect the influences and biases developed in prior learning. These internal and external influences have an impact on the process of representation, creating the individual's unique perspective and a personal base of accumulated knowledge.

Although many people in the education field acknowledge the existence of these multiple streams of data, there is some debate over the impact and influence cognitive pluralism exerts over learning. Cognitive pluralism adherents fall into three groups or categories: descriptive pluralism, normative pluralism, and evaluative-concept pluralism. Although descriptive and evaluative pluralism address critical issues such as race, culture, and gender differences, normative pluralism recognizes these issues,



but argues that they are less significant to learning than the need to teach a common culture.

Descriptive pluralism holds that cognitive development occurs through the individual, personal activities and experiences of each learner. Knowledge acquisition takes place through a process of evaluation of beliefs and the creation of unique and personal systems of morality, rationality, and lore. A group of learners may experience the same lesson, but because individuals developed and learn from their own set of lived experiences, the way they perceive, imagine, evaluate, and incorporate the lesson into their thinking will be singularly distinctive.

Normative-cognitive pluralism argues that although individuals may learn through differing systems of learning, those systems may be equally good. This position argues that there is little difference between the kinds of data individuals process or in the methods they use and that the effect on learners would be minimal and noninvasive to normal cognitive development, implying that different culture's systems of learning may be equally effective in cognitive development.

Evaluative-concept pluralism maintains that the process of learning starts when there is a rationale for gaining knowledge. The reasons for learning, the goals for success, and the value systems of different cultures vary greatly in their focus and in the direction they drive learners. This is a relativistic position arguing that generally systems are good for different people, and what constitutes a good system depends on the living and learning environments of the individual.

The opposite of cognitive pluralism would be cognitive monism, the belief that all peoples use essentially the same cognitive processes. It has been the long-held view that language is the sole tool of mediation for thought. Many critics of this belief have pointed to complex symbols, formulas, and images that have co-opted language in cognitive development process in cases where language would be too effusive or cumbersome. As language and other symbolic references evolve with the culture, the predominance of word in the thought process remains unchallenged, but the growing recognition of the mediating abilities of other forms of symbolism and additional sensory information has led many educators to take note of their impact on the field of curriculum studies.

A general simplification of the process of thinking may be seen as the creation of mental images that represent our thoughts and ideas. These images can consist of language, formulas, music, mnemonic devices, mathematical signs, and visual experiences that we store for later recall and further remediation. Language has long been thought to be the sole medium of this process of image making, but a growing number of cognitive researchers note the important influence of other sensory information. In addition, many argue that mediation is a product of sociocultural influences and that values and beliefs evolve with the culture. Although a group of learners may receive the same information, their personal lifetime learning experiences will shape the way that information is received and interpreted. Individuals incorporate their own biases, methods, strategies, and symbols into their growing and evolving thought processes.

An important element often overlooked in cognitive development is the role played by the culture and other social forces in the life of the learner. These elements help to shape the routines, colloquialisms, interests, activities, and beliefs of individuals. By providing feedback, mirroring styles and fashions, providing a basic foundation for morality, customs, and social exchange, our culture wordlessly impacts our values and the process of negotiating knowledge. In observations and interactions with our culture we establish the norms and mores by which we live and with which we evaluate future learning.

It is through a culturally oriented conduit that we learn of cultural pride and prejudice, social and economic stratification, social acceptance, and cultural bias. We are all able to distinguish the nature of an environment or the quality of a thing without verbal cues or other semiotic means. The individual's sense of place and status are integral lines of information that can either aid or hinder in the developmental process. Learners who can find no gain or reason for learning or who perceive their learning environment to be hostile will often lack the motivation to achieve in learning. This effect may help to explain chronic educational failure among poor and minority groups.

There are numerous implications for these theories in curriculum studies and in education in general. The notions of how and what we teach are complicated by the issues of how, what, and why we learn. Issues of cultural and learning differences

raise questions of fairness in teaching and assessment, as well as concerns for the accuracy of testing and evaluations. Some hold that this represents a miseducation of learners and a need to restructure lessons as well as teaching and learning methods.

Many now speculate on the possibilities of art infused learning, multiple forms of intelligence, and cross-cultural learning. Artworks representing past eras and movements add to the understanding of historical periods and concepts. Dance provides experiences and knowledge for kinetic learners. Spatially oriented learners find insight from exploring classic architecture just as students gain social insight from exploring the wealth of lore of minority cultures. Providing access to multiple forms of learning and supporting individual learning needs encourages wider participation in the learning community and the development of broader perspectives in classrooms.

Researchers in cognitive pluralism have found that not only is there more than one way to see, but also there are many different types of information to process. Language, both written and oral, is complemented by our sights, sounds, smells, and tactile experiences in the creation of knowledge. Reading a play can never match the richness of information one gets from watching the actors' expressions and movements or gauging the reactions of one's fellow audience. This broad spectrum of information, semiotic and sensory, presents challenges for educators to create lessons that reach and teach all individuals in the class and incorporate more perspectives, skills, and insight into their students' value systems.

Education writers, such as Harry Broudy, Elliot Eisner, and Maxine Greene, have argued vigorously for aesthetic inquiry and a greater infusion of the arts into the learning process and across disciplines. They point to the general need of aesthetic tools to better understand and interpret how our culture uses art to transmit ideas. Many of our rites, rituals, customs, and beliefs are infused with works of art and other references to aesthetic values. It is hard to imagine discourse today that does not contain historically significant references to the art embedded in our culture. With an increasing use of image and art in our highly communicative society, it is necessary to equip learners with the ability to interpret, understand, and make use of the aesthetic symbols of their culture.

The hopes of cognitive pluralistic approaches are to broaden the possibilities for learners to experience more and to discover more through their experiences. When students are taught, they add the learning they value into their personal body of knowledge. The student takes information and weighs it against prior knowledge. If the lesson is dissonant to the learner's beliefs, it will be difficult to accept, but if it has a true ring of authenticity, it becomes part of the learner's knowledge. As cognitive pluralism gains in popularity schools may see revolutions in teaching, teacher training, aesthetic learning programs, testing systems, and protocols. The challenge for educators and policy makers will be to help students to make optimal use of what there is to learn.

*Terrence O'C. Jones and Youngjoo Kim*

*See also* Aesthetic Education Research; Arts Education Curriculum; Reproduction Theory; Semiotics

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## COLLECTIVES OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS, INSTITUTIONAL

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Influential professors in the area of curriculum studies have congregated at certain key universities over the years. Professors at a particular place over a period of years are referred to as a *collective*. Collectives at several major universities in the United States and Canada have had a major influence in shaping curriculum studies. The *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* features several historical curriculum studies collectives among its listings.

A variety of studies (including citation analyses and genealogical research of mentor–student relationships and studies of preferences of books, articles, and other influences on curriculum studies) reveals the prevalence of certain professors in key decision-making roles in the curriculum field. For instance, these professors tend to be more widely published, cited, and called upon to serve on editorial boards and in leadership positions in scholarly and professional associations.

Private and public universities have housed these collectives over the years. Two of the most highly recognized collectives are Teachers College of Columbia University and the University of Chicago. The first department of curriculum was the Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Teachers College, started in the mid-1930s by Hollis Caswell, later president of Teachers College. This department derived from the influence of John Dewey in the philosophy department at Columbia University and many who followed him to create the field of social foundations of education and others who emerged as curriculum leaders. Influenced, too, by the measurement revolution in psychology and educational psychology led by Edward L. Thorndike, James M. Cattell, and others, the curriculum field harbored both social foundations and measurement origins. Similarly, curriculum scholars emerged at the University of Chicago from the influence of Dewey and his Laboratory School prior to his move to Columbia in 1905. After Dewey moved, Charles Judd brought to Chicago new views of experimental psychology derived from study with Wilhelm Wundt (as Cattell had brought to Columbia and was advanced there through his student, Thorndike).

Collectives are seldom like-minded; rather, they can be diverse individuals who stimulate ideas by dissent with one another as much or more than collaboration. Moreover, they produce doctoral students who advance the field. The emphasis in this encyclopedia is on historical collectives that go back at least three generations from the present. Some universities were highly influential, such as Harvard; however, their key faculty were in fields adjacent to curriculum studies, such as William James in psychology, Alfred North Whitehead in philosophy and mathematics, Robert Ulich in history of education, Walter Dearborn in educational psychology, Alexander Inglis in education more

generally, Isreal Scheffler in philosophy of education, Jerome Bruner in psychology, Noam Chomsky in linguistics, and Howard Gardner in psychology, who represent four or five generations of highly influential scholars, though there have been few in curriculum studies. Similarly, there are several U.S. and Canadian universities that have first-rate coteries of curriculum scholars; however, their influence spans only one or two generations. Although the contributions of both long generations of scholars who have influenced curriculum studies and contemporary collectives who have shaped the field for the past 20 or 30 years are indeed substantial, they do not fit the criteria to be included in the historical collectives presented in this encyclopedia. This lack of attention should not be seen to diminish the importance of their work.

Central questions and observations emanate from the study of historical collectives in curriculum studies. How much interaction has existed or exists among them? What is the nature of such influence? To what extent do they serve as a stimulus to scholarly work? *Collective* here does not necessarily mean cooperation in the political or union of workers sense, only a collection of individuals who may or may not be in agreement. Surely, there has been much competition for status and influence within and among collectives. Because collectives have surfaced at universities with considerable prestige, one needs to ask to what extent do they limit the domain of scholarship by a kind of colonizing power that puts them in the spotlight and relegates others to subaltern status.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Ohio State University Collective of Curriculum Professors; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Collective of Curriculum Professors; Peabody College Collective of Curriculum Professors; Teachers College Collective of Curriculum Professors; University of Alberta Collective of Curriculum Professors; University of California, Los Angeles Collective of Curriculum Professors; University of Chicago Collective of Curriculum Professors; University of Illinois Collective of Curriculum Professors; University of Wisconsin Collective of Curriculum Professors

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## COLONIZATION THEORY

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Colonization theory can be historically situated within early European conquest, domination, and colonization of various countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. This external control of foreign territories created a metropole (the colonizing country) and colony (the colonized lands) based on unequal power and exploitation of the colonies by the metropole. Educational curricula and content was a key tool in enabling and enforcing the power and control of colonial regimes. The forced external control is often referred to as the classical colonial model. This model is based on political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the metropole on the colonized lands. However, contemporary colonization theory also includes what is referred to as internal colonialism, meaning oppression and domination of certain groups of people within a country. Internal colonialism mirrors the ideology of classical colonialism in its social inequities particularly based on racism and cultural domination of majority groups over minority groups and thus expands colonial theory to be inclusive of internal domestic oppression. In order for colonization to be effective, those who were colonized had to be indoctrinated into a certain mind-set that elevated the superiority and power of the colonizer. Colonization theory continues to affect the educational decolonizing efforts of previously colonized nations.

Franz Fanon describes four phases through which classical colonialism worked and are useful in understanding the role of curriculum in enabling the assumptions of colonization theory. The first phase was one of forced entry into foreign lands and exploitation of the natural resources of the colonies. The second phase entailed the establishment of a colonial society that denigrated indigenous culture, practices, and knowledge while elevating that of the colonizing nation. In order to

cement the difference between the superior colonizer and inferior colonized relationship, the third phase had to portray the colonized peoples as savage, inhuman, and in need of being civilized via colonial impositions. The first three phases resulted in a race-based system that was established during the fourth phase of colonization. This race-based system permeated the political, social, cultural, economic, and educational systems of the colonies and was designed to privilege the colonizer and to ensure the subjugation of the colonized. Hence, education became a powerful tool to propagate this superiority–inferiority complex.

European, White superiority and Black inferiority was packaged through curricula, textbooks, resources, material, and structural curriculum elements and policies. Textbooks in particular clearly demonstrated the critical role of education and curricula in maintaining the colonial ideology. Colonial ideology denied indigenous peoples useful knowledge about themselves and their world and supported a climate designed to consolidate a slave mentality.

Decolonizing efforts sought to redress the doctrine of White supremacy, appropriated knowledge, definitions, meanings, and constructed canons and theories that were formulated on the basis of particularized European experiences and given a universal dominant status. Of importance was the development of curriculum materials that worked toward the effort to decolonize the prevailing Eurocentric epistemology and to recenter the realities of indigenous knowledge within postcolonial societies. To this day, decolonization is still intricately intertwined with global, Western, and Eurocentric politics. Educational decolonization is often fraught with contradictions and hypocrisy as the colonial ideology is often repackaged in democratic curricula.

The changing global demographic mobility and technological interaction for global educational networking insists on critical engagement with colonized educational histories and identities. By locating the historical as well as contemporary contexts of colonial, imperial, and decolonizing curriculum production within colonial and postcolonial countries it becomes important for curriculum studies to interrogate how colonialism and imperialism shaped and continues to shape the curricula imagination of global education and citizenship within newly



democratized nations. It is useful within curriculum studies to examine decolonizing approaches and analyze the interconnected historical and contemporary contexts and forms of colonial–imperial curriculum production and consumption. Although not an uncommon phenomenon for both developing and developed nations, it is an ongoing struggle to figure out the mechanisms that impede successful transitions from colonized to postcolonial curricula.

Decolonization should account for the interconnectedness of the West and the former colonies. By locating the historical as well as contemporary contexts of imperial curriculum production within and outside the metropole, contemporary curriculum studies can expand and complicate the ways in which curriculum knowledges are constructed, contested, and renegotiated within postcolonial cultural and geographic contexts. Such an interrogation becomes critical to understanding how imperialism shapes the curricular imagination of democratic education and can inform contemporary discussions on science, history, geography, and race in education discourses. Curriculum studies utilizing transnational frameworks can offer alternative spaces to conceptualize and impart colonial–postcolonial curriculum knowledge. Contemporary projects of internationalizing curricular studies allows for the conceptualization of local–global relationships of curriculum theory. In addition, critical curriculum theorists have argued for the interrogation of Eurocentric forms of knowledge that continue to sanction monolithic ideas of truth and reality and an interrogation of the political context of knowledge and how knowledge shapes the inclusion or exclusion of perspectives in schools. This cross-examination of transnational postcolonial curriculum studies offers productive possibilities to understand how certain knowledges are valued, made credible, or rendered invisible. This cross-examination also allows us to interrogate the construction, interpretation, and practice of democratic education and has implication for established and newly democratized nations.

An examination of the impact of colonization theory on contemporary educational efforts offers critical insights into the possibilities and dangers inherent in analyzing curriculum as a tool for continued colonialism–imperialism and decolonization. It is important that current curriculum studies address the critical and enduring implications of

colonial and decolonizing curriculum discourse and pedagogy for the ways in which we rethink curriculum in the forms of school textbooks, teacher training, and educational policies to challenge the history and legacy of colonialism and imperialism.

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*See also* Colonization Theory; Postcolonial Theory

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## COMMERCIALIZATION OF SCHOOLING

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Commercialization of schooling refers to private sector influence on the operation, instruction, curriculum, or aesthetic of schools. The most familiar example of commercial presence in education is the passive advertising found on sports fields and school cafeterias. Businesses, and to a lesser extent nonprofits, have also used more active approaches that affect teaching practices and uses of student time and directly alter or add to curriculum. In return for this access, schools receive money or in-kind contributions. Although there are several examples of commercialization in schools that support legitimate partnerships with the business community, there is also a growing concern over the ethics of providing businesses with direct access to advertising opportunities and the curriculum. Scholarship in the field of curriculum studies has explored the impact of business partnerships on altering curriculum, tracked the time taken out of the traditional work day for commercially driven activity, and analyzed the impact of commercialization on student health and learning.



Commercial access to schools is not new, but it did grow increasingly more popular over the last quarter of the 20th century. Commercialization of schooling becomes more controversial when it is more directly involved in driving the curriculum and as it is deemed to promote activities or knowledge that is harmful to children. Advertising has moved from extracurricular fields and buildings to cafeterias, school hallways, buses, and inside the classroom itself. The most popular example of advertising in the curriculum is Channel One. Originally launched by Whittle Communications in 1989, Channel One provides high schools with original news programming. In exchange for students watching advertising from Channel One sponsors, the school receives the news show content and in-kind use of equipment. In addition to Channel One, there are instances where schools have worked with local companies to provide advertising directly in the curriculum or even on homework assignments in exchange for cash benefit.

Although advertising contracts represent a small percentage of the total school budget, the revenue generated becomes discretionary funds. As less discretionary money is available at the school level, there is increasing pressure to seek out alternative revenue streams, such as commercial school access, to support important school-based programs. In some cases, businesses have involved themselves heavily in in-kind donation efforts without direct advertising in an attempt to influence future consumer behavior, increase their recognition among youth, and enhance their own bottom line. Computer donations are an example of this where the donation of new equipment has long been seen as a way to help build brand loyalty among students. Donations of used computer equipment can be more cost-effective than storing or disposing of computers that quickly hold no value for the company.

Legislation has appeared in several states limiting or regulating commercial influence in schools. Although many examples of state law on the matter are quite vague, the one area of commercial access to schools that has received the most explicit attention has been soda and candy vendor contracts. The early part of the 21st century has seen an increase in districts adopting policies that either ban or place limits on direct sales and vendor contracts. As a result, after almost a quarter century of

growth in commercial activities in schools, this trend started to reverse itself slightly in 2001.

The primary focus of state involvement and district policy has been to protect the welfare of the student and guard against long-term exclusivity contracts. Wisconsin, for example, passed legislation that banned soda vendor contracts in schools that placed limitations on the availability of milk for students. Legislation such as Arkansas's Body Mass Index Assessment program to address the problem of childhood obesity has had a ripple effect on many food-related commercial activities in schools.

Trends in school commercialization appear to be toward more regulation and oversight to ensure that efforts to generate revenue do not undermine the school curriculum. Even without limitations on the types of food or beverage schools can serve, there is widespread concern over the conflicting message some vendor contracts present. In light of growing attention in the school curriculum to address healthy eating and physical fitness habits, schools that accept promotional revenue from soda and candy vendors risk undermining their own healthy eating initiatives.

*John Pijanowski*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Administration; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## COMMISSION ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM REPORTS

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Although the Eight Year Study is typically remembered as the work of the Commission on the

Relation of School and College and the academic comparison of 1,475 pairs of students in college, the reports of the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum (more commonly known as the Thayer Commission) made a significant contribution to the field of curriculum studies and served to define the study's conception of progressive education curriculum at the secondary school level.

With the official formation of the Aikin Commission (the Commission/Committee on the Relation of School and College) by the Progressive Education Association in April 1930, the need for assistance in curriculum development to support the study became apparent. Accordingly, in May of 1932 the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum was formed with V. T. Thayer as chair. With General Education Board funding, the Thayer Commission sponsored two complementary types of activities; the first was the Study of Adolescents chaired by Caroline Zachry that sought to describe in rich detail the development of adolescents, while the second involved formation of five subject-area committees charged with formulating the functions of each area in general education and making recommendations for curriculum and instruction. After working from 1932 until 1940, eight volumes were published relating to the commission's subject area work. Of these, *Science in General Education* written by the Committee on the Function of Science in General Education, chaired by Harold Alberty and including Thayer among its members, is considered the most significant. This volume, published in 1938, presented a conception of the place of science in general education, centering on the ways in which the science school curriculum could meet the fundamental needs of adolescents—understood as both personal and social in origin—so that not only would the fullest potential of the individual be achieved, but also effective democratic citizenship be promoted. Drawing on the Study of Adolescents, needs were identified in four areas of living: personal, immediate personal–social relationships, social–civic relationships, and economic relationships. This conception of needs underpinned much of the other subject area committees' work, explicitly grounding two volumes, *The Social Studies in General Education* and *Mathematics in General Education*, both published in 1940, and *Reorganizing Secondary*

*Education*, the summary of the commission's position on curriculum development and revision.

In addition to these four volumes, the commission published works on the visual arts and language in general education. These two books also are concerned with meeting student needs, but represent slightly different emphases. *The Visual Arts in General Education* is primarily concerned with the place of art education in personal development and with living creatively and richly. The authors argue that art expression is a human right to be cultivated as means for enriching shared living. *Language in General Education* is mostly concerned with the place of language as a means for relating to the world and as a tool for expressing and realizing the self and gaining control over experience. Effective communication, the authors argue, is not only essential to personal development, but foundational to democratic citizenship. To assist English teachers in their task of redesigning the curriculum, the commission sponsored two additional books. A methods book, *Teaching Creative Writing*, was published in 1937. The second, published in 1940, *Reader's Guide to Prose Fiction*, written by Elbert Lenrow, included bibliographies of 1,500 novels organized around a set of concerns thought common to adolescents. From this volume, teachers could easily select relevant and appropriate pieces of literature for classroom study.

In an unusual development to ensure the value of commission publications, with the exception of *Reorganizing Secondary Education*, prior to publication each of the sponsored volumes underwent an extensive period of testing in mimeographed form and sometimes in installments. Revisions of *Teaching Creative Writing* followed distribution of 150 copies of a draft version for evaluation and experimentation by teachers, administrators, and professors from across the country and representing various types of institutions. Criticizing *Science in General Education* was a central activity of the first workshop sponsored by the Progressive Education Association, held during the summer of 1936 at Ohio State University. With backgrounds in science and mathematics, the 35 teachers attending the workshop provided detailed criticism that guided subsequent revisions.

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See also Alberty, Harold; Core Curriculum; Eight Year Study, The; General Education; Ohio State University Collective of Curriculum Professors; Resource Units; Secondary School Curriculum; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

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The Committee of Fifteen was a committee of the National Education Association (NEA) that was entrusted with revising the elementary curriculum. In 1893, the NEA met in Boston, and Colonel Francis Weyland Parker called for a motion to establish a Committee of Ten to work on revisions to the elementary curriculum. When the five members of the nominating committee were added to the 10 original members, the group became the Committee of Fifteen. Led by Chairman William H. Maxwell, who had been the first superintendent of schools in Brooklyn, New York, and Commissioner of Education William Torrey Harris, the Committee of Fifteen also included 12 current and former city school superintendents. The Committee of Fifteen's mission was similar to that of the Committee of Ten on the secondary schools that had been charged with revising the secondary curriculum in order to promote uniformity in school offerings. Unlike its Committee of Ten counterpart, the Committee of Fifteen's report met with immediate criticism.

Harris played a pivotal role in leading the Committee of Fifteen and writing the report. He was a well-established figure in education at the time the report was published, having served as U.S. Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906. Harris is often remembered for establishing

the first kindergarten in the 1870s when he worked as the superintendent of the St. Louis school system. Harris was also quite active in the NEA, serving as the organization's president in 1873. In his public role as an educational leader, he advocated a curriculum in which children acquire knowledge needed to fill "the five windows of the soul," which included the areas of mathematics, history, geography, grammar, and literature and art.

The Committee of Fifteen report reflected much of Harris's educational philosophy. In order to divide the work of the Committee of Fifteen, three subcommittees were established. One subcommittee dealt with the training of teachers, and another focused on the organization of the city school systems. A third, the Subcommittee on Correlation of Studies, dealt with the elementary school curriculum and was led by Harris. Of the three reports, Harris's report caused the most significant amount of controversy.

Several currents of educational reform prevailed in the 1890s, many of which were influenced by the philosophy of Friedrich Froebel, Johann Pestalozzi, and Johann Herbart. Established in the United States in 1893, the Herbartian Society, which later became the National Society for the Study of Education, emphasized an educational philosophy that included concepts such as correlation, concentration, apperception, and cultural-epochs. Leading Herbartians included Charles DeGarmo and brothers Frank and Charles McMurry. Another prominent educational reform during this time period was known as the child-study movement, led by G. Stanley Hall. Child-study advocates placed child development and the newly emerging science of education at the forefront of reform efforts. The educational philosophy espoused by Harris in the Committee of Fifteen report came into direct conflict with Herbartianism and the child-study movement.

Harris, University of Illinois President Andrew S. Draper, and Superintendent Horace S. Tarbell served as lead authors, respectively, of the three different sections of the report. Harris had chaired the subcommittee on correlation, which dealt with the elementary school curriculum. The report included a detailed chart with the various subjects to be studied, the grade level in which they were to be studied, and the number of minutes each week they were to be studied. Immediately, objections

ensued. These protests are recorded in the NEA proceedings. The most common complaint was that the report was an elaborate defense of the status quo, and that correlation was interpreted in a manner contrary to the meaning the Herbartians advocated, which was to unify the curriculum around a central theme. In the proceedings of the Cleveland meeting, Francis Parker opined that the report essentially was Shakespeare's *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. Draper's report on the organization of the city school system and Tarbell's report on the training of teachers faced less opposition.

In the end, the Committee of Fifteen made recommendations for the elementary curriculum at the 1895 meeting in Cleveland that preserved the existing elementary curriculum for the next decade. Historian of the Committee of Fifteen, Henry Warren Button, noted in his analysis of the report that Harris was part of the respected establishment, and it is only natural that he would have preserved his conservative mode of thinking and talking about schools. Ultimately, Herbartianism, child study, empirical psychology, and social efficiency had a greater impact on the elementary curriculum and the general field of curriculum studies.

*Chara Haeussler Bohan*

*See also* Committee of Ten of the National Education Association; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## COMMITTEE OF TEN OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

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In the 1890s, the Committee of Ten's landmark report fostered the development of the emergent

field of curriculum studies. Concerned with the problem of inconsistent college entrance requirements, the National Education Association (NEA), at a meeting in 1892, authorized the Committee of Ten to recommend standards for the various core subjects in the secondary school curriculum. The Committee of Ten comprised nine subconferences based on the academic disciplines of (1) Latin; (2) Greek; (3) English; (4) modern languages; (5) mathematics; (6) physics, astronomy, and chemistry; (7) natural history; (8) history, civil government, and political economy; and (9) geography. Despite its limited charge, the committee's work ultimately extended far beyond the purpose of developing common college entrance standards and significantly impacted the high school curriculum.

Nicholas Murray Butler, who became the NEA president in 1894 and who later served as Columbia University president, was instrumental in appointing the 10 members of the committee. Charles W. Eliot, the Harvard University president responsible for ushering in the elective course system, served as the chairman of the Committee of Ten. Other prominent members of the committee included William Torrey Harris, commissioner of education, and James Burrill Angell, president of the University of Michigan. Butler believed that the group comprised a remarkable committee, but the all-White male members predominantly hailed from elite eastern institutions.

Published in 1893 by the U.S. Government Printing Office and 1 year later by the American Book Company, the report recommended four different courses of study in high school and advised against curricular distinction for students preparing for college and students preparing for life. Such recommendations represented a distinct transformation from previous curricular recommendations, such as the traditional mental discipline curriculum embodied in the Yale Report of 1828, which encompassed humanist studies such as English, Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

Ultimately, the authors of the Committee of Ten report called for a more comprehensive program of studies in secondary schools, which also included the study of history and modern languages, for example. In large part, the conferees also established a degree of cohesion and uniformity among the secondary school course offerings.



The Committee of Ten's report laid the foundation for the modern secondary school curriculum. In addition, the report also recommended that teachers use new teaching methods that engaged and encouraged students rather than employ the traditional pedagogical method of having students display skills of rote memorization.

Of critical importance, the report noted that education for life was the proper preparation for college. Such statements clearly reveal progressive educational thought and the influence of leading thinkers such as John Dewey. Indeed, the school curricula needed to be broadened not only to stimulate students' interest, but also to serve a functional need to educate students for life. The massive immigration during this time period led to dramatically increasing high school enrollments. With the inescapable growth and changes transpiring in U.S. society, the committee's report planted the seeds for curriculum change in schools.

Nonetheless, the Committee of Ten noted that the nine reports, all written by educational leaders and experts in the various subject area disciplines indicated a desire to have elements of their subjects taught earlier in the elementary school curriculum. These recommendations to modify primary school curricula ultimately led to the Committee of Fifteen report that addressed the curriculum in the nation's elementary schools. According to Herbert Kliebard, Eliot's Committee of Ten report was met with both approbation and criticism. G. Stanley Hall was one of the leading critics of the report, and debate about the intent of the Committee of Ten's report pervades even contemporary educational debate.

The progressive educational reform that resulted from the work of the Committee of Ten was fortuitous. As U.S. students increased in number and diversity, the need for curriculum change became more profound. U.S. schools were compelled to respond. Progressive era changes to school curricula, however, did not result solely from rising enrollment in U.S. public schools. As evidenced in the Committee of Ten report, a subtle egalitarian sentiment that the recommendations should be the same for all, that education was preparation for life and therefore suitable preparation for college, and that all students were entitled to the best methods of teaching the various subjects, pervaded the report. Finally, the Committee of Ten report mentioned

that the methods teachers employed should cultivate the mind and teach the individual to think, rather than to promote rote memorization. These primary curricular ideals embodied in the Committee of Ten report were the hallmarks of progressive era education reform movements.

*Chara Haeussler Bohan*

*See also* Committee of Fifteen of the National Education Association; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## COMMONPLACES

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Commonplaces are interrelated curricular components encompassing learners, teachers, content, and context. Scholars in curriculum studies have employed commonplaces to frame curriculum development, to develop a heuristic for understanding curriculum, and to create a structure of analysis for curriculum inquiry.

Curriculum scholar Joseph Schwab delineated the commonplaces to guide the process of curriculum development. He explained that when people come together to revise curriculum, they need knowledge of these fundamental elements. Schwab's first commonplace, subject matter, means comprehension of content disciplines, their underlying systems of thought, and curriculum materials. Knowledge of learners involves familiarity with students including children's developmental abilities,



their unique qualities, and their probable futures as influenced by the environment of families and community (rather than how education might transform their possible destinies). Schwab referred to classroom, school environments, and influences on them as the third commonplace, the milieu; he called for recognition of the context of learning—social structures within schools, the influence of families, and the multitude of values and attitudes stemming from the community and culture surrounding the school. The fourth commonplace, teachers, includes educators' subject matter erudition, their personalities—such as their flexibility or openness to new methods—and their biases or political stances.

Schwab described each commonplace as a body of experience necessary for curriculum making and revision. He explained that there should be coordination among these commonplaces and that one component should not dominate the others. Schwab also insisted that when making curricular decisions, representatives with deep knowledge of each commonplace should participate in deliberations. Further, he believed that the curriculum specialist, who understands the practice of curriculum making, ought to facilitate conversations among representatives of the commonplaces and guide the curriculum-making process. Schwab's attention to commonplaces created a deliberative progression of curriculum planning that de-emphasized standardization as curriculum planners consider the unique nature of each classroom and numerous influences upon curriculum from outside the classroom.

Other scholars have drawn on the commonplaces to understand and analyze curriculum. Seeing curriculum as a fluid narrative stemming from teachers' sense of self and practice, Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin formulated the commonplaces as a heuristic to inspire teachers' self-reflection and articulation of their stances as curriculum workers. Unlike Schwab, who placed the curriculum specialist as the expert in charge of curriculum planning, Connelly and Clandinin viewed teachers as curriculum planners and commonplaces as their analytic tools to develop their own narratives, to understand historical trends of curriculum, and to gain insight into contemporary controversies. In particular, by attending to the commonplaces, curriculum workers thus could uncover the logic or emphasis in a given rationale for curriculum.

Accordingly, commonplaces have been utilized for curriculum inquiry to raise questions about assumptions of learners, consequently to examine beliefs about human nature and learning theory. For instance, are children perceived as naturally curious or resistant to learning? Do they construct knowledge or passively absorb information? Correspondingly, assumptions about content can be probed: Should content be perceived as flexible, evolving, or fixed? Should content be influenced by children's interests, the needs of society, or the demands of industry? Should it be arranged chronologically, thematically, or developmentally? Such questions also lead to inquiry about images embedded in the commonplaces, such as metaphors of learners as empty vessels, sponges, or inventors. Scholars call for such assumptions and images to be scrutinized so that stakeholders involved in curriculum can challenge their untenable assumptions and discover what beliefs they hold in common.

Since Schwab's and Connelly and Clandinin's depictions of commonplaces, recent scholarship suggests the benefit of this framework to help summarize complex arguments, to gain deeper understanding of a commonplace as portrayed by a particular curricular theorist, and to analyze curriculum for coherence by asking, for example, whether classroom environments are compatible with beliefs about how students learn. Other examples of curriculum scholarship using commonplaces include analysis of teacher narratives, teachers' self studies, and teacher-education practices.

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*See also* Curriculum Development; Curriculum Inquiry; Schwab, Joseph

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## COMMON SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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Arising in the 19th century, common schools were the first widely accepted model for free public education in the United States. Common schools derived their name from their curricular mandate: the common branches. A major purpose of common schools was to create a common U.S. people who spoke the same language, held similar values, and embraced a shared national identity. Although later writers sometimes ascribe an aura of homogeneity to the common schools, in truth there was considerable variation among the common branches across the country. This entry discusses the formation of common schools, how the curriculum was enacted in the classroom, forces that influenced curriculum content, and how issues from the common school era have influenced contemporary curriculum studies.

Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a system of free public education where a child with intellectual merit could rise above his family's poverty. Jefferson's ideal of free public education found a champion in Massachusetts's secretary of education, Horace Mann. Perhaps Mann's greatest accomplishment was the production of his highly influential annual reports. These reports were read across the nation and generated much discussion around the need for public education.

The shape of the common school curriculum was heavily influenced by faculty psychology, a version of educational psychology popular at that time. That school of thought held that each individual possessed faculties of the mind, body, and soul. Faculty psychology taught that the mind, the soul, and the body should be developed in a balanced way. Just as the physical muscles grew stronger through regular exercise, the other faculties also grew stronger through use. The mind was believed to possess the faculties of memory, imagination, and judgment.

As faculty psychology was translated into classroom practice, the concept of a balanced development of mind, soul, and body was lost. In practice, schools focused primarily on the mind and secondarily on the soul. What emerged was the method of mental discipline that stressed rote memorization over understanding or application. Complete sections of textbooks were committed

to memory. These memorized textbook narratives were then repeated verbatim to the teacher during a recitation session. As there were often 40 or more students per teacher and each child sometimes had a different textbook, each student spent hours memorizing alone and only a few minutes each day with the teacher reciting his or her lessons.

Because of the inefficiency of this mode of instruction, some elementary school students spent years going over the same material without being able to advance in their education even though they could have mastered it in a few months with different methods. The principle of thoroughness also shaped educators' thinking about what was appropriate to study and how to study it. Most educators of the 19th century believed children must complete their study of a subject before taking up another subject. Thus, most adults did not find it objectionable that children would study the same textbook sections repeatedly over the years.

From the perspective of the 21st century, it is easy to look back at the common schools and see homogeneity. However, although the common branches were the core of the common school curriculum, there was surprising disagreement, particularly in the early 19th century, as to what these common branches were. Reading was the one subject almost everyone agreed should be included in school. The primary purpose of early U.S. religious schools had been to teach children to read the Bible. Later, during revolutionary times, reading became important for keeping abreast of news and politics. Thus, the importance of reading as a subject in school was generally accepted. Similarly, moral-religious instruction was generally agreed upon as one of the common branches. However, as the population of the nation grew and diversified during the 1800s, the use of Protestant Christian values and sacred texts in the public schools became an area of controversy.

Many, but not all, common schools included writing and arithmetic as a part of their curriculum. Likewise, spelling classes and spelling bees were typical in most common schools. Some educators advocated reading alone; others promoted the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic. Still others felt there was room for literature, the sciences, history, geography, and more. In a time of

extreme curriculum fragmentation, some educators argued for separate classes in geology, chemistry, biology, and botany.

The individual teacher's preparation and preferences also shaped the common school curriculum. Teaching was often viewed as a short-term job rather than as a career. Formal preparation of teachers was virtually nonexistent. Most local school boards could certify any person they believed was qualified to teach. A teacher who loved literature might focus almost exclusively on reading and literature though a teacher with a like for history would emphasize that subject.

Over time, the common school curriculum developed by addition. As new segments of the U.S. people found and asserted their voices, new subjects were periodically proposed and added to the common school. But subjects were rarely eliminated. This increasingly fragmented and overloaded curriculum set the stage for elementary school reform efforts and the Committee of Fifteen.

Issues from the common school era still resound in curriculum studies. Back-to-basics movements have been birthed from the common school tradition. Advocates have promoted a return to the three R's, a core curriculum, or a classic curriculum. The debate over teaching method continues. Some emphasize the needs of the child while others focus on discipline-specific traditions. Issues of curricular control remain central to educational policy and practice. The use of critical theory traditions has added diverse perspectives to these discussions. Curriculum studies scholars seek to influence schools and educational practice through critique and activism.

*Larry D. Burton*

*See also* Committee of Fifteen of the National Education Association; Committee of Ten of the National Education Association; Elementary School Curriculum; Textbooks

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## COMPARATIVE STUDIES RESEARCH

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Comparative studies play an important role in current efforts to create a worldwide field of curriculum studies. A comparative perspective draws on empirical and theoretical research to expand curriculum studies beyond the traditional settings of the region and nation. As one approach in international education, comparative research aims to understand broadly educational practices and processes in a global context rather than promote a uniform or universal notion of the field. This entry explores the varied purposes of comparative studies within curriculum studies, the primary theoretical and methodological trends, and the existing infrastructure for future comparative studies.

### Impetus to Compare

Comparativists recognize that changes in global economics and politics help shape national education practices and policies. Globalization, in all its current forms, has made curriculum studies a field in which the national is in a dialectic with regional and international trends. Comparing curricular developments both within and among countries assists in understanding more fully the global movement of people and ideas, an essential component of what Janet Miller labels transnational flows and mobilities. As state curricula respond to the norms and expectations of supranational organizations, including those with a transnational scope, such as the European Union, and others with a global reach, such as the World Bank and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), comparative research explores the possible development of global curricular norms and patterns. The development of international assessment examinations, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Programme for International Student Assessment and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study, provide further grounds to examine the development of the possible convergence or homogenization of curricula. Comparative studies research also invites researchers to move beyond

the nation-state in framing curricular developments in regional, historical (e.g., colonial period), and religious perspectives. A study comparing Islamic education among the Francophone Hausa of Niger and the Anglophone Hausa of Nigeria, for example, would engage these three lenses with its historical perspective, its consideration of transnational influence of the British and French colonial educational systems, and its consideration of the impact on a relatively homogeneous population across modern political borders.

### Traditions of Comparative Studies

Comparative research incorporates a range of theoretical paradigms and methodologies, yet tends to cluster around distinct research approaches including policy borrowing and single-state historical and cultural studies, which are common within curriculum studies. The review essays of 28 countries in William F. Pinar's *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* provides a compelling example of this latter type of one-nation, comparative study. Theory development has unfolded internationally as well with intellectuals such as Brazil's Paulo Freire and Great Britain's Paul Willis contributing to the growth of a critical perspective on curriculum planning and resistance.

Quantitative approaches to cross-national comparative research gained momentum in the post-World War II era. Quantitative studies tend to examine the official or intended curricula, sometimes across tens of countries, through statistical surveys of policy documents, textbooks, legal frameworks, and achievement results. By the end of the 20th century, quantitative researchers had contributed to the development of a robust world culture theory suggesting the possibility of transnational and even global curricular convergence. Qualitative researchers contest that even in the case of curricular convergence, the enacted and appropriated curriculum varies widely within and across countries.

Comparative research, particularly of qualitative data, is particularly challenging. An individual must have sufficient language fluency and knowledge of the required contexts to make such a study viable, and few are able to work in more than a few languages. Large-scale qualitative comparison in particular requires international teams that

must reach consensus about the meaning of key terms and concepts that may have very different aspects and connotations in their own contexts. Innovations in qualitative comparison were a hallmark of the 1999 IEA study in civic education and in comparative video ethnography of mathematics in the third TIMSS study. Single-country studies dominate qualitative comparative research, which emphasizes the meaning making and processes of policy making, teaching, and learning. Drawing heavily on ethnographic approaches, recent comparative research on schooling has expanded in scope to multiple countries including Joseph Tobin and colleagues' three-country, diachronic examination, *Preschool in Three Culture Revisited*, published in 2009, and Robin Alexander's five-country analysis *Culture & Pedagogy*, published in 2001.

At least three major strands of inquiry have developed in the early 21st century comparative studies research, including the role and transformation of human rights and civic education across regions, the legacies of Eurocentric curriculum in postcolonial or settler societies (e.g., United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) and the concomitant resistance to this approach, and finally, the processes and consequences of a global push for literacy and education for all as part of the coordinated international effort to promote universal primary education by 2015.

### Structuring the Future of Comparative Research

The exchange and deliberation of comparative and international research depends upon what Pinar labels the infrastructure for internationalization. Within curriculum studies, regional and international consortia and organizations regularly meet to conceptualize and debate the field from a regional and international perspective. At the regional level, groups such as the Pacific Circle Consortium have met for over 30 years to promote regional cooperation in the production of curricular materials. In Europe, the Consortium of Institutions for Development and Research in Education in Europe provides a network of educational institutes to work for curricular educational research. Globally, the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies and



the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction strive to bring scholars together across borders and theoretical orientations to encourage attention to global dynamics shaping the field. Journals within the fields of comparative education and curriculum studies reflect the growing significance and interest in comparative curricular studies. Special issues dedicated to the advancement of comparative research studies include the recent 2009 issue of *Journal of Curriculum Studies* with a focus on citizenship education curricula and *Comparative Education Review's* 2006 issue on Islam and education that captures the growth of a dynamic international and interdisciplinary field of curriculum studies.

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*See also* European Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; International Perspectives; Transnational Research; World Council for Curriculum and Instruction

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## COMPETENCY-BASED CURRICULUM

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Competency-based curriculum design is a model in which educative goals are structured to discover and support the unique abilities and learning styles of individuals, thereby facilitating the achievement of their potential. The concept is in keeping with many established paradigmatic perspectives in the field of curriculum studies.

In a competency-based curriculum, emphasis is not placed upon the learners' accumulation of memorized knowledge or behavior, but instead on their proficiency in a particular realm. A competency goes beyond a skill; it is not simply the learner's accumulated knowledge or task-oriented abilities, but rather the aptitude to produce a personally and socially valuable outcome. The goal of this construct is to help learners achieve long-term success through the realization and cultivation of their strengths and then apply those assets to make contributions to the greater social environment. With this intent, competency-based curriculum is well suited to foster creativity and critical thought in learners who may then choose to participate in and contribute to a democratic society. This curricular model is employed in a variety of educational settings in many venues around the world.

There are several key facets of competency-based curriculum. First, learners and teachers alike act as agents to determine the curricular activities and experiences included to best develop the learner's unique capabilities. These activities include, but are not limited to, relevant subject matter learning. There is a significant emphasis placed upon experiential learning and activities that allow learners to be submersed in authentic experiences and engage in critical reflection and self-expression. There is, too, an intent to foster enjoyable experiences and those that might serve to develop the learner's moral development. Because this model is focused upon specific learners and environments, assessment is developed to align purposefully with the curriculum and the needs of the learners themselves. Standardized and quantitative criteria are employed in relative moderation with a greater importance placed on performance-based, experiential learner outcomes.

The notion of competency is often rooted in the progressive stages of development associated with the adult learner developed by Stuart E. Dreyfus and Hubert L. Dreyfus in the 1980s. Although there are several iterations of the Dreyfus model, these stages always include the following: novice, advanced beginner, competent, proficient, and expert. Competency-based education is intended to scaffold the learners' achievement of the competent stage of development; it is then at the discretion of the learner to expand his or her degree of understanding to achieve higher levels of development.



The employment of the competency-based curricular model endeavors to educate all learners, regardless of their level of academic ability, to their fullest potential. It is the unique and individualized qualities of this highly engaged curricular model that lend its appeal to various realms of teaching and learning. Learner outcomes are adapted to facilitate the development of a variety of competencies depending upon the needs of the organization. For this reason, it is often utilized in disciplines outside of education.

For example, in recent years the Brown University School of Medicine initiated a competency-based curriculum, titled MD2000. This implementation was made with the hope that it would cultivate cooperative working relationships between teachers and learners as they work to achieve shared goals. It was also intended to provoke students to engage more actively to achieve their learner outcomes. Another example of the employment of this model exists in the field of business at Boise State University. In that venue, the employment of a competency-based curriculum is intended to ensure that learners do not simply accumulate knowledge or skills, but instead seek ways to employ their learning in a range of professional milieus.

As with other models prevalent in the field of curriculum studies, the adoption of a competency-based curricular framework necessitates a shift in thought pertaining to teacher and learning in many contemporary venues. Currently, many curricular paradigms employed in professional training venues are centered on the goals of the managing bodies; tasks and strategies are organized to simplify tasks and increase efficiency in the workplace. In contemporary public education in the United States, curriculum is squarely centered on standardized assessments in an institutionalized curricular model. Conversely, a competency-based curricular model necessitates a learner-centered, experientially focused process.

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*See also* Experientialism; Outcome-Based Education; Standards, Curricular

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## COMPLEMENTARY METHODS RESEARCH

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Complementary methods refers to the use of more than one method when a researcher seeks illustration, clarification, or elaboration about research findings. Complementary methods research permits curriculum studies researchers to use quantitative and qualitative methods in the same study as needed to garner deeper insights. This class of methods entered in the educational research community landscape in the late 1980s when Richard Jaeger published his textbook, *Complementary Methods for Research in Education*, under the auspices of the American Educational Research Association. This book was based upon a series of audiotapes in which a committee of researchers concerned about the overreliance of quantitative methods and their dominance in research publications sought to make a greater set of resources about methodological inquiry available to graduate students and instructors of educational research methods courses. The dominant role that quantitative methods once had played in educational research tended to overshadow the potential contributions and publications that verbal and visual forms of data collection and documentation held.

Many researchers treat epistemology and methods as though they are synonymous. However, differences in epistemological beliefs—that is, how knowledge is and can be known—does not have to be the basis for justifying the selection of methods. For example, if a qualitative researcher wants to utilize methods typically associated with quantitative methods to promote a deeper understanding of his or her results, adherence to a particular epistemology such as constructivism should not prevent this type of additional inquiry. The same is true for quantitative researchers who tend to hold the epistemology of objectivism. This belief should not prevent the researchers from

using in-depth interviews with achievement test takers whether they are also interested in how test-taker participation and achievement scores are related. Complementary methods is one way to overcome the chasm that has been artificially created by individuals who hold an allegiance to the epistemology of objectivism even though the research question may beg for inquiry using methods that are most nearly aligned with a constructivism epistemology.

In the last 20 years, the research community has expanded exponentially beyond the traditional ways of knowing to include gendered, poststructural, and indigenous ways of knowing and to different ways of addressing the complexity of phenomena through the use of multilevel, hierarchical linear measurement and structural equation modeling. The emergence of complementary research has heightened as the world and study of phenomena becomes increasingly more complex. In general, social scientists and specifically educational researchers are beginning to recognize that training students narrowly, for example, in only a single approach to conducting studies, such as conceptualizing problems from a political point of view, can significantly shape how they approach the study of problems. The issues surrounding the use of complementary methods are not limited solely to the fields of social science, educational research, or curriculum studies. The philosophical traditions of many fields of study such as medicine, dentistry, psychology, and history, among others, have been challenged by the use of complementary or alternative forms of inquiry. In educational research, the use of complementary methods such as qualitative research was subjected to considerable scrutiny and criticism by quantitative researchers for almost two decades.

The emergence of complementary methods has resulted in methods of inquiry that might have otherwise gone relatively unnoticed by graduate students and researchers. For some students, such forms of research have been illustrated by a conflict between epistemological beliefs and methods of inquiry. Students ask questions such as the following: What type of analysis should be done? How should the data be collected for the research questions that have been asked? How does the theoretical perspective shape the use of methods and data collection process?

For others, such as instructors, this type of inquiry has resulted in paying greater attention to the students' epistemological beliefs and their alignment with the theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods of their studies. Representative questions that have emerged from using complementary methods follow: How does the use of particular methods and the results that emerge reshape my understanding of phenomena? How can the use of other methods impact my understanding of the field?

Researchers need to be skilled in the use of multiple methods so that they have the capability to analyze questions using an interdisciplinary approach and the ability to mix methods. Researchers need to be able to utilize methods that permit macro- and microlevel analysis. Such an approach lends itself to an increased probability that research questions can be answered with increased precision and depth of insight. Developing skill within a broadened range of methods allows researchers to explore different dimensions of a particular research question. Having a familiarity with and skilled use in complementary methods is one approach to shaping future educational researchers.

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*See also Educational Researcher; Mixed Methods Research*

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## COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL

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The comprehensive high school is a unique U.S. concept, developed in the 20th century to meet the challenges of a changing society by designing programs to correspond to the educational needs of all youth. A confluence of forces influenced the rethinking of U.S. secondary education: industrialization, immigration, progressive educational theory, and the rise of vocational education. To

provide for equal opportunity and status of U.S. youth, public schools needed to provide general education for all citizens to help them contribute to and be part of the growing democracy; integrate new immigrants into the wider U.S. culture; ensure that students, upon graduation, were employable in an industrial age; and to provide for those students with abilities and talents to continue their education in the colleges and universities. Unlike the thinking in many European countries, reformers of education did not want to develop a dual educational system, but favored a unique unified system that would serve as a model of U.S. thinking and ingenuity that would meet U.S. needs, not European traditions. Thus, the new secondary schools not only needed to meet the academic needs of the students, but also as importantly, needed to meet the social and democratic needs of the country. Students of different backgrounds and abilities needed to learn how to function together to ensure that they had the skills necessary to keep the democracy moving forward.

The comprehensive high school had two major thrusts upon which to build their programs: a unifying aspect and a specialized aspect. Unification meant students would work together regardless of race, ability, ethnicity, gender, or skill to build school and community spirit. Specialization meant that programs would be provided to meet the various academic needs of the students, whether those needs were vocational, college preparatory, or special. Given these goals, the development and growth of the U.S. comprehensive high school was both exciting and fraught with many challenges.

John Dewey was one of the staunch supporters of the concept of the comprehensive high school. In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey recognized that the growing diversity of U.S. society due to massive waves of immigration demanded a restructuring of the schools to unite the internationalism of the population to one of nationalism, to maintain the integrity of the individual while facilitating social unity. He saw the public school system as the best means of unifying a diverse, heterogeneous population. He perceived that the structure of the comprehensive high school would allow the development of common understandings through various school activities and common academic curriculum while the specialized programs could meet the individual needs of each student.

In 1918, The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, a composition of several National Education Association committees examining secondary education, published the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. This report prefaced its recommendations with a summary of the key changes in U.S. society, in the high school population, and in educational theory. The report acknowledged that education in a democracy needed to take place within and outside of school and should ensure that individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, habits, interests, and powers to find their place in U.S. society. The report identified seven main goals of education: (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure time, and (7) ethical character.

The *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* described how the secondary school could accomplish these goals and became the guideline for the development of the comprehensive high school. The discussion of the curriculum provided both the unifying and specializing functions of the comprehensive high school: unification through curriculum constants that would be taken by all students, curriculum variables that would be determined by the students' individual vocational needs, and free electives to fulfill the special interests and aptitudes of individual students. By 1940, the comprehensive high school was the dominate model of secondary education in the United States. Although the model was popular, there were many questions as to whether or not it was fulfilling both the unification and specialization aspects of education it was designed to do.

With the launch of *Sputnik* by the Soviet Union in 1957, high schools became a target for criticism by politicians, educators, and the general public. James B. Conant's study in 1959 of the U.S. high school supported the comprehensive high school as the ideal model for U.S. education. Twenty-one recommendations for improvement were made, but the support was clear. However, the civil rights movement of the 1960s demanding equal access to quality education for all youth, and the growth in the 1970s of alternative schools to provide that access did not support the existence of the comprehensive high school. The assault on secondary education continued as the country tried to cope with the changing social, economic,

political, and academic demands of the public. A proliferation of books, reports, and legislation in the 1980s to 1990s demanded change in public education and by the end of the century, the comprehensive high school curriculum looked more like an academic college preparatory one rather than a curriculum that met the needs of all students. Comprehensive high schools can still be found in small communities, but the ideal model for U.S. secondary education has ceased to exist in most communities.

The comprehensive high school is a unique U.S. legacy whose time may come again as the issues of today are reflective of the issues 100 years ago when the comprehensive high school was created to provide equal opportunity and status for all U.S. youth.

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*See also American High School Today, The*; Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum Reports; Common School Curriculum; Secondary School Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## COMPULSORY MISEDUCATION

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Compulsory miseducation is word play on a concept that was long considered a pillar of progressivism: universal compulsory education. In order to participate in social and economic and political life, reformers argued over decades and decades, all children, not just the privileged, should be granted access to learning, and all families, not just the enlightened, should send their youngsters off to school. This idea is now embraced the world

around. Indeed, the “UN Convention on the Rights of the Child” calls on all state parties ratifying the document to accept a standard of universal education through the elementary years.

Despite its progressive origins and resonances, the idea of compulsory schooling took a decidedly sinister turn in the hands of authoritarian state powers: Soviet schools were compulsory, as were German schools during the Third Reich. Compulsory education appeared to contain, then, possibilities in direct opposition to enlightenment and freedom; there was a distinct potential for mass indoctrination, herding and deceiving, disciplining and punishing, commanding and controlling. Even in putatively democratic countries, societies exhibited tendencies in their schools that had the distinct odor of totalitarianism: the old-school whip and isolation cell and all the modern technologies of despotism from mystifying and manipulative propaganda to mass spectacle and targeted scapegoating.

Paul Goodman, poet, prolific writer, engaged intellectual, and activist anarchist of the 1960s (as well as fatherly inspiration to that era’s student, peace, and queer movements), popularized the term with the publication of his work, *Compulsory Mis-Education*, in 1964. Goodman wrote on a wide variety of matters including education, Gestalt therapy, city life and urban planning and design, children’s rights, politics, literary criticism, and more. In an interview with Studs Terkel, Goodman noted that although he seemed to have a number of eclectic and divergent interests, they were in fact all one fundamental concern: How to make it possible to grow up as a human being into a culture without losing nature; he simply refused to acknowledge that a sensible and honorable community could not exist.

Goodman was the author of dozens of yeasty and germinal texts: *Growing Up Absurd* was perhaps his most famous best seller, but *Gestalt Therapy* invented the field, and *Being Queer* was a landmark in the emerging gay liberation movement of the 1970s. Goodman thought that it was pathological to be prevented from making love to someone of the opposite sex and equally pathological to be denied the experience of homosexual love. What he found obscene was the way society makes people feel shameful and criminal for doing ordinary and profoundly human things.



*Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals* and *Little Prayers and Finite Experiences* influenced a propulsive generation to think and act in new and liberatory ways. His critique of modern education was that it killed the spirit of youngsters and left them bereft of curiosity and creativity. Goodman described his politics as anarchist, his love as bisexual, and his profession as a man of letters, but many saw him as more even than that—he became in important ways the 20th-century Thoreau, the quintessential U.S. mind of his time.

William C. Ayers

*See also* Social Justice

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## COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AND SOCIALIZATION: CASE LAW

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Compulsory school attendance laws vary by state, but essentially require children to attend public school or receive an acceptable educational alternative. Controversy over compulsory schooling stems largely from tension between parental rights and the interest of the state. State governments have used compulsory attendance laws to promote a variety of social welfare efforts, and generally the courts have upheld the rights of the state in mandating education over challenges based on religious or personal freedoms. Scholarship in the field of curriculum studies has focused not only on the historical evolution of compulsory schooling case law, but also on the impact of social agendas on the curriculum. As mandatory school attendance laws evolved over the 20th century, curriculum scholars point to fundamental shifts in what was taught and who was taught in public schools.

Forced school attendance has played a critical role in accelerating broader social change. Child labor reform, public health programs, and the civil rights movement were dramatically affected by compulsory schooling legislation. Although mandatory attendance laws date back to the mid-19th century, it was not until the end of the 19th century that both child labor laws and compulsory school attendance laws started to gain significant momentum across the country. Child labor abuses, a changing economy, and massive immigration all served as the backdrop for more state regulation over the treatment and education of children.

Resistance against mandatory school laws was strongest in the South where the inevitable reduction in cheap labor that children provided was seen as a threat to the economy. Early child labor laws were in place throughout the country by 1912, but in many states, a work week of up to 60 hours was allowed for children as young as 12 years old. It was not until the end of the World War I that the last state (Mississippi) had enacted school attendance laws, and it was the two forms of legislation in concert with each other that dramatically changed the work life of children in the United States.

Mandatory schooling played a critical role in promoting the melting pot inculcation of U.S. culture, civics, and language. Explicit nationalism based elements of school curricula gained broad support after World War I. In *Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary* (1925), a case that limited the power of the state's compulsory attendance laws, the U.S. Supreme Court reinforced the power of the state to require good moral character of teachers and a patriotic disposition. Civic virtues and English language education were deeply embedded in public school curriculum. For example, in 1919 the state of Nebraska passed a law that barred any teacher, in a private or public school, from teaching subjects in any language other than English. The U.S. Supreme Court determined that the Nebraska law was unconstitutional in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923), and later Court opinions limited the ability of the state to homogenize learning opportunities for children.

The U.S. Supreme Court has long held that certain personal liberties can be sublimated to promote the general welfare and common health of a community. State-mandated health education programs, regular school-based checkups for hearing



and vision, lice checks, laws compelling teachers to serve as mandatory reporters of child abuse and maltreatment, and vaccine requirements are all examples of ways the state has worked through public schools to promote health initiatives. Vaccination requirements are of particular note in case law because they are a requirement for public school attendance. Courts have consistently supported state-mandated vaccination programs and the right of school districts to deny school admission to children who are not immunized. Even in the face of an established and documented religion's objections, courts have ruled that religious beliefs do not exempt children from legislation that reasonably protects public health. When students are not allowed to enroll in public school because of a refusal to be immunized, the responsibility then falls to the parent to provide an equivalent alternative education for their child.

Specific legal challenges that helped define the limits of compulsory schooling center on concerns of religious freedom and the rights of parents to provide education at home or through a private school. In 1925, a private school contested an Oregon statute that compelled all children ages 8 to 16 to attend public school. The Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary contended that the new law would hinder their business and diminish the value of their property. In *Pierce v. Society* (1925) the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that although the state retained the power to reasonably regulate schools, they could not pass legislation that would arbitrarily or unreasonably interfere with the business or property value of private schools. Religious objection to mandatory schooling laws have been largely unsuccessful. The consensus of the courts for most of the 20th century had been that although children may attend private schools as an alternative to public schooling, they may not opt out of education altogether. However, in 1972 the Supreme Court established what has become known as the Amish exception in ruling that Amish children in Wisconsin need not continue their formal education beyond the 8th grade. In *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1925) the opinion turned on three key issues. First, the well-established and documented tenets of the Amish beliefs were undeniably in conflict with the act of attending public school. Second, the value of two additional years of formal education beyond the

8th grade was decided to be less important when preparing a child for a separated agrarian community. Third, the Amish community has historically shown that they were a highly functioning society that had raised socially and politically responsible citizens without mandatory attendance beyond the 8th grade. The unique nature of the Amish exception severely limits the application of the *Yoder* precedent to other religious groups. Attempts by other religious groups to apply the Amish exception have been unsuccessful.

*John Pijanowski*

*See also* Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices; Standards, Curricular

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## COMPUTER-ASSISTED INSTRUCTION

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Computer-assisted instruction curriculum may vary from drill on rote learning such as math facts to simulations of labs for high school advanced physics students. As technology has grown, computer-assisted instruction curriculum has become an important part of curriculum studies. The instruction via computer can be as varied and complex as the instructors that use computers to assist their instruction. In the 21st century, computer-assisted instruction is used in elementary and secondary school computer labs and in college distance education programs. Computers have made instruction in specialized areas available to all regardless of their geographic position. In fact, by 2008 the largest university-based PhD program in the United States was an online computer-assisted instruction program.

Computer-assisted instruction curriculum may be employed with a classroom of PreK–12 students in a computer lab or in a college student's home. Timing for the instruction also varies. Synchronous computer-assisted classes take place

where all students are logged into their course via computer simultaneously. In this type of computer-assisted curriculum, student participation in discussions may occur via live chat on a message board or with microphone and/or Webcams.

Asynchronous courses allow students the flexibility to choose the time that is best for them to complete coursework. Discussion with other students may occur via discussion boards, where students log into the course at different times and post responses and comments to questions from the instructor or in reply to other students' postings.

Most often computer-assisted instruction curriculum is designed and developed by the course instructor. Similar to other curricula in the field of curriculum studies, this type of curriculum includes the learning objectives, method of instruction, and assessment of the curriculum. The difference in computer-assisted instruction is working within the available technology. Sound principles of curriculum design are adhered to along with unique characteristics of computer-assisted learning. Typically, the curriculum is presented in an online format. In designing the curriculum for computer-assisted instruction and learning, attention is given to the model of pedagogy the instructor wants to follow for the curriculum, the instructional strategies to be used, and the learning technologies to be used.

In considering the pedagogy of computer-assisted instruction curriculum within curriculum studies many of the same models of teaching and learning that are adopted for a curriculum that does not have a technology component can be utilized in the computer-assisted instruction. Many pedagogies rely on social interaction in a face-to-face class. These social interactions can also occur in computer-assisted instruction. Learning communities are one of the most common social groups referenced in computer-assisted instruction and may take place through posting to Wikis or by utilizing a class management system such as Blackboard that allows for groups to be formed. Although one may first think of independent learning when thinking of computer-assisted instruction curriculum, the social learning communities can be an integral part of computer-assisted instruction if the instructor so desires.

Another type of pedagogy is one of information processing. In a face-to-face classroom, this form of instruction may consist of multiple lectures where students must process the information and fit it into

a framework of the course. This process is easily accomplished from a distance with computer-assisted instruction where students may watch a video of a lecture or view a PowerPoint presentation covering key concepts. Mastery learning for behavioral objectives can be programmed into software for computer-assisted instruction where students are presented information, assessed, and then have nonmastered concepts retaught and assessed again.

In the arena of instructional strategies for computer-assisted learning, a skillful course designer can incorporate group work, individual work, discovery learning, direct learning, and learning from simulations into computer-assisted instruction curriculum. One advantage of computer-assisted instruction is that students do not need to be in the same physical location to exchange ideas, view each other's work, or give peer feedback. Collaboration among students is made easy with technologies such as Elluminate and students using Skype can discuss issues using microphones and Webcams, creating a virtual classroom and making collaboration among students internationally possible. New technologies such as Voice Thread allow community storytelling, critical thinking, and even feedback for assessment. Voice Thread records audio, which is especially helpful for young children who are in the prewriting stage and for auditory learners of all ages.

Reflection is often done through journaling during the course of a face-to-face class. In a computer-assisted learning environment, students may create a blog where only the student and instructor are allowed to post. Problem solving is enhanced through the many resources available on the Web that can provide the needed information for a solution.

In higher education, research may take place in the virtual environment, accessing artifacts from libraries and museums that would be impossible for the student to access without computer assistance. At the elementary level, virtual field trips are another possibility that becomes more inviting as the cost of fuel increases.

Learning technologies utilized in computer-assisted instruction range from course management systems, to Web conferencing, blogs, Wikis, and electronic portfolios. Through skillful use of these technologies, the instructor can create a course with multiple interactions including learner to learner, learner to instructor, instructor to learner,

learner to content, learner to small group, and learner to large group (class).

New technologies continue to broaden the definition of computer-assisted instruction curriculum. One such new technology is Mashups. Mashups utilize more than one Web-based content source. This application can be used for instruction in map concept curriculum. Instructors have combined Web-based maps with other Web-based applications to create a visual walking route. Primary students can map their neighborhood, and a high school health class can add a calorie counter to see how many calories are used when walking the route. Geometry is also easily done with Mashups where students click points on a map and area is calculated.

Although computer-assisted curriculum may seem avant-garde, technology is servant to the curricular goals and purposes. A broad knowledge of curriculum studies is needed to design premium computer-assisted curriculum. Although the technology is new, as in Voice Thread, the basic curriculum premise is not. John Dewey advocated attending to student voice in the early 20th century, demonstrating that inclusion of student voice in the educational process is a foundational part of curriculum studies.

*Janet Penner-Williams*

*See also* Technology

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## CONCEPTUAL EMPIRICIST PERSPECTIVE

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Conceptual empiricism is one of the many perspectives that exist in the field of curriculum studies.

This perspective employs the conceptual and empirical work in studying the fields of curriculum and education, as opposed to the traditional approach that was devoted simply to the development of programs of study. Conceptual empiricism represents the influence to the curriculum field from the social science researchers and academics who believed that conceptual and empirical research could evoke significant outcomes in education and thus, in classroom practice. Up to that point, and in the beginning of the 20th century, the curriculum field served primarily the areas of education connected to the narrow term of schooling, namely administration, teaching, and design and development of programs of study. The subsequent expansion of the field to draw upon disciplines from the arts, humanities, and social sciences resulted in the examination of larger educational forces and their effects upon the individual, society, and the purpose of knowledge, all of which relate to curriculum.

Seeing research in education as germane to social science research signified the departure from the traditional perspective that was connecting curriculum mainly to schools and the work of school practitioners. This departure was also indicative of the perception that education is not a discipline in itself, but an area to be studied by other disciplines, such as social science. Social scientists, instead of accepting uncontested opinions, began developing hypotheses, what they viewed as logically justifiable content, the conceptual, and testing them in a way they would do in social science—that is, collecting empirical data.

The term conceptual empiricist was coined by William Pinar in 1975 in his *Curriculum Theorizing* edited volume. The perspective coincides with the many changes within the field, changes that Pinar and his colleagues in their book in 1995 characterized as a paradigm shift. This was seen as a demanding shift in the field, followed by the comments of scholars Joseph Schwab, Dwayne Huebner, and Pinar who in the beginning of the 1970s characterized it as moribund, dead, and arrested. Pinar elaborated the conceptual empiricist idea in his article “The Reconceptualization of Curriculum Studies.” One of the elements that signified the crisis in the field was the lost prestige of the traditional field, which was based on the Tyler Rationale, a rationale that had started losing recognition as it

was seen as too technical and procedural, excluding political and ethical concerns. Also, declining enrolments, increase of the educational administration and the educational psychology departments, and the induction in schools of subject matter specialists inclined toward the triumph of the conceptual empiricist curriculum paradigm.

The conceptual empiricist paradigm as identified by Pinar has also been acknowledged by other scholars who paid close attention to the contribution of science into the curriculum. This paradigm is closely related to William Schubert's social behaviorist orientation to curriculum. Social behaviorism advocates that science and technology become the basis of the curriculum. Curriculum design needs to be approached by applying the knowledge that derives from scientific educational research and that is conducted by educational and applied researchers. Skills must be developed via the careful design and the operationalization of what must be taught and learned, which should be done by conducting systematic investigation of what it takes to be successful in a particular society and instilling the kinds of behaviors identified.

Yet the role of science and research in curriculum as viewed by social scientists has been contested by Schwab's theoretic paradigm. Schwab in "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic" puts an emphasis on research, but at the same time goes farther to say that theories are good to possess, but it is also valuable to know how to apply them in practice. This turn in the field of curriculum studies as a result of the conceptual empiricist paradigm was significant for the expansion of the notion educators, researchers, and scholars carry for curriculum and for the importance of acquiring valid and appropriate information for the advancement of curriculum and instruction.

*Nikoletta Christodoulou*

*See also* Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Curriculum Development; High-Stakes Testing; Outcome-Based Education

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## CONSCIENTIZATION

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The Brazilian educator and activist Paulo Freire coined the term *conscientization* in working with illiterate adults in poor countries. It is a translation from the Portuguese term *conscientização*, referring to the process of critical consciousness raising in which learners develop a deeper understanding of the forces operating to shape their lives and their capacity to act in ways to change that reality.

In curriculum studies, conscientization refers to a learner moving toward a higher level of consciousness by becoming aware of how larger social, economic, cultural, and political forces operate to make things the way they are. Freire claimed that societies and individuals become dependent and are kept that way through a culture of silence.

The way out of dependency is through dialogue. Liberation comes about through individuals refusing to regard themselves as recipients and regarding themselves instead as active agents capable of transforming themselves through changing the circumstances in which they exist. It is the severing of this dependence, or as Freire termed it, existing in the world, that makes humans different from animals and that enables humans to transcend or transform the world by being with the world.

Because human beings have this reflective capacity, or the ability to think about how their circumstances are determined or shaped for them by others, then it is this quality that gives them the capacity to create explanations that liberate them. For Freire, it was the inseparability of consciousness of and action upon that makes humans the kind of relational beings they are. Humans act on the world in a reciprocal way. Although they are conditioned and presented with defective explanations, humans also have a capacity to recognize that they are being conditioned. Through the capacity for critical consciousness, people become



functionally literate in the way they read the word while also becoming politically literate through reading the world—they question how the world came to be the way it is, they ask what keeps it that way, and they act on the world to make it more democratic. The essence of conscientization lies in the extent to which learners through the curriculum engage with and are prepared to problematize the world—that is, to not take it for granted, but to call it into question. This is a very different activity than problem solving, which by comparison, is a technical activity.

Conscientization is brought into existence in curriculum studies through the way teachers, especially in poor countries and communities, work with communities to generate lists of words that have particular relevance to people's lives. These generative themes, as Freire termed them, become the basis for dialogic discussion between teachers and learners in culture circles in which the meaning of words is explored prior to their presentation in symbolic or word form.

Although conscientization emerged out of the extension work Freire did with agricultural workers in Latin America, it may not translate easily into curriculum studies in advanced countries such as the United States. Conscientization has its greatest applicability not so much in terms of application as a method, as much as a big idea with which to infuse and inform the way curriculum issues get to be framed or thought about in Western countries. For example, several highly pertinent aspects include the following:

- *dialogical learning* or regarding teaching and learning as not being monological or unidirectional, but rather involving dialogue between learners and decentered teachers
- *locating learning historically* by recognizing that learning occurs in a context where learners have the right to ask the question, why am I learning this?.
- *puncturing hierarchy* and the idea that only experts can know and that learners are supposed to be passive recipients. In this respect, democracy is not so much taught as lived.
- *confronting mechanistic modernization*—that change is technical in nature and can be imposed without the involvement of the people it is supposed to benefit
- *rejecting short-termism* or the view that learning is about reaching achievement levels to the exclusion of long-term struggles over ideas of domination and control
- *highlighting the crucial importance of action* and the notion that thought and action without one another are empty and meaningless

There can be no better summation of what conscientization means than in the title of Freire's essay "Education as the Practice of Freedom." Curriculum studies is committed to liberating students from oppressive regimes of knowledge and hence the importance of conscientization to this field.

*John Smyth*

*See also* Banking Concept of Education; Freire, Paulo; Liberation Theology

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## COOPERATION/COOPERATIVE STUDIES

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Cooperation was a distinctive educational concept in the field of curriculum during the 1930s and 1940s and much different from today's practices of cooperative learning. The term manifested itself in the classroom as cooperative planning and teacher-pupil planning, in student assessment as cooperative educational records, and in research and school reform as cooperative study. Cooperation and cooperative studies embraced a democratic ideal that participants would work together for a greater good and would maintain a fundamental belief (and faith) that a diversity of perspectives, coupled with open discourse, would serve to better disseminate information as a way to solve problems.



Although no structured format or unified theory was developed, the practice of cooperation included a focus on problem solving, the workshop, and the use of implementative research.

The concept of cooperation, though a component of a progressive education ideal of democracy as a way of life, was focused on problem solving and served as a method to attend to achieving already defined goals. Thus, if a school wished to encourage students to become more involved in their own education, cooperation became a method of curriculum development and took the form of teacher–pupil planning where students would become engaged, thereby overcoming the problem of lack of student involvement. Or if educators viewed the purposes of secondary education as in need of revision, a cooperative study project would be established where a group of faculty from varied school settings would come together to examine high school curricula and to discuss and describe ways in which programs could be improved. The defined problem—the need for revision—served to focus the group discourse, and the concept of cooperation permitted expansive and differing approaches that would be considered by others participating in the project. Solutions to problems were not determined and then disseminated to the group, nor did cooperation embrace a conciliatory conception of democracy as giving everyone their say or as compromise. Cooperation represented more of an emphasis upon collaboration and the importance of open discourse.

The workshop served as the social structure for cooperation where large, diverse groups of educators would come together in a setting not for lectures, but to work on developing solutions to identified problems and to explore and exchange possible approaches to similar issues. For national and regional cooperative study projects, workshops could last from 1 to 6 weeks. The cooperative study became a popular method of school experimentation in the 1930s and 1940s and defined a unique form of research for the field of curriculum—implementative research—distinct from the popular and most common status study research (a survey to document current practices), the deliberative study research (a gathering of data to support normative recommendations for educational change), and the traditional controlled scientific research. Implementative research tested no formal hypotheses, upheld no specific models to be implemented

and evaluated, and established no set of predefined outcomes. Rather, this type of research, as it was practiced in national cooperative studies, embraced a determined faith in experimentation as an exploratory process to include gathering, analyzing, interpreting, and discussing data for the sole purpose of improving educational practice. Similar to contemporary forms of design research, cooperative studies sought not to prove hypotheses with (today's) conventions of validity and reliability, but to determine and then implement solutions to problems as a form of cooperation and cooperative study.

The Progressive Education Association's Eight Year Study (1930–1942) is the most well-known example of cooperative study, with 42 high schools and 26 junior highs directly involved in reexamining the purposes of secondary education. This project initiated other cooperative school study projects during the 1930s and 1940s: the Cooperative Study in General Education (1939–1945) involving 25 colleges that engaged in the development of their undergraduate general education programs, the Secondary School Study (1940–1947) consisting of 17 Black high schools in the South defining curriculum and instructional progressive practices, the Southern Study (1938–1945) involving 33 White high schools in the South engaged in curriculum design and development, the Michigan Secondary School Curriculum Study (1936–1948) with 133 high schools in the state revising general education and the use of the Carnegie Unit, and the California Study of Cooperating Schools (1934–1939) with 11 high schools experimenting with curriculum design and development. The term *cooperation and cooperative study* changed in conception during the 1950s, in part due to the passage by the U.S. Congress of the Cooperative Research Act of 1954. Cooperative learning was rediscovered during the late 1980s and has evolved into a highly structured, instructional practice widely used in online, distance education settings.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Eight Year Study, The; Teacher–Pupil Planning

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## CORE CURRICULUM

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As a prominent professional term in the field of curriculum studies, core curriculum has served as one of the classic battlegrounds for the struggle for the U.S. curriculum. The term came to represent the common knowledge most important for all students. Serving as a curricular response to the perennial dilemma, what knowledge is of most worth, core curriculum has been known by various terms: stem course, unified studies, integrated studies, common learnings, cultural epoch program, broad fields core, and general education. Core curriculum was even described as a slang term by staff of the 1930 to 1940s Eight Year Study. Although the term has appeared in postsecondary curriculum literature, its primary use in curriculum design and development emerged at the secondary and middle school levels. At the elementary school, core curriculum often becomes synonymous with the activity movement. Although the term is typically placed in juxtaposition with specialized education, core curriculum is used in a multitude of ways, as a conceptual structure for an individual discipline or for efforts to integrate areas of study.

Core curriculum is somewhat distinguishable from the concept of general education in that certain curricular and educational beliefs are embedded in the idea of core. Foremost is the fact that the core curriculum is considered a constant and required component of the curriculum, yet the accompanying restrictions of a requirement are lifted and replaced by a conception of basic and fundamental rather than required. Unlike contemporary uses of block scheduling, core curriculum was conceived as being in constant evolution. Its orientation saw learning as a series of integrated experiences without weakening disciplinary knowledge, drawing upon resource units, and incorporating the instructional method of teacher–pupil planning.

In what proved to be the most comprehensive conception of core curriculum, Harold Albery identified five core designs, placed on a continuum representing ever-increasing divergence from the

traditional subject-centered, general education program. Each core design, Albery maintained, could be viewed as the most effective configuration of education experiences to provide common preparation for democratic citizens; none was necessarily better than another. A Type 1 core program reflected a separate subject design, representing a traditional general education program consisting of a set of independent courses or fields of knowledge, sometimes taught by the same teacher, but typically taught by content specialists. Under this model, by far the most common, students enroll in English, history, science, mathematics, the arts, and physical education courses to fulfill a set number of Carnegie Units. Type 2 core involved the correlation of multiple subjects, most often English and history. Within this design, instructors responsible for two or more required subjects emphasized interrelationships among the content fields. For example, students studying the U.S. Civil War in their history class may read *The Red Badge of Courage* or *The Killer Angels* in their English sections. To facilitate instructional planning, sometimes an overarching theme might be selected, such as the sorrows of war. In a Type 2 core, the subjects are taught at separate times and in separate classrooms, but teachers would make links whenever possible, similar to today's arts infusion program.

For Type 3 core programs, two or more subjects are fused. Originally, social studies represented this design where history, economics, political science, and sociology were intertwined; however, social studies has now taken on a disciplinary designation in its own right and is considered a self-contained subject rather than a fused program. A more current example can be seen in hip-hop curriculum where traditional subject lines are softened, sometimes obliterated, and a new scope and sequence involving the unified subjects is developed. Those traditional basic content areas such as English, math, and science, which defined Type 1 and 2 core programs, are discarded as an organizational framework for a Type 3 core, but subject matter from these disciplines is consciously retained and balanced.

A Type 4 core is configured around a problem areas design. Although still drawing from the traditional disciplines, the Type 4 core determines its basic direction from the common needs of the

learners. Subject matter is selected based on problems rather than on balancing a predetermined amount of content, as would have occurred in Type 1, 2, and 3 core programs. The Type 4 core is also grounded in a fundamental belief that general education should assist students to identify and meet their common needs and directly confront their shared problems. Academic content was central to addressing these aims; however, no predetermined amounts and proportions were designated. Of the five program types, the Type 4 core was Alberty's preference at the secondary level, becoming a focus for much of his professional career.

Type 5 core represented a final and logical extension of the framework. Alberty found Type 5 core programs limiting, but the design attracted champions among the 1960s romantic critics. The curriculum is built around teacher–student planned activities without reference to any formal structure. Problem areas and other organizational forms gave way to the plans set by the teacher and students, and the curriculum unfolds as interests develop and opportunities present themselves. In practice, Type 5 core design usually involves some cooperative effort to establish standards for determining worthwhile topics or units for study. Afterward, when a schedule is examined of what had been done during a term, the program of study would be revealed.

When discussing common learnings, then as now, Alberty's core types help to frame the role of the disciplines. Inclusiveness was the goal of Alberty's framework: All conceptions of core curriculum and secondary general education were represented, from crossing disciplinary boundaries to maintaining traditional subject designations and from extending class time in order to explore issues to improving conventional Carnegie Units–based courses in standard periods. For Alberty, core teachers could be unified in their efforts for curricular reform, even though the degree of curricular integration would vary substantially across programs. Yet Alberty's broad use of the word *core* prompted criticism because his framework allowed for programs to be based upon separate subjects. Holding a more ideological view, Roland Faunce and Nelson Bossing argued that freedom from the traditional disciplines was one of the distinctive aspects of the core curriculum (as well as an emphasis upon group problem solving, guidance, and block scheduling). They came to term

these components as the real core or as the modern core idea in contrast to Alberty's configuration.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Eight Year Study, The; General Education; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Project Method

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## CREATIONISM IN CURRICULUM: CASE LAW

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Creationism teaches that life, and the universe in general, originated in the purposeful action of a being who existed prior to the origins of a created universe. The highly publicized 1925 trial in *Scopes v. Tennessee* did not establish case law precedent for deciding more recent cases on the teaching of creationism. Two U.S. Supreme Court decisions have established controlling precedents on certain questions, and lower court decisions extend those principles to questions that have emerged in other cases.

In *Epperson v. Arkansas* (1968), the Supreme Court ruled that an Arkansas statute prohibiting the teaching of evolution was invalid because it unconstitutionally required curriculum to be tailored to particular religious beliefs, in violation of the First Amendment's establishment clause.

In 1987, the Supreme Court held in *Edwards v. Aguillard* that Louisiana's statute calling for a balanced portrayal of creation-science and evolution-science in the state's public schools violated the establishment clause. The Court found that the statute's ostensible purpose of promoting students' academic freedom was belied by evidence that it was in fact motivated by religion.

The Supreme Court's reasoning in *Edwards v. Aguillard* drew substantially from the opinion by

the federal district court judge in *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education* (1982), in which the court struck down an earlier attempt by the Arkansas legislature to require balanced treatment for creation-science and evolution-science in the state's public schools. In this case, the judge used a set of criteria for what qualifies as science in reaching the conclusion that creation-science does not meet the criteria and therefore is not really science.

Following *McLean* and the two Supreme Court opinions, the most recent landmark decision was issued by the federal district court in *Kitzmiller et al. v. Dover* (2005), which determined that intelligent design theory is essentially just another form of creationism and subject to the same establishment clause analysis that had been applied to the teaching of creationism in the prior cases. Based on extensive evidence and analysis, the judge concluded that intelligent design is merely a relabeling of creationism and is not a scientific theory.

The impact of *Kitzmiller* could be seen almost immediately in the resolution of *Hurst v. Newman* (2006), in which Americans United for Separation of Church and State was representing plaintiffs challenging an elective high school course on intelligent design. Without a trial, the case was settled within weeks of the *Kitzmiller* decision, with the El Tejon California school district joining in a stipulation that its schools would never again offer any course that promoted or endorsed creationism, creation science, or intelligent design.

In some localities, school boards have attempted to use disclaimers to warn students against being unduly influenced by the evolutionary theory in their textbooks. A federal district court in *Freiler v. Tangipahoa Parish Board of Education* (1997) ruled against the policy of a school board in Louisiana that ostensibly promoted critical thinking by requiring teachers to read a disclaimer warning students against being dissuaded from believing in the Biblical concept of creation. Finding this policy to be unconstitutional under the Establishment Clause, the court also recognized intelligent design as being equivalent to creation science for purposes of constitutional analysis.

In Georgia, the Cobb County school board adopted a policy of attaching stickers to textbooks warning students against uncritical belief in evolution, which students were to be told is a theory, not a fact. The federal district court rejected this

policy on establishment clause grounds in *Selman et al. v. Cobb County School District et al.* (2005). The school district appealed that ruling, but after *Kitzmiller*, they agreed, in a settlement, not to disclaim or denigrate evolution, either orally or in written form.

Case law has also been established for situations in which teachers or others claim that the teaching of evolution but not creationism violates their individual rights. The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in *Webster v. New Lenox School District* (1990) that a teacher's free speech rights were not violated when the district prohibited him or her from teaching creation science. The Minnesota Court of Appeals affirmed a state court's decision in *LeVake v. Independent School District 656, et al.* (2001) that its case law supports districts in requiring their teachers to teach the district's curriculum and that a biology teacher has no countervailing free speech right to teach evidence both for and against the theory of evolution. The court also rejected the contention that the district policy unconstitutionally discriminated against LeVake on the basis of his religious beliefs. In *Segraves v. State of California* (1981), a California court rejected a parent's claim that class discussion of evolution violated his and his children's free exercise of religion. The court ruled that the antidogmatism policy in the State Board of Education's *Science Framework* did provide constitutionally sufficient accommodation to the religious beliefs of those who do not believe in evolution. The antidogmatism policy has since been extended to all areas of science, not just those concerning evolution.

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*See also* Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices; Man: A Course of Study; Religious Orthodoxy Curriculum Ideology; School Prayer in the Curriculum: Case Law; Science Education Curriculum; Science Education Curriculum, History of; Secular Values in the Curriculum: Case Law; Subject-Centered Curriculum

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## CRISIS IN THE CLASSROOM

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Written for both the professional educator and the layperson, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education*, published in 1970, brought national attention to the problems of schooling and introduced the term *mindlessness* that quickly became a common criticism of educational programming. Charles Silberman's critique of the (repressive) elementary school curriculum was surpassed by his assessment of the secondary school program—a curriculum that instilled passivity and conformity—and that of the middle school or junior high, which he described as a wasteland of U.S. education. From the perspective of curriculum studies, educational programs were called upon to achieve more than relevance and high test scores. Silberman captured the attention of U.S. society with the thought and hope that a public dialogue (in a Deweyan sense free of economic and political

maneuverings) would lead to common purposes and to action from students, parents, teachers, administrators, professors, and the general public.

Although it is often noted that the author was a professional journalist rather than an educator, Silberman was well versed in educational theory and history and had previously prepared an education report on cognition and the psychology of perception with Jerome Bruner as a research associate. Lawrence Cremin, after seeing this research report, brokered support from the Carnegie Corporation to establish the Carnegie Study of the Education of Educators so that Silberman could examine the many educational influences of society (and not focus just on schools). Yet *Crisis in the Classroom* did ultimately focus on education as practiced in schools, to the dismay of the Carnegie Corporation. The publisher, Random House, sold the first year serial rights to *The Atlantic*, which named the featured series “Murder in the Classroom” (a title that Silberman, in 2006, said that he would not have approved). This publication, along with a Sunday *New York Times* feature article, turned Silberman's book into a topic of national interest.

Based on 4 years of intensive travel and research, occurring between 1966 and 1969, Silberman produced a best selling publication at over 550 pages. He described the publication as an indignant book and portrayed schools as wastelands and grim, joyless places. Unlike the Conant Report, released 11 years before, Silberman's assessment did not arise from empirical data or surveys. His scholarship, qualitative and historical in nature, drew strongly upon the professional literature, his observations, and assistance and guidance from many of U.S. leading educational researchers and scholars: Cremin, David Riesman, Lillian Weber, Vito Perrone, Philip Jackson, Christopher Jencks, Lee Cronbach, and others. With Silberman's periodic anecdotes, vignettes, and facts from his studies scattered throughout the publication, he showed promise for change and did not lay blame for the national crisis on school administrators and teachers, a point that resulted in support from elementary and secondary school teachers.

*Crisis in the Classroom* offered suggestions for structural and curricular reform without adopting the tone of the deschoolers and romantic critics. Combining Deweyan general education-core



curriculum with practices of the open classroom and informal infant schools, Silberman searched for tenable middle ground to change high schools by humanizing and experimenting with curriculum and instruction. Such recommendations, although viewed as commonsensical today, reflected a powerful antidote for the remaking of U.S. education after accounts of repressive, petty school rules, and intellectually and aesthetically sterile settings where a lack of civility and unconscious contempt for children, according to Silberman, was commonplace. At the elementary school level, Silberman introduced and popularized to a U.S. audience the British open classroom (where he drew a very distinct line between his suggestions and that of the deschoolers, John Holt, Paul Goodman, and others).

Silberman offered hope for school reform and refused to attack professional educators cavalierly; his criticisms of U.S. education were supported by a new generation of teachers who were equally frustrated with the system. Silberman made a point of underscoring that most teachers and administrators were intelligent and caring individuals who sought the best for their students. Yet the entire educational system, as well as all of society, suffered from a mindlessness—an unwillingness to examine basic purposes of education and to question accepted school practices. *Crisis in the Classroom* proved so significant to educators that the National Society for the Study of Education published a collection of reactions and reviews to the work along with a response by Silberman. With essays by John Mann, Maxine Greene, and others, *Crisis in the Classroom* took on the tone of a national phenomenon, bringing attention to the problems of schooling for both the professional educator and layperson.

Craig Kridel

*See also* *American High School Today, The*; *Open Classroom and Open Education*

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## CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

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Critical pedagogy looks at schools in their historical context as dominant social, cultural, and political institutions rather than as sites of social mobility, recognizing how schooling reflects an asymmetrical distribution of power and access to resources based on race, class, and gender. Although there is a great deal of debate around the founders, terminology, and implementation of critical pedagogy, critical pedagogues are united by their commitment to social transformation for the collective good. Critical pedagogy is a fluid and transgressive discourse and practice in which people continuously redefine the world through the contexts in which they find it. Its introduction into curriculum studies has served to redefine the field.

Critical pedagogues strive to understand the world as it is and as it should be through problem-posing dialogue, a method that dissolves the teacher-student dichotomy and transforms all learners into agents of social change. The assumption is that through self-reflective thought and action—or critical praxis—a group of learners will problematize and openly legitimize or challenge their experiences and perceptions in an environment that is essentially unfree with contradictions of power imbalances in order to find their own truth and to create a better world in the image of that truth.

The roots of critical pedagogy are deep and far reaching. The first textbook use of the term critical pedagogy is found in Henry Giroux's *Theory and Resistance in Education*, published in 1983, and the most recent North American scholars of critical pedagogy include Peter McLaren, Ira Shor, Michael Apple, Antonia Darder, bell hooks, and Ernest Morrell. In North America, individuals shaping critical pedagogy included Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, John Dewey, Leonard Covello, Harold Rugg, Septima Clark, Myles Horton, and Charles Cobb. More specifically, Dewey's work linking individual and cooperative

intelligence with the discourse of democracy and freedom helped critical pedagogy evolve. In Latin America, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is considered one of the most influential critical pedagogy educational philosophers, but the Latin American family of critical pedagogues also includes Simón Rodríguez, Simón Bolívar, Anisio Teixeira, Abidias Nascimento, Moisés Sáenz, José Vasconcelos, and Che Guevara, among others.

Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, expanded upon the work of other key influences to critical pedagogy, including the Frankfurt School, Antonio Gramsci, and Michel Foucault. The Frankfurt School was officially established in 1923 in Germany and included Marxist and Jewish philosophers such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse. The school was the ballast of critical theory used as a tool against domination of all forms and a key influence to critical pedagogy. Beyond Europe, African thinkers also directly impacted critical pedagogy and included Julius Nyerere, Amílcar Cabral, Franz Fanon, and Kwame Nkrumah.

Critical pedagogy envelopes numerous philosophical principles from a variety of intellectual traditions and due to the evolving nature of critical pedagogy, it would be impossible to create an exhaustive list of such principles in this entry. However, the following serve as a starting point for those interested in learning more about critical pedagogy. First, critical pedagogy is fundamentally committed to creating an emancipatory culture of schooling that empowers marginalized students. Second, critical pedagogy recognizes how traditional curricular programs work against the interests of those students who are most vulnerable in society by reproducing class differences and racialized inequality. Third, it is understood that educational practice is created within historical contexts. Thus, students must strive for agency by first recognizing how they are subjects of history and then understanding how they can be self-determined to create history. Fourth, critical pedagogy supports a dialectical perspective that recognizes how all analysis must begin with human existence that involves the interactive context between individual and society with theory and practice as coexistent. Critical pedagogy therefore provides students and teachers the space to achieve emancipation through educational practices that

allow people to acquire, analyze, and produce both social and self-knowledge.

The last 20 years have seen an explosion of writing about critical pedagogy in both theory and practice of curriculum studies. For example, Ernest Morrell has written from the role of critical pedagogue–teacher–researcher who pries theories away from academics and incorporates them in educational practice through engaging students in critical research related to popular culture to facilitate the development of academic and critical literacies, thus joining his students in their counterhegemonic fight against unjust schooling practices and social structures. Others have focused on introducing critical and feminist pedagogies to beginning teachers while exploring action research in their own classrooms as a means to discover more effective educational practice. Furthermore, researchers have examined critical pedagogical practices in specific learning contexts including inservice learning programs, English language learning, computer-mediated communication, and community–university partnership-based organizations.

Critical pedagogy is often critiqued for its adherence to one absolute Truth, grounded in modern philosophical traditions, rather than multiple subjective truths arising from diverse standpoints. Some believe that not only the means, but also the ends are far too tied to Western epistemologies, and originally, critical pedagogy was critiqued for being dominated by White male scholars. More recently, critical pedagogy's inclusivity of more varied perspectives can be critiqued as nebulous, though some believe its dynamic nature provides for too rapid an incorporation of new ideas. Edward Said has argued against inversion—which he claims is tied to the imperial contexts from which they arose—therefore critical pedagogy's inversion of education for social reproduction to education for liberation is often criticized as reactionary. Other educators have critiqued critical pedagogy for its absence of a theory of learning and its weakness in discussing the cultural and social practices of any given community of learners. Interestingly, such critiques have not weakened critical pedagogy, but instead have been incorporated into its focus on conversations that promote growth. Overall, critical pedagogy continues its path of amelioration.

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See also Critical Praxis; Freire, Paulo; Conscientization; Social Justice

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## CRITICAL PRAGMATISM

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Critical pragmatism evolved from the need for a critical revision of pragmatism, which was held in low regard by many philosophers, especially in Europe. One of the contributing factors for the need was the lack of structured and identifiable standards and procedures allowing for rational and reflective practices in pragmatism. Critical pragmatists view the curriculum as the vehicle with which schools can bring about the desired social changes for the advancement of the community. To achieve this goal, curriculum developers must understand and appreciate the main premises of critical pragmatism.

In pragmatism, Charles Sanders Peirce's maxim is the requirement of clarity of meaning while critical pragmatism requires the validity of meaning as well as clarity; in other words, critical pragmatism asks whether the knowledge will mean the same for different people in different contexts. Cleo Cherryholmes in his book, *Reading Pragmatism*, argued critical pragmatists should examine their thoughts and actions in terms of imagined outcomes. He asserted that critical pragmatists attempt to examine their actions in relation to history and power, and as a result, critical pragmatists reinterpret their goals in light of theories and beliefs to form new goals.

Critical pragmatists view knowledge as the manifestation of understandings of the relationship between theory and practice. To the critical pragmatists, theoretical and empirical knowledge have to be embedded within practical reasoning to be of

value. Pointedly, critical pragmatism attempts to make sense of knowledge in the context of the real world. To the critical pragmatists, the focus should be placed on the clarity and validity of the meaning of empirical and theoretical knowledge.

Critical pragmatism reconciles pragmatic and critical pedagogies in a comprehensive approach. Pragmatic pedagogy contends that students should be taught the knowledge and skills that will prepare them to function in the society. In essence, the curriculum has to be learner centered, which focuses on improving students' abilities of problem solving to advance in the existing society.

On the other hand, critical pedagogy asserts that students should be encouraged to critique the existing educational practices and suggests changes that will improve the educational system and in turn the community. In other words, the curriculum needs to have a learner-centered approach that focuses on the students' critical skills to analyze and evaluate the current society, identify its ills, and develop solutions to change such society to the better. It is important to note, however, that critical pragmatists acknowledge the need to teach fundamental knowledge and skills while giving students the choice to chart their path as they learn.

Alison Kradlec, in her 2007 book *Dewey's Critical Pragmatism*, argued that Dewey's pragmatism was critical because it was focused on the use of interdisciplinary research and practical field experiences to examine and critique the socioeconomic and cultural factors that result in the pervasive inequalities in U.S. society.

These ideas have significant ramifications for curriculum studies and development. In critical pragmatism, the curriculum has to afford students the tools to better understand the social and economical factors that lead to the current structure of the society through the implementation of thematic, interdisciplinary problem-based curricula in the schools. Colleges of education have to train future teachers on the development and delivery methods of such curricula. Schools have to foster learning communities that empower teachers to implement such curricula.

According to Kradlec, two essential prerequisites for critical pragmatism are openness to new perspectives and a shared desire for cooperative examination of the impact of our individual and collective actions. Such prerequisites encourage individuals to

examine their personal beliefs and practices and their impact on the society. These examinations should lead to further actions that are well informed and aim to further the community's democratic values.

In the context of education, critical pragmatism aims to reexamine the assumptions about educational goals, curriculum, and instruction to raise consciousness and bring about changes in education. Critical pragmatists see education as the tool to empower subordinate groups to overcome patterns of domination. Education is the vehicle to propel society into the future rather than maintain the status quo. Teachers need to develop a curriculum that exposes the historical, sociological, and political views that dominated the society. They need to create learning experiences that will foster critical examinations of such views and bring about insights that will produce ideas for further actions that will change the society and address its ills. In other words, the schools should be the think tanks that empower future generations with critical, reflective thinking skills that will enable them to lead a true democratic, progressive society. This change can be achieved only by providing curricula that encourage teachers and students to explore their options, evaluate the consequences of such options, and be instruments for a better future.

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*See also* Critical Theory Research; Dewey, John; Teacher Empowerment

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## CRITICAL PRAXIS

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Praxis is the union of action and reflection and of theory and practice. Paulo Freire refers to praxis as the reassertion of human action for a more human world on two levels, the individual and social, where the simultaneous changing of circumstances

and self-change occur. Critical praxis is threefold and includes self-reflection, reflective action, and collective reflective action. According to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, revolutionary practice is the changing of circumstance and human activity. Critical educational praxis occurs in two contexts: (1) authentic dialogue between learners and (2) the social reality in which people exist.

There is a long tradition of scholarship on thoughtful action and the deep connection between theory and practice in Western philosophy. The origin of *praxis* is Greek and refers to any activity a free person performs, especially in politics and business. According to John Locke, all human knowledge is divided into *physike praktike*, and *semiotike*; *praktike* is viewed as the skill of rightly applying one's powers and actions for the attainment of things good and useful. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel resists such a distinction between practical and theoretical and pushes for a higher synthesis of the two, a synthesis that is individual praxis.

In recent applications to public education, Ernest Morrell and Jeff Duncan-Andrade have used critical praxis as a tool for urban youth to break down the power relations inherent in traditional schooling so that students identify as collaborators with teachers in the struggle for social change. They acknowledge that critical praxis in the classroom involves a continuous, self-reflective cycle between theory and action as follows: (a) identifying a problem, (b) researching the problem, (c) developing a collective plan of action to address that problem, (d) implementing the collective plan of action, and (e) evaluating the action and assessing its efficacy in reexamining the state of the problem. Thus, critical praxis involves a constant path of evaluating thought with action, theory with practice, in the effort to gain a higher consciousness for positive change upon the world.

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*See also* Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy; Freire, Paulo; Social Justice

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## CRITICAL RACE FEMINISM

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Although feminist theory does specifically address issues of power, oppression, and conflict for women in U.S. society, one criticism of this theory is its insufficient ability to meet the theoretical needs of women of color. Critical race feminism is a feminist perspective of critical race theory. As an outgrowth of critical legal studies and critical race theory, critical race feminism acknowledges, accepts, and addresses Black experiences as different from those of critical race theory and feminist theory. Critical race feminism focuses on the issues of power, oppression, and conflict centralized in feminist theory. It also leans on many of the tenets and elements of critical race theory: (a) addressing essentialism and antiessentialism and intersectionality, (b) the normalization of race and racism, (c) addressing interest convergence, (d) dismantling color-blind notions of equality, (e) addressing race as a social construction, (f) using storytelling and counterstorytelling for voices of color. Antiessentialism and intersectionality, normalization and ordinariness of race and racism, and counterstorytelling are key elements in critical race feminism. In addition, critical race feminism addresses the complexities of race and gender with notions of multidimensionality. Finally, critical race feminism values both abstract theorizing and practice.

Reconceptualist notions of curriculum theory align well with critical race feminism. Such notions have firmly placed the lived experience, past (regressive) and future (progressive), as central to one's identity. The regressive and the progressive must be understood (analytical) for the self to become expanded. In other words, it is necessary to be reflective about who we are and who we want to become in order for us to truly understand ourselves. The most significant place where curriculum theory and critical race feminism share

theoretical space lies with the storied, lived experience. In curriculum theory, the center is the storied experience and the interdisciplinary study of the educational experience. Although the experience may be individual and/or collective, and experiences may vary in curriculum theory, but they are based on the past and present life. The past life is designed to teach us. It is designed to inform us in ways that may alter the ways we choose to engage in the present life.

The autobiographical method of *currere* is as central to curriculum theory as storytelling and counterstory are to critical race feminism. In both cases, there is the necessity to examine the self, to reveal it, to analyze it, and to create change. The ability to tell one's story is significantly important in both theories. And in each case, the story is multidimensional as it reveals our social, historical, cultural, and political identities.

Curriculum theory and critical race feminism have counterpoints, or places of departure. Curriculum theory has not always been inclusive. In fact, it has followed much the same path as the policies of public education. Reconceptualist scholars have addressed issues relevant to the cultural, social, and political environments of public education. Critical race feminism, on the other hand, was born of the notion of centering the marginalized. And though curriculum theory is still encouraging and urging the voices of socially marginalized scholars into the lexicon of scholarship, critical race feminism began with an intense population of such voices. The significant point of departure in these theories is contributed to time.

Education and its goals were very different 200 years ago. When curriculum theory in the United States was developed, education was most often limited to males, usually White males. There were a few White females who were permitted to become educated. However, these women were often ladies of wealthy families who were often expected to use their education as a means of acquiring suitable spouses. People of color and of the working class were not privy to education during this time. As this country embarked on its Industrial Age, more of its citizens were likely to be educated, but the quality of the education varied with the class of family receiving the education. In addition, gender and race continued to play significant roles in the quality of education.



The 20th century brought many changes regarding equity and education, especially the latter part of the 20th century. Laws, court rulings, and policies made it much more possible for all students to receive an equal and equitable education. In the 21st century, a quality education is much more possible than in years past. But as in all of the earlier decades, race and gender issues remain obstacles to educational utopia.

Although curriculum theory implies multidimensionality of being with its focus on the lived educational experience, critical race feminism is explicit about the significance of multidimensionality and intersectionality of identity. The work of some reconceptualist scholars has pushed us to examine and to reexamine ourselves, to enter a complicated conversation about who we are as teachers and learners and the ways in which our past teaching and learning lives influence our imagined lives as teachers and learners. Critical race feminism allows us to examine all of who we are and the ways in which our multiple and intersecting identities influence our view about teaching and learning experiences.

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*See also* Critical Race Theory; Feminist Theories

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the aim of analyzing and addressing issues of race and racism in education, CRT incorporates constructs from the disciplines of ethnic studies, women's studies, legal theory, philosophy, sociology, and history. Although not limited to the aforementioned disciplines, CRT scholars have recently expanded its reach to the fields of urban planning, public health, and medicine.

### Origins

Responding to the critical legal studies (CLS) movement in legal scholarship, CRT was the attempt by legal scholars of color to critique liberalism. The CLS scholars understood the legal system to be unjust with regard to issues of class, but CRT scholars felt that it did not take into account all the necessary evils that contributed to an unjust society. Challenging their primary focus on class, CRT scholars felt it was just as important to incorporate race as one of the evils that contribute to an unjust legal system. Their understanding was that racism will not go away because just because CLS scholars argue that the law is reflective of the interests of the power structure. Instead, CRT scholars operated on the premise that social reality is constructed through narrative. In creating such an exchange, narrative becomes the compound agent that embraces an interdisciplinary approach. To the CRT scholar, the theoretical construct expands the scope of CLS through the addition of a racial component by way of critique of the liberal tradition in legal scholarship.

From the legal perspective, there are three components of CRT that are relevant to the analysis of race and racism in education and curriculum studies. The first is the social construction of race. CRT scholars understand that race is not a fixed term. Instead, it is a socially constructed phenomenon with political implications regarding members of the in (i.e., accepted) and the out (i.e., marginalized) groups. Where there are no biological determinants to race; race and racism operate a set of complex relationships that come from a complex self-reinforcing process subject to the macro- and microforces. On the macrolevel, social and political struggle influence how we understand race and racism. At the microlevel, these larger influences affect our daily decisions. Where race is biologically false, it is socially real in relation to the experiences of

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## CRITICAL RACE THEORY

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Over the past 15 years, critical race theory (CRT) has been utilized as a tool in the structural analysis of K–16 education in the United States and internationally and a basic construct in curriculum studies. As an interdisciplinary method with

people of color in relation to race, class, and gender hierarchies.

Second is the idea of interest convergence. Coined by Derrick Bell, the construct posits the idea that policies aimed at achieving racial equality will be enacted only to the extent that they are of some advantage to mainstream White society. Bell uses the example of the United States during the cold war, as the United States began an anticommunist campaign in Western Europe to stimulate commerce throughout the region. As Europeans questioned the fight against the evils of communism by the U.S. government, they were simultaneously able to view acts of terrorism committed against African American residents in urban areas and the rural South. As lynchings, beatings, and other acts of terror and intimidation were part of the nightly news broadcasts throughout Europe, these actions stood in direct contradiction to the U.S. pursuit of liberty through the promotion of anticommunist policies. When the United States realized this contradiction, it began to enact policies intended to address racial inequality. In this instance, economic and social policies converged to preserve the interests of the dominant culture.

A third overarching theme in CRT in the legal and educational sphere is the centrality of narrative. Because the value of the experiences, understandings, and processes of many communities of color have been discounted in scholarship in education and the law, narrative allows these historical and socially significant experiences to become comprehensible. Instead of abstracted theoretical constructs that have the potential to confuse and misinterpret findings, narrative provides a space for lucid articulation of curriculum implementation, educational policy constraints, and school culture. Because narrative operates from the ground up, it can allow the space for the experiences of people from marginalized groups to be foregrounded in the analysis of race, class, and gender in legal and educational settings.

### From Legal Theory to Education

CRT in education seeks to inform theory, research, pedagogy, curriculum, and policy. Operating on a theoretical and practical level, CRT in educational research and curriculum studies sees itself as making a contribution to praxis in that it supports

action and reflection in the world in order to change it. Understanding racism as endemic to U.S. life, CRT has become integral in the identification of the intricate and multifaceted intersections of race, class, and gender in education. Providing a format by which to locate the function of racism in education, CRT supports the need to

- be explicit in the naming of the endemic nature of racism and of White supremacy in U.S. society;
- expose, interrupt, and deconstruct colorblind or race-neutral policies that exclude certain students and communities from democratic participation in the educational process;
- understand the voices and narratives of people of color as valid and essential in providing quality education that is critical and holistic; and
- challenge the notion that the behavior and academic achievement of White upper-middle-class students is normative.

In addition to the aforementioned claims, CRT scholars argue that a scholarly critique of race and of racism cannot be the sole vehicle aimed at the eradication of practices that have historically marginalized people of color in education. Instead, CRT scholars have argued for a synthesis of research and community engagement to address the needs and concerns of students, parents, teachers, and community members in schools.

### Critical Race Theory as Method

Using CRT as method, CRT scholars in education understand the debilitating effects of racism and of White supremacy in education as connected to the historical legacy of schools in the United States. The following tenets frame how CRT can inform research methods in curriculum studies.

*The centrality of race and racism:* Race and racism are not monolithic concepts. Instead, they are complex, dynamic, and malleable social constructions endemic to life in the United States. Due to their shifting contexts, definitions of race can include and exclude groups depending on the historical moment. For example, immigrating and native-born Latino/as in the United States were once categorized as White; they have now been largely vilified as the culprits responsible for taking

jobs from U.S. citizens. By recognizing the historical and social evolutions of race, CRT seeks to problematize the paradigm.

*Challenge to dominant ideology:* The master narrative about most non-White students (with reference to African Americans, Latino/as, immigrants from the Global South and from the Middle East, Native Americans, Southeast Asians, etc.) in public education is engulfed in theories of deficit. CRT challenges the master narrative about the inability of students of color to excel in academic settings.

*Commitment to social justice:* CRT offers itself as a theoretical and methodological paradigm aimed at the elimination of race, class, and gender oppression.

*Centrality of experiential knowledge:* The knowledge of people of color in the fight against hegemonic forces in education is legitimate, valid, and necessary in creating spaces for said communities to engage justice work.

*Interdisciplinary perspective:* CRT borrows from legal theory, ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, philosophy, economics, and other fields to argue for a comprehensive analysis of the functions of race and racism in education.

From these tenets, CRT scholars have begun to reshape traditional approaches to educational research while engaging schools and communities in the process.

### Critical Race Praxis

Eric Yamamoto, in championing the method known as critical race praxis, has made the parallel attempt to create a constructive method of bridging theoretical concepts and justice practice. He challenges CRT scholars to expand its boundaries through the implementation of praxis. At its center lies the idea of racial justice as antiracist practice.

Although arguing from a legal perspective, Yamamoto contends that CRT praxis enables lawyers to address color-on-color racial conflict in addition to White racism. The ability to address both suggests a race practice, providing the opportunity

for marginalized groups to address historical tensions between themselves while understanding said tensions as part of the larger function of White supremacy. From the legal perspective, such practice consists of establishing legal clinics, working in conjunction with community organizations, guiding student activists, establishing relationships with sympathetic politicians, and drafting ordinances and laws to address race-based inequity. In addition, his suggestion is that race praxis is characterized by reflective action. Such reflection is based on the application of theoretical concepts to the work done in solidarity with communities and the recasting of said concepts in light of the researchers' practical, on-the-ground experiences. Such analysis encourages scholars to focus their attention to the application of theory to work that is taking place on the ground. Where his suggestions for race praxis are directed toward attorneys and law professors, his work has been incorporated by university faculty in colleges of education, along with teachers and school administrators who are concerned with social justice.

Through the engagement of praxis-oriented agendas, CRT scholars in education and curriculum studies have created courses in teaching and administration, created alternative certification initiatives, and supported the recruitment and retention of people of color in teacher education programs. In addition, CRT scholars have connected with grassroots organizations that work with schools to get preservice and incoming teachers on board who have come through such programs.

In the shift from thought to action, CRT suggests community engagement as a means by which to apply theoretical concepts to practical issues. Rejecting traditional top-down approaches to educational justice, CRT scholars often side with action researchers who place theoretical assumptions as secondary to the experiential knowledge of the groups in question. When viewing the plight of urban schools, it is often a challenge not to develop a defeatist attitude. Understanding this dilemma, CRT scholars work in solidarity with communities, acknowledging that teaching and school administration are challenging professions. Performing either task with a critical lens entails complex navigation aimed at preventing educational institutions from further contributing to dangerous systems of control and subordination.

In addition, CRT scholars agree that academics should not be granted immunity from the realities of domination. In many instances colleges and universities contribute to a colonizing relationship with outside groups, performing research on them instead of with them. Such relationships enforce distrust and pensiveness in communities when approached by university researchers. To address the historical realities of this relationship, many CRT scholars in education have made the conscious commitment to stand in solidarity with classroom teachers, community members, and administrators who are committed to education that is holistic and critical. Research solely for the sake of academic inquiry becomes a bankrupt venture as communities of color are being decimated by lack of employment, health care shortages, housing disparities, and educational inequality. From a curriculum perspective, because high-stakes testing and hollow educational policies can create difficult situations for the aforementioned, CRT scholars are intentional in their support and respect of the space that teachers and administrators occupy in schools.

In order to counter the absurdity of success and completion as contrary to the norm for students of color in urban schools, CRT creates a space to dispel such ideas. Through discourse, narrative, and practice, teachers, students, administrators, and parents are given the opportunity to address the function of racism and how it impedes their daily ability to function in school.

Nevertheless, CRT scholars contend that writing is not enough. Many believe that they must engage in praxis that not only deconstructs the negative realities of the public school, but also supports models that have proven effective in providing students an education that reflects their self-worth and importance to the world. In so doing, faculty members that incorporate CRT in their work are forced to contend with the fact that critical analysis of racism remains questionable research in many colleges of education. Despite the fact that research on the effects and prevention of racism is not highly regarded in the academy, many agree that it is ridiculous to rest on the laurels of our position as faculty members. However, CRT scholars understand that as teachers battle with securing preparation time, pressure from state boards of education, high-stakes testing, and

strict discipline codes, it is impossible to dismiss these developments from the larger context of racism. In the end, many who have chosen to incorporate CRT into their work with communities continue to challenge supporters of the construct to be both critical and creative.

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*See also* Critical Race Theory; Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Critical Theory Research; Feminist Theories; Multicultural Curriculum Theory; Teacher Empowerment

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## CRITICAL THEORY CURRICULUM IDEOLOGY

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Critical theory is a philosophical, sociological, and cultural studies term that relates closely to



matters of legitimation, power and conflict, and argument. These are matters of central and defining interest in curriculum studies. Critical theory can be defined as an orientation, a disposition, and a way of acting on the world in order to change it. Above all, critical theory is a form of social analysis that is not prepared to accept things at face value or as they are presented.

It is important to note that critical theory does not constitute a single approach, but rather can be found in a family of related approaches—feminism, Marxism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, post-coloniality, critical race theory, and queer theory, to mention a few. There are a number of defining qualities that set critical theory apart and make it a distinctive approach within curriculum studies.

First, there is the issue of how it positions itself as an approach. It takes a questioning stance toward truth, meaning, and the nature of society. It asks how things came to be the way they are and what forces operate to keep the world that way. Critical theory challenges beliefs, assumptions, and commonsense interpretations of the way the world is. Part of the approach of critical theory is a robust pursuit of things that are accepted unthinkingly or that are taken as being natural, a questioning of what is normally taken for granted, and a questioning of why this is the case. Critical theory does not accept there are single immutable truths, and it questions the legitimacy of single truths.

Second, critical theory has a number of substantive interests or concerns. One of its most central concerns is how power works and particularly for whom it works. It questions whose interests are being served in continuing to have structures, processes, and practices the way they are. The focus of critical theory thus becomes those practices, institutions, and structures that are unfair, unjust, or undemocratic. In this respect, critical theory is not about criticism or negativity in the sense of being carping, but rather with uncovering how ideas are formed, how they are held in place, and how they might be different. At its most fundamental level, the approach of critical theory is about exposing, unveiling, and unmasking falsity. Its intent is to puncture or interrupt objectified, dominant, or instrumental views.

Third, critical theory is overt and forthright about its transformative intent. In practical terms,

critical theory aims to make people aware of what frustrates or impedes them and how they might act on the situation so as to change or transform it. To put this another way, critical theory has an emancipatory intent in that it is committed to enabling people to free themselves from ideas and social practices that bind them, exploit them, or prevent them from being free by tapping into the ways in which people are unaware of how they are being exploited and how the situation they are in perpetuates this exploitation. The larger agenda to which critical theory is committed is ensuring the conditions that enable people to embark upon actions that are more fulfilling personally and that are collectively satisfying for society at large.

In all of this, critical theory is an orientation that is self-reflexive. It believes that there is no such thing as political innocence or neutrality; there are always interests being served, and the question is the extent to which these are known and made public. Its politics, which are quite overt, reside in its unwillingness to accept things the way they are and instead to continue to question the legitimacy and veracity of claims to knowledge and truth.

Critical theory has its greatest application to curriculum studies as an approach classroom teachers might use in their classrooms with students to have them look beyond surface appearances to see how social and political forces and arrangements that purport to be neutral, benign, and value free actually work to shape the way some groups are advantaged at the expense of others. Within preservice and inservice teacher education programs, critical theory can be used to analyze how the received school curriculum privileges particular viewpoints and those with certain types of cultural capital while denying or marginalizing others. Within graduate or research programs, critical theory can be a powerful tool with which to analyze educational policy reforms so as to expose their concealed agenda, even within, for example, apparently well-meaning policies such as No Child Left Behind in the United States.

Curriculum ideology is closely related to critical theory, but there are some important differences. In its wider sociological meaning the term *ideology* can be somewhat confusing and hard to pin down. One meaning refers to distorted forms of thinking or false consciousness. Ideology has also been used



by anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz to refer to symbols, ideas, and beliefs by which people make meaning of their lives. Marxist thinkers take ideology to refer to the justifications used by interest groups to advance a particular political or economic viewpoint. Ideology is also used to label and disparage groups who have ideas that vary from the dominant mainstream views.

In relation to curriculum studies, according to Michael Apple, the most important aspect about ideology is that it deals with matters of power, conflict, legitimation, and the special style of argumentation in dealing with these. Dennis Carlson extends this idea when he talks about the way ideology masks and veils the real agenda being served and presents them as being different from what they really are. In the end, Carlson arrives at much the same conclusion as Apple: Because of the confusion over meaning and language and the increasingly disparaging use of the term ideology by the New Right, it is easier to dispense altogether with the language of ideology because it brings too much complex history with it.

Notwithstanding, an example of where this kind of thinking is helpful in curriculum studies is in taking a wider view of what schools exist for other than satisfying the needs of the labor market. Taking a more complex view enables us to stand back from the dominant fashionable view of schools being primarily about raising the educational achievements of students. As Apple and Lois Weis argue, when we take a wider social, cultural, and structural view of schools, a number of crucial questions become possible. For example, we can ask who education is working for, who benefits, and who loses or gets excluded. Clearly, schools assist and advantage particular groups of students more than others because of the closer match between the preferred norms and values of the school that are in essence middle-class institutions and the race, ethnicity, gender, and class of the students. In other words, schools act to legitimate some groups while excluding, marginalizing, or disadvantaging others that do not conform. The reality is that most schools do not have the kind of reflective surface with which to challenge these seemingly natural or common-sense assumptions. The consequence is that the myth gets to be sustained that schools provide equal opportunity to all students, and all that is

needed for success is the application of the right amount of effort by students.

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*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Gramscian Thought

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## CRITICAL THEORY RESEARCH

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Critical theory research in curriculum studies can be described as concerned with issues of power, intersecting oppressions, and inclusion–exclusion. Science is viewed as a form of political engagement that is ideologically and historically embedded. The general purpose of critical research is to address societal structures and institutions (whether long standing or newly emerging, ideological, discursive, or material circumstance) that oppress and exclude so that transformative actions can be generated that reduce the inequitable power condition. In curriculum studies, this critical examination focuses on the overall institution of education as a location of institutionalized, intersecting inequities (e.g., gender, race, socioeconomic level, sexual orientation) and more specifically, on the educational content experienced by students in daily

educational practice (e.g., knowledges considered to be important, language and discourses practices, teaching methodologies, judgment and evaluation, technologies). The purposes of this discussion on critical theory research in curriculum studies are to explain what is meant by critical theory(ies) research, illustrate the diversity of perspectives that influence critical research in curriculum studies, describe how critical perspectives transform the conceptualization of research purposes and practices, and delineate barriers to the acceptance of critical research.

### What Is Meant by Critical?

The role of critical theory research, along with the construction of a critical social science, is to facilitate circumstances that are transformative, to have a liberating political impact on the lives of those who deal with the complexity of intersecting oppressions. A commitment is made to the common good, to the common welfare of all. This role requires continual examination of societal institutions, regulations, and the distribution of power and resources. The researcher acknowledges her or his role as a very interested and value-laden observer who is a critical voice of social consciousness.

Critical theorist views of knowledge challenge grand narratives that have dominated Enlightenment and modernist constructions of science. Knowledge(s) is/are viewed as historically constructed and embedded within social (and values) agendas, as always representing biases concerning what counts as information and how particular views should be legitimated, and as changing and varying ideologically (rather than cumulatively) with time, culture, and circumstance. Although critical research values the range of scholarly and diverse cultural and life voices of those who have come before, positivist constructions of scientific knowledge as accumulation and building upon the scientific discoveries of the past are rejected. The notion of building on prior work is understood as masking, and even denying, the cultural, values, and equity contexts in which choices regarding research questions and methods of interpretation are generated. Objectivity is believed to be an illusion that is used to deny societal or individual values. Further, the possibility that the privileging of

dominant forms of knowledge can actually reify particular oppressive conditions is of great concern from within critical perspectives. Rather than knowledge as accumulated, critical work recognizes and values the multiple, the multidirectional, the diversity of conceptualizations and life experiences, and the notion that inquiry can reveal previously unthought possibilities.

Researchers who are familiar with the postpositivist use of critical thinking may confuse the traditional scientific approach that would require continued critical examination of research design and attempts to objectively follow the scientific method with critical philosophical perspectives. Attempts in postpositivist inquiry to be critical require carefully following established rules for the conduct of research, often labeled critical realism or critical rationalism. Critical theoretical perspectives do not follow this point of view that assumes the existence of objectivity, but rather they are directly concerned with systems of power and even consider the practice of research to be implicated in the production, inscription, and reproduction of power. Language, knowledge, and power are viewed as interconnected, as constructing and producing each other, and as limiting conscious conceptualizations and understanding. Critical perspectives assume the need for increased social justice, for attention to oppressions and inequities, and that research requires transformative action. The purpose of research cannot be considered the determination of objective, apolitical knowledge because all knowledge is considered subjective, tied to power for someone or some group, and value laden.

When critical perspectives are interpreted from a postpositivist lens, the assumption is that that the focus on power is a new "critical truth"; further, this explanation is often used to label critical theorists as emphasizing only victimization and dwelling on the negative. In a postmodern age that continues to privilege and literally impose patriarchy, racism, and economic imperialism as the instruments of both hierarchal and distributed forms of power, most critical theorists believe that these traditional, dominant power discourses should be front and center. However, although issues of power and oppression drive the values agenda for critical perspectives, postmodern challenges to new universalist critical master narratives

concerning power are also placed at the forefront. Critical master narratives that would lead to emancipation or to increased social justice are considered dangerous and are continually contested, even as critical inquiry attempts to generate research that would increase possibilities for social transformations that are more equitable and just.

Critical research attempts to address systems of power, including power as circulating, distributed, and diffuse, while at the same time to create a continually self-conscious examination of the research itself as an instrument of power. Research is reconceptualized as requiring a different set of assumptions, questions, and expectations. This rethinking challenges constructs such as facts and nature as well as assumptions such as a belief in the normal or the right to interpret the thinking or minds of others. Research questions revolve around privilege, oppression, power, resistance, social justice, and societal institutions, discourses, and structures that construct and/or perpetuate those oppressions, as well as new ways of conceptualizing equity and possibilities for diverse ways of being. Research results focus on discourses and technologies that privilege or inhibit, on contingencies, and new possibilities for transformation.

The foundational conceptualization of curriculum theory and the field of curriculum studies that counters the more linear notion of curriculum development is an actual demonstration of the transformative possibilities that can be found within critical theory research. In addition, broad-based critical theory research in curriculum studies includes examinations of definitions of the curriculum construct and ways that particular definitions are legitimated and result in power for particular groups and perspectives that disqualify knowledges and ways of functioning of or for other groups. Finally, as a range of voices and perspectives have conducted research that would be considered critical and concerned with power and oppression, more specific questions are and can be addressed in curriculum studies. Examples of these specific issues are the privileging of certain forms of knowledge within curricular content, public policy or legislation that generates particular interpretations of curriculum, methodologies that make forms of curriculum invisible, emergent curriculum discourses, and transformative curriculum.

### Voices of Critical Perspectives

Critical theories have originated from a range of locations and are most commonly tied to the work of Frankfurt School scholars in Germany, the neo-Marxist work of theorists such as Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, and continental scholars such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida; although differing across theorists, elaborations of this work are most often labeled critical theory. These scholars have certainly focused on the complexities of power and resistance within the diversity of human circumstance. However, this work has emerged at a time in which diverse voices were challenging modernist truth orientations and universalist impositions from a range of philosophical and life locations and were asking critical questions in some form or another, such as the following: Who or what is heard? Who or what is silenced? Who is privileged? Who is disqualified? How are forms of inclusion and exclusion being created? How are power relations constructed and managed?

In addition to forms of scholarship that have been directly labeled critical theory, these philosophical positions that are concerned with power, oppression, and equity include (but are not limited to) the following: various feminist understandings that acknowledge the complexity of intersecting oppressions and those that directly challenge patriarchy, sexism, and other societal forms of normalization; cultural studies that have unveiled the diversity of human knowledges; post-structuralism and queer theory that would not only challenge regimes of the normal, but also address the discourses and hidden universalist assumptions that construct and perpetuate those discourses; critical pedagogy that puts forward the recognition that all educational practice is political and should play a major antihegemonic role in society; and postcolonialism that insists on deconstructing Euro-American, androcentric beliefs. Critical pedagogy as elaborated by Paulo Friere and expounded in the work of Joe Kincheloe, Peter McLaren, and Henry Giroux—women of color feminists such as Patricia Hill Collins, Gloria Anzaldúa, and bell hooks who have detailed the complexity of intersecting forms of domination—poststructural work of Foucault that examines the archeology of knowledge—are all specific critical examples. Calls for postimperialist science in the

work of Patti Lather and indigenous research agendas in the work of Linda Tahiwai Smith are further examples.

The hybrid, even mixed life experiences, of those who do not fit or accept dominant interpretations of the world, have resulted in critical perspectives that are themselves crossbred, multiple, and blended. Lenses are both theoretical and anti-theoretical, and prefer meaning that is emergent and hybrid rather than legitimated, using calls for authenticity or purity. Voices and perceptions critique and impact each other, whether feminisms as influencing predominantly male-oriented critical theories, or postcolonial critique that has reconceptualized poststructural notions of power and resistance. Hybrid understandings then result in previously unthought vantage points from which to examine tentacles of power within society and more specifically, within education.

### Transforming Research

From a critical theory perspective, when one recognizes the role that has been played by research in the construction of human power relations, research is understood as something that must either be rejected entirely or transformed in ways that would decrease oppression and inequity. For example, child development research has assumed the Euro-American concept that one group can determine what is in the mind of the other and can then plan educational curriculum experiences for that other that will lead to particular outcomes. Power is created for the developmental researcher and for the curriculum planner. Children (especially if they do not fit the Euro-American model) and anyone who disagrees with the child development model are placed in the margins of legitimacy by this research practice. Dominant forms of research such as the preceding example are believed by critical theorists to actually increase social injustice, resulting in greater power for some and increased labeling and marginalization for others.

However, critical theorists recognize the importance of history and context and that contemporarily research will continue to be practiced. As previously discussed, this practice can itself be reconceptualized as a critical social science that functions continually with a social consciousness that would address issues of power, oppression,

and social justice. Research designs can be planned or emergent and allow for diverse data orientations. Existing data collection methods such as document analysis, participant observation, and naturalistic interviews are useful for critical inquiry along with methods that have emerged specific to critical research. These methods include archeology, deconstruction, genealogy, and juxtaposition. Furthermore, critical investigations also employ emergent methods that fit a particular issue as well as methods such as critical bricolage that facilitate research orientations by acknowledging the existence of multiple knowledges and diverse contingencies.

This transformed research is activist in orientation. Because the perspective accepts the notion that nothing is apolitical, research projects themselves are critically examined even as they are used to address curricular problems and educational issues. The importance of collaboration with public communities in ways that challenge positions of privilege created by researchers is recognized. Critical research inquires deeply into the social and political arrangements that have resulted in the disenfranchised playing roles in the perpetuation of their own oppression. The use of language, discourse practices, and power relations that prevent more just transformations are examined.

### Barriers to the Acceptance of Critical Research in Curriculum Studies

Although critical research has revealed the privileging of particular knowledges and forms of learning from within curriculum studies over the past 20 to 30 years, this work has not entirely led to curriculum content and practices that increase social justice. A variety of overlapping contemporary conditions can explain this lack of transformative effect. At least three reasons have been put forward to explain the complexity, male dominance, and academic orientation of the work and writing itself; planned backlashes against civil rights gains of the 1960s that would discredit critique and possibilities for diverse perspectives; and a contemporary hypercapitalism that has interpreted educational purposes and curriculum, as well as other societal practices, from within the confines of test score accountability, entrepreneurialism, and profitability.

First, regarding male orientations and academic complexity, critiques by feminists, scholars of



color, and other groups who have been traditionally marginalized have served to revise androcentric methods of critique and resulted in hybrid (and more complex) approaches to studies of power and oppression (as discussed previously). In addition, as an increasing range of scholars has engaged in critical research, reconceptualized curriculum studies and the general analysis of society and social justice have become more familiar to a broader base of scholars. Finally, the importance of thinking differently about knowledge, power, and educational content has been recognized; critical language is considered necessary to avoid terminologies that limit thought to dominant ways of functioning that act to perpetuate oppression.

The second and third barriers are related to each other. Each falls within a general reaction by those with power to gains made by people of color, women, and even children based on civil rights successes of the 1960s (especially in the United States). Academic work and curriculum studies were viewed as closely tied to these gains by those whose power was threatened, and immediate actions were taken to attempt to discredit diverse voices regarding life experiences and scholarship. An example of this attempt is the creation of the National Association of Scholars; other activities included attempts to discredit women's and gender studies, ethnic studies that supported diverse knowledges, and multicultural education. This backlash continues to be a barrier as some universities and newly formed think tanks (since the 1970s) foster research perspectives that are limited to measurement and quantitative analysis. Finally, the acceptance of a form of capitalism that has commodified all knowledge as that which can be sold for profit is one of the greatest threats to critical theory research. In many educational circles, curriculum is not discussed as tied to values and related to privilege, oppression, and equity, but something that would raise test scores (the capitalist measure of accountability). Social justice is even redefined from within this perspective to mean equal opportunity to do well on a high-stakes test.

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See also Critical Pedagogy; Feminist Theories; Indigenous Research

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## CULT OF EFFICIENCY

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The term *cult of efficiency* comes from the title of a book published by educational historian Raymond E. Callahan in 1962, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools*. As the book title implies, its major focus was on the topic of school administration. The curriculum in the early 20th century, and after, was substantively shaped by school administrators, who in many ways impeded improvement of academic study in the schools. Thus, Callahan's study of school administration and school administrators has dramatic and troubling impact on the school curriculum.

Callahan dealt with the business efficiency movement that swept the field of school administration in the early 20th century. He traced its roots to an efficiency movement that pervaded U.S. business, at least rhetorically, beginning in the 1890s. The form of efficiency called scientific management, a movement that was fundamentally nonscientific, was especially popular. As efficiency loomed more and more prominently in business and industry, it easily made its way into U.S. public schools. Callahan argues that local control of U.S. education made school administrators exceptionally susceptible to direct movement from the larger society into educational affairs. Although the nuts and bolts of the school curriculum were a secondary concern for the business efficiency advocates, implementation of their criterion of



efficiency and cost accounting to achieve that efficiency certainly did not bode well for academic subjects such as foreign languages, particularly the classical languages. Thus, the efficiency movement in school administration facilitated the dilution of the academic curriculum, especially after efficiency evolved from an economic concept to a concept of social efficiency in which school subjects were evaluated on their ability to contribute to the goals of a smoothly functioning industry. Both economic or business efficiency and social efficiency were closely tied to vocational education, an approach that basically shifted many of the costs of job training from employers to the public schools.

The curricular training of school administrators was greatly influenced by the efficiency movement that pervaded school administration as a field. In fact, it was through the influence of efficiency that the professional training of school administrators received a major boost in the early 20th century. Prior to the efficiency movement, school administrators advanced to their jobs through seniority in the school system and through attainments of leadership positions inside and outside of education. Often times, school administrators were distinguished intellectually, more so than managerially. Administrator training programs gravitated to the postgraduate level of study in leading institutions of higher education such as Teachers College of Columbia University. Utilizing an efficiency rationale and a series of courses that emphasized topics such as cost accounting, other aspects of educational finance, and scientific management, school administrators were trained to become educational executives and managers. The notions of subject matter expert, curriculum developer, or pedagogical leader took second place in the field of school administration to the image of a captain of education who would operate on the model of a captain of industry.

The development of quantitative surveys of schools and school systems, sometimes but not always sophisticated accounting exercises conducted by professors of administration hired by their students who were leading public school systems, facilitated an image of efficiency in those systems. Of course, those surveys also allowed those who conducted them to profit at the expense of school taxpayers who were inveigled to believe

that the efforts led to better education for their children.

Thus, school subjects and other aspects of the curriculum faded from the spotlight in school administration and in discussions of schooling by educational leaders to be replaced by notions of cost and cost containment. The advent of early educational research, particularly but not only the development of standardized testing, facilitated the actions of school administrators who were intent on placing pupils in the proper “slots” in the system. Curricular issues became the province of subject matter specialists inside and outside of schools of education, and their views took a decidedly inferior place alongside the hard-nosed insights of efficiency oriented administrators. If curriculum was conceived in ways that it could be measured, such as behavioral objectives, it might be addressed by school administrators and their leaders.

Wayne J. Urban

*See also* Social Control Theory; Social Efficiency Tradition

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## CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES

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Cultural and linguistic differences refer to differences among various cultural groups who speak a variety of languages and dialects. Cultural and linguistic differences sometimes are identified and used as two separate terms for different purposes in different settings. Cultural and linguistic differences are often identified in reference to English as the dominant language and to the cultural traditions and practices associated with the English language as the mainstream culture. Hence, the

notion of cultural and linguistic differences is often associated with cultural groups who do not speak English as the first language and who have beliefs, social practices, family values, and ways of knowing and doing that are different from mainstream culture. However, a dominant culture and language in one country may be a minority in another country. For example, Chinese, with the largest number of speakers in the world, is dominant in China, but is a minority language in North America. English is a minority language in China. So the importance of this for curriculum is that cultural and linguistic differences among children need to be treated as curricular resources rather than as curriculum deficits.

When the notion of cultural and linguistic differences is discussed in curriculum studies, it refers to the differences between ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse families and mainstream schools in immigrant countries such as the United States and Canada. A diverse cluster of topics is discussed: expectations and values in children's education and academic achievement, attitudes, and approaches to discipline and homework; parental involvement; the role of parents; the role of teachers; the role of schools; English language acquisition and literacy development; home and heritage language and culture maintenance; antiracist education and multicultural education; and other topics. There are calls for culturally sensitive curriculum. Culturally responsive teaching has become both a topic in educational studies and a target in teacher education programs. Special programs and projects are developed for English literacy and language development, such as immersion programs in bilingual education, dual language, and multiliteracies.

In curriculum, cultural and linguistic differences, as a term, is inevitably associated with linguistic and cultural diversity. Different people approach and interpret these terms from different points of view. Some emphasize differences and perceive cultural and linguistic differences as a challenging complex issue for school curriculum. Some call for culturally sensitive curriculum and develop well-intended programs to accommodate diverse needs of the learners from different cultural and linguistic groups to help them adapt to and succeed in the mainstream society. Some call for redesigning and reconceptualizing curriculum to address issues and concerns that affect students of different cultural

and linguistic groups. Others emphasize diversity over differences in an attempt to celebrate linguistic and cultural diversities as resources for the mainstream schools rather than perceiving cultural and linguistic differences as challenges.

Many believe that the most important issue facing curriculum is cultural and linguistic differences among students and among their homes and school communities. Many communities are composed of multicultural and multilingual groups, and major urban centers such as Toronto and New York have more than half of the students coming from homes where English is not the first language. Local culturally and linguistically diverse communities often gather in such a way that many schools have a student population where White students are in the minority. Cultural and linguistic differences from community to community, from school to school, and from classroom to classroom within schools, drive much curriculum policy making and local practices.

Consequently, the curriculum issue tends to be divided into two parts: removing the educational disadvantages arising from social discrimination and differential academic achievement, and developing an understanding among all students of the rich cultural and linguistic learnings to be achieved by association with people of difference. The first part is generally seen as a deficit issue in which the effects of racial discrimination and lowered achievement and therefore of lowered social and economic opportunities are attributed to minority cultural and linguistic differences. For example, some cultural groups are labeled as model minorities and some cultural groups are identified as having more children at risk in schooling. Minority groups are viewed as disadvantaged compared to the majority, and the idea of model minorities suggests some minorities are preferable to others. Consequently, discussions over diversifying curriculum and promoting multicultural and equitable education tend to focus on addressing diverse needs of learners of visible minority groups at disadvantage or at risk, in which the White group is not seen as one of the cultural and linguistic diverse groups. There is little discussion over the cultural and linguistic differences among the Whites. How to prepare all children including those from different White groups for a society of increasing cultural and linguistic diversity is yet to be adequately discussed and studied in the

field of curriculum. Furthermore, although it is helpful and useful in identifying diverse needs of learners of different cultural and language groups, cultural and linguistic differences within each cultural group need to be taken into account in curriculum design and implementation. For example, Asian Americans are ethnically diverse populations with corresponding cultural and linguistic differences, and within each Asian group, there is cultural and linguistic difference. There are 56 ethnic groups in China and many more dialects that effectively function as different linguistic groups. Such cultural and linguistic differences tend to be overlooked in English-speaking curriculum situations. Hence, there are two emerging curriculum issues: recognizing cultural and linguistic differences within each cultural group and among various cultural groups, and seeing cultural and linguistic differences as rich resources for individual and societal education and growth.

*Shijing Xu*

*See also* Cultural Identities; Cultural Literacies; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies

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## CULTURAL EPOCH THEORY

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Cultural epoch theory is a 19th- and early 20th-century theory that assumes human development to recapitulate or mirror the historical development of the human race. Educational and psychological scholars such as Johann Frederick Herbart and G. Stanley Hall are prominent early proponents. Harold Dunkel's treatment of the Herbartians elaborates the formative influence of disciples of Herbart on what emerged as the curriculum field of the 20th century, thus having continued influence on curriculum studies, by

showing the centrality of developmental theory to the field.

This theoretical perspective guided curricular discourse and planning as the mental disciplines theory, the notion that the mind was comprised of muscle-like entities for logic or imagination that profited from exercise, declined in prominence. Though Herbart died in 1841, his disciples in Germany taught the cultural epoch doctrine to U.S. educational scholars, such as Charles DeGarmo, Frank McMurry, Charles McMurry, and C. C. Van Liew. These Herbartians and G. Stanley Hall, from the stance of experimental psychology, perpetuated a cultural epoch curriculum in which they noted an intuitive epoch from infancy to about 8 years of age, an imaginative epoch from about age 6 to 10, and a logical epoch after age 10. Curriculum developers then matched literature with characteristics of each epoch. For instance Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* might be used to develop intuition through emphasis on myth and hero, and Daniel DeFoe's *Robinson Crusoe* might be used to teach imaginative problem solving to children who were progressing through a process akin to the human race as it became civilized. Only after such developmentally appropriate beginnings were learners thought capable of logical reasoning and intellectual discourse necessary for engaging in freedom and self-governance of the individual in societal context. Francis Parker and John Dewey developed eclectic positions that saw the child, rather than either subject matter content or historical recapitulated epoch, as the organizing center of the curriculum. Therefore, cultural epoch was surpassed by progressive studies of the child in societal context.

The notion that the development of each human being metaphorically repeats the development of the human race has not had much currency for over a century; however, it is significant to curriculum studies because it was a precursor to many developmental theories that still serve as philosophical and psychological bases of curriculum: Alfred North Whitehead's rhythms of education through romance, precision, and generalization; Jean Piaget's stages of intellectual development from preoperational to concrete operations and then abstract thought; Erik Erikson's notions of social epigenesis, life cycles, and identity; Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development from

attributions of goodness and badness to universal ethical principles; and Kieran Egan's curricular implications of a theory of development based on literary and cultural insights that advocates story-based curriculum appropriate to mythic, romantic, philosophic, and ironic stages. Along the way, such systematic images of development, though more flexible than many realized, were criticized by calls by the likes of Francis Parker, John Dewey, and Paulo Freire to place the learner at the center and listen carefully to what he or she understands to be developmentally appropriate in particular situations. Such situational perspectives on development critique the definitiveness and control of not only cultural epoch theory, but also any developmental theory that offers more or less rigid stages of human development. One may find such rigidity in realms of practice more than among those practitioners attempt to emulate, however. As the likely fabricated story of eminent psychoanalytic theorist, Carl Jung, is told, he said that he was glad to be Jung and not a Jungian because as Jung he could always change his mind and modify his theory and its application. This insightful anecdote is illustrative of how cultural epoch theory is significant to the broad field of education. It shows how developmental theories can limit opportunities for change and inclusion of dynamic perspectives of learners and teachers alike.

*Brian D. Schultz and William H. Schubert*

*See also* Developmentalists Tradition

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## CULTURAL IDENTITIES

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Although the term *culture* has many definitions, it is generally understood to include the beliefs, traditions, rituals, knowledge, morals, customs, and value systems—among other essentials of social life—of groups and of the individuals who form

those groups. In its most general sense, then, the term *cultural identities* refers to the way that individuals or groups define themselves along the spectrum of these elements. The term has taken on increasing importance in the field of curriculum studies for a number of reasons. For one, the demographic shifts in population throughout the globe have resulted in vastly different societies in terms of race, ethnicity, and culture than was true even just a few decades ago. Most Western nations are now highly diverse, and even the most homogeneous non-Western nations are undergoing important demographic shifts. Second, and related to this diversity, classrooms around the world are now populated by children of tremendously different backgrounds, but the preparation of teachers, the climate in schools, and the curriculum to which these students are exposed have yet to catch up with the growing diversity. In order to be prepared, educators need to understand the meaning of cultural diversity, the development of cultural identities, and the implications these processes have for classroom and school curricula.

Developing a cultural identity is both a psychological and a sociopolitical process. A number of psychologists have created theories explaining individual cultural and racial identity development. At the same time, developing a cultural identity is a sociopolitical process in the sense that it is profoundly affected by the social, political, historic, and economic context in which one happens to live. Power, institutional arrangements, and the ideologies of one's society also have a powerful impact on the development of cultural identities.

Culture is sometimes viewed as an unchanging part of one's makeup in much the same way as height or skin color. Yet culture is dynamic. It is not something that one simply inherits or possesses, but rather something that one learns and creates. Thus, cultural identities are socially constructed—that is, they develop out of a particular social context. People create their cultural identities through interactions with others in the group or groups in which they participate. Nevertheless, culture does not determine one's identity, although it can certainly influence it. In a related vein, cultural identities are created through negotiation—that is, culture is not simply imposed on us; it is through the give-and-take of social relationships that we develop our identities.



### Cultural Identities, Hybridity, and Globalization

Although originally understood to refer primarily to ethnic culture, the term cultural identities today encompasses a broad range of factors including race, gender, sexual orientation, location, history, religion, and other differences. As a result, we can speak not only of Latino/a or Jewish culture, but also of youth culture, the deaf culture, and lesbian culture, among many other manifestations of cultural identities. Understanding this broader definition of cultural identities is crucial for those developing curriculum for today's schools.

Because individuals may participate in various cultural communities at the same time, cultural identities can be multifaceted. Thus, a person can identify in terms of ethnicity and race, or gender and social class, or ability and national origin, or any combination of these, all of which may make that particular person different from others in each of those groups. At the same time, and increasingly in our globalized world, cultural identities are often characterized by *hybridity*—that is, the fusion of various cultures to form new, distinct, and ever-changing identities. Hybridity refers not just to mixed-race and ethnic identity, but also to nationality, language, religion, location, and other elements that help define people.

Hybridity underscores the fact that there is no pure culture, uncontaminated by the influence of other groups, individuals, perspectives, histories, or contexts. Given the far-reaching effects of popular culture through the influence of the Internet and other international media, people in the most remote villages to the most cosmopolitan cities may listen to the same music, purchase the same clothes, and watch the same television programs. Popular culture therefore crosses national boundaries and affects people throughout the world.

The stresses and strains of modern life have had a significant impact on current definitions of cultural identity. For instance, the diaspora of huge segments of the world's population—the result of economic opportunity, political persecution, war, famine, and colonization—is one reason that cultural identity has become a significant aspect of 20th- and 21st-century reality. Increasing immigration during the latter part of the 20th century to the present has created many culturally diverse nations, and this diversity, in turn, has led to tensions over

definitions of what it means to be a citizen of a particular nation. This increased tension is true especially of Western nations that have seen a dramatic increase in immigration from former colonies and other developing countries.

### Cultural Identities and Curriculum

Cultural identities have become a significant issue in curriculum in the past half century precisely because of immigration and globalization. As groups that differ from the cultural mainstream have increased in numerous nations around the world, they are demanding equitable representation in many spheres of life, particularly in education. These demands not only have focused on the curriculum, but also are related to other institutional changes. Thus, identity politics has had an influence on such areas as curriculum offerings in K–12 and higher education, the recruitment of a more diverse faculty and staff, and the recognition through cultural clubs and organizations.

Because culture is always a hotly contested terrain, the matter of representation is fraught with tension and struggle. Some claim that the recognition of separate cultural identities is divisive, tearing apart the fabric of a society's common culture. This divisiveness is particularly true in cases where cultural identities are defined in fundamentalist ways. On the other hand, others have maintained that recognizing cultural identities is a matter of social justice, particularly where such identities have been marginalized or stigmatized. Curriculum developers, teachers, administrators, and other educators need to be aware of these controversies if they are to develop curricula to meet the needs of both their students and of the rapidly changing world.

*Sonia Nieto*

*See also* Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Production/Reproduction; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Social Context of Education; Diversity; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Hybridity; Identity Politics; Marginalization; Multicultural Curriculum; Postcolonial Theory

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## CULTURAL LITERACIES

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The term *cultural literacies* refers to the values, attitudes, beliefs, and predispositions of each of the many cultural groups that make up the modern world and the societies in which we live. Cultural literacies refers to the ability to understand and value the customs, values, and beliefs of one's own culture and the cultures of others. The term implies the capacity to function harmoniously on a daily basis in social settings consisting of more than one culture. Cultural literacies are important in the development of multicultural curricula designed for schools serving more than one cultural group and for curricula aimed at preparing students to live in a culturally interdependent world.

The idea of cultural literacies in the plural form is an outgrowth of three ideas: culture, literacy, and multiple cultures or multiple literacies. Literacy is often defined as the ability to read, write, and speak the dominant language. The explosion of knowledge in the sciences, humanities, and the arts, and the expansion of media modes through television and computers, contributed to the expansion of the idea of literacy to the idea of cultural literacy defined as the knowledge and skills needed to succeed within a culture. Globalization and high levels of human migration in the world, along with curricular concerns for multiculturalism and cross-cultural understanding contributed to an expansion of the idea of cultural literacy to the idea that there are many cultural literacies. For curriculum

this means that even though a person of a different culture may not be literate in the dominant culture, he or she will exhibit literacy in his or her own culture. The idea of cultural literacies, therefore, is that a person exhibits literacy within his or her own culture. In the modern cross-cultural world there are many cultural literacies. For the curriculum, recognizing, valuing, and accepting cultural literacies other than one's own is a mark of being culturally literate. An individual may be said to be literate when that person has an awareness and understanding of the literacies of others as well as possessing literacy within his or her own culture.

The words *culture*, *literacy*, and *cultural literacies* are open to flexible definitions and to different interpretations. Readers in the area will confront two related but very different ideas. In one, cultural literacies refers to cultural expressions within a culture such as reading, writing, mathematics, science, history, and others. Within this interpretation of the notion of cultural literacies there are debates over which specific content elements should define literacy within that culture. The significance of this for curriculum has to do with what is considered core curriculum and what is considered peripheral, elective, or frill curriculum. Traditionally, reading, writing, and arithmetic were considered the core curriculum for cultural literacy. The idea has been expanded to many different content areas, so it is common to think in terms of different cultural literacies depending on students' talents and the particular selection of courses and overall program studied within a curriculum. The main curricular debates in this notion of cultural literacies are over three main matters: questions of core knowledge and skills—that is, what are the core knowledge areas and skills and how to represent them in the curriculum; broader questions of cultural characteristics and qualities and their cultural history and how to represent cultural qualities in the curriculum; and for progressive educators, the content and democratic forms of education needed to politically empower culturally disenfranchised students and how to create an action-oriented curriculum.

The second main way cultural literacies is defined and interpreted is in terms of culture specified in terms of language and culture of origin. This view of cultural literacies is central to curriculum in multicultural and cross-cultural settings. Cultural

literacies in the curriculum implies that the curriculum turns away from the design of canonical learning to fit into the dominant culture and toward the recognition, understanding, and valuing of other cultural literacies. This turn does not imply a purely relativistic curricular stance. Students need to function in a particular society, and immigrant newcomers need to learn to function in that society. The idea of cultural literacies means that those from other cultures are recognized as being literate. Both the dominant cultural literacy and the various other cultural literacies represented by students become part of the curriculum.

The principal educational benefit of a curriculum built on the idea of cultural literacies is that it establishes a welcoming environment for students to understand one another's differences. In addition, the idea provides a framework that permits teachers and other educators in authority with a guide for viewing student and parent attitudes and behaviors as reflecting embedded cultural educational literacies rather than seeing them as expressions of ignorance or unwillingness to cooperate with the school. For example, in North American elementary school classrooms, Chinese parents may differ with teachers on questions of discipline and homework. A curriculum built on the singular idea of educating children to be culturally literate in the dominant culture will lead to the dismissal of parental views and to efforts to reeducate parents and children in the Western way. A curriculum built on the idea of cultural literacies will treat the parental view as the likely outcome of a valuable Chinese cultural literacy and will lead to more tolerant and proactive intercultural communication between parents and teachers. Cultural responsive teaching and multiliteracies result from such curriculum change initiatives.

*Shijing Xu*

*See also* Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Identities; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies

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## CULTURAL PRODUCTION/ REPRODUCTION

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The two concepts of cultural production and cultural reproduction refer to the ways in which cultural form and content have continuity and yet are changeable. They are in essence two sides of the same coin. With regard to education, one can think of two kinds of reproduction: economic and cultural. The first, economic, refers to the role of education in reproducing positions in the paid and unpaid labor market. The second, cultural, refers to the ways in which education reproduces the norms, values, dispositions, and knowledge of a society. Usually, these norms, values, dispositions, and knowledge will be those of dominant groups. However, at other times, they will include those of oppressed groups. Often, because of struggles over what is to be reproduced, what counts as legitimate form and content is hybrid, a tense and complex compromise that includes both dominant and subordinate culture.

The word *groups* is crucial here. There are different dynamics of power that are being reproduced, including but not limited to class, gender, and race. Hence, understanding cultural reproduction requires a nuanced grasp of the multiplicity of relations of power in any society. Understanding cultural production also requires a grasp of differential power. But production by its very nature has a different focus than reproduction. It speaks to the power of lived culture, of the ways in which social movements, oppressed groups, youth, indeed everyone, create meanings in their daily lives and contest accepted meanings. This includes forms of popular culture, resistant meanings, forms of art, and similar things that speak back to dominant relations.

The curriculum participates in the reproduction and at times subversion of dominant meanings

and knowledge and the production of new meanings and identities. It is itself a cultural product, created out of the tensions, conflicts, and compromises over what should count as legitimate or official knowledge. In answering the question of what knowledge is of most worth, it also must take account of the equally crucial question of whose knowledge is of most worth and of new cultural productions.

But it is not only the content of the curriculum that participates in the struggles and compromises over official knowledge. The ways in which curricula are organized also speak to the manner in which groups with economic and cultural power establish particular forms of organizing knowledge. Thus, integrated curricula, discipline-centered curricula, and other forms are not necessarily neutral. As a number of sociologists have argued, different organizing principles and the comfort one has with them are also ways in which cultural reproduction goes on.

In addition to content and organization, there is something else that needs to be critically examined, however. The hidden curriculum—that is, the tacit norms, values, and behaviors that students experience in their daily lives of being in school—is also a powerful reflection on the relations of dominance and subordination and resistances to them in the larger society. The hidden curriculum is often the site where cultural reproduction and cultural production collide.

This fact points to something of considerable significance. Cultural reproduction is not a simple process. People have agency. They act on their own senses of what is good and bad and on their own lived cultural forms and content that may contain elements that enable them to resist dominant meanings, but they can often generate practices that are both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic at one and the same time. Thus, important elements of youth culture can both support dominant economic and cultural values and subvert them simultaneously.

This possibility means that our consideration of cultural reproduction and production needs to go beyond formal institutions such as schools. Popular culture, works of art, literature, television and radio, movies, music, and similar artifacts are key elements in both cultural reproduction and production. Religious institutions, community literacy

organizations, our day-to-day language use, and even informal networks also engage in these forms of reproduction and production that occur simultaneously. In essence, all culture is a production, a human construction. Some of it is commodified and some of it is lived.

A good example of these dynamics outside of schools is Nu Shu, the centuries' old secret language of women in parts of China that was used by women to communicate their realities, dreams, hopes, and laments to other women through oral traditions, letters, poetry, songs, weaving, and other art. It was a product of the often isolated and oppressive conditions that women experienced, a way of speaking back and forming bonds among women. At the same time, as it expanded it reproduced these bonds and social networks in ways that cemented them across generations. Thus, Nu Shu was both reproductive and productive at one and the same time. Similar things could be said about youth culture and its relation to dominant and subordinate cultures and meanings today. This is one of the reasons many educators have argued for greater critical focus on and inclusion of popular cultural forms in the curriculum.

One of the best ways of thinking about the relations between cultural reproduction and production is to use the language of the circuit of cultural production. The circuit of cultural production has three moments: production, distribution, and reception. Each of these moments can have different power relations. Take for example a textbook. It is produced by publishers under the regulatory eye of the state textbook guidelines. In the United States, Texas and Florida have a disproportionate influence on what is considered to be legitimate content and form because of their large populations and strong state control over knowledge. But the meanings included in the texts are constantly contested by groups with differential power and interests. Textbooks are then distributed through sales to individual states, districts, and schools. They are then received, used, and read by teachers and students.

However, there is a politics of reading this material. Texts can be read in dominant ways in which the reader accepts the knowledge without question. They can be read in negotiated ways, where the reader accepts parts of the text and rejects other parts. Finally, they can be dealt in oppositional

ways, when the cultural and ideological messages are resisted. Much of the way one reads a text depends on the cultures and histories that dominate the moment of reception. Thus, even simple educational products such as textbooks embody both reproductive and productive elements and are the results of the agency of groups with different agendas. And the act of even reading these texts is an active process in which the message sent is not necessarily the message that is received. Meanings are created as well as recreated.

*Michael W. Apple*

*See also* Hidden Curriculum; Political Research; Reproduction Theory

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## CULTURAL STUDIES IN RELATION TO CURRICULUM STUDIES

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In relation to curriculum studies, cultural studies refers to a broad, interdisciplinary field of study that serves as a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding how the hidden, null, and overt curricula of formal and informal educational environments contribute to the construction of marginal and/or oppositional identities. Within a cultural studies framework, curriculum is understood as a representational practice or ideological medium through which the power to define and produce knowledge, and hence the horizons within which identity is constructed and made meaningful, is asserted and opposed.

Cultural studies approaches to the study of curriculum can be quite varied. Some approaches take the form of critical, ethnographic studies of schools, youth subcultures, or forms of popular

culture. Some curriculum scholars use key concepts developed in cultural studies to critique mainstream perspectives on multicultural curriculum and advance arguments in support of a more politicized notion of culture. Other curriculum scholars work within a cultural studies framework to argue for utilizing popular culture in the curriculum as a way to challenge official school knowledge and dominant worldviews. Cultural studies in relation to curriculum studies shares many of the same origins, themes, and aims of critical pedagogy and related, politically oriented analyses of curriculum. This entry first discusses cultural studies as a general academic field and then its development at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Finally, key concepts and approaches are presented.

### Cultural Studies as a General Academic Field

Taken as a formalized academic field, cultural studies does not refer to the study of the traditional arts and their associated creative processes, although some work within cultural studies may take the traditional arts as its object of analysis. Nor does cultural studies refer simply to describing the function of cultural artifacts and practices within a particular society. Rather, cultural studies refers to a wide range of theoretical and empirical studies connected by a general commitment to understanding culture as a system of representational practices whereby social meaning is produced and reproduced, communicated and interpreted, asserted and opposed. Borrowing theoretical insights and methodologies from across disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, scholarship that falls under the general rubric of cultural studies often takes as its objects of study the representational practices of everyday life and popular culture, for example, the stylistic dimensions of youth subcultures, the various forms and messages of mass media, and the various expressions of consumer capitalism. Although its themes are diverse, cultural studies tends to focus on a number of interrelated, dynamic concepts, particularly representation, hegemony, and identity.

A key assumption for work in cultural studies is that individual and social identities do not exist outside of the representational systems through which such identities are constructed and expressed.



The politics of representation refers to the struggle to control the symbols, discourses, images, practices, and representations that define who, what, and how individuals are, should be, and can be. Studying and critiquing the politics of representation in relation to the construction of subordinate and marginalized identities represents a key objective of cultural studies scholarship. By questioning the notion that identity is reducible to an essential, stable, and unified social category that lies outside the representational systems that give identity meaning, cultural studies scholarship often highlights the ways in which identities are socially derived, historically contingent, and culturally expressed.

### British Cultural Studies and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies

Cultural studies was developed as a formalized field of study at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham in Great Britain. Following World War II, social changes in Great Britain such as the growth of youth subcultures and the proliferation of mass culture became a focal point of cultural analysis for a group of scholars based primarily at the University of Birmingham. In 1964, these scholars established CCCS at Birmingham in order to provide an institutional framework for their work.

In keeping with their Marxist influences, some of the early scholars of British cultural studies sought to reposition social class as an important element in the dynamics of cultural change by studying how the working class adapted to and/or resisted the pressures exerted by dominant cultural values and social arrangements. Initially, their focus on the working class was historical and sociological, and some cultural studies scholars expressed alarm about so-called mass culture replacing the more localized cultural practices and values of the working class. Books such as *The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture* by Richard Hoggart, *The Long Revolution* by Raymond Williams, and *The Making of the English Working Class* by E. P. Thompson helped lay the foundation for British cultural studies.

Much of the early work of the CCCS also focused on the emergent youth subcultures of the postwar era, for example, mods and hippies, and

argued that although the stylistic expressions and practices of youth subcultures emerged in relation to economic social relations, they could not be deterministically reduced as such. In addition, much like critical theory, the goal of cultural studies was to demystify the ideological overlay of cultural messages and practices. Cultural artifacts, images, and practices were texts to be interpreted and studied for their structural meaning. However, this meaning was not static, for it was created within and through those engaged in its cultural production and interpretation.

Hoggart served as CCCS director from 1964 until 1968, when Stuart Hall, perhaps the most influential and widely cited scholar of British cultural studies, assumed that post, which he held until 1979. In 1972, CCCS began publication of the journal *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* (WPCS) to serve as an outlet for the growing body of work in the field. A special issue of WPCS published in 1975 was subsequently republished as a book titled *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*.

### Key Concepts in Cultural Studies

As British cultural studies developed in the 1970s, a number of key concepts emerged that would carry over into and inform the curriculum studies field, particularly the analysis of curriculum as a political text. These themes are representation, hegemony, and identity.

#### *Culture and Representation*

At its most general level, cultural studies frames culture as a system of representation. This approach to culture is based in part on a branch of linguistics called *semiotics*, the study of signs and the processes by which signs communicate meaning. In semiotics, signs express or convey meaning by uniting signifiers (i.e., forms) and signifieds (i.e., concepts). Cultural studies extends the semiotic approach to language to the study of culture. Culture is constituted by images, sounds, objects, and activities (i.e., signifiers) that convey or signify concepts (i.e., signifieds). Because the study of culture is framed by a language-based approach to representation, cultural artifacts, images, sounds, and activities are viewed or analyzed as texts and



*signifying practices*. A signifying practice is the creation of a sign that produces meaning that must be interpreted according to a shared set of social and cultural codes.

For example, an individual's choice as to the vehicle he or she drives can be understood as a signifying practice if we consider that cars mean more than simply the sum of their mechanical parts. Aside from their functional purpose, automobiles represent extensions of identity and thereby communicate lifestyles: A jeep represents a rugged, outdoorsy lifestyle; a convertible represents the carefree fun of youth; a hybrid represents environmental consciousness; a sports car represents wealth and status. Advertising helps produce and reinforce the attachment of these social meanings (i.e., signifieds) to automobiles as things (i.e., signifiers).

Because cultural practices such as driving a car communicate meaning only to the extent that they can be interpreted within a shared set of social codes, culture provides the symbolic resources by which we come to define, understand, and express ourselves as individuals. The various social meanings we draw upon and internalize in order to define for ourselves and others who and what we are as individuals is a function of the representational systems to which we have access and the meaning that is attached by self and others to the symbols that circulate within that system. Thus, the power to determine the horizons of what counts as meaningful can be achieved by controlling the images, symbols, and social codes that make up cultural life, and this power is equivalent to the power to legitimate and naturalize a particular worldview as common sense, thereby determining the horizons within which self-definition and social meaning are achieved. This process of controlling and fixing the horizons of common sense is often referred to as hegemony.

### *Hegemony and Ideology*

Hegemony is a concept associated with Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci that describes how social authority is exercised not through direct force or the brute display of power, but through the subtle and hidden arrangements that structure social and cultural life and that shape the beliefs, values, and ideas to which we have access. Thus, existing social formations seem quite normal

and natural, as do the commonsense horizons for thinking about alternative social arrangements. Hegemony is asserted through the validation and circulation of images and representations. Hegemony does not tell us what to think so much as it defines the parameters within which our acts and ideas have meaning.

Coupled with insights provided by other cultural theorists, Gramsci's work helped cultural studies scholars bridge key formulations of ideological reproduction. Early critical theorists had generally approached ideology as a form of distorted consciousness. In this formulation, ideology is a set of false beliefs expressed at the level of culture that obscures oppressive social structures. Later formulations of ideology took a more complex view in suggesting that ideology structures our consciousness and constitutes our subjectivity. In this way, ideology is defined as a lived experience rather than as a set of false beliefs that obscures a real or authentic state of affairs.

A key Gramscian insight developed by cultural studies scholarship is that hegemony is never totalizing. Subordinate groups are not simply passively positioned subjects upon whom power is encoded. Rather, power is resisted and contested on the symbolic field of culture. Resistance to the imposition of dominant, hegemonic social values and beliefs is often referred to as *counterhegemonic practice*. Counterhegemonic practices are performed or expressed through a variety of oppositional social and cultural forms that critique, subvert, or offer alternatives to hegemonic worldviews.

It is important to note that a cultural studies approach to cultural analysis assumes an explicit political stance through its critical exploration of the power-culture nexus. Cultural studies is a theoretically informed way to explain that nexus and challenge it as well in the interest of emancipatory and counterhegemonic goals.

### *Identity*

The concepts of representation and hegemony help frame one of the primary aims of cultural studies scholarship, which is to understand and critique how social identities are articulated in relation to hegemonic discourses. Broadly speaking, individuals define themselves and are defined by others via the social codes and meaning systems

to which they have access. For example, common-sense notions about what it means to be masculine or feminine are shaped at least partially by the images of men and women we see on billboard advertisements, on television, and in magazines. In addition, individuals signify these gender norms through the choices they make, among many others, about the clothes they wear, the music they listen to, the automobiles they drive, the way they interact with others. In reading these symbols as texts, individuals are encouraged or positioned to identify with these images. Sometimes, dominant, hegemonic representations can define identities in ways that are limiting and oppressive, for example, media messages that suggest in subtle and overt ways that passivity is a desirable feminine trait. The politics of representation refers to the struggle to control the symbols, discourses, images, practices, and representations that define who, what, and how we are, should be, and can be.

Rooted as they were in Marxist social analysis, early cultural studies scholars focused on social class as the essential category for subjective identification. However, as the cultural studies field matured and its theoretical contexts changed, some cultural studies scholars began to challenge the centrality of social class by noting its marginalization of other forms of subjective experience, most notably the experience of race and gender. Rather than being reducible to a class-based subject position determined by the economic and social arrangements of capitalism, identity was constituted by multiplicity, heterogeneity, and contradiction.

Insights provided by the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault encouraged cultural studies scholars to turn toward a discursive theory of identity. A discursive theory of identity argues that as objects of knowledge, identity and its attendant social markers such as race, ethnicity, or gender are products of discourse, constituted by the very language we use to talk about them and therefore do not lie outside language as essential, noncontingent objects or concepts to which language refers. They come to be defined as meaningful concepts only within the horizons of how we conceptualize, talk about, and act on that meaning. As a product of discourse rather than determinate social structures, identity can be understood as a crucial resource for the exercise of critical social agency. The multiplicity of signifying cultural practices made available to

individuals offers possibilities for resisting and countering oppressive social structures and narratives through the strategic and contingent expression of cross-boundary social affiliation and rearticulation. In this sense, linking identity and the politics of representation highlights the discursive and historically contingent nature of identity formation and thus opens up spaces for counterhegemonic practice to act and be in ways that confront and challenge power and offer possibilities for more equitable, just social realities.

### Cultural Studies Approaches to Curriculum Studies

#### *Culture and Curriculum*

Before examining how key concepts in cultural studies have influenced work in curriculum studies, it is useful to consider how a more traditional curricular concern with culture can be distinguished from a cultural studies approach. Curriculum scholars have long been interested in culture as a source of curriculum content and objectives and as a context or milieu for studying the relation between curriculum and society. Many curriculum scholars in the first half of the 20th century stressed the importance of understanding the social foundations of curriculum, with culture more or less defined as the set of values that defined social horizons. If the purpose of education is cultural transmission in the interest of both social conservation and growth, then the curriculum should help equip young people to draw critically upon knowledge in the interest of social analysis and improvement. Curriculum developers should look to social and cultural contexts as sources of content relevant and useful to the learner in a way that promotes critical thinking, autonomy, and problem solving. This view of culture as a resource is reflected in mainstream perspectives on multicultural education, where often the objective is expanding the students' range of cultural understanding through the inclusion of multicultural content in the curriculum.

Following World War II, a broader understanding of culture as a way of life became more prominent in curriculum thought. Culture increasingly was understood more structurally as the totality of one's representational and symbolic milieu—the

conscious and unconscious, implicit and explicit beliefs, values, habits, and practices that pattern and structure daily life and our interactions with others. With this more structural understanding of culture came renewed interest in the role the individual might play in cultural change, and thus a broader interest in relating culture to the formation of identity and individuality.

B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores's influential 1950 synoptic textbook provides an example of how curriculum studies in the postwar era was beginning to engage culture as a broader, more politically charged field of analysis. They devoted the first chapter of their book to culture and defined it as the interwoven totality of one's intellectual, practical, and symbolic world. Drawing a clear distinction with the concept of society, they recognized culture as a representational, symbolic field of beliefs and practices that had historical continuity with the past. Curriculum could provide the framework for the dialectical progression of cultural change, as well as a framework for the exercise of human agency and choice in that change, as it mediated the individual child's relation to cultural values and practices. By suggesting that the cultural values and practices within which the child is socialized via the curriculum might be challenged and changed through the lived experience of those values, Smith, Stanley, and Shores demonstrated an awareness of how curriculum practice relates to cultural politics. However, their articulation lacked the critical perspectives characteristic of cultural studies, particularly as it focused almost exclusively on the formal curriculum of schooling.

The reconceptualization of curriculum studies in the 1970s marked an important transition in the way culture and curriculum have been linked. During this period, many curriculum scholars began to borrow theoretical frameworks from other disciplines in the humanities in order to explore the subjective dimensions of curriculum understanding and experience. This exploration opened up curriculum theory to the study of nontraditional and out-of-school educational experiences. Like culture, curriculum was increasingly coming to be understood as a text, a representational practice through which knowledge was produced and communicated. As curriculum study became more interdisciplinary and critical, theoretical insights and

methodological frameworks developed in the cultural studies field began to influence the political and popular culture dimensions of curriculum study.

The *Journal of Curriculum (JCT)* provided an important publishing outlet for work in curriculum studies that borrowed from cultural studies frameworks. In 1999, *JCT* published an interview with Stuart Hall, a leading scholar of British cultural studies and a founder of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. A *JCT* issue published in 2002 was devoted entirely to popular culture. The influence of cultural studies on curriculum studies is also reflected in the evolution of the name of a curriculum studies special interest group (SIG) based within the American Educational Research Association. What is now called the Critical Issues in Curriculum and Cultural Studies SIG was originally founded in 1972 by curriculum scholar Edmund Short as the Creation and Utilization of Curriculum Knowledge SIG. *JCT* and curriculum studies conferences such as Bergamo, Curriculum and Pedagogy, and the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies continue to serve as important venues for the sharing of work in cultural studies.

### *Cultural Studies, Critical Pedagogy, and Popular Culture*

In the late 1970s, political analyses of curriculum coalesced around the work of curriculum scholars such as Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, Jean Anyon, and others who borrowed from critical and neo-Marxist orientations and concepts and focused on the curriculum as a medium for ideological reproduction and resistance. Schools socialize students into dominant cultural values and beliefs as certain kinds of knowledge, dispositions, and behaviors are validated and made available through explicit, hidden, and null curricula. Social and cultural hegemony is exercised in and through curriculum. As was the case with cultural studies, early political analyses of curriculum tended to emphasize the reproduction of economic and social class relations.

In the 1980s, insights culled from British cultural studies combined with the advances in the political analyses of curriculum encouraged critical

ethnographies of schooling similar to Paul Willis's influential book *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, published in 1977. Willis was an important figure in British cultural studies whose study of the schooling experiences of a group of working-class youth in Great Britain revealed how identities formed in apparent opposition to the dominant ideology of capitalism via the structures of schooling drew on and produced cultural practices that ironically reproduced and strengthened the very class structures upon which capitalism is based. Willis's work helped lay a theoretical foundation for similar studies of schooling in North America, and it served as a conduit for the introduction of cultural studies concepts in theories of schooling and curriculum.

For example, Peter McLaren's 1986 book *Schooling as Ritual Performance: Towards a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures* presented an ethnographic study of the schooling experiences of working-class youth at a Catholic middle school in Canada. His study examined how power relations were reproduced through the hidden and null curricula that structured the daily life of the school. Hegemony was exercised in schools via the validation, circulation, and enforcement of dominant values and forms of knowledge through the symbolic codes that structured the everyday life of schools.

However, critical ethnographies such as McLaren's also illustrate how teachers and students resisted cultural reproduction. Students and teachers were not merely powerless, passive recipients of a curriculum that reproduced dominant ideology, but were, through their opposition to hegemonic discourse displayed in their own cultural practices, able to exercise critical agency and impact structures of oppression and cultural authority. Critical pedagogy offered a way to formally intervene in ideological reproduction and build the critical capacity to demystify and challenge the hegemony of dominant cultural and social values.

Introducing popular culture into the curriculum offered a foundation for critical pedagogy. Cultural studies approaches to curriculum often give attention to the informal, out-of-school curriculum of popular culture, for example, television, music, literature, comic books, fashion styles, and video games. In the 1988 book *Critical Pedagogy, the*

*State, and Cultural Struggle*, Giroux and Roger Simon published an essay titled "Popular Culture and Critical Pedagogy: Everyday Life as a Basis for Curriculum Knowledge" in which they referenced cultural studies as a framework for using the contradictions between schooling and the real-world experiences of youth as a basis for social and cultural critique and revision.

The inclusion of popular culture in the curriculum represents an area of potential counterhegemonic practice because popular culture relates to lived experience. It is imbued with meaning by its participants and it points to processes of cultural production and resistance. Critical pedagogy involves teaching students to read culture, critique dominant ideology and school knowledge, and regain a sense of critical agency. As developed within a cultural studies framework, the argument for including popular culture in the curriculum and blurring the distinctions between in-school and out-of-school knowledge is predicated on the potential to exercise critical agency. The goal is not to study popular culture as artifact or use popular culture as a vehicle for making the standard school curriculum more palatable and engaging. Rather, popular culture is engaged performatively, as a signifying practice, in the interest of critiquing structures of power and oppression.

### *Multiculturalism, Race, and Ethnicity*

By the early 1990s, cultural studies had become a well-established and relatively unified academic field in the United States. Also at this time, public debate over multicultural curriculum reached new levels. The high-profile, politically driven culture wars of this period politicized curricular debates over whose literature, historical narratives, values, and knowledge should be taught in schools. Conservative educators argued for a core curriculum that drew heavily from Eurocentric cultural and canonical knowledge and history. As the national standards movement gained momentum and federal backing with the Goals 2000: Educate America Act of 1994, these debates intensified, even spilling over into the halls of Congress when that year the United States Senate held a contentious debate over the adoption of the controversial National History Standards. Many in the Senate felt the standards were divisive, did not



stress traditional U.S. values and historical facts, and were overly critical of U.S. history.

Some in the curriculum field engaged the culture wars by working to develop multicultural curriculum and arguing for more inclusion of multicultural materials in the curriculum. Others, however, looked increasingly to cultural studies as a way to challenge mainstream inclusion models of multicultural curriculum. Many cultural studies curriculum theorists argued for the inclusion of minority authors and artists not merely as a representative add-on of minority views, but in terms of how such texts offer narratives that are counter to dominant racial, ethnic, gendered, or other discourses and representational practices. Such narratives have the potential to highlight how issues of culture, identity, power, and knowledge intersect. These challenges often call into question categories of racial and ethnic identity, particularly as multicultural education implied an essentialist definition of ethnicity and race, as well as the limited attention it paid to issues of power.

In her 1996 book *Translating the Curriculum: From Multiculturalism to Cultural Studies*, curriculum scholar Susan Edgerton used a cultural studies framework to critique traditional perspectives on cultural literacy while also arguing that mainstream approaches to multicultural curriculum fail to address culture as a politicized site of identity formation. Rather than fostering essentialized or oppositional viewpoints, a curriculum informed by cultural studies can open up deconstructive possibilities for explorations of difference across marginalized social and individual identities. Such a curriculum would include autographical writing done alongside and engaged with the reading of literary works written by marginalized writers.

Similarly, Cameron McCarthy argued in a collection of essays published in 1998 as *The Uses of Culture: Education and the Limits of Ethnic Affiliation* that multicultural education must do more than simply add culturally diverse content to the curriculum. In its potential to challenge Eurocentrism and critique the totalizing and reductive discourses of racial, ethnic, and gender identity, multicultural curriculum offers a powerful form of social and cultural critique in the interest of more equitable educational opportunities and social arrangements. When critically informed, multicultural curriculum can reveal how the construction of

marginal identities is linked to cultural politics and the struggle to define the symbols, signs, and discourses that frame the meaning we give to who, what, and how we are individually and collectively. A cultural studies approach to multicultural curriculum would raise questions about the explicit, hidden, and null curricula of schooling by including the critical study of film, art, literature, and other cultural practices that are consciously engaged in as a means of asserting and countering hegemonic structures of domination and subordination.

### *Media, Globalization, and Neoliberalism*

Media literacy is another important area where cultural studies is used as a framework for conceptualizing popular culture and mass media as an out-of-school curriculum through which dominant social, economic, and political values are reproduced and resisted. Fostering critical media literacy is one way to demystify, resist, and reframe the crucial role mass media play in the production and circulation of social and cultural meaning. Critical media literacy promotes critical understanding of how media messages shape the representational boundaries within which subjectivity is framed and identity constructed and expressed. New media outlets such as blogs and social networking sites can be reconstructed as productive sites of counter-hegemonic practice where official knowledge is appropriated and reinscribed with meaning different from that intended by the original source.

Many curriculum scholars working within a cultural studies framework view neoliberalism as the primary ideological value embedded in the messages and practices that make up the informal, out-of-school curriculum of mass media. Neoliberalism is a political, economic, and social philosophy that promotes the application of capitalist free market principles to the organization of civic and public life. This application is achieved through practices like the privatization of formerly public services, the development of economic policies that favor transnational corporations, and the identification of consumerism with the public good.

Neoliberalism provides the political, economic, and cultural rationalizations for globalization, a rich source of scholarship in contemporary curriculum studies. With the proliferation of information and communication technology and the



ease and speed by which people can traverse virtual and physical space, identities that historically have been positioned and essentialized as colonized Other are able to counter the hegemonic forces of globalization by rearticulating new, discursive forms of hybrid identity that complicate national, ethnic, racial, and cultural boundaries. Cultural studies provides a framework for extending the study of curriculum to include the cultural practices that reproduce and challenge the literal and figurative borders that circumscribe identity.

### Conclusion

In relation to curriculum studies, cultural studies provides a critical framework for theorizing and studying the relational intersection of curriculum, power, ideology, and identity. Cultural studies expands the study of curriculum beyond the formal curriculum of school knowledge to include the informal curricula of popular culture, mass media, and consumerism in their hidden, null, and overt forms. In addition, cultural studies highlights the role in-school and out-of-school curricula play in the construction of cultural and social identities. Its transdisciplinary, some would say antidisciplinary, approach to cultural practices of all kinds, particularly those of youth and popular culture, its theoretical diversity, and its methodological flexibility, make cultural studies well suited to furthering the boundaries of curriculum theorizing as innovations in media and technology spark new cultural forms and social practices and as globalization deepens the complexities and contradictions of cultural and social identity.

Patrick Roberts

*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Theory Research; Cultural Identities; Hegemony; Gramscian Thought; Identity Politics; Postcolonial Theory; Reproduction Theory; Resistance Theory; Semiotics

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## CURRERE

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The infinitive form of the noun *currere* emphasizes curriculum as a complicated conversation among teachers and students focused on texts and the concepts they communicate in specific places at particular historical moments. Before *currere*, curriculum was defined exclusively in institutional terms. As *currere*, the point of the

school curriculum is not necessarily to train public school students to become specialists in the academic disciplines or to produce accomplished test takers or to produce efficient and docile employees for business. As *currere*, the point of the school curriculum is to inculcate—through the communication and criticism of academic knowledge—a civic commitment that extends to the sustainability of the planet. As *currere*, the point of the school curriculum is to teach students to think and act with intelligence, sensitivity, and courage in both the public sphere—as citizens aspiring to establish a democratic society—and in the private sphere, as individuals committed to other individuals. So conceived, the curriculum becomes a historical event, changing over time as we participate in it, engage in its study, and act in response to it toward the realization of our civic ideals and private dreams. Curriculum ceases to be a thing, and it is more than a process: it becomes a verb, an action, a social practice, a private meaning, and a public hope. Curriculum as *currere* is not just the site of our labor, it becomes the product of our labor, changing as we are changed by it.

The method of *currere* is an autobiographical means to study the lived experience of individual participants in curricular conversation. There are four steps or moments in the method of *currere*: the (1) regressive, (2) progressive, (3) analytical, and (4) synthetical. The regressive focuses on the past, the progressive on the future, the analytic on understanding the significance of these, and the synthetical encourages self-mobilization for action in the public sphere. In theoretical terms, these phases depict both temporal and reflective movements for the autobiographical study of educational experience and suggest the modes of cognitive relationality between knower and known that might characterize the structure of educational experience.

In the regressive step or moment, one's apparently past existential experience is conceived as data source. The point here is not to recall the past from the point of view of the present, but to re-experience the past so that the pool of memory enlarges. In the second or progressive step one looks toward what is not yet present, a form of free association inviting fantasies of who one is not now, of what is felt to be missing, sought after, aspired to. In the analytical stage the student

examines both past and present. Etymologically, *ana* means up, throughout; *lysis* means a loosening. The analysis of *currere* is akin to phenomenological bracketing; one's distanciation from past and future functions creates a subjective space of freedom in the present in which one asks the following: What is this temporal complexity that presents itself to me as the present moment? In the synthetical step—etymologically *syn* means together; *tithenai* means to place—one re-enters the circumstance typifying the present. Listening carefully to one's own inner voice in the historical and natural world, one asks the following: What is the meaning of the present?

The autobiographic project of *currere* is to contradict presentism by self-consciously cultivating the temporal structures of subjectivity, a lived complexity in which difference does not dissolve onto a flattened presentistic social surface. Without the lived sense of temporality the method of *currere* encourages, we are consigned to that social surface, and what we see is what we get. When we listen to the past we become attuned to the future. Then we can understand the present, which we can reconstruct, after our analysis of it. Subjective and social reconstruction is the professional obligation of progressive educators, as practitioners of *currere*. The education of the U.S. public requires the cultivation of temporality as well as self-reflexivity, intellectuality, and erudition. The consequence of *currere* is an intensified subjective engagement with the world. Subjectivity takes form, achieves content and singularity, in the world, which is itself reconstructed by subjectivity's engagement with it.

*William F. Pinar*

*See also* Curriculum Theory; Reconceptualization

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## CURRICULUM, DEFINITIONS OF

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The term *curriculum* has numerous definitions. Some educators see the numerous and diverse definitions as a problem (confusion perpetuated, chaos within the field, etc.), while others suggest that when analyzed carefully, these definitions differ little. So why bother to address this cacophony of curriculum connotations?

In his 1992 interpretation of the field, Philip Jackson offered a clear and straightforward explanation for multiple curriculum definitions in relation to the growth of the curriculum field. For him, new definitions represent efforts to change or embellish the traditional meaning (and the one still commonly used) of course of study. John Dewey expanded upon this notion by introducing the learner's experience into the definition. For Dewey, the child or learner would be helped to encounter the curriculum (school subject or course of study) in a recursive, ongoing set of reconstructive engagements. In other words, the child and her or his experience would inevitably provide meaning to the curriculum. Later, Franklin Bobbitt maintained this centrality of experience as part of his curriculum definition and introduced several new elements that would remain in the definitional stew: the idea of location (in or out of school) and oversight (directed or undirected). Said differently, Bobbitt suggested that a curriculum is an entire range of experiences in its broadest sense and that only some of those experiences fall under the auspices of schooling. Further, these experiences outside of schools are both directed and undirected in nature. In his analysis of curriculum, Herbert Kliebard expanded upon Bobbitt's notions of curriculum by acknowledging undirected curriculum experiences such as the null or hidden curriculum.

Although efforts to alter and embellish the traditional definition of curriculum as course of study have continued since the turn of the 20th century, the experience-centered range established by Dewey and Bobbitt remains largely intact. As the field of curriculum studies became more popular and complex during the past century, curriculum definitions continued to reflect Bobbitt's 1918 range—from course of study (or permanent school subjects) at one end to all learning experiences throughout life

at the other. For more than a century, curriculum scholars produced new working definitions of curriculum, creating the field's definitional largesse. However, definitions do not come from curriculum scholars alone: every pedagogue, parent, pundit, policy maker, and politician has one, too. Today's conflicting definitions reflect different vantage points from which curriculum is engaged as well as different philosophies and foci regarding the relationship between schools and society. Moreover, the field is complex and understood in contradictory ways. In other words, the multiplication of curriculum definitions is not an urgent problem to be solved, but rather a state of affairs to be acknowledged as inevitable.

So why should curriculum workers concern themselves with the inevitable? The real purpose or value of a definition is its ability to clarify and explain one's understanding or position regarding curriculum. Of course, the motivation behind setting out one's position is to persuade others to choose this position or definition over another one—or at least to invite others into a shared understanding of one's own preferred definition and position toward some particular end. To accept this premise (i.e., that carefully articulating one's understanding of curriculum is done with the hope of persuading others to understand and embrace it) suggests that a curriculum conversation is constantly taking place among not only those with differing definitions of curriculum, but also those with differing vantage points and forums of engagement with curriculum. And while significant differences exist among these conversationalists (often based upon the nature of the curriculum work that they do), the more important questions in relation to curriculum definitions (and their respective arguments) have to do with which curriculum workers are actively participating in this larger conversation and toward what ends.

Thus, curriculum definitions cannot be seen outside the contexts of the work of those defining curriculum. How curriculum workers use language to understand what they do is as critical for the doing as it is for the understanding. Because curriculum definitions pertain to curriculum work and because that work is necessarily connected to the field, it is essential that curriculum workers recognize the vitality (or lack thereof) of curriculum in relation to schools and conversations about

work in schools. In short, curriculum workers must recognize the ways in which their definitions and conversations invite the participation of others in the field. Without this recognition, definitional progress and regress does little to expand the continuing conversation's audience beyond a collection of entrenched and relatively homogenous partisan enclaves.

Toward this end, the curriculum scholar with an earnest desire to define the field needs to wrestle with two critical concerns: First, how do the academic conversations within the field intersect to ensure coherence and potential for future growth as a field? Second, to what degree do these intellectual conversations intersect with the conversations of practitioners? In other words, to what degree do intellectual and practical conversations converge in meaningful ways?

Complex, conflicting, and sometimes contradictory curriculum conversations can generate meaningful definitions to inform the field. There are common denominators across time and curricular orientations that emerge as defining elements of this thing called curriculum when those definitions are normative. To the degree that definitions of curriculum have meaning and these meanings have significance in relation to schools, the definitions say something about the field, and they say something to the field. Conversely, to the degree that definitions merely categorize work in schools and offer no normative moorings, they serve no purpose beyond themselves. Curriculum workers can look to Dewey's work in *Democracy and Education* regarding communities to recognize the importance of meaning in curriculum work. When curriculum definitions have meaning to a wide range of curriculum workers, they invite meaningful actions.

One such common denominator for the field stems from the foundational works of Dewey and Bobbitt, in terms of both definitions and work: curriculum as experience. Although Dewey stated that curriculum was a course of study, he argued that there should be no gap between this course of study and the child's experiences. Bobbitt's focus shifted from current to future desired experiences (of adult life). The distinctions he saw emerging within the field (intended, unintended, null, enacted, etc.) further characterize the kinds of experiences learners have, while Hollis Caswell

and Doak Campbell defined curriculum as all of the experiences children have under the guidance of teachers. Ralph Tyler focused on selecting, organizing, and evaluating experiences based on deliberate purposes. Joseph Schwab challenged curriculum scholars in particular to renounce the field's retreat into theory and to create experiences through the art of the practical. Reconceptualist orientations have extended notions of curriculum to focus on the individual's encounter with experiences as critical theorists in the field focused more on the social context of experiences and how relations of power influence curriculum work. Those in the field who hold to a school-based focus for curriculum also addressed experiences—often within the context of democracy.

Contemporary definitions of curriculum as well as their absence from much of the practitioners' conversations in recent years pose challenges to the field. Although the word *curriculum* was closely tied to schooling through the 1980s, its use in the work of schools has declined since then. Regardless of the definition, the term curriculum itself has been seen less and less in the most popular professional journal for practitioners, *Educational Leadership*. Between 1974 and 2006, *Educational Leadership* had a 74% drop in the number of articles addressing curriculum matters. Further, those articles written by curriculum scholars representing the professors of curriculum group declined by 86% during that time. Finally, although earlier published articles focus more on curriculum theory, those appearing since the late 1980s focus largely on what-works applications with little to no attention given to substantive principles and theory.

Percentages aside, the nature of curriculum conversations in leading practitioner journals and books—and by association, in schools themselves—is now focused on curriculum standards, reform models, and prescriptive practices of mapping and aligning. The normative grounding of the field—its very ideological soul—appears absent from school-oriented curriculum conversations. The contemporary absence of meaningful definitions of curriculum from the work of schools has implications for curriculum scholars and practitioners alike. With this in mind, the significance of the field's experienced-based definitions (or more importantly, the lack thereof) is far more



important to ponder at this point in the field's maturation than the multiplicity of curriculum definitions per se.

*Donna Adair Breault and J. Dan Marshall*

See also *Democracy and Education*; Jackson, Philip W.; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Reconceptualization; Schwab, Joseph

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## CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The field of curriculum history, as the broader education history, is organized by traditions of intellectual and social history; the former is concerned with the organization and changes in ideas and the latter with ideas as representing institutional and social changes found in policy and the actual programmatic developments. Typically, the historical narratives are about the progressive hopes of democracy in national schooling and/or

its denials through issues of the social control and structural inequities.

Another approach is to view curriculum as a history of the present. Although it is easy and almost clichéd to say that the past is in the present and a historical understanding of schooling is needed, the placement of our self in time and space is a difficult and profound task. History is not the movement toward some form of reliable representation that tells us about children's growth, learning, or civic responsibilities. Nor is history the point that culminates in the present from which people learn about their domestication and that provides a temporal index for their future. History is the critical engagement of the present. Ironically, an effective history undertakes to suspend history itself by making visible the conditions that make possible the thought and actions of the present. For example, to talk about the child as a problem solver is not merely a category to help children learn and become better people. The pedagogical distinction of problem solving embodied a cultural thesis about a mode of living—that is, problem solving instantiates particular principles about how to order reflection and action. Historical rather than natural and inevitable, problem solving is a style of life historically produced and not something natural to the mind. As such, the principles ordering problem solving constitute the political nature of schooling by partitioning and governing the sensible (and sensitivities). Further, the rules and standards that order pedagogy embody comparative style of thought that differentiates, divides, and establishes differences in how one lives and should live. Today the narratives of the lifelong learner who problem solves differentiates the qualities of others who are spoken of as, for example, at-risk and disadvantaged, with the latter as different from the child who problem solves.

The discussion proceeds first with considering curriculum as converting ordinances, thinking of curriculum as related to Puritan notions of schooling as evangelizing and calculated designs on the souls of readers. The invocation of converting ordinances is to explore internationally the making of curriculum—narratives of national belonging and science coupled with salvation themes that generate cultural theses about modes of living. The early educational sociologies and psychologies of G. Stanley Hall, Edward L. Thorndike, and John



Dewey are discussed in the context of the pedagogy as converting ordinances. The second section discusses U.S. progressive education in a cross-Atlantic Protestant reformism concerned with the social question. The concerns of the social question were given expression in reform efforts. It embodied fears of urban moral disorder at the turn of the 20th century. Welfare policy and the new human sciences were to change the social conditions that also changed people—the poor, immigrants, and others of urban life. U.S. progressivism and progressive education cast the social question in expressions of reforms. The fears were double gestures of exclusion and inclusion. They expressed hopes of a cosmopolitan society and democracy through education; and simultaneously of the threats posed by the dangers and dangerous populations to that future. The final section explores the cultural theses generated in the formation of mathematics, literacy, and music curriculum.

This entry maintains that the history and study of curriculum are not merely the Spenserian question about what is selected, organized, and/or evaluated in schooling. Nor is it sufficient merely to ask the question “whose knowledge is of most worth.” Curriculum embodies particular systems of reason that generate cultural theses about modes of living. The study of curriculum history makes visible the grid of ideas, stories, and institutional practices through which principles are generated about what is known, done, and hoped for. Michel Foucault argues that an effective history is to deprive the self of the reassuring stability of life by uprooting traditional foundations and making fragile introduces discontinuity into our very being through taking what is commonplace and setting that knowledge, emotions, and instincts against itself. History is to cut rather than to understand. In this sense, the history of the present is simultaneously a strategy for curriculum study and curriculum theory.

### **Converting Ordinances: Providential Giving and the School Curriculum**

Schooling is designed to act on the spirit and the body of children and the young. If one looks at French and Portuguese pedagogy at the turn of the 20th century, the pedagogical sciences were constituted to observe and make visible the inner physical and moral life in order to map the spirituality

of the educated subject (the human soul). The new sciences of psychology were central to the design of the child. The French pedagogue Gabriel Compayré in 1885 asserted that pedagogy is an applied psychology and the sources of all the sciences are concerned with moral faculties. Pedagogy was the domain of psychology concerned with all the parts of the soul. The soul (re)visioned European religious concepts of the person as categories of the human mind. Changing the moral and rational qualities of the human mind through pedagogy was to ensure individual happiness and social progress.

The 19th century school was to systematically develop civic virtue in the actions of the individual. The pedagogy of the school, however, was ordered through (re)visioning the processes of the church’s confessional in early U.S. and European schooling. The confessional was a form of religious schooling by the preacher who provided pastoral care for the religious cultivation of the individual. In the new schooling, the catechism style of instruction of the confessional was transported into the state school as a technology of creating patriotic loyalty, morality, and republic civic virtue. The style of educating was to provide instruction in the concrete obligations of the individual and of the individual to others through the use of reason and science.

The catechism of Martin Luther’s Table of Duties, for example, provided a technology for Sweden’s modernizing of schooling until the 1800s. The Table of Duties was founded upon a patriarchal relationship between God and mankind as a father–child relationship in which the weak and sinful child needed education and guidance. Ecclesiastic and political estates were organized in a hierarchy of superiors to the economic estates of families and servants. The catechism of the tables instructed how husbands, wives, children, and common people would learn obedience and moral virtue to the patriarchal hierarchy of the estates. Heavily influenced by the Scottish enlightenment, Swedish moral philosophers presented the common duties of man as doctrines of knowing one’s duties to God, the individual, and to neighbors. Schooling was to provide for moral and civic virtues by producing agents of progress capable of self-guided rational action for the public good. The search for moral perfection also harbored fears about harnessing passions and self-interest that would work against the common good.

Nineteenth-century U.S. pedagogy was related to Puritan notions of education as converting ordinances in forming the greater corporate mission. The curriculum as converting ordinances reflected Puritan concerns with teaching as an evangelizing and calculated design on the souls of their readers. Drawing on John Calvin's notion of *curriculum vitæ*, or a course of life, education was to prepare children for the conversion experience that gave the individual moral behavior. Community was part of one's *curriculum vitæ*. The Puritans, for example, attached the status and attributes of personhood to an inner soul in which the ethical techniques of individual self-monitoring and control—consciousness and self-consciousness—were developed. Reason, logic, and method were learned to find proper restraint and moral behavior necessary for self-fulfillment and for the benefit of society as a whole. The individual's freedom was indivisible from the shared cultural world that gave unity to all of humankind.

The founding of the republic in the later 18th century inscribed pedagogy as converting ordinances. The nation was given providential character to the land and its people (or at least certain parts of its population) through religious phrases: the United States as the new world, its citizen as the chosen people, and manifest destiny. The providential character gave the new nation its exceptionalism in relation to other civilizations. It was the site of escaping the evils, disfigurements, and corruption of Old World Europe. The foundation stories in the beginning of the 20th century renarrated that exceptionalism as the nation as the apotheosis of cosmopolitan reason and the triumph of art and science in the liberation of the human spirit realized by the republic.

The new social and education sciences that emerged in U.S. progressivism embodied the foundation narratives of science and technology. U.S. exceptionalism, for example, was inscribed in the work of Charles Horton Cooley, an early sociologist who wrote about education. Cooley saw the United States as the spirit of the future order that would be totally different from anything before it. Evoking U.S. exceptionalism, Cooley wrote that the new industrial modernity of the United States was the first real democracy and was totally different from anything before it. The greatness of the nation was its emphasis on individuality and

innovation that was possible because the nation did not inherit the class culture and divisions of Old World Europe.

The narratives of the eternal promise of the nation were woven into child development and learning theories. Hall, a major figure in child studies, talked about the nation as the most advanced civilization that brings the completion of history through its ideals of freedom and democracy. For Thorndike, a leading educational psychologist, the goals of education followed the narratives of national exceptionalism. Science was discovering laws about the innate qualities of the individual to enable the U.S. Enlightenment hope of pursuing happiness. Education, Thorndike argued, was to shape the mind and the spirit so the individual can be responsible for her or his progress and trustful of her or his future.

The prophetic vision of exceptionalism was embodied in Dewey's pragmatism. Dewey saw no difference between a universalized notion of Christian values about the good works of the individual and the democracy of the nation. Dewey's prophetic vision of democracy linked the ethics of a generalized Christianity (Calvinism) to the progressive revelation of truth. Christianity as the ethical mode of reflection was embodied in democracy as the individual discovers the unfolding and conditional meaning of life.

The Christian Democracy, as Dewey called it in his early writing, emphasizes the triumph of reason and science in the calling of democracy. Analogous to Christ's teaching, democracy's spiritual meaning was in its notions of freedom as the continuous search for truth through loosening the bonds of tradition, wearing away restrictions of individual growth and development, and the breaking down of barriers and partitions that limit the possibilities of people. This relation of religion to democracy, Dewey argued, was to think of the latter's political process as a mode of life rather than as a machinery of government.

Dewey spoke of pedagogy through the prophetic language of Protestant reformism. Dewey declared that democracy is revelation, using a 19th-century belief in English moderate Calvinism. English Protestant Calvinists replaced rigidness with the coordination of doctrines of reason, natural religion, and revelation. Revelation rested on an awareness of God's accommodation or

condescension to time, place, and particular mentalities in creating the moral good. Democracy as revelation was to promote a mode of living ordered by an open mindedness. Dewey's habits of the mind and notions of problem solving, experimentation, community, and action, central concepts of pragmatism, gave a concrete form to curriculum as revelation and a converting ordinance to secure the possibilities of the future. Science was the process that enabled children to think and act democratically as moral beings in the search for truth in an uncertain world. For Dewey, the scientific method was to free individuals from the unreflective habits produced through subjection to instinct, appetite, and routines.

The educational sociologies and psychologies of progressivism, though having different epistemological relations to the individual and society, overlapped with the commitment to science as planning for the future and pedagogy as converting ordinances. Science, however, operated in two related qualities in the curriculum. First, science calculated and ordered the social administration of change. That planning for change also entered the curriculum as cultural theses about how the child is to and should live in everyday existence. This second quality of science was embedded in the theories of children's learning, development, and growth that ordered pedagogy to generate cultural theses about reflection and action in daily life, such as to learn or to design the future through problem solving. The curriculum, one might argue, made practical and useful scientific ways of thinking (habits of the mind) for ordering immediate and intimate interactions and relations.

### **The Social Question of Progressivism: Science and the Fear of Dangerous Populations**

Important to progressive education and its sciences of pedagogy was the social question. The social question, what German social theorists called *Die Soziale Frage* in the 19th century, focused on the moral disorder and fears of the city. European and North American reform movements were to ameliorate the physical, social, and moral conditions through planned intervention. Reforms would identify the causes of alcoholism, delinquency, and prostitution, among other practices, that violated the presumed norms of civility. Reform efforts

included poor relief, public ownership of urban transportation, city street planning and zoning, wage labor protection, public and modern housing, and mass schooling.

The social question provides a backdrop for the reason that order progressive education. It is not merely of the temporal index of the development of schooling, but within broader international social and cultural formations. Phrased in a democratic rhetoric, progressive schooling was an urban reform movement that responded to and embodied the social question. It was to produce a like-minded U.S. community and to make able, virtuous individuals who give the United States its destiny. The progressive desire for a virtuous society, however, continually inscribed threats to that community. Criticism of the school curriculum brought to the forefront questions about learning the skills and dispositions that would enable urban children to become productive citizens and brought simultaneously fears of the dangers and dangerous populations to the presumed social unity. The high failure rate and pressures on children not able enough, one critic of the teaching of algebra argued, produced pressures that injured the mind of the children, destroyed their health, and wrecked their lives. Others complained about disturbing harmony and consensus through, for example, teaching girls mathematics, which would make them lose their souls and their happiness and contentment in the home.

The pedagogical sciences of education, as part of the emergence of the social sciences, were directed to planning urban life by changing urban populations. The search for civic virtue and its dangers were embodied in Lester Frank Ward's *The Dynamics of Sociology*; he was a founding member of the Chicago School of Sociology and colleague of Dewey. Ward's sociology gave attention to efforts to artificially intervene and civilize the immigrant family. Ward argued that education needs to foster the universal and absolute values that would serve to neutralize noncivilized qualities or there would be a lowering of all of society. Education was to socialize the uncivilized classes and make the savage person whose emotions guide actions into someone who orders life through the reason of the intellect. Edward Ross, in *The Principles of Sociology*, saw the school as the most important instrument to contain the threat of the

growing diversity of the U.S. population. Ross argued that the United States relied on the little red school house to undo immigrants' modes of living and to disseminate the ideas and ideals embodied in U.S. exceptionalism. The social cohesion was to prevent disruptive ideas represented in the Bolshevik revolution or the idea of employers as exploiters. These dividing practices are to be counteracted with the pride in and spread of American ideas.

The moral reform of urban life was placed into psychological registers of pedagogy. Thorndike's studies of children's learning, for example, were bound to the social question. Education was to ensure that children study those subjects in order to provide them with health, to escape poverty, and to have a more decent life including engaging in more decent leisure activities. The good will of men can be created and intensified, Thorndike argued, through identifying the facts and laws that would order how races should be treated, guide the writing of legislation for criminals and their dependents, and to provide care for public health and family. Psychology was influenced by Darwinism in providing a science of the individual that directs statesmanship and social control. Thorndike's psychology incorporated a hereditary view of intelligence that was moral in character and functioned to differentiate races.

The concern with urban life brought into the foreground notions of community in the new sociologies and psychologies of the family and childhood. The notion of community in the Chicago School of Sociology, for example, adapted German social theories about the fall and resurrection of the city as a center of culture, belonging, and home. Embraced was a nostalgic pastoral vision of community where face-to-face interactions of neighbors established trust prior to modernity. That pastoral vision enabled individuals to come closest to nature and God in contrast with modern society where its abstract relations destroyed trust and the moral order. Cooley's concept of community, for example, was a regulatory principle to think patterns of small community interactions in urban relations that would eliminate the alienating qualities of modernity.

Dewey and his Chicago colleague George Herbert Mead placed the individual in processes of mediation and self-realization in domains of community. Mead's social interactionism revised

the pastoral image in an urban idea of community that would not do violence to liberal democratic values. Dewey's notions of intelligent action, problem solving, and community provided a strategy to link individual actions to face-to-face interactions and communications as a mode of life in industrial conditions.

The new sciences of pedagogy through which the curriculum was shaped and fashioned embodied inscriptions to govern individual lives, and to carry out responsibilities that are not only for self-development and growth, but also for standardized public virtues. The invention of a range of technologies enabled the family and the school to inscribe the norms of public duty while not destroying its private authority. These technologies linked public objectives about good health and the moral order of the social body with individual personal health and well-being.

The significance of the science of pedagogy as double gestures was not that it was the intent of the reforms to exclude or abjure. Just the opposite! What is at stake are the rules and standards of reason that ordered different strands of progressive education, such as given expression by Hall, Dewey, and Thorndike. The standards and rules that order the reason of pedagogy inscribed distinctions, differentiations, and divisions in a continuum of values. Schooling and its sciences of curriculum design instantiated a comparative style of thought that differentiated and divided.

### Alchemy of School Subjects

This entry now pursues the previous arguments through examining a central aspect of curriculum, the school subjects. Contemporary U.S. and European teacher education reform focus on the teaching of school subjects as important to improving the quality of teaching and for a more equitable school. The reforms call for teachers to have greater subject content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. The view of school reform, some argue, takes for granted the system of reason that orders curriculum and its converting ordinances that embody cultural theses about who the child is, should be, and those outside the spaces of normalcy.

The idea of school subjects was, in one sense, an invention of the 19th century. The early decades of the 19th-century school curriculum were linked to



the names of the books read. For example, high school students were to read two books of Caesar and three of Virgil for the study of Latin. Colleges prescribed what books students should read in English for their admission and for the examinations that were given for entrance up to at least 1885. By the first decades of the 20th century, school subjects formed around particular disciplinary knowledge with the new sciences of psychology providing its pedagogical principles.

The changes in the principles organizing school subjects can be considered as analogous to alchemy of 16th- and 17th-century alchemists and occult practitioners who sought to transform base metals into pure gold. Like alchemy, pedagogy is a practice that magically transforms sciences, social science, and humanities into school subjects. Processes of translation are necessary as children are not scientists or concert musicians. What are at issue are the particular inscription devices or intellectual tools that translate and order school subjects.

When examined, the particular rules and standards for teaching school subjects of mathematics, literacy, music, and social studies education had more to do with the converting ordinances of pedagogy rather with pedagogies for learning disciplinary practices. The selection and organization of school subjects was, at one level, to bestow moral grace on the nation and the promise of progress. Although seeming far-fetched today, school textbooks in the 19th century taught geometry and chemistry as bringing progress to the lands of the west through their use in mining and smelting. Chemistry, wrote Edward L. Youman, a founder of *Popular Science Monthly*, taught individuals to be industrious through connecting science to daily experience and its conditions of life and death. The sciences, Youman argued, make visible the sublime plan by which God created and manages the world. Geology taught the truths of Genesis, and zoology provided learning of classifications that placed man at the top of nature's hierarchy. Children's understanding of scientific laws was to bring people closer to God and to increase their productivity through their learning about how life and death were shaped through the chemical process that started life and ended with dust.

With the turn of the 20th century, secular themes of salvation were embodied in school subjects. The curriculum of science, mathematics, literature, and

history were to improve mankind and develop a world community centered from the narratives of the nation and salvation themes of Protestant reformism. Mathematics education, for example, was seen as a practical subject that students needed for understanding everyday activities as well as necessary for practical pursuits of building homes, roads, and trade. Studies of arithmetic were to enable democracy to work through enabling people in the pursuit of happiness. Arithmetic provided a way to order life through bringing scientific reasoning and give relevance to the world through the logic of mathematical relations.

The teaching of school subjects in mass schooling was opened up to the inarticulate and illiterate of the working classes and immigrants. Thomas Jesse Jones, associated with the urban settlement house movement to assist immigrant and poor populations and chair of the 1916 report *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, spoke optimistically of the "Negro and Indian races" as not being able to develop properly, but now able to do so through education. English as a subject in the English school has a similar historical trajectory. It was related to the governmental provisions for social welfare. The narrative structures and ethical messages of literary texts were to help the reader become a moral agent who embodied cosmopolitan values of civility. The rules of moral conduct were accomplished by making the stories of literature relevant to the everyday experiences of working-class children. Relevancy was to show how the rules and standards for moral conduct could be practiced in daily life.

Seemingly with different public priorities than science and social studies, the inception of school music in Boston during the 1830s linked the tradition of singing in Prussian schools to the governance of the urban child. Horace Mann, secretary of the newly created Massachusetts Board of Education, wrote in his 1844 "Report to the Boston School Committee" that the harmony of song in vocal instruction provided the child with the model for the child's own self-regulation in society. Mann discussed music education in relation to the risks of epidemic disease. Vocal instruction was to provide regimens to stimulate circulation that would give moral as well as physical health to poor urban populations. Teaching the proper songs would remove the emotionalism of tavern



and revival meetings and regulate the moral conditions of urban life with a higher calling related to the nation.

Music appreciation joined vocal instruction by the beginning of the 20th century. The curriculum was to eliminate juvenile delinquency, among other evils of society. Its prescriptions for comportment entailed the avoidance of degenerate characteristics associated with racial and immigrant populations. Physiological psychology about the proper amount of stimulation for the brain and body was coupled with notions of musical aesthetics, religious beliefs, and civic virtue. Singing, for example, was to give expression to the home life of industriousness and patriotism that was set against racial stereotypes of Blacks and immigrants. Minstrelsy, a satiric version of Black music and spirituals, was contrasted with the complexity of music of European civilization. A medical expert in the 1920s, employed by the Philadelphia High School for Girls, described jazz (by this time a rubric that included ragtime) as causing disease in young girls and society as a whole. Psychology was deployed to create a scale of value that compared immature or primitive humans' development with those of fully endowed capacity that corresponded to race and nationality. The attentive listener was one who embodied the cosmopolitan mode of the civilized life. In teaching manuals, the child who did not learn to listen to the music in a particular way was "distracted", a determinate category bound to moral and social distinctions about the child as a drifter, a name caller, a gang joiner, a juvenile offender, a joke maker, or a potential religious fanatic, having acute emotional stress and an intense interest in sex.

### The History in the Study of Curriculum

The focus on the system of reason is to make visible the overlapping of salvation narratives, sciences of the child, and providential quality of the nation in the curriculum. These different historical practices come together in the curriculum as cultural theses about modes of life. Further, curriculum embodied a comparative style of thought that generated double gestures of cosmopolitan hope for and fear of the dangerous populations. The study of curriculum as systems of reason also provides a strategy which to see the conditions that

connect and made possible different historical icons such as Hall, Dewey, and Thorndike.

The history of the present is a strategy to consider the very foundations of the present that are taken for granted and accepted as natural and inevitable. The possibilities of change are in locating the continuities and discontinuities in the rules and standards of reason. The double gesture of hope and fear, for example, brings to the surface the cultural theses that govern the present. This double gesture is spoken about today through the phrase that all children can learn. The *all* (re)visions the social question through recognizing and making difference. The intent of such phrases is for an equitable society. The unity of the whole inscribed in the word *all* instantiates and divides all children from the child who is urban, at risk, disadvantaged, and the immigrant.

This moving to the present, however, are not to suggest the repeating and replicating of the double gestures of the social question. The historical trajectories of today are not the sum of the parts, nor is there a singular evolutionary origin. Today's reason has different assemblies, connections and disconnections in the making of the child and differences.

The rules and standards of reason are the political of schooling. The political is embodied in the partitioning of the sensible as the distinctions and differentiations of the curriculum ordered what was seen, thought about, and acted on. This notion of the political is given expression by the anthropologist Paul Rabinow. Knowledge, he argues, is simultaneously conceptual, political, ethical, and aesthetic. It is conceptual in that one needs concepts to order and classify what is thought about and looked at. It is political in the sense that thought is directed to acting on life and the categories and distinctions of thought are made possible by social conditions. That practice of reflection may be singular, but it is never merely of the individual. Thought embodies the historical conditions in which thought is made possible. Knowledge is ethical, he continues, as it entails questions about what is good in life. And finally, all action is aesthetic as it is shaped and presented to others.

Although the focus was on the U.S. progressive education reforms, the reason of curriculum as converting ordinances was not merely a national phenomenon, but circulated in the formation of

the modern school, albeit with different sets of principles and historical connections. Focusing historically on the rules and standards of reason is a strategy to see the limits of the present through making observable the principles governing what is known, seen, and acted on.

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*See also* Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of

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## CURRICULUM, THE

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John Franklin Bobbitt's *The Curriculum*, appearing in 1918, was the first book published in the United States on the subject of curriculum. It is the most frequently cited book on curriculum in the field of U.S. educational history.

When he published the book, Bobbitt was a professor of educational administration at the University of Chicago. He completed his PhD degree in education at Clark University in 1909 and then accepted a position at the University of Chicago, where he remained until his retirement in 1941. *The Curriculum* was heavily influenced

by the industrial context in which it was written. Bobbitt based his views on the work of Frederick Winslow Taylor, specifically his book *Principles of Scientific Management*. Taylor's text, published in 1911, was written to make industrial plants more efficient by generating more production from workers. Taylor advocated the use of time and motion studies, empirical research, and top-down management. Although intended for use primarily in industry (particularly steel plants), advocates of Taylor's system applied his views to numerous fields such as medicine, agriculture, and even the ministry. Bobbitt's *The Curriculum* was the first book to take Taylor's methods and apply them to curriculum.

Bobbitt begins the book by discussing contemporary controversies surrounding educational philosophy. He discusses two views that he sees vying for control over the purpose of schooling, one based on culture and the other based on utility. Proponents of culture as the end of education, says Bobbitt, argue that the goal of education should be to cultivate citizens who have the ability to live. These educators want to emphasize learning for its own sake and the strengthening of the powers of the mind. They also have little concern for utility or the practical outcomes of schooling. On the other hand, supporters of utility as the end of education propose that the goal of education is to create students who have the ability to produce. These advocates assert that schools should prepare students to perform their daily activities efficiently, so as to create practical citizens who can cooperate with their fellow citizens in effective and cooperative ways. Bobbitt states that both of these views hold value, but a complete reading of his book indicates that he was clearly on the side of those who favored utility. In the battles waged over the purpose of education, *The Curriculum*, in fact, was one of the most powerful books from the 20th century on the side of vocational training.

The most enduring aspect of *The Curriculum* can be found in his chapter titled "Scientific Method in Curriculum-Making." Bobbitt's plan has been repeated countless times, albeit in slightly different forms, since the time he published it. It can be summarized in five steps. The first is to study the daily activities of adults. The basis for curriculum is found in what adults do every day. Curriculum workers (or discoverers, as Bobbitt

calls them) are to study adult activities in order to catalogue what they do, including the knowledge they possess, the terms they use, the problems they solve, the skills they employ, and the ambitions they exhibit. In deciding who to study, curriculum workers, moreover, are to find the most efficient adults, not just anyone. The second step is to take the information that curriculumists have collected and prioritize this information into objectives for the schools. Third, curriculumists are to identify the students who, based upon ability and interest, will most likely fulfill the various adult roles upon graduation. Fourth, once these students have been identified using intelligence tests or other means, the curriculum is differentiated for each group of students so as to train them for their adult roles. Finally, curriculum specialists are to study students once they have become adults to assess whether or not the curriculum they completed prepared them efficiently for their daily activities. This evaluation is then taken into account when devising future curriculum plans.

*The Curriculum* was popular in the eyes of many educational reformers, but it also received criticism. Critics claimed that Bobbitt narrowed the ends of education by focusing so heavily on occupational training. Critics also charged that Bobbitt relied too heavily on the current activities of adults and thereby left little or no room for social change. In a book he published in 1941, *Curriculum of Modern Education*, Bobbitt acknowledged these shortcomings and even repudiated much of what he argued in *The Curriculum*. Nevertheless, the system he describes in the book has remained influential for almost a century.

J. Wesley Null

See also Activity Analysis

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## CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY CONFERENCE

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The Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference is a small North American conference with the stated goal of bringing together curriculum theory with curriculum practice, academic discourse with the discourse of K–12 school practitioners, and teacher educators with teachers, school administrators, and graduate students and doing so through larger themes of the arts, social justice, and public moral leadership. In addition to these goals for the content of the conference, organizers also sought to ensure that the process of running the conference reflected democratic values through elections, transparency of finances, and procedures. It was organized by a small group of curriculum scholars including James Sears, Dan Marshall, Jim Henderson, Kathleen Kesson, Patrick Slattery, Kris Sloan, Louise Allen, Tom Kelly, and Susan Edgerton, as an outgrowth of the Conference for Curriculum Theorizing (also known as Bergamo Conference) and in collaboration with the Arts-Based Research in Education special interest group from the American Educational Research Association, Division B, Curriculum.

The first conference took place in October 2000 and was held at Camp Balcones Springs Retreat and Conference Center outside of Austin, Texas. Since that time it has been held annually at several different locations, usually in October. The conference moves to a new location every other year. Revenue comes from registration and membership fees, which include the price of the published proceedings, and from sponsorship of various academic institutions that change from year to year.

Each year the conference selects a theme. For example, the title for 2001 was “In(Ex)clusion: (Re)visioning the Democratic Ideal.” Each year’s conference is further organized into strands, with the 2001 strands being collaborative writing project, social action project, and arts-based research project. The title for 2008 was “Complicated Conversations and Confirmed Commitments: Revitalizing Education for Democracy,” which was concerned, in part, with the conflict between discourses of standardization and the values of progressive education for democratic values. Strands that accompanied this theme were arts and

alternative inquiry for social change, mentoring, public moral leadership, social action then and now, theory in motion, transformative curriculum development, and making meaning of research, measurement, and assessment.

The conference has also published a book each year with Educators International Press consisting of selected, peer-reviewed papers or presentations based on the year's conference theme. An elected governing council selects the coeditors of the book each year on the basis of submitted proposals. A new peer review committee is also selected each year. The conference also sponsors the *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, which has been published twice a year since 2004.

*Susan Huddleston Edgerton*

*See also* Arts-Based Research; Bergamo Conference, The; Curriculum Theory; *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*

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#### Web Sites

Curriculum and Pedagogy Group: <http://www.curriculumandpedagogy.org>

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## CURRICULUM AND TEACHING DIALOGUE

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*Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* is a scholarly journal of the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum. As such, it is one of several key journals that advance curriculum studies through provision of refereed articles on curriculum studies. Other major journals that deal exclusively

with curriculum studies are *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, and *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* began to be published in 1998 and emphasizes five types of manuscripts: selected conference papers, open submission papers, book reviews, letters to the editor, and a dialogue column.

The journal guidelines for submitting manuscripts include the following: one original hard copy of the manuscript with the title, submission category, name, and contact information of the author; one abstract of 75 words or less; biographies of the authors; an electronic copy of the manuscript, abstract, and biography (in Word format) sent via e-mail to [ctdjournal@jmu.edu](mailto:ctdjournal@jmu.edu); use of a 12-point font, double-spaced text, and page limits depending on category of submission; references in American Psychological Association style; any tables, figures, or graphs should be attached at the end of the manuscript with specific program used to create them noted and with place in manuscript indicated; and a self-addressed, stamped envelope for notification of manuscript arrival.

This journal's uniqueness is that it acknowledges a transactional quality between curriculum and teaching that is captured by the term *dialogue*. This assumption holds that curricular attributes are embedded within teaching and that teaching implicitly and explicitly embodies curricular positions. In order to understand curriculum and teaching, curriculum studies must explore the dynamic interplay between these two powerful conceptions in theory and in action. Pieces published in *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* focus on exploration and inquiry pertaining to such matters.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* *Curriculum Inquiry*; *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*; *Journal of Curriculum Studies*; *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*

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## CURRICULUM AS PUBLIC SPACES

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Curriculum as public space can be thought of as an attempt to broaden the sense of education in a way such that every member of society can develop and use all of his or her capacities and powers without



infringing upon the basic conditions or rights of others. The classroom—society itself—becomes an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

In 1963, a young civil rights worker proposed to create a network of Freedom Schools across the South as a way to re-energize and refocus the civil rights movement. He noted that although Black people had been denied many things—decent facilities, fully trained teachers, forward-looking curriculum—the fundamental injury was a denial of the right to think for themselves about the conditions of their lives, how they came to be the way they were, and how they might be changed. This idea initiated a public curriculum of questions: Why are we in the freedom movement? What do we want that we do not have? What do we have that we want to keep? Pursuing these questions, teachers taught the three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic) and so much more: how to take oneself seriously as a thinking person; how to locate one's life in the contexts of culture and history, political power, and economic condition; and how to imagine and then actively work toward a new society.

Over the next several years Freedom Schools were launched all over the country, and not just in schools, but in community centers, churches, parks, and coffee shops—in fact, in any space where people gathered together to face one another in dialogue. It was sometimes wild and unruly, always noisy and diverse, and yet it had several common edges: teachers and leaders became students of their students, the extraordinary ordinary people; students were active participants in their own learning rather than the inert and passive receptacles of someone else's ideas; consumers became citizens and objectified people transformed themselves into subjects and history makers; teaching and learning was recast as having a larger purpose than occupational training—the fullest participation possible in the world we share, including the development of capacities to change ourselves and to change that world. People got a taste then of curriculum as public space, curriculum characterized by its open access and its propulsive midwifery properties.

In many ways, Martin Luther King, Jr. was the emblematic practitioner of curriculum as public space. He performed on a vast stage, and indeed his classroom was all of society; he asked in a thousand ways what was of most value, what was

fair and just; he urged voyages and transformations for himself and for participants in the Black freedom movement and for all within the sound of his voice or the sight of his activities; he grew and changed as conditions evolved and developed.

Curriculum is, of course, never neutral—it always has a value, a position, and a politics. For humanists, the value of education and curriculum is its identity with the general quest for human enlightenment and human liberation. Its driving principle is the unity of all humanity, the conviction that every human being is of incalculable value, entitled to decent and universal standards concerning freedom and justice and education, and that any violations, deliberate or inadvertent, must be resisted.

The relationship between education, curriculum, and freedom is deep, intrinsic, and profound—they are essentially the same thing. Both concern themselves with the fullest expression of human development. To the extent that people reflect upon their lives and become more conscious of themselves as actors in the world, they insert themselves as subjects in history, constructors of the human world, and they enact and express themselves, then, as free human beings.

Curriculum and education are arenas of struggle as well as hope—struggle because they stir in us the need to look at the world anew, to question what we have created, to wonder what is worthwhile for human beings to know and experience—and hope because they gesture toward the future, toward the impending, toward the coming of the new. This is where we ask how we might engage, enlarge, and change our lives, and it is, then, where we confront our dreams and struggle over notions of the good life, where we try to comprehend, apprehend, or possibly even change the world. Curriculum as public space is a natural site of contestation—sometimes restrained, other times in full eruption—over questions of justice.

*William C. Ayers*

*See also* Freedom Schools; Social Justice

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## CURRICULUM AS SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE

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The phrase “curriculum as spiritual experience” can be defined as whatever brings an individual into heightened awareness of her or his relationship with the Infinite, the reality that lies beyond all thinking. However, many other definitions are both possible and plausible, depending on differing points of view about underlying ideas, beliefs, and assumptions.

The curriculum is commonly conceived as identical to or synonymous with the course of study, a body of material presented to the student to learn. As such, it is something that can be planned and written down, can remain forever unchanging, and can exist independently of the consciousness of the student. However, as John Dewey made clear during the first half of the 20th century, the curriculum can also be conceived in a deeper way, as the experience of the student in response to the course of study (or, in a larger sense, in response to the entire environment of the school, or even in the largest possible sense, in response to everything that happens to an individual throughout an entire lifetime). In this latter conception, the curriculum is the individual, ever-changing, and sometimes conscious experience of the student. A major dilemma for the field of curriculum studies lies in determining which of these two concepts to adopt. What, for example, is gained and lost by each? Can, in fact, both concepts of curriculum be held simultaneously or sequentially? What do such questions about the fundamental nature of curriculum studies imply about classroom practice?

All curriculum is experience, and all experience is spiritual. This statement is not conjecture based on Dewey. It is true because any curriculum is a way of apprehending the world, and all ways of apprehending the world are incomplete. Thus, there is always some sense of mystery about experience, something that is beyond human perceptions or ability to comprehend, such as the infinitude of time and space within which each person lives a finite life. Spiritual experience—or

more simply, spirituality—is that part of one’s life that brings one into increasing awareness of one’s relationship with the Infinite. The relationship is always there, within the mystery of individual experience whether one is aware of it or not. The task of any specific curriculum is to draw the student into a deepening awareness of the student’s relationship with the Infinite, reality, God, or any other name one chooses to put upon that fundamental, underlying truth about living. Depending on the dispositions of individual students, this task may be approached in a variety of ways. For instance, one student may be captured by the beauty and logic of mathematics; another, by the complexities of Shakespeare’s worldview.

To be spiritual means three things: being in a relationship, being aware of that relationship, and being open to change because of that relationship. The relationship is with the Infinite, of course, the never-ending expanse of time and space, of everything beyond oneself that cannot be fully comprehended rationally. Some people recognize the relationship more directly and fully than do others. Those who most recognize the relationship stand in awe before the ultimate mysteries of the universe. When this recognition has reached a sufficient level of intensity, that which may have been recognized intuitively and directly may become conscious awareness. As Maxine Greene has pointed out for curriculum studies, intuitive experience, conscious experience, and aesthetic experience can merge into one grand way of comprehending reality. Therefore, curriculum studies must conceive itself as comprehensively as possible and remain ever-attentive to how students may be led toward increasingly transcendent forms of experiencing.

Conscious awareness of this spiritual relationship, therefore, opens the individual to change, an inevitability of living. Among writers within curriculum studies, Dwayne Huebner has most profoundly described the full sequence of relationship, awareness, and change, noting that the curriculum should provide opportunities for students to encounter Otherness, the potentially frightening unknown, but which, once embraced, leads on to ever-deeper transformations of experience.

*George Willis*

*See also* Mythopoetics; Theological Research

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## CURRICULUM AUDITING

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Curriculum auditing refers to the practices, language, and values of audit culture as these are applied to curriculum, defined as the design, delivery, and evaluation of the formal content of K–higher education. Although the first known use of a curriculum audit, titled an educational performance audit, occurred in 1979 in the Columbus, Ohio, school district, curriculum auditing was initially formulated in the early 1970s as a way to establish public trust in schools by introducing auditing practices used in financial sectors. These practices were meant to ensure objectivity in evaluating the efficiency and performance of school curriculum. A curriculum audit replaces questions about the truth, beauty, and goodness of a curriculum and its social and political context, with questions about the planning, evaluation, effectiveness, and efficiency of the curriculum. In other words, a curriculum audit does not concern itself with the content or context of curriculum, but with how and to what extent curriculum is developed and successfully implemented. Furthermore, the measures used to monitor implementation and determine success are numerical and require the emplacement of a regulatory system that monitors the system itself. In other words, not only must there be in place practices that generate numerical data, but a self-monitoring system must exist to aggregate, disaggregate, make sense of, and employ the data produced to improve the curriculum and its delivery.

Informed by effective-schools research and organizational theory, both of which evaluate school practices and policies in terms of curriculum design and delivery and draw conclusions about curriculum quality control, a curriculum

audit typically involves monitoring the extent to which particular standards are met. These standards are generally phrased in terms of the following: control, which refers to the clarity and flow of information within the overall chain of command of a school's curricular decision-making process; curricular direction, which refers to the overarching and specific performance objectives designated within and shaping the curriculum; connectivity and equity, which refer generally to the alignment between policy and operation and more specifically the alignment among courses, methods, outcomes, and to the equitable division of resources among all students; feedback or assessment, which refers to the data aggregation system that provides feedback and drives curricular decisions; and production, which refers to the extent to which the budget is driven by curricular needs.

A curriculum audit measures to what extent these standards are met. In order to measure success, each standard is broken down into discrete elements that can be measured. In other words, to answer, for example, whether there is proof that the chain of command used data generated by assessments to improve the curriculum, there needs to be evidence not only of change in curriculum but improvement based on quantitative data. To determine whether courses are aligned such that performance indicators incrementally demand more at each grade level, evidence must be produced of syllabi including performance objectives and of developmental consistency of objectives across grade level. To show that a feedback loop is in place such that teachers can benefit from data produced by standardized assessments, interpreted within the chain of command and returned to those teachers, improvement across time on scores on individually benchmarked assessments might be asked for.

Some curriculum theorists have been critical of curriculum audits for several reasons. They argue that the emphasis on performance indicators that can produce numerical data leads to an overdependence on tests as assessments. They suggest that a curriculum audit is part of the larger audit culture that promotes and is informed by neoliberal and free market economic interests that contradict the ideals of public education. They suggest that by applying fiduciary auditing practices to the curriculum, the curriculum audit reduces knowledge and

learning to information, test performance, and numbers. They argue curricular audits perpetuate instrumental and bureaucratic logics that sacrifice content for efficiency and privilege a cost-benefit analysis of curriculum. Finally, they argue that contrary to the objectivity claimed by supporters of curricular audits, a curriculum audit elides the historical, political, ethical, aesthetic, and social influences shaping the curriculum and thus perpetuates the status quo. Proponents of the curriculum audit counter that standards and accountability are central to developing the curriculum and that because the best approach to the curriculum continues to utilize versions of the Tyler Rationale, a scope and sequence approach, and performance outcomes, a curriculum audit that measures these remains the most efficient way to evaluate curriculum.

*Peter M. Taubman*

See also Audit Culture; Outcome-Based Education; Tyler Rationale, The

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## CURRICULUM BOOKS

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Surely it is must be a daunting task to write about 100 years of curriculum books. But in the second edition of their seminal work, *Curriculum Books*, William H. Schubert, Ann Lynn Lopez Schubert, Thomas P. Thomas, and Wayne M. Carroll offer at once a masterful resource for those studying curriculum literature while at the same time providing scholars and practitioners with a reflective work on the study of curriculum as grounded in social history. Each chapter of the book details a

decade of curriculum history combining the information along with the social, political, and the cultural events of the time period. The first edition also presents a categorization of three dominant schools of curriculum thought and a fourth category was added in the second edition. These schools of thought remain as viable today in analyzing schooling in general and curriculum work in general.

The authors set forth in their introduction the premise that curriculum is focused on the human journey that produces learning as a result. In addition, they state that the work puts forth a historical consciousness for curriculum inquiry. They ask the reader to consider the needs of learners and the content of the activity that can help them acquire the experiences that will prompt further learning. This type of learning then should ideally result in not right answers but rather in providing insights to further points of inquiry and to more questions. They end their introduction with a series of queries that are even more poignant today than when the second edition was published in 2002, culminating with this point: Will there continue to be histories about curriculum thought in the twenty-first century?

Given the political environment that has engulfed public education since the last decade of the 20th century, the view of curriculum thought between the scholar and practitioner is now as wide a chasm as ever when examined within the context of the field's history of the past 100 years. Schooling has been co-opted by the corporatization of U.S. education through book publishers, testing companies, and the federal government's No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) that has now established that learning is all about taking a test and getting the one right answer. Many see education and by extension, curriculum, as ripe for change. Educational management organizations are often touted as the answer for underperforming schools in poor school districts, with the emphasis on financial returns rather than on learning and developing students as critical members of society. Perhaps ironically, the various schools of curriculum thought still tend to be in evidence today—some more so than others, especially the social behaviorist tradition because there has been an obvious bonanza for testing and publishing companies that create test-taking packages as well as supplemental service providers such as

Sylvan and Kaplan, whose revenue has doubled since NCLB was passed.

In this environment, there is no room for multiple questions or multiple right answers. The power and influence for crafting lessons and curriculum now rests with those far removed from the classroom. Even when practitioners confront some version of curriculum study in a graduate program, many are confounded by its lack of specificity, its lack of one and only one definition of curriculum, and initially see no connection between schooling and democracy. They seek what has come to be the comfort of the chains of standards, testing, and pacing guides that regiment their times with students in bowing to the all-mighty achievement test.

In considering the current state of curriculum, one then might answer the authors that there will be few, if any, histories about curriculum in the 21st century. But if we believe that curriculum is focused on the human journey, then we know the information age offers hope because there are so many new avenues other than schools through which to acquire knowledge: television, the Internet, video, music, the arts, and museums. To remain a practical field, then, in this century and beyond, curriculum workers must keep alive the questions of what is worth knowing, doing, and being with the greater quest being how to learn to live a moral and just life with others. Yes, there will be curriculum histories but they will likely have a broader vision of schooling than the first 100 years of the field has done.

*Louise Anderson Allen*

*See also* Social Efficiency Tradition; Social Meliorists Tradition; Synoptic Textbooks; Teacher-Proof Curriculum; Traditionalist Perspective; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## CURRICULUM CANADA, PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR CURRICULUM STUDIES

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Curriculum Canada, Proceedings of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies is a publication series of selected papers presented by curriculum researchers at Curriculum Canada national invitational symposia. The main objective of the symposia was to stimulate and foster focused discussion and debate on the field of curriculum studies in particular relation to the context of Canada. The symposia and the published proceedings are significant for the field of curriculum studies, because they represent a concerted departure by Canadian curriculum scholars from foreign curriculum models. Within the symposia and their proceedings, curriculum scholars highlighted locally meaningful definitions of curriculum and the field of curriculum studies, illustrated various methodologies for conducting curriculum research, considered some of the challenges of curriculum practice and theory in Canada, and disseminated findings of Canadian curriculum inquiry.

The Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies sponsored seven Curriculum Canada symposia between 1979 and 1986 in conjunction with funding support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The symposia aimed to provide an independent and informal national venue for dialogue among curriculum scholars, and invited participants represented a cross-section of universities in Canada that spanned across the Canadian provinces. Participants at the later symposia also included members of boards of education and professional organizations for teachers. The symposia and their proceedings endeavored to include contributions in French and English from both Anglophone and Francophone curriculum specialists.

The proceedings of the Curriculum Canada symposia of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies were published following each symposium. The titles of the seven texts are *Curriculum Canada: Perceptions, Practices, Prospects*; *Curriculum Canada II: Curriculum Policy and Curriculum Development*; *Curriculum*



*Canada III: Curriculum Research and Development and Critical Student Outcomes; Curriculum Canada IV: Insiders' Realities, Outsiders' Dreams: Prospects for Curriculum Change; Curriculum Canada V: School Subject Research and Curriculum/Instruction Theory; Curriculum Canada VI: Alternative Research Perspectives: The Secondary School Curriculum; and Curriculum Canada VII: Understanding Curriculum as Lived.* Overall, the published series of proceedings present deliberations over an array of pertinent issues in curriculum studies from a diversity of Canadian vantages.

Candace Schlein

See also Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies; *Curriculum Books*; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Knowledge; Curriculum Theory

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To trace how curriculum changes, one must understand the evolution of the field itself. It was born during the early 20th century when control, management, and measurement were the driving forces in various academic fields, such as political science, sociology and the natural sciences. Its early leaders, John Franklin Bobbitt and William Charters, presented the field as a science based upon empirical studies with objective results. Showcasing how curriculum could be a process for meeting society's needs, Bobbitt's work, *The Curriculum*, was viewed as a scientific contribution to U.S. education. The study of curriculum then slowly became a field populated by scholars who eventually viewed it from different perspectives.

The seeds of this growth were actually fermented in the progressive reform movements of the 1890s as the country went through massive changes in its social, cultural, and economic foundations. Civic leaders and educators slowly recognized these great seismic shifts and how they were impacting schools and schooling. The country was becoming increasingly urban as people left the rural farms behind to seek work in the factories of the Northeast and Midwest. This increasing industrialization, along with both mass journalism and railroads, was penetrating every town, village, and hamlet across the country. At the same time, the country had to absorb 14 million new immigrants, and they were quite unlike the original settlers who were White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. These newcomers did not look like, sound like, nor believe like those who already lived here.

Therefore, school became an important institution that served as a mediator between the family and the shifting social and cultural worlds of the changing cities and towns. It became the place where norms and values would be taught by and through the curriculum. Because curriculum is at the heart of schooling, it has changed over the past 100 years as the various forces have battled for dominance in deciding what should be taught, to whom, and when.

Leaders of the various schools of curriculum thought viewed it from the perspective that schools should focus on what was good for society, or what was good for the child, or what subject or discipline was more important for an educated person, or lastly, how a combination of each of these factors, the child, the subject, and the society,

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## CURRICULUM CHANGE

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In order for schools and curricula to be responsive to new students and new societal conditions, scholars and practitioners alike must also understand the forces of change and how those forces impact and shape the curriculum.



would work best. There are many curriculum scholars who worked from within just one perspective and whose work had great impact on the field, but there are two whose scholarship and influence is so important that they have transcended the times and are still seen as preeminent in curriculum work today.

One of these is Bobbitt's student at the University of Chicago, Ralph Tyler, who developed a curriculum planning model in 1949 that is still being used today. Tyler was a scientist and believed that you could measure all activities and outcomes in education, and his Tyler Rationale is representative of that philosophy. In stark contrast to Tyler is John Dewey. Dewey was a contemporary of Bobbitt, and his scholarship was based upon his work at The Laboratory School at the University of Chicago where he watched children learn from tasks set up in model communities.

Each of these men then represent two contrasting views of curriculum: Tyler focused on behavioral objectives in the curriculum planning process and came to symbolize the school of curriculum thought known as social efficiency. Dewey, on the other hand, believed that schools were where the U.S. ideal of democracy should be taught, modeled, and lived. He saw the school as an embryonic community where children could learn skills experientially from books as well as from working cooperatively together in a democratic society. Rather than focusing on behavioral objectives as Tyler did, Dewey concluded that individual learning was important not only for the sake of each child, but it was even more important for the good of the community. Although some educational historians classify Dewey as a progressive educator, and others saw him as a social meliorist or social reconstructionist, he rejected such labels.

As noted earlier, the curriculum first came into focus during times of great change in the country, during the 1890s. From then until the late 1920s school leaders and university professors were in a tug-of-war with local businessmen who came to dominate local school boards. The business mindset became the mantra for fixing the curriculum, fixing the schools, and fixing the students. Once the Great Depression arrived, the corporate world had less impact upon schools where educators once again crafted curriculum in ways that met the needs of the students and the community. After World War II,

public schools were again under attack as not preparing students for the workforce. And by 1983, when *A Nation at Risk* was published, the stage was set for reform that would eventually reach far beyond just the corporate definition of schools, but to federal intervention into the curriculum.

With the 21st-century emphasis on high-stakes testing and accountability, there is a nationwide trend toward reducing the curriculum to only subjects that are being tested. If it is not tested, then the subject tends not to get taught. The curricular content is now determined more by high-stakes tests than by students' needs and interests. So once again, we see a curriculum change based upon who is in control of the schools.

*Louise Anderson Allen*

*See also Curriculum, The*; Dewey, John; Dewey Laboratory School; *Nation at Risk, A*; Tyler, Ralph W.; Tyler Rationale, The

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## CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION

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W. W. Charters's *Curriculum Construction* was among a handful of books that pioneered the emerging field of curriculum studies during the first few decades of the 20th century. *Curriculum Construction* became popular with advocates of vocational training and others who were seeking to establish an empirical basis for professions ranging from nursing to teaching to pharmacy. Charters completed his PhD degree in education at

the University of Chicago in 1904 where John Dewey supervised his dissertation. He later served as a professor of education and educational researcher at numerous universities, including the University of Missouri, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Chicago, and Ohio State University. In *Curriculum Construction*, Charters applied the new social science techniques that were sweeping fields such as economics and political science to the field of curriculum.

A thoroughgoing advocate of evolutionary theory and specialized training for occupations, Charters was part of the larger progressive education movement that held considerable power during the 1910s and 1920s. Throughout *Curriculum Construction*, Charters argues against the traditional view that curriculum should be rooted in the conventional subject matter disciplines. Instead, he argues that curriculum should be tied to the various occupations and adult activities that citizens perform during their daily lives. Subjects are only as good as they help us to complete our daily activities more efficiently. Like his one-time University of Chicago colleague John Franklin Bobbitt, Charters was a strong advocate of vocational training in K–12 schools and in universities. Charters argues that curriculum development should begin with activity analysis, which involves the exhaustive study of adult activities in order to create curriculum content. The empirically based plan for activity analysis that Charters describes in *Curriculum Construction* was used in dozens of professional fields, including nursing, pharmacy, and construction. Charters himself applied his system of activity analysis to the profession of teaching in a major study called the Commonwealth Teacher Training Study, which was funded by the Commonwealth Fund. The study resulted in the publication of a book, *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study*, that includes “Master List of 1001 Teacher Traits.” Charters argues that these traits, which were based upon the system that he outlines in *Curriculum Construction*, should become the basis for teacher training curriculum throughout the country.

*Curriculum Construction* is divided into two parts. The first includes a detailed description of Charters’s method of curriculum development and planning. He discusses the role of ideals in

curriculum making, how to analyze activities to determine their most essential components, and how to determine the relative importance of different pieces of curriculum content. To increase his audience and the influence of the book, Charters included examples that relate to elementary schools, high schools, and universities. In part two, Charters draws upon the work of curriculum specialists and practitioners, for example superintendents, to describe the best methods for creating curriculum in the various subject matter fields. He includes separate sections on the subjects of mathematics, language, history, geography, vocational training, and spelling. Charters’s goal with the second part of the book was to provide curriculum developers with the best techniques available for creating curriculum in these various fields.

The view of psychology that Charters advocates in *Curriculum Construction* is also significant. He was on the cutting edge of changes in psychology. He strongly criticizes the idea of formal discipline, which held that traditional subjects such as mathematics and Latin trained the mind to think in powerful ways, specifically strengthening the ability to reason. Proponents of formal discipline believed that reasoning ability, once it had been strengthened by the traditional subjects, could be transferred to other areas of human life. Charters rejected this view in favor of the new functional psychology that emphasized evolutionary development and measurable behaviors, not eternal ideals or the training of the mind.

Critics of *Curriculum Construction* (and Charters’s work as a whole) claimed that he overemphasized the utilitarian aspect of knowledge and simultaneously diminished the role of traditional subjects in the curriculum. Critics also claimed that Charters relied too heavily on the empirical aspects of curriculum and teaching, thereby destroying the idea of curriculum making and teaching as forms of art.

*J. Wesley Null*

*See also* Activity Analysis

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## CURRICULUM DESIGN

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A curriculum is a series of activities in which students engage with subject matter. Because everything cannot be studied at once, these activities must be orchestrated in some way. This arrangement is called curriculum design. Whether the subject is geometry, visual arts, or map skills, it is arranged in ways that emphasize some aspects and implications of the subject and neglect others. In this way, curriculum design is among the most powerful tools educators can use to influence what students learn.

Curriculum design can be viewed as an arrangement of materials prepared in advance and intended for instruction. Alternately, it can be considered as what emerges from interactions among teachers, students, and materials. In either case, however, a given design suggests conscious planning and brings with it a predisposition to what subject matter and instructional arrangements count as educationally significant.

No definitive taxonomy of curriculum designs exists. Several design types, which are among the best known, are considered here: school subjects, social, personal relevance, and intellectual development. John Dewey's ideas on design are included, too, because of both their lasting impression on curriculum thought and to cast other designs into relief. Finally, the hidden curriculum is briefly considered.

### School Subject Designs

The school-subject approach has a long lineage. Its familiarity, however, can mask shifts in what counts as a subject or an academic discipline as well as its boundaries with other subjects. By the 1890s, for instance, progressive thinkers were referring to the old education giving way to the new. The latter both brought in new subjects and

redefined old ones. For example, living languages such as French and German were introduced alongside Latin and ancient Greek, much of what had been considered geography in the 19th century was annexed by history, and the sciences of physics and chemistry, with laboratory methods extolled, entered the curriculum. Such modern methods for the enactment of curriculum, indeed, went hand in hand with modernization of the content of the curriculum.

The rapid rise of popular secondary education at the close of the 19th century took the form of the high school. It made urgent answering questions of what should be taught. The Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies in 1893 was the first major attempt at standardizing high school curriculum in the United States. Was the traditional classical curriculum in private academies, which prepared young people for college, adaptable to high schools that enrolled a broader swath of society? What kinds of curriculum design served the purposes of general education for this relatively heterogeneous population?

Although the Committee of Ten does not appear to have questioned that subjects should be the organizing principle of the high school curriculum—in contrast to practices of contemporaries such as Jane Addams—they saw themselves as a modernizing force. For example, the committee afforded history considerable space in the secondary curriculum while simultaneously tying the subject to the task of citizenship education. An academic subject arrangement, they insisted, was a good education for young people whether they were next headed to college or the workforce. A half century later, however, influential curriculum designer Ralph Tyler vigorously disagreed. He described the committee's recommendations as too narrow for purposes of general education, even charging that the committee had actually designed a program for educating subject specialists.

### Dewey's Design

Three years after the after the committee, Dewey founded what came to be called the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. He experimented with curriculum for the elementary grades. Like the committee, Dewey was consciously breaking with the old education although his rejection of

it was more sweeping. The remnants of scholasticism evident in the committee's proposals had no place in Dewey's design. Instead, he proposed an alternative relationship between the child and the curriculum. He drew an analogy with an explorer traveling through an uncharted wilderness: The explorer fords rivers, scales mountains, encounters unfamiliar plants and animals, sees how people there live, and so on. Upon return, the explorer constructs a map of the journey. To Dewey, traditional curriculum represented giving children the explorer's map rather than experiencing the journey for themselves. Experiencing the journey, of course, meant that curriculum could not be fully specified in advance of instruction.

In place of a preestablished curriculum, Dewey conceived the school as an embryonic community in which children cooperated in occupations such as weaving, gardening, cooking, and carpentry. This was not some form of technical or vocational training for future jobs, but purposeful activity intended to show how people cooperate in basic social activities, which he saw as a cornerstone of democratic living. It was through children's experience with occupations that subjects such as geography, history, and science entered the curriculum. Thus, for instance, geography emphasized the Earth as the home of human occupations, which led out to the history of how settlers in the English colonies faced the challenges presented by different regional environments and to science with, for instance, its application to chemical processes involved in colonial life such as bleaching and dyeing. Disembodied study of the three R's (reading, writing, arithmetic), Dewey insisted, was an improper organizing principle for elementary curriculum. In Dewey's design, the three R's and other skills would be acquired in context as needed while children worked to solve problems. Thus, Dewey did not abandon the traditional subjects, but the lines between subjects became fluid and subordinate to the demands of inquiry.

### Social Designs

Social designs emphasize that schools are essentially institutions created to serve the interests of society. This view extends back to at least Plato. Social designs overlap with Deweyan designs—he believed education required the stimulation of the

individual in social situations. Subject designs can be oriented, too, in social ways.

Adopting a social perspective does not answer whether the aim is to educate toward the prevailing social order or to reform it or, more commonly, some of both.

The former perspective was influential by the start of the 20th century: Efficiency was prized. Strongly influenced by time and motion studies in industry, scientific curriculum designers applied an industrial design to schools: A systematically designed program, including tracking and testing, would efficiently sort students by aptitude and achievement. For example, pioneer curriculum maker Franklin Bobbitt surveyed the knowledge, skills, and values possessed by successful adults in Los Angeles. He regarded this as discovering the basis for a curriculum through which youngsters would imbibe the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they would later need in their adult walks of life. Bobbitt gave precedence to subjects he believed held direct utility in daily life, such as spelling and arithmetic. He contended that the social utility of subjects such as history, geography, and literature needed more satisfactory demonstration.

Scientific curriculum designers wanted to sort and track students into groups headed for certain kinds of jobs in the adult workforce. Schools should distinguish future workers from future professionals. Dewey saw this as undemocratic and, in any case, believed it was impossible to predict precisely what knowledge and skills would be needed in the future. The only sound way to prepare for the future was living to the fullest in the present, he insisted. The assumptions underlying scientific curriculum making have persisted into the 21st century through such means as national standards and standardized testing.

Advocates of social reconstruction believed schools should participate in building a new social order. Dewey, too, had often described schools as a path to social reform, but the social reconstructionists took it a step farther. Whereas Dewey always championed free inquiry, social reconstructionists flirted with—a few such as George Counts even embraced—curriculum designs that indoctrinated in order to build a more just society.

Although Counts is well remembered for his theory, the social reconstructionist who arguably had most influence on practice is Harold Rugg. He



designed, constructed, and disseminated a series of social studies materials that embodied his educational principles. By chance, the publication of his textbooks coincided with the onset of the Great Depression, which was a time of pointed social criticism. The purpose of these materials was for young people to form a realistic understanding of modern life, particularly problems facing U.S. society. Right-wing critics—mostly from business and self-appointed patriotic groups—labeled Rugg a radical. They roundly attacked his treatment of national problems that they claimed undermined belief in national accomplishments. Rugg's materials, which were bestsellers, were routed from the schools and, in a few communities, burned. Although authoritarian patriotism was not new then and has periodically been behind attacks on progressive curricula since, censorship of the Rugg materials may represent its most striking success.

Social change has never entirely disappeared from the discourse of curriculum studies (e.g., critical theory), however, it is hard to point to comparably widespread effects on curriculum design since Rugg's time. A possible exception is intercultural/intergroup education, more or less the forerunner of multicultural curriculum designs. Though multiculturalism can serve various purposes, it is one of the few tangible influences on curriculum design in recent decades with considerable potential for social change. Nonetheless, as its theorists have recognized, multicultural subject matter can be directed at social adaptation as well as change. It is also unclear whether multicultural designs are best as stand-alone programs or as integrated in the standard school subjects. As far back as the 1940s, intergroup and intercultural education pioneer Hilda Taba recognized that this new material sometimes found readier acceptance when introduced through established school subjects.

### Personal Relevance

Design from the personal relevance perspective can take several directions. One direction that has periodically been popular is open or informal education. Drawing on a tradition of child-centered education stretching back to at least Jean-Jacques Rousseau, open educators look to the root meaning of education as bringing out and developing what is already within the student. This implies a

curriculum design tailored to the individual's aptitudes and interests. By the same token, faith is placed in collateral learning leading in educationally fruitful directions. One of the best-known examples of open education occurred in England in the 1960s and 1970s.

Plowden-oriented primary (i.e., elementary) schools placed a premium on the quality of the child's engagement with subject matter. Although this limited advance planning of the curriculum, at the same time it capitalized on pursuit of individual interests. This scheme of things, as Dewey had noted of child-centered progressive curricula years before, risked undermining sequence in learning, what he called continuity of subject matter. Plowden-oriented educators seemed confident, however, that an educative sequence of learning would emerge from the child's genuine engagement. As with sequence, subject boundaries were subsidiary to connecting ideas, and acceptable modes of expression (e.g., drawings, stories, poems, collages) were relatively unconstrained. As would be expected, the subject matters as well as learning outcomes of Plowden-oriented programs could be diverse.

As with social designs, personal relevance can be construed in contrasting ways. For example, personal relevance can also be construed as programmed learning where, as in open education, there is individualization of the curriculum. But unlike open education, the interests and motivations of the student are not primary in programmed learning. Rather, emphasis is on efficiently directing students to master the same body of subject matter. A main distinguishing feature of the design of one student's curriculum versus another's might be the amount of time needed for program mastery or, perhaps, an individualized arrangement of the material suited to a student's preferred learning style. For all its emphasis on the individual, this standardization of subject matter holds some resemblances to scientific curriculum designers such as Bobbitt as well as to later national curriculum standards.

### Intellectual Development

The intellectual development design focuses on building fundamental understanding of concepts and relationships in the learner. Swiss scholar Jean Piaget is often considered its progenitor. Intellectual



development adherents argue that typical curricula are superficial, resulting in periodic media stories about how some groups of college graduates are unable to explain, for instance, how the earth's movement around the sun is related to the seasons. It is unlikely these graduates failed to encounter relevant information in their studies but they failed to develop understanding of its conceptual basis.

In intellectual development designs, primacy is assigned to reasoning about some question in order to develop a satisfying answer. This process, as Eleanor Duckworth points out, involves trial and error, takes time, and places the question at hand in context—all of which conflicts with efficiency-oriented curriculum designs. Intellectual developmentalists counter that building an explanation is the major and motivating learning task versus merely reciting the outcome of someone else's thinking process.

Perhaps more than most curriculum designs, the almost clinical role for teachers in intellectual process designs as they guide student inquiry creates special pedagogical demands. In particular, teachers must wield a wide knowledge of topics to be taught and at the same time be sensitive to the learning demands of the topic. To Duckworth and others who follow similar lines, this suggests the prevailing separation of subject matter and professional preparation in teacher education programs is a mistake.

### Hidden Designs

Although the hidden curriculum is different in kind from the designs considered thus far, it may be no less educationally significant. All designs contain tacit dimensions as well as what is made explicit; however, the hidden curriculum is by definition unannounced. Thus schoolchildren learn, for example, to respond to bells, obey teachers' instructions, raise their hand to ask a question in the classroom. These behaviors are seldom publicized as educational objectives, but habituation to them makes their effects telling, as Philip Jackson underscored in *Life in Classrooms*.

Much of the hidden curriculum is, at least when pointed out, apparent to all and challenged by few, prompting some observers to refer to it in this sense as implicit rather than hidden as the latter connotes conspiracy. But there can be grim motives for and results of hidden curriculum. It can, for

instance, disadvantage individuals and groups along lines of social class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, and nationality. Curriculum materials can be implicitly framed to portray groups or individuals unfavorably or to sanitize controversy. Some of the most ambitious proposals for curriculum reform, such as that by Nel Noddings for a program based on an ethic of care, seem as much a response to the hidden as the explicit curricula of schools.

*Stephen J. Thornton*

*See also* Curriculum Purposes; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction; Dewey, John; Hidden Curriculum; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Social Reconstructionism

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## CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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The formalization of curriculum development as a practice in the U.S. public schools can be traced to

the early 20th century and the defining principles embodied in the work of John Franklin Bobbitt. Using a technique known as activity analysis, Bobbitt tried to identify activities in the school that he believed prepared the learner for specific tasks in life—among them vocational, sociocivic, familial, and intellectual tasks. His effort to connect the main activities of life to the actual conduct of the school represented an early systematic approach toward organizing and ultimately exercising some control over what got taught in schools. This desire to find a way to deliberately and consciously direct the conduct of the school became the driving principle behind the rise of the curriculum field and the valorizing of a process that has since become known as curriculum development.

Today the idea of curriculum development is still associated with the design and operation of schools, although disagreements exist over just what comprises the details of the curriculum development process. Many educators still equate curriculum development with subject matter organization, believing that the curriculum is improved by changing or otherwise reorganizing what gets taught. The bias inherent in such a characterization of curriculum development makes a distinction between the term *curriculum* and the term *instruction*, implying at least some analytical separation between what is taught (the curriculum) and how it is taught (instruction). The curriculum development process, however, is organic and comprehensive in its outlook. It makes it clear that any determination about how to teach has to be done in relation to what gets taught and that any determination about what gets taught has to be understood in relation to wider learning purposes and accompanying learning effects.

Fortunately, the curriculum studies field has yielded a historical model of curriculum development that accounts for the comprehensive dimensions of the school experience. General consensus, embodied in the work of, among others, J. Wesley Null, Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner, and Peter Hlebowitsh, points to a procedural definition of the curriculum development process that includes the tasks of planning, implementing, and evaluating the school experience. Such a view necessarily accounts for some conceptualization of what gets taught (via subject matter, values, and skills) as it intersects with teacher decisions over how to teach

and how to demonstrate whether learning has actually taken place. Originally articulated by Ralph Tyler, and later by Hilda Taba, such a view of curriculum development can be conceived as a three-part process that includes (1) some statement of purposes (embodied as specific objectives and content organization), (2) some instructional response on how to teach in relation to explicitly articulated purposes, and (3) some program of evaluation of outcomes.

As indicated, this procedural model for curriculum development is historically associated with the work of Tyler, who used four key questions to outline the continuum from purposes to experiences to evaluation:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

Tyler's questions, often referred to as the Tyler Rationale, set the foundation for the design of the school curriculum, as evidenced by later efforts to expand upon the four questions, notably in the work of Taba, who identified a seven-step curriculum development process that included (1) diagnosis of needs, (2) formulation of objectives, (3) selection of content, (4) organization of content, (5) selections of learning experiences, (6) organization of learning experiences, and (7) determination of way to evaluate. The Tanners assert that Tyler and Taba worked out of a progressive tradition that had its ancestry in John Dewey's phases of reflective inquiry, which helped to frame the idea of curriculum development in relation to a problem-solving process.

The act of curriculum development, however, requires thinking that goes beyond its procedural nature. Obviously, some theoretical direction has to be provided to help educators navigate through the curriculum development process so that when educators are faced with the prospect of, say, converting purposes into classroom experiences they have some theoretical direction for decision

making. To this end, Tyler articulated the need for the curriculum development process to be filtered through three screens, adumbrated as (1) studies of the learner, (2) studies of contemporary life outside of school, and (3) suggestions from subject specialists. According to the D. Tanner and L. Tanner, Tyler's screens are isomorphic with a trinity of factors, again rooted in the work of Dewey, a condition that accounts for the nature of the learner, the values of the society, and some contemplation of worthwhile knowledge or subject matter. These three factors, when taken together, represent a complementary theoretical framework for decision making in the curriculum development process. The framework has the direct effect of forcing educators to weight their decisions in the light of the learners' interests and developmental needs, in the spirit of the ethical foundations of democratic living, and in the context of socially and intellectually worthwhile knowledge. These fundamental factors have been debated by D. Tanner and L. Tanner and Bob Jickling as paradigmatic to the field.

Curriculum development also has a component to it that deals with issues of implementation and deliberation. Good implementation requires the main agents of the curriculum to be in general agreement with the normative tasks at hand and to have the resources, time, and insight to complete their work, while also understanding that their work is rooted in an ongoing evaluative effort to improve the school experience. Joseph Schwab described a process of group deliberation for the design of the curriculum whereby various participants in the operation of the school are involved in ongoing discussion and debate over what needs to be done. He put a premium on the idea of deliberation in order to make the point that the curriculum should not be viewed as a technocratic process that reduces itself to a manual of instructions (often written by agents outside of the school community and the educational situation). The advantages of curriculum development through deliberation are obvious. Where group deliberation prevails, the curriculum is necessarily kept connected to the particularities of the local situation. Group deliberation also pays a democratic dividend and gives the curriculum the benefit of drawing ideas from multiple perspectives of expertise and experience. In addition, the key players in

the curriculum development process, most notably the teachers, take practical possession of the school curriculum because of their part in determining it.

Finally, it should be noted that the term curriculum development is also loaded with political meaning, especially among a growing rank of scholars who have broadened the meaning (and the use) of the term curriculum in a way that leaves it with a weakened connection to schools. William Pinar, for instance, believes that curriculum needs to be understood as symbolic representation, as institutional and discursive practices, structures, images, and experiences. Such a characterization of the curriculum undeniably represents a distancing from the construct of curriculum development. Pinar and others, in fact, have explicitly waged battle against the Tylerian idea of curriculum development, proclaiming it to be no longer relevant to the work of the curriculum scholar. The problem, as they see it, is that the act of curriculum development is tied to an administrative (and patriarchal) impulse to impose unreasonable control and authority on school teachers and school children. Such a criticism has had a considerable following in the curriculum field and has led some scholars to reject the term curriculum development as an oppressive and imperialistic construct.

The normative design and general operation of the school experience cannot be accomplished without engaging in the act of curriculum development. The idea of translating purposes into experiences that yield effects needing to be understood in relation to originally stated purposes is at the heart of curriculum development. The entire process is screened against a theoretical framework that requires all judgments to be made in relation to the nature of the learner, the values of the society, and some judgment of worthwhile subject matter. This is a principled view of curriculum development sanctioned by a long line of work emerging mostly from the progressive educational literature.

*Peter Hlebowitsh*

*See also* Curriculum Design; Curriculum Theory

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## CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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In 1962, Hilda Taba's synoptic text *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice* was published. The textbook focuses on building a step-by-step rational model for understanding curriculum development, design, and implementation. Taba asserted that all curricula are composed of a statement of aims and of specific objectives, selection and organization of content, patterns of learning and teaching, and a program for evaluation of the outcomes. The textbook follows this model for curriculum development. It begins with building an understanding of the function of schooling and education in a modern, industrial society by opening with a brief discussion of the crisis in education, citing many of the same complaints that are voiced today, for example, schools are criticized

for softness, anti-intellectualism, progressivism, egalitarianism, lack of emphasis on fundamentals and academic skills, and emphasis on life adjustment and emotional development. Taba then builds a case for a theory of curriculum development examining relevant literature beginning with the belief that choices must be made about the mission of the schools. This argument is done in a foundational section titled the "Current Conceptions of the Function of School." From there, Taba moves to chapters containing an analysis of culture, including the implications of the analyses. She then proceeds to theories about learning, child development, intelligence and mental development, transfer of learning, social and cultural learning, extension of learning, and the nature of knowledge. These chapters, 3 through 12, constitute the first 193 pages of her textbook and examine the then-current research from sociology, anthropology, psychology, social psychology, and educational philosophy to build their case.

Once the scientific foundations are in place—a rational understanding of the components underlying the factors involved in schooling—Taba moves to "Part Two: The Process of Curriculum Planning." The opening chapters of this section relate to the function and determination of objectives across the academic content: knowledge, skills, and affective or attitude domains. The chapters move to diagnosis of achievement, students, and curriculum problems. This diagnosis includes a chapter on diagnostic devices, both formal and informal. Ideas based on action research and qualitative in addition to quantitative measures are inferred in this chapter. Once the diagnosis is complete, then curriculum experiences can be designed.

For Taba, curriculum experiences refer to both the content and the instructional strategies necessary for the mastering of that content. She believed strongly that different content called for specific strategies to yield desired results. The concerns in Chapter 17, "The Selection of Curriculum Experiences," focus on balancing breadth with depth and on creating thematic and conceptual understanding for students. The problem is to find content that is valid by searching for fundamental knowledge. The more fundamental an idea, the greater will be the breadth of its power and applicability. The search for fundamental knowledge allows educators to distill curriculum into concepts



and generalizations. These curricular concepts would then be developed vertically rather than moving laterally from idea to idea and subject to subject in a disconnected manner. Thus, Taba believes that less is more, suggesting that students study a limited number of carefully selected concepts or generalizations that constitute the basic core of a subject and then use these ideas as the criteria for sampling rather than attempting to cover everything known on a topic. Ideally, these concepts or generalizations would have applicability over a range of academic disciplines, bringing integration and unity to the curriculum.

Once the concepts, generalizations, and units of study have been determined, the students' learning experiences or activities would be decided upon by the teacher(s). Taba firmly believed that each learning activity required pedagogy appropriate to the achievement of the generalization that students were supposed to acquire. In almost every case, the pedagogy of choice was active and inductive—concept development and concept attainment are two of the instructional strategies most often associated with this curriculum approach. Thus, the instructional strategies used by the teachers to facilitate the acquisition of the specific content, skills, and attitudes defined by the curriculum are of paramount importance and are not seen as separate from the curriculum. The next chapter addresses evaluation focused on the ability to use the understandings, skills, knowledge, and attitudes in ways consistent with today's construct of authentic assessment tasks—the Taba curriculum is based on depth and understanding to assist students in making sense of and creating meaning for the world around them. Part Two closes with a chapter on developing a teaching–learning unit.

“Part Three: The Design of the Curriculum” and “Part Four: The Strategy of Curriculum Change” cover more specific aspects of curriculum development, including the call for an overall conceptual framework for curriculum development and strategies for curriculum change, including a chapter on working with groups. Thus, this 500-page text attempts to blend theory and practice with an aim toward improving curriculum development and design by providing both the research base and the specific instruction on how to complete the tasks. For those currently concerned with issues such as curriculum alignment,

the content of this text is as relevant today as when it was published.

*Barbara Slater Stern*

*See also* Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Taba, Hilda; Teachers as Curriculum Makers

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## CURRICULUM DISCOURSES

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The contemporary field of curriculum studies draws together scholars who are interested in a wide range of ideas. Throughout the 20th (and now 21st) century, several schools of thought have emerged from the many conversations among curriculum studies scholars. These conversations have come to constitute forms of discourse. The contemporary field of curriculum studies now reflects scholarly discourses on an ever-expanding range of topics.

### Traditionalist Discourse

Traditionalists believe that education should require students to learn about the great ideas and events of the Western, intellectual, social, and political heritage and should focus on the basic skills of reading, writing, and math. These scholars argue that all children should be taught the same content, and learning should be measured by standardized, high-stakes tests. As a result, drills, recitation, and memorization are viewed as central to learning. Under the George W. Bush administration's No Child Left Behind policies, basic skills have become the core of education, and in some schools, the



only curriculum. It remains to be seen whether this emphasis will be altered by future administrations.

### **Sociopolitical Discourse**

One of the most prolific discourses in curriculum studies focuses on the relationship between the curriculum and the sociopolitical context within which education takes place. Many curricularists note the influence of the U.S. market economy on the curriculum. For example, they argue that the curriculum should not just prepare students for their possible occupations or to improve the power of the United States, but rather curriculum should broaden and deepen our democracy and make our society more socially just. These scholars also critique the ways other powerful societal influences such as religion or popular culture effects curriculum.

### **Antiracist Discourse**

Another vigorous discourse focuses on issues of race. These curriculum studies scholars point out that racism in the United States is far from eliminated in spite of the success of the civil rights movement. Although more subtle and difficult to detect, they point out the insidious ways children of color (particularly African Americans) are still victims of racial discrimination in schools. Many of these scholars have studied the way conventional curriculum has failed to address the societal needs or intellectual health of children of color. For example, several have called attention to the ways educators teach language arts to children of color suggesting that a focus on skills, without the proper context, will likely continue the poor showing that these children make on standardized tests. Antiracist discourse notes that correct English is merely a social construction and the dialect of those in power. Curricularists who engage in this discourse suggest that these skills (along with the content found in most schools) would be best taught as codes of power rather than as the correct way to speak or write. Others note how schools often segregate students of color through policies such as tracking and special education.

### **Feminist Discourse**

Feminist scholars call attention to the influence of patriarchy on school curriculum and research in

curriculum studies. For example, several of these scholars have noted the role patriarchy has played in the deskilling of teachers as this occupation became accepted as women's work by society and the destructive ramifications of this development. Other topics of interest have been the absence of addressing issues of gender in the curriculum, the experiences girls (and female teachers) have in schools, the way research methodology has been dominated by a masculine perspective of knowledge generation, the unique ways girls might learn as opposed to boys, and the ways women (or girls) might view morality as opposed to the ways most men (or boys) do.

### **Postmodernism and Pragmatism Discourses**

Many curriculum studies scholars have utilized postmodernism and pragmatism as frameworks for understanding curriculum in the United States. One central thesis of these scholars is a questioning of grand theories such as Marxism that try to explain all of social phenomena. Postmodernism and pragmatism emphasize the social construction of reality including education. It challenges taken-for-granted notions of just about everything including what it means to be human. A primary form of this scholarship is called deconstruction, which is a type of historical inquiry. In every society there are ideas that the vast majority of people merely accept as fact, and postmodern and pragmatist scholars seek to understand the social conditions in which these ideas emerged. Deconstruction challenges the very notion of normalcy. For example, many educators and lay people might view the notion of learning as the memorization of information. The postmodern scholar would trace the origins of this idea and illustrate the contingent historical events that made this idea commonly accepted. Once these contingencies are identified, the implication is that because learning is a socially constructed idea, we (e.g., educators, society at large, lay people) can change it. Postmodernists and pragmatists refuse to take anything for granted as real or true. Much of this work within curriculum studies has helped scholars explore the ways curriculum is used as a form of social control and to question many of the common everyday rituals and expectations associated with the education of children. Although postmodern scholars emphasize critique of social norms,

pragmatists also point out the importance of reconstruction, arguing that redescription of the possible and realistic reforms are also crucial.

There are many other conversations found within the field in addition to the ones discussed above, including queer studies, historical inquiry, and the internationalization of curriculum studies. No doubt that in the future, many more discourses will emerge as we face the challenges of educating children in our complex and fast changing society.

*Jesse Goodman*

*See also* Critical Race Theory; Postmodernism

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## CURRICULUM EVALUATION

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Simply put, curriculum evaluation refers to the process of placing value on a curriculum. Evaluation may focus on a curriculum's design, including content and process; its implementation; or outcomes. It may take place on a broad scale, for example, evaluation of the scope and sequence of a state's K–12 curriculum in all subject areas. Or it may be more specific, as in the evaluation of textbooks adopted for a school district's spelling curriculum in Grades 1 through 6, or a teacher's own test of a curriculum's outcomes. Evaluation may be national or local; external, involving outside reviewers or internal; or involving teacher and student judgment. Although curriculum is ordinarily associated with schools, curriculum evaluation occurs within any institution that educates through a formal curriculum, for example, religious organizations, businesses, hospitals, museums, and libraries. Curriculum evaluation is often thought of as summative, but usually involves both formative and summative procedures. It may

be informal, drawing on a variety of teacher-made techniques or a formal process that utilizes standard procedures and instruments.

Curriculum evaluation schemes reflect different philosophical stances regarding education and range from highly rational and objective to interpretive and subjective approaches. In a rational process, curriculum evaluation is tied to objectives. Evaluation determines whether or not objectives and the learning experiences designed to achieve them produce desired changes in student behavior. Interpretive models are intentionally subjective and rely on observing and recording of experience, immersion of the evaluator in a situation, interpretation, and judgment. The goal is to disclose events, their worth, and quality.

### Purposes of Evaluation

Purposes of evaluation vary and range from the teacher's informal assessments of how students are engaging with materials to standardized tests given at the termination of a curriculum to measure and compare student outcomes. The results of evaluation are used in curriculum design, adaptation, revision, and to inform policy. Results inform decisions about goals, content, organization, learning materials and experiences, methods of assessment, and the teacher's role. The teacher's role in curriculum is an important part of evaluation because some designs call for the teacher to be an active agent who makes decisions about goals, content, organization, and the like. Other designs expect the teacher to focus on instruction, taking a more passive role in regard to the actual design. Although teachers usually gather evaluation data in ongoing assessment and revision of curriculum and to improve their own classroom practice, evaluation data that are gathered on a district-, state-, or nationwide basis becomes more public and political in nature as student outcomes are compared and implications are drawn from the results by the press, the public, and politicians. Hence, evaluation also influences local, state, and national education policy. Likewise, it may influence educational policy within institutions that educate. Public education has seen an increasing emphasis on summative curriculum evaluation through standardized testing in order to hold schools accountable and make them responsible for closing the achievement

gap between children from differing social, cultural, and economic circumstances. Curriculum evaluation, then, informs a social and political process that, in turn, influences curriculum design.

In evaluation of a design, congruence between curriculum goals, organization, recommended learning experiences, methods of instruction, teaching materials, and assessments is considered along with significance and appropriateness of content and its suitability for the target audience. Evaluation of implementation focuses on the ease with which teachers use a curriculum, skills necessary for its implementation, appropriateness of methods and materials for users, the correspondence between design and use, and whether variations from the design meet objectives and student–teacher interactions. Evaluation of outcomes focuses on the extent to which students achieve curriculum objectives and may also include attention to objectives students arrive at for themselves through its enactment.

Broad-scale evaluation is important when a ministry of education, state department of education, local school system, or other institution that educates is interested in curriculum revision or improvement, wishes to determine the extent to which education policies are implemented, or formulates new policy. Such evaluation may be focused on a subject while remaining broad in scope, for example, articulation of a nation’s social studies curriculum between elementary, middle, and secondary schools or appropriateness of an international service organization’s literacy curriculum for women in developing countries. It may be directed toward processes, for example, cooperative learning in a state’s K–12 curriculum or a religious organization’s Sunday school curriculum. On a more micro-level, evaluation of a state’s primary school writing curriculum might focus on writing assessments. Or a national bank might narrowly focus on its training scheme for loan consultants through assessing performance of consultants at one branch. Evaluation, then, may be directed toward the planned curriculum, its implementation, its outcomes, or all of these.

### Formative and Summative Evaluation

Formative evaluation includes needs assessment (or diagnostic evaluation). At the design level, it

helps to refine aims in light of actual needs of a target population. It may be built into the design to help teachers tailor implementation to the interests, background knowledge, skills, and values of their students. Formative evaluation also involves ongoing collection of information that allows designers to test the congruence between a curriculum’s assumptions, means, and ends as it is being used. Ideally, it provides designers with an opportunity to see whether what works on paper actually works in practice. Formative evaluation helps designers realign objectives, organization, methods, materials, and assessments. It assists in the implementation process as an indicator of whether the curriculum requires teacher skills that need to be developed, materials that are not readily available, and the like. Teachers find formative evaluation critical in furnishing ongoing evidence of student progress toward planned goals. It also helps teachers determine how to make adjustments in light of emergent goals that are the result of adaptations made during a curriculum’s enactment. However, when designers expect a curriculum to be implemented with fidelity to the design, its eventual success or failure may be viewed as a result of correct or incorrect implementation or unplanned adjustments by the teacher rather than as a need for revision in the design. Hence, evaluation of the implementation process and the problem of implementation are often considered separately from the design and its outcomes. Both needs assessment and ongoing evaluation of the planned curriculum as it is being used allow for adjustments in teaching strategies and materials and even in the aims of a curriculum. Formative evaluation may be informal in nature, for example, teacher observations and notes, or formal, as in analysis of work samples following a rubric or administering a diagnostic test.

Summative evaluation attempts to determine curriculum effectiveness at its endpoint when instruction is complete. It is often thought of as measurement of student attainment of objectives through standardized tests. However, summative evaluation may be focused on the design or implementation of a curriculum as well. And it may be broad in scope with multiple windows on student achievement of knowledge, skills, dispositions, and values that are called for in a curriculum design. For example, teachers may also assess student

portfolios that include written work, descriptions of creative projects, student self-assessment, and the like; involve students in practical performance tasks or projects that allow them to demonstrate their knowledge and skills; or invite critical friends from outside the classroom to participate in the review. Summative evaluation may be informal as well as formal, for example, student self-reporting or a teacher's record of ongoing observations. Results of both formative and summative curriculum evaluation are used as evidence in revision of a curriculum, adaptation of implementation processes, and making judgments about both institutional and teacher effectiveness and student achievement.

### Differences in Perspective on Evaluation

There are sharp differences of opinion about curriculum evaluation that reflect perspectives on curriculum, teaching, and learning and that reflect differences in values, beliefs, and commitments of those who have an interest in the outcomes of a curriculum. Some educators differentiate between curriculum evaluation and assessment, claiming that evaluation implies judgment, whereas assessment is an objective report of achievement. Nevertheless, the terms evaluation and assessment are often used in interchangeable ways. For some, evaluation means collecting and interpreting evidence of student attainment of the objectives set forth by a curriculum and is most efficiently done through standardized tests. Both formative and summative evaluation are then a highly prescriptive, linear process in which behavioral objectives for students, the organization, and the execution and evaluation of a curriculum are all focused on attaining measurable changes in student behavior.

For others, evaluation is a process of putting together a careful, comprehensive, and informing portrayal of the consequences of a curriculum to demonstrate attainment of multiple purposes, including those set by the student in response to the curriculum as it is experienced. As important as how well students are achieving curriculum objectives is whether the goals are worth achieving. Both formative and summative evaluation are then open ended and may include observation and reporting of outside observers and a collection of artifacts such as work samples, anecdotal records

made by the teacher, questionnaires, observations of critical friends from outside the classroom or school context, students' journals and their records of self-evaluation, and objective measurement instruments.

Tests of student achievement may be norm-referenced, comparing student achievement, or criterion-referenced tests that show how students compare to external criteria. Although many who prefer more constructivist approaches to the curriculum tend to favor criterion-referenced testing, the necessity of finding criteria that can be specified in advance can be problematic and consequently may place limits on enactment of a curriculum, as can finding criteria that are appropriate for students of varying backgrounds and cultural perspectives. In the end, criterion-referenced tests are often used in the same way as norm-referenced tests, comparing student achievement of criteria.

Questions of the worthiness of curriculum goals, methods, and materials are usually addressed in a pilot of the curriculum's design and extensive field testing that give designers an opportunity to adjust a curriculum before it is disseminated. Although a curriculum design may include specific content to be taught, some designs focus on process, leaving specific content to the discretion of local schools and teachers. Many curriculum designs are created by experts away from the context in which they will be used and are intended to be implemented with a high degree of fidelity to the curriculum goals, organization, and methods. Other designs are intended as guides for teacher and student adaptation and invention. Still others emerge as a result of teacher and student involvement in an ongoing process of coconstruction of classroom events and activities. Evaluation takes on a different meaning in each of these cases. Failure of the design to produce anticipated outcomes may be seen as a failure in implementation and linked to teacher motivation, skill, materials, and the like. Or when a curriculum design is intended as a guide, evaluation is an ongoing process of engagement and adaptation in response to collection of evidence about student learning. Student achievement is one indicator of the effectiveness of a curriculum, and students themselves are involved in accumulating evidence as to their strengths and areas of needed improvement, appropriateness of objectives, and the like.



Judgments about worthiness of curriculum content (e.g., the subject to be taught) are made separately when a design is process oriented. For example, a curriculum design that focuses on cooperative process in the classroom may be intended for use with any subject matter. Evaluation of the process-oriented curriculum, whether at the design level or at the point of student outcomes, will focus on whether the process is clear, easy to implement, and produces higher student achievement in any content or subject matter. For example, evaluation of a curriculum that focuses on cooperative learning will not be about whether a particular content is worth learning, but whether it is learned more effectively through use of cooperative processes.

### Critics of Standardized Methods of Evaluation

Critics of standardized testing—whether norm or criterion referenced—point to increasing control of the state over the content of the curriculum through legislation of standardized tests in the name of educational equity. Standardized testing does not inform those interested in curriculum outcomes about the conditions and context in which a planned, intended curriculum is enacted. Furthermore, when the curriculum of the schools is driven by evaluation, important student opportunities that are not easily measured by objective tests are in danger of becoming peripheral to the school program, for example, music, aesthetics, creative expression, civic responsibility, and caring for self and others. Thus, curriculum evaluation can be seen as a mechanism of social regulation in which the capacities necessary to engage in participation in and critique of democratic society are denied those at the bottom end of the social scale. They are drilled in a narrow curriculum that prepares them to do well on tests, but does not equip them with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to live well and to participate in a democratic society. It also serves to fix blame on the curriculum for a larger social failure to deal with economic conditions and social arrangements that trap segments of the society in cycles of failure.

Some critical theorists assert that curriculum design in itself is an oppressive structure that is used to subjugate students and demean teacher competence; hence, evaluation of curriculum is an

instrument of oppression. From this perspective, curriculum evaluation ought to emerge from critical questioning about the realities of the local situation and be specific to those who are creating and using a curriculum that is locally constructed out of the needs and realities of the people.

Curriculum evaluation, whether of design, implementation, or student outcomes, is never a purely objective process in which the suitability and effectiveness of a curriculum are determined. It can become a social, political process in which differences of purpose, beliefs about where the locus of control should be in education, and conceptions of schooling vie for influence.

### Persistent Questions

Purposes and uses of curriculum evaluation beg persistent questions: (a) Does curriculum—hence its evaluation—encompass methods and teaching? (b) To what extent and under what conditions should teacher discretion trump goals and strategies of a curriculum's design and how does that affect design evaluation? (c) To what extent is evaluation of the curriculum an evaluation of the teacher's skill? (d) In what ways do the context and cultural expectations in which a curriculum is introduced influence its success or failure? (e) To what extent does the testing industry influence the primacy of standardized testing in curriculum evaluation?

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*See also* Curriculum Design; Curriculum Implementation

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## CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION

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Curriculum implementation is a many layered concept that originates in a seemingly straightforward problem of how to effect educational change by successfully installing a new curriculum. Typically, much political capital, subject area expertise, and design capabilities are expended in the development of a new curriculum. The resulting curriculum reflects both education traditions and some newly mandated public policy for schools. The implementation question often arrives as an afterthought of the curriculum development process and is framed, in the first instance, as an issue of communication: How are teachers to understand the new curriculum in a manner that is faithful to the intentions of the new curriculum?

Viewed simplistically in these terms, curriculum implementation becomes a matter of effective and efficient communication between the developers and teachers. The communication is one way; ideally, the developers try to convey the intentions of the new curriculum as clearly as possible by providing the necessary inservice education and supporting teaching resources, while the teachers expect detailed practical help and the necessary support materials to ensure successful implementation. Difficulties with communication are to be expected both in terms of inadequate support from the side of the developers and resistance to change, or poor professional development on the part of the teachers, but in principle these can be addressed through improved communication and practice.

This model of curriculum implementation as being essentially a problem of communication between producers and consumers of curriculum held sway in the curriculum field during the 1960s and 1970s. At the time, a flurry of research literature appeared reporting on the successes and failures of implementation efforts. These were followed by other publications—many by the same authors—that applied the findings to give advice on how to improve future educational change efforts. Historically, much of the original impetus for this flurry of research resulted from the 1975 RAND Change Agent Studies that reported the results of efforts to effect educational change

through the ambitious national curriculum projects of the education decade, which had been inaugurated by the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s. Although the volume of curriculum writing that specifically addresses technical concerns with the mechanics of implementation has waned in the past several decades, a plentiful literature remains with respect to the associated topics of effecting institutional change and school improvement and teacher development.

During the 1980s, and influenced at least in part by curriculum reconceptualism, a movement began to rereunderstand curriculum implementation critically and hermeneutically. Building upon Ernest House's 1979 critique of development and diffusion models of curriculum change and Egon Guba and David Clark's call to set aside unified systems views of curriculum and instruction, Ted Aoki called for a rethinking of curriculum implementation as situated praxis. The lived experience of teachers, Aoki has argued, is always an indwelling between the mandated curriculum (curriculum as plan) and the curriculum as lived with actual students, colleagues, and communities.

A hermeneutic interest in understanding curriculum implementation stands in sharp contrast with a technical interest in the management of change. Although curriculum research with a technical interest was concerned with understanding and ultimately controlling the processes of individual and organizational change occasioned by the introduction of a new curriculum, hermeneutics is concerned with understanding the event of change. Understood hermeneutically, implementation is marked by the arrival of a new curriculum that questions previously taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching. And although a new curriculum is not necessarily an unwelcome intrusion for teachers, its implementation is unavoidably an interpretative event. The RAND studies more or less confirmed this phenomenon after surveying 293 local adoptions of national curriculum projects in which they concluded mutual adaptation reflecting the implementation process.

Over the next several decades, the critical and hermeneutic turn has taken curriculum implementation in a variety of practical and intellectually productive directions. Declining to position teachers as agents delivering a curriculum, the teacher as researcher movement, as developed by Lawrence

Stenhouse, took root in the United Kingdom, producing networks of local teacher directed curriculum development projects. Although the movement suffered setbacks with the Margaret Thatcher government's introduction of the national curriculum in the 1980s, it continues to flourish and has become internationalized through associations such as the Collaborative Action Research Network. Vibrant traditions of narrative inquiry, life history, phenomenological description, and autobiography form alternative discourses of teachers' engagements with curriculum, which serve to counter continuing political pressures to hold educators accountable for implementing ever more narrow and prescriptive curriculum.

Understood narrowly, as instrumental action, the trope curriculum implementation can contribute to the oppression of teachers, especially in the present age of accountability and audit culture in public education. An alternative focus, which understands implementation as interpretive action, fits well with a contemporary curriculum scholarship that is concerned with subjectivity and teacher identity. To teach means to be engaged pedagogically in public service, and as such, teachers will always be required to connect with curriculum change. Whether curriculum implementation is conceived as instrumental action or interpretive action is an open question that hinges on how politics and scholarship are taken up in the teaching profession.

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*See also* Aoki, Ted T.; Curriculum Policy; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Stenhouse, Lawrence

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## CURRICULUM INQUIRY

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Drawing from multiple disciplines in diverse fields of studies, curriculum scholars have developed a wide array of forms of inquiry. More forms of curriculum inquiry emerge as curriculum inquirers continue to challenge traditional ways of engaging in and interpreting research and perceive curriculum inquiry as a form of liberatory or radical democratic practice. This liberatory and radical democratic orientation of curriculum inquiry vitalizes heated debates and complicated conversations among curriculum theorists. From these debates and conversations, a contested conception emerges that curriculum inquiry and curriculum studies are synonymous.

In addition to the interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary quality of curriculum studies, another aspect of curriculum inquiry is the broad conception of what counts as inquiry. Elliot Eisner states that this increased breadth is not a license for anything goes, but a recognition that the roads to understanding are many and that a narrow view of method is likely to lead to limited understanding of how curriculum works in schools and societies. More and more curriculum inquirers have not only questioned whose knowledge should be considered valid and how experience should be interpreted, theorized, and represented, but also have confronted issues of equity, equality, social justice, and societal change through research and action.

### Traditions of Forms of Curriculum Inquiry

Curriculum inquirers draw on a wide array of research traditions filled with controversies, contradictions, and complexities. As early as 1938, John Dewey developed logic: the theory of inquiry in which matter and form are intertwined in a flux of continuous movement among the past, present, and future situated in contexts. For Dewey, conception without perception is empty and perception without conception is blind. Human importance should

be the primary purpose of inquiry. A separation of matter from form, conception from perception, operations from humans, or inquiry from contexts leads to cultural waste, confusion, and distortion of human condition. Dewey's theory of inquiry is the foundation of forms of curriculum inquiry.

Parallel with Dewey's democratic ideas, the work of W. E. B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Carter G. Woodson also greatly influenced curriculum inquiry with activist orientations that connect the personal with the political, the theoretical with the practical, and research with equity, equality, and social justice. For instance, research on teachers that flourished during the progressive era promoted Dewey's democratic ideal in education and many aspects of life; action research in social sciences originated by John Collier and Kurt Lewin in the 1940s counteracted racial prejudice and promoted more democratic forms of leadership in the workplace.

Prior to the 1970s, Joseph Schwab created three important concepts for curriculum inquiry: the practical, the four commonplaces of curriculum (learners, teachers, subject matter, and milieu), and two forms of inquiries—stable inquiry and fluid inquiry. Ambiguous, incomplete, and fluid aspects of inquiry that focuses on changing real-life situations and contexts rather than on pre-established theories is central to curriculum inquiry. In the 1970s, various forms of curriculum inquiry flourished as the field was reconceptualized. Dwayne Huebner introduced phenomenology to curriculum studies and called for an exploration of experience of curriculum through five value frameworks: the technical, the political, the scientific, the aesthetic, and the ethical. Like Huebner's, James Macdonald's work provoked the Reconceptionalization Era, influencing generations of curriculum scholars. Macdonald perceived education as a societal pivotal point to explore oneself and the broader human condition in a meaningful context.

As early as 1979, drawing upon Dewey's theory of experience, aesthetics, and education, George Willis perceived phenomenological inquiry as a form of interpretative inquiry into human perceptions and the aesthetic quality of human experience. Ted Aoki explored curriculum through phenomenology, poststructuralism, critical theory, and cultural criticism. In the 1980s, David Jardine

further developed phenomenological inquiry as a way not only to help understand the world, but also to change the way we live. Since the 1970s, Max van Manen used a hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry to research lived experience. Phenomenology became central to *currere*—a driving force for emerging forms of curriculum inquiry during the Reconceptionalization Era.

William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet linked phenomenology with autobiography and advanced *currere* as an autobiographical form of inquiry to study one's experience in the past, present, and future and the impact of social milieu on experience. A wide array of curriculum inquirers began to engage in a variety of inquiries to critically examine social and political forces enacted on curriculum. In 1977, Paul Willis established critical ethnography to portray the experience of poor and working-class youth rebelling against school authority who prepared them for working-class jobs. Paulo Freire pioneered a critical participatory inquiry to assist the oppressed Brazilian peasants to liberate themselves by telling their own life stories. Drawing from critical theories of the Frankfurt School spanning from Karl Marx to Jürgen Habermas and Freire, Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, Jean Anyon, and many others engaged in critical participatory inquiries to study the life in schools, communities, and societies. Elizabeth Ellsworth countered the repressive myth of critical inquirers and advocated critical feminist inquiry that perceives curriculum, teaching, and learning as contradictory, partial, and irreducible knowledge. Grumet and Janet Miller developed activist feminist inquiry to study the stories and democratic practices of women teachers.

William Watkins, built on the work of Du Bois and James Anderson, advanced Black protest thought, and developed Black orientations to curriculum inquiry that focus on Blacks' experience of inequities, racism, racial subordination, oppression, discrimination, White supremacy, marginal curriculum, and practices of scientific racism. Drawing from post- and neocolonial feminism and Black feminist thought that hold that sexism, class oppression, and racism are inextricably bound in experience, Patricia Collins and Angela Davis utilized the intersection of race, gender, and class as a framework to explore the experience of the Blacks.

Since the 1970s, multicultural theorists such as Geneva Gay, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Sonia Nieto and critical multicultural theorists such as Christine Sleeter, Peter McLaren, and Cameron McCarthy have influenced curriculum inquiry by bringing issues of race, gender, and class to the center of concerns in inquiry. Kathryn Au, Gay, Ladson-Billings, and Jacquelyn Irvine have developed various inquiries to explore culturally congruent, relevant, and responsive curricula for disenfranchised and underrepresented individuals and groups. Jean Anyon, Lois Weis, Michelle Fine, and Laurie Olsen have brought critical inquiry into classrooms and school-based research.

Since the 1980s, Jim Cummins has brought critical pedagogy into the exploration of experience of language, culture, identity, and power of marginalized and disfranchised individuals and groups. Many researchers, such as Lourdes Diaz Soto, Guadalupe Valdés, Angela Valenzuela, Chris Carger, Grace Feuerverger, Stacey Lee, Kelleen Toohey, JoAnn Phillion, Ming Fang He, and Guofang Li, have been exploring the experience of language, culture, identity, and power—the curricula immigrants and their children live in families, communities, and schools—as a significant form of curriculum inquiry.

Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman have developed multiple ways of understanding curriculum. William Schubert has discovered that curriculum inquiry is vitalized between the dynamic interplay among curriculum paradigms, perspectives, and possibilities: inquiry paradigms (empirical–analytic, hermeneutic–practical, critical praxis, postmodern), emergent eclecticism (practical inquiry, curriculum evaluation, existentialist perspectives, hidden curriculum, critical theory, counterculture teachers, teacher action research, reconceptualist theorizing, curriculum history), and contemporary venues of curriculum inquiry (intended curriculum, taught curriculum, experienced curriculum, embodied curriculum, hidden curriculum, tested curriculum, null curriculum, outside curriculum). Drawing from Dewey and Schwab, Michael Connelly and later on joined by He, Phillion, and Candace Schlein contend that the breadth, diversity, and complexity of the field and its practical relevance are central to a wide array of educational thoughts reflected in contested curriculum theories, practices, and contexts.

In 1991, Edmond Short featured diverse forms of curriculum inquiry including conventional disciplinary forms of inquiry such as philosophical, historical, and scientific inquiries; some interdisciplinary forms such as theoretical, normative, critical, and deliberative inquiries; and some qualitative inquiry forms such as ethnographic, aesthetic, narrative, phenomenological, hermeneutic inquiries, and action research. In the same year, Willis and Schubert, drawing from arts and humanities, called for curriculum inquirers to reflect upon their understanding of curriculum, teaching, and learning through the influence of arts in their lives. Although Dewey's theory of inquiry and Schwab's three concepts for curriculum inquiry—the practical, the four commonplaces, and two forms of inquiries (stable and fluid)—are foundations of curriculum inquiry, the conceptual frameworks created by Pinar, Schubert, Connelly, and Short have been most influential for emergent forms of curriculum inquiry in the field.

Since the 1970s, Maxine Greene has been inspiring generations of curriculum inquirers to connect arts, passion of pluralism, and narrative imagination with inquiry to provoke political awakening, cultural empathy, social activism, and social justice to build a participatory community to create hopes, dreams, and possibilities for forgotten and disfranchised individuals and groups. Since the 1970s, drawing from the works of Dewey on art, experience, and education, Eisner has brought the significance of arts, aesthetic knowing, and imagination to curriculum, teaching, and learning and perceived artistic-aesthetic dimension of experience as an enlightened eye of curriculum inquiries. In the 1980s, Eisner and Tom Barone formulated arts-based educational research as a form of curriculum inquiry that expands an unfolding orientation to curriculum inquiry that draws inspiration, concepts, processes, and representational forms from the arts as Gary Knowles and Ardra Cole advocate in their work.

Self-study in the teacher research movement parallels the development in life history research of Cole and Knowles and teacher lore research of Schubert and William Ayers in which the teacher is perceived as researcher engaged in deeply reflective practice to change the curriculum and the world, as also shown in the work of Donald Schön. Researchers engaged in participatory inquiry,



originating in Latin America, Africa, and Asia and closely associated with adult education and literacy movements represented by Freire, Donaldo Marcedo, and Budd Hall, work with oppressed groups and individuals to empower them so that they take effective actions toward more just and humane conditions.

### A Turn to Narrative and Contested Forms of Curriculum Inquiries

In response to the contradictions, diversities, and complexities of human experience, as Robert Coles called for in 1989, curriculum inquirers incorporate narrative, story, autobiography, memoir, fiction, oral history, documentary film, painting, and poetry into inquiries. Narrative inquiry, pioneered by Connelly and Jean Clandinin, flourishes in the research on curriculum, teaching, and learning. Narrative work can also be found in life-based literary narratives drawing upon the notion of narrative or literary imagination in the works of Greene and Martha Nussbaum. Narrative is also becoming prevalent as researchers such as Ladson-Billings, Laurence Parker, Donna Deyhle, Sofia Villenas, Sandy Grande, and David Stovall draw on critical race theory to tell hidden and silenced narratives of suppressed and underrepresented groups to counter the preconceived metanarrative represented in scientific-based research that often portrays these groups as deficient and inferior.

In addition to a turn to narrative in the field, there are emergent contested forms of curriculum inquiry that move beyond boundaries, transgress orthodoxies, and promote cultural, linguistic, intellectual, and ecological diversity, justice, and complexity. For instance, James Sears and Pinar developed queer theory in curriculum studies built upon gender studies emerged from the fields of gay and lesbian studies and feminist studies heavily influenced by Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. Through a reflexive and reflective inquiry into one's personal experience, queer inquirers deconstruct categorizations and fixed notions of gender, sexuality, and identities. This fluid aspect of identity and sexuality connects with the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson on body and mind connection, Martha Nussbaum on literary imagination and love's knowledge, and Ruth Behar on vulnerable observer. This complex and fluid quality of

experience influences generations of qualitative researchers in cultural studies such as Marla Morris in psychoanalysis, Patti Lather in postmodern feminist research, Pauline Sameshima in pedagogy of parallax, John Weaver in postmodern science and narrative, Greg Dimitriadis in performing identity-performing culture, and Hongyu Wong in the third space to honor the fluidity and complexity of bodily knowledge in curriculum studies.

More researchers draw upon the work of Du Bois, Edward Saïd, Freire, Ayers, and many other critical, liberatory, and democratic thinkers and engage in activist and social justice oriented research in curriculum studies. There is a burst of oral history research in curriculum studies drawing upon frontier women's oral history research in 1975 led by academic feminists and feminist activists such as Sherna Gluck, Margaret Strobel, Sherry Thomas, Susan Armitage, Judy Yung, Daphne Patai, and many others documenting the lives and experiences of women collected from health clinics, rape crisis lines, battered women shelters, displaced homemakers programs, women's legal services, welfare rights organizations, and women labor organizations. The oral history research also draws from oral narrative research engaged by Africana (African and African American) women scholars such as Georgia W. Brown, Kim Marie Vaz, Renée T. White, and many others. More curriculum inquirers, particularly a large group of practitioner inquirers in the South and Midwest, led by He and Phillion, engage in personal-passionate-participatory inquiry that employs critical race oral history, critical race geographical narrative, documentary research, or oral narrative research method to explore the narratives and experiences of repressions, suppressions, subjugations, and stereotypes of Southern women, Blacks, and other disenfranchised individuals and groups, and the force of slavery, racism, sexism, classism, religious repression, and other forms of oppression and suppressions on the curriculum in the South.

There are emergent critical and indigenous methodologies, led by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Sandy Grande, Teresa McCarty, and Tsianina Lomawaima, that connect critical theory with indigenous knowledge and sociopolitical contexts of indigenous education to develop transcendent theories of decolonization and advocate the liberty of indigenous language and cultural rights and



intellectualism. There is also an emergent form of post- and neocolonial feminist inquiry, led by Trinh T. Minh-ha, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Uma Narayan, Kwok Pui-lan, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Chela Sandoval, that explores repatriarchal historical analysis, spirituality, migration, displacement, slavery, racism, sexism, classism, imperialism, colonialism, heterosexism, ageism, ableism, anthropocentrism (i.e., human supremacism), speciesism, and other forms of oppression.

Ming Fang He

See also Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Curriculum Theory

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## CURRICULUM INQUIRY

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*Curriculum Inquiry*, housed at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, is one of few academic journals dedicated specifically to issues in curriculum studies.

*Curriculum Inquiry* grew out of the *Curriculum Theory Network (CTN)*, founded in 1968 by 12 professors of education. CTN started out as a newsletter in which professors of curriculum exchanged ideas with each other and their graduate

students. Their goal was to encourage professors to take risks and to contribute original ideas even if unorthodox or unfinished. Eventually, the newsletter turned into an occasional publication and then a quarterly publication in 1974. CTN became *Curriculum Inquiry* in 1976 and extended its intellectual purview to include philosophy, history, literary criticism, and almost any style of inquiry that explored problems concerning curriculum theory, development, and evaluation. At this time too the journal switched from an in-house publication to John Wiley and Sons.

The spirit of CTN continued in *Curriculum Inquiry*, and the major issues of the day confronting curriculum studies could be found by reading the four editions that came out yearly. A “Dialogue” section in most editions devoted to specific topics allowed for discussion and debate as did the “Editorial Essays.” Readers of the journal are likely to have their own favorite dialogues and essays, and though it is impossible to list all of them, a few ought to be mentioned to provide a sense of the kinds of topics that arose.

Particularly memorable was a 1984 editorial by Roger Simon, “An Open Letter to Michael Connelly on the Occasion of Reading his Editorial: ‘The Henry Giroux Episode,’” on Henry Giroux’s denial of tenure at Boston University and the responses the editorial ensued, one of which was by Giroux himself. At the heart of this discussion were issues concerning academic freedom, communication, and power.

In 1989, there was a spirited reaction by D. C. Phillips and Elliot Eisner from different perspectives to A. Alexander’s essay about relativism, absolutism, and curriculum. Epistemology is at the center of this dialogue. What counts as knowledge? Eisner and others would raise epistemological issues in regard to objectivity and subjectivity in research in several 1992 editions and again in 1994.

Peter Hlebowitsh’s Spring 2005 essay, “Generational Ideas in Curriculum: A Historical Triangulation,” in which he argued that Joseph Schwab is more aligned with Franklin Bobbitt and Ralph Tyler than some scholars have suggested raised provocative reactions to his thesis. At stake in this issue is an understanding of the curriculum studies historical trajectory.

There were of course countless other groundbreaking articles and discussions that marked the

journal's pages. Today, the journal is published by the British-based Blackwell. In 2008, the journal expanded to five issues per year to have one edition dedicated to book reviews. There have been a number of associate editors, series editors, and book review editors over the years, but it is Michael Connelly's vision that steered the journal. Connelly was the coeditor in 1980 with Roger Simon and became the sole editor from Winter 1982 to Spring 2005. Other editors have included Leonard Berk, Joel Weiss, Roger Simon, Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Dennis Thiessen.

*P. Bruce Uhrmacher*

*See also* Aesthetic Education Research; Curriculum Evaluation; Curriculum Implementation; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Theory; Multicultural Curriculum; Narrative Research; Personal Practical Knowledge Research; *SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction, The*; Schwab, Joseph

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## CURRICULUM INQUIRY AND RELATED SCHOLARSHIP (WEB SITE)

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Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship is an academic bibliography Web site with over 3,000 annotated citations organized and compiled by Edmund Short. Curriculum inquiry was conceived by Short as a congregation of intellectual approaches to variously understand, interpret, and create knowledge. These approaches differ in their intellectual origins, the kinds of curriculum questions asked, their immediate practicality, and their apparent compatibility to other methods of inquiry. In his edited volume, *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry*, published in 1991, Short identified 17 research approaches to curricular considerations, arguing for scholarly acceptance of alternative modes of inquiry beyond those that were conventionally practiced in curriculum development.

Making the case that the complex practical, relational, and holistic nature of curriculum study

invites multi- and transdisciplinary scholarship, Short contended various inquiry forms are needed to answer different questions. Thus, a form of inquiry should not be judged by its immediate practicality or its relationship with conventional forms used in the social sciences, but rather by its reliability as demonstrated by the expert skill of the researcher in use of techniques in the method, transparency of the inquiry process for review and criticism, and the strength of the research as an argued response to the stated questions.

From Short's lifelong research in the area of curriculum inquiry, he proceeded to compile a massive bibliography with seven components. These fields include the full citation, an annotation of content, a descriptor of topical focus of the study (for which there are 23 terms), a designated research field from which the research is drawn, mode of inquiry (for which there are 22 different modes), the type of study (including single study, collection of studies, status study, research synthesis, survey, case study, bibliographic compilation), and content descriptions (for which there are 108 descriptors). The bibliography selections draw from studies that were first conducted during the 1960s; the Web site is constantly updated.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also* Curriculum Books; Curriculum Knowledge

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#### Web Sites

Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship: A Searchable Bibliography of Selected Studies: <http://cirs.education.ucf.edu>

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## CURRICULUM KNOWLEDGE

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Curriculum knowledge can be taken to mean a number of things: the subject matter that falls within the curriculum of a school or college, the

substantive learning acquired by students upon engaging in a program of study, and the expertise possessed by professionals who specialize in designing, maintaining, or changing curricular programs in educational settings. In this encyclopedia entry, curriculum knowledge refers to none of these meanings, but rather to the kind of knowledge that results from deliberate inquiry into curriculum research questions. It is the product of attempting to gain understanding of quandaries related to curriculum through formal, acceptable knowledge-producing inquiry processes. This kind of inquiry seeks curriculum knowledge on virtually anything that might be relevant to thinking about or making practical decisions on curriculum matters. Curriculum knowledge construed in this fashion intends to be useful in informing curriculum practice.

The practice of curriculum, therefore, becomes the starting point for creating curriculum knowledge and is ultimately the setting in which curriculum knowledge is utilized. What counts as curriculum practice? Curriculum practice refers to all those practical activities necessary to conceiving, justifying, explicating, enacting, and evaluating educational programs. These activities entail making a myriad of practical decisions, ideally coherent across these various processes, to actualize an educational program over a particular span of time in a particular institutional setting for a certain set of students. The practice of curriculum is not an easy undertaking and requires more than guess work, good hunches, trial and error, and merely prudential considerations; it requires knowledge of circumstances, alternatives, effects, and specialized knowledge pertaining to curriculum practice itself—knowledge that can inform these decisions. Consequently, trustworthy curriculum knowledge must be sought by methods of sound curriculum inquiry.

Curriculum practice is a shared responsibility—one that involves many different people: visionaries and policy makers; experts in academic, technical, and practical fields of knowledge; school officials and funders; teachers; pupils; and curriculum-practice professionals, coordinators, and process managers. The need for curriculum knowledge varies considerably depending upon which of these persons is doing what part of the necessary curriculum practice activities.

The burden on those who do curriculum inquiry is great. If they are to undertake to provide the curriculum knowledge needed by all these participants in curriculum practice so that they can make the best decisions possible for their particular settings and circumstances, they need to know what curriculum questions to attempt to answer. If these researchers are located outside the realm of curriculum practice, they must immerse themselves as fully as possible in the practice of curriculum in order to be able to identify the curriculum research questions that need to be examined. Or they must constantly ask participants what questions their activities raise on which they would welcome research to be done. Alternatively, in lieu of relying upon professional researchers to conduct all needed inquiry, local participants can conduct their own inquiries on their own curriculum questions in their own settings. This is becoming quite common and is often referred to as collaborative action research. This method has the advantage of knowing that the results are pertinent for the decision setting where the research is to be used. Findings produced by outside researchers sometimes do not address local needs because of their broader, more general focus and thus require scrutiny for relevance to local needs and circumstances. Still, there is a role for professional researchers to identify and pursue curriculum research questions that potentially could have value for curriculum practitioners in a number of different settings.

The body of curriculum knowledge produced in the past may not include a great deal that is still useful to contemporary users. Circumstances change. Choices curriculum practitioners must make about purposes, content, structure, teaching, and evaluating the curriculum also change. Many generalizations or even specific findings from past research simply no longer apply. New research is needed. Identification of current curriculum questions that need to be researched is a continuing challenge. Convenient electronic communication of such questions to those doing curriculum inquiry is possible, but not yet institutionalized. Reporting the results of curriculum inquiries to potential users via print and online journals is now commonplace, but searching for needed curriculum knowledge within them is still difficult and more adequate search methods need to be devised. When curriculum practitioners cannot find relevant

research to inform their curriculum decisions, they must do their own inquiries or make judgments in the absence of curriculum knowledge. A very wide range of inquiry modes may be employed in creating curriculum knowledge. Scientific, descriptive, narrative, and evaluative modes of inquiry can answer certain limited curriculum questions with precision, empirical validity, and referential adequacy. Historical and philosophical inquiry can provide very valuable perspectives on current curriculum decisions. Political, sociological, anthropological, psychological, and critical inquiry can establish factual circumstances related to a number of dilemmas faced in curriculum decision making. Doing syntheses of research on particular curriculum research questions is also an invaluable form of inquiry. Deliberative action inquiry remains the most accessible form of curriculum inquiry for curriculum practitioners and can be done in almost any setting. Theoretical inquiry creates curriculum knowledge that defines the nature and conceptual structure of curriculum and curriculum practice, which in turn is used by all others who engage in curriculum inquiry and in curriculum practice. Curriculum inquiry takes many forms—disciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary—and through it, curriculum knowledge is derived.

*Edmund C. Short*

*See also* Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship (Web Site); Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Curriculum Theory; Curriculum Thought, Categories of

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## CURRICULUM LEADERSHIP

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There is a wide range of possible definitions of curriculum leadership given the fact that there are

over 100 interpretations of curriculum in the curriculum studies literature and over 200 interpretations of leadership in the leadership studies literature. However, despite this potential proliferation of meaning, there are very few specific definitions of curriculum leadership in the current literature; and with a couple of exceptions, these definitions do not reflect a disciplined understanding of contemporary curriculum studies. For purposes of this entry, curriculum leadership is defined as practical explanation, justification, guidance, and demonstration of a disciplined theoretical position on innovative curriculum work. This definition is appropriate for this encyclopedia for two reasons. Over the past 40 years, a strong majority of scholars in the curriculum studies field have championed educational innovation over business as usual, and they have done so in highly diverse ways. At its inception, this avant-garde trajectory was characterized as the reconceptualization of the curriculum field. Because this encyclopedia is an artifact of this reconceptualist heritage, a definition of curriculum leadership focusing on innovative work is appropriate. In April 2006, at the business meeting for the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (AAACS), William Pinar argued that it was time for curriculum scholars to begin to think carefully about the disciplinary nature of their field. His argument was accepted by the AAACS membership and served as a key starting point for that organization's ongoing curriculum studies canon project. It is, therefore, also fitting to provide a definition of curriculum leadership, stressing disciplined theoretical work.

This entry elaborates on key distinctions of the definition of curriculum leadership provided here. Next, the entry discusses the Curriculum and Pedagogy Group, whose mission is to advance such a definition of curriculum leadership. Finally, this entry examines the role of curriculum leadership for education of quality.

### Key Distinctions

The definition of curriculum leadership provided in this entry is based on three key distinctions: (1) the difference between curriculum leadership and curriculum management, (2) the difference between curriculum leadership and instructional leadership, and (3) the difference between disciplined and



undisciplined curriculum studies. Many educational scholars distinguish management from leadership with the focus of the former on efficiently maintaining a current system and of the latter on influencing others to engage in innovative change. In general, a management orientation relies on positional authority, whereas a leadership orientation is based on moral authority. Because those in positions of power may not be recognized as moral or ethical, it should not be surprising that leadership is a distributed phenomenon. As applied to education, this would mean that curriculum leadership is a collaborative undertaking involving administrative leaders, teacher leaders, student leaders, parent leaders, community leaders, and other potential leaders who have a stake in curriculum decisions. It would not be unusual for a group of teachers and their students to initiate a particular curriculum leadership project and then attempt to influence and inspire other curriculum stakeholders, particularly administrators and parents. In such a case, the teachers and their students would serve as the initiating educational leaders.

The management–leadership distinction raises an important critical question with reference to a wide range of curriculum study projects. Do these projects advance curriculum management or curriculum leadership? In effect, do they serve business efficiency or do they encourage educational innovation? For example, one of the most visible projects in the history of curriculum studies has been Ralph Tyler’s 1949 rationale for curriculum development. Prior to the late 1960s and the reconceptualization of the curriculum studies field, there was a great deal of literature applauding Tyler’s rationale as an important leadership strategy. Most scholars working out of the reconceptualist heritage criticize the Tyler Rationale as a top-down management strategy; however, there are contemporary curriculum scholars who still defend Tyler’s curriculum development approach as pragmatic leadership. The Tyler Rationale debate raises three questions. To what degree do positions on such topics as curriculum development, curriculum evaluation, and curriculum implementation advance curriculum management, not curriculum leadership, and how is this distinction understood? If the topic of this entry were curriculum management, would there be more educational projects to discuss and analyze?

The distinction between curriculum and instructional leadership is straightforward. Instructional leadership focuses on advancing innovative teaching practices. The best-practice literature in education is quite voluminous because it includes the well-researched and well-articulated instructional positions of all of the major subject matter professional associations such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), National Council for Social Studies (NCSS), and National Science Foundation (NSF). Curriculum leadership focuses on advancing innovative curriculum work that situates instruction in a larger ecological framework that includes such matters as conceptualizing educational philosophy, policy, standards, and goals; designing programs; planning and coordinating instruction; engaging in comprehensive evaluation; and organizing the work culture.

The instructional–curriculum leadership distinction raises important critical questions with reference to the advocacies in the subject matter professional associations. To what degree do their officially sponsored research projects and resulting policies advance curriculum leadership? Do these associations understand the complex, interrelated nature of the fundamentals of curriculum practice? Do they understand that teaching is only one fundamental of curriculum work? For example, are the constructivist best-practice policies of NCTM, NCTE, NCSS, NSF, and other professional associations appropriately ecological? When these professional associations provide guidance to educators on how to teach for subject matter understanding, do they consider the systemic reform implications of their constructivist advice? Do they encourage deliberations that incorporate all of the commonplaces of curriculum work? Have they studied the work of such curriculum scholars as Joseph Schwab, and as a result, are they engaging in the broadly based decision making that curriculum leadership requires?

These critical questions are informed by an understanding of the difference between disciplined and undisciplined curriculum studies. As mentioned earlier, Pinar has recently advanced this distinction. He argues that curriculum studies are disciplined in two important ways, and these two forms of discipline can be conceptualized

along horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal axis refers to the current contexts of curriculum work. Curriculum scholars display a horizontal discipline in their studies when they address a wide range of educational subtexts: political, cultural, psychological, ethical, aesthetic, spiritual, and so on. This multitextual approach is attuned to the complexities of current curriculum problems. Pinar notes that a presentation on the current state of the curriculum field would be an illustration of the horizontal discipline. The vertical axis refers to the intellectual history of curriculum studies. Curriculum scholars display a vertical discipline in their studies when they draw upon historically significant concepts within their field. Their studies incorporate such topics as the hidden curriculum as well as many other leading ideas in curriculum studies. Pinar notes that an argument for curriculum theorizing that is grounded in key curriculum concepts would be an illustration of the vertical discipline.

The disciplined–undisciplined study distinction raises several important critical questions with reference to any particular theoretical position on innovative curriculum work. Is the innovative idea properly situated in current educational circumstances? In effect, has the curriculum scholar(s) carefully considered the relationship between theory and practice? The theory–practice distinction has bedeviled curriculum studies throughout its history, particularly since the reconceptualization of the field. In 1969, Schwab, who is one of the curriculum field’s leading theorists, complained about the “flight” to theory in curriculum studies. A horizontally disciplined curriculum study project would thoughtfully link theory and practice. Formally speaking, the theory–practice binary would be deconstructed, and the project would not be perceived as academic speculation, disconnected from the real world of education. Specific guidance for the enactment of the theoretical position would be provided or at least suggested.

The vertical discipline in curriculum studies raises other critical questions. Is the theoretical project thoughtfully informed by the history of curriculum studies, or does it attempt to advance a short-term fad? Faddism is a persistent problem in education and has been thoughtfully discussed and documented by a host of curriculum scholars. Experienced teachers are quite aware of this

problem, and they know that if they do not like a particular curriculum innovation, they can usually wait it out. They understand that, generally speaking, their profession is mired in a shallow presentism—a preoccupation with one superficial theoretical idea after another. A vertically disciplined curriculum study project would advance only innovations that have enduring value. Formally speaking, past–present, past–future, and present–future binaries would be deconstructed. In effect, the particular innovation would be grounded in a curriculum wisdom orientation. Specific guidance for the enactment of a holistic practical artistry directed toward enduring personal and social goods would be provided or at least suggested.

### Curriculum and Pedagogy Group

The Curriculum and Pedagogy (C&P) group, which holds an annual Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference, sponsors a peer-reviewed publication titled *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy (JCP)*. The first issue of this biannual journal was published in summer 2004. The C&P’s mission statement is a more developed articulation of this entry’s definition of curriculum leadership. Patrick Slattery and James Henderson, who are the coeditors of *JCP*, have analyzed the key parameters of the C&P’s mission statement in their editors’ introductions for each *JCP* issue, and their examination has identified a five-part agenda. First, the C&P community building must be grounded in the horizontal and vertical dimensions of curriculum studies. Without this grounding, specific C&P efforts will not be properly disciplined; they would lack practical breadth and historical depth. Second, particular theoretical positions should address the vital relationship between educational experience and deep democracy. Addressing this relationship would ensure that the curriculum theorizing would be oriented to enduring values, not superficial fads. Third, the theorizing should be informed by diversified inquiries inspired by a particular arc in John Dewey’s philosophical scholarship. Early in his career, Dewey articulated his pedagogical beliefs and demonstrated how these beliefs could be practiced in a lab school work environment and other educational contexts; then throughout the rest of his career, Dewey proceeded to undertake a

diverse set of studies (epistemological, ethical, aesthetic, psychological, sociological, political, etc.) into educational experience with reference to the dynamic relationship between learning through experience and building a democratic culture. Near the end of his long and productive career, Dewey considered substituting culture for experience as the key organizer for his work.

Fourth, the C&P community's curriculum leadership agenda should address the challenges of practicing deliberative judgment. Otherwise, there is the possibility that a particular theoretical position would not promote well-informed decision making, which would then be inconsistent with the C&P's mission to link contemporary curriculum studies with pedagogical artistry. Finally, the C&P should be concerned with inspiring the public imagination. Inspiring the public imagination is quite important because educational practices are currently dominated by standardized management policies. As a consequence of this historical condition, the vast majority of the current public equates quality education with standardized test scores. In terms of public educational policy, this uninformed public makes no distinction between a limited form of assessment and the complexities of curriculum evaluation. Specific individuals may not practice such superficial judgments in their personal lives, particularly when it comes to the education of their own school-age children, but they readily embrace testing accountability as the solution to educational problems.

### **Curriculum Leadership for Education of Quality**

This entry concludes with a concise reiteration of what constitutes good curriculum leadership in societies with democratic ideals. Specific projects that are self-identified as curriculum leadership would take an ecological approach to educational innovation, would be guided by a critical and historical analysis of contemporary society, would be informed by the history of curriculum studies, and would encourage deliberative judgments that advance the enduring values of democratic living. There are few such projects in current education, but many hope this will change in the future. There could come a day when an analysis of curriculum leadership would incorporate a wide range of

current illustrations of disciplined curriculum theorizing that is well grounded in practical explanation, justification, guidance, and demonstration.

This entry's definition of curriculum leadership raises a number of key critical questions that could be asked about any educational project. Because education has historically been coded as a low-status female occupation, does the particular project challenge this sexist heritage? For example, does the project challenge the prevailing assumption that education is not an autonomous profession but a semiprofessional craft in which all teachers need to be carefully managed? Does the project encourage and support a democratically distributed approach to educational leadership? In particular, does the project promote the emergence of and authentic collaborations between administrative and teacher leaders? Does the project encourage and sustain well-informed, moral judgments? Are the educators being challenged to deliberate and reflect on real learning problems with appropriate breadth and depth? If so, is their moral orientation consistent with a democratic social contract? Do they understand that their professional responsibilities extend beyond subject matter instruction? Do they understand that they occupy a vital public intellectual role in their society? Are the educators working out of a comprehensive, ecological approach to curriculum work? Do they understand the systemic nature of their innovative efforts?

There is no particular ideological agenda attached to these critical inquiries. However, there is a deep commitment to treating curriculum leadership as the vital component of quality education, and there is a deep commitment to advancing education as the vital profession in societies with a democratic social contract and mission. This entry's definition of curriculum leadership might not yet be understandable and relevant in societies lacking a curriculum studies heritage, but this historical circumstance is changing as the curriculum field undergoes a fairly rapid internationalization. An increasing number of societies around the planet can now draw upon the local expertise of disciplined curriculum theorists who advance clearly explained, well-justified, practical applications of their innovative theoretical ideas.

*James G. Henderson*

See also Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference; *Curriculum Theorizing; Education and the Cult of Efficiency*; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*; *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*; Reconceptualization; Transformative Curriculum Leadership; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## CURRICULUM POLICY

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There are three kinds of curriculum policy: *formal*, *implicit*, and *prudential*. Formal curriculum policy is the official, mandatory statement of what is to be taught to students. Such statements are expressed in widely different ways by those responsible for policy development, for example, philosophical vision, goals, subject matter knowledge, student standards, and what students know and should be able to do. Curriculum policy takes on broader implicit and prudential meaning during implementation. Implicit curriculum policy refers to policies at various administrative and government levels that influence curriculum practices. For instance, the United States, No Child

Left Behind Act (NCLB) is an education policy with significant impact on local curriculum practices, though NCLB is not a formal curriculum policy. Implicit curriculum policy also refers to statements, documents, suggestions, advice, and other matters that often accompany formal curriculum policy and that do not, officially, carry the weight of mandatory requirement, but that are treated as such in practice. Prudential curriculum policy refers to the prudence, practical wisdom, and practical knowledge used by teachers, school administrators, school board staff, and elected trustees as they adapt formal and implicit curriculum policy for local situations. In many jurisdictions, formal and implicit curriculum policy is established by provincial/state governments. School boards and schools implement these policies in various ways depending on their communities and the variation among communities within the jurisdiction of the school board.

These three kinds of curriculum policies interact in different ways under different forms of government. In the U.S. presidential republican system with a strong central government educational policy role, at least in recent years, implicit curriculum policy may drive state and local formal curriculum policy and may override prudential policy. This possibility is evident with NCLB. In parliamentary systems such as in Canada and in Australia, education is the constitutional responsibility of the provinces and states. The result is that implicit curriculum policy may be formulated closer to school curriculum practice and in closer conjunction with formal curriculum policy than is the case in a presidential system. Ministers of Education in Canada regularly bring curriculum policy to a cabinet of other ministers, some of whom may administer policies impinging on curriculum and that, therefore, function as implicit curriculum policies. There are Canadian examples of financial leverage to implement implicit and formal curriculum policy. For example, in Ontario, schools not achieving provincial content standards receive additional support. In centralized, nonelected governments, for example, China, less is known about the mix of policy forms. Implicit and prudential curriculum policy is likely of less importance in nonelected systems with the result that there is a more direct connection between formal policy and practice than is the case in elected government systems.



### Names for Formal Curriculum Policy

Formal curriculum policy appears in documents with a variety of names, the most common being curriculum guide or curriculum guideline. A similar term, *curriculum syllabus*, is used in Australia. Syllabus also has a more restricted meaning of course outline. In Ontario, the term *curriculum documents* is used to define what students are expected to know. Other common names given to curriculum policy are curriculum goals, curriculum vision, curriculum philosophy, and content and performance standards.

The name given to formal curriculum policy documents, and the language in which they are cast, tends to reflect a mix of currently popular professional educational language and the language of popular discourse. For example in recent years the language of standards, with associated terms such as *benchmark* and *rubric* and the phrase “what students should know and be able to do,” is popular both professionally and publicly and may appear as the name of curriculum policy documents or as an important organizing term for policy documents called by another name. In the examples discussed below, the state of Missouri refers to its curriculum policy as Show-Me Standards, and the province of Ontario refers to its curriculum policy as curriculum documents.

### Practical and Political Functions

Curriculum policy has two principal functions: to guide practice and to establish a position on competing political positions, often by reflecting a government view. The definition of curriculum policy and the discussion of the three kinds of curriculum policy above refer to the practical function. Most, if not all, formal and implicit curriculum policies appear in the practical guideline form. They are designed to be read as directions for the content and outcome of school curriculum. Everything in a formal curriculum policy document refers directly or indirectly to student outcomes of schooling.

The process of writing curriculum policy is political. Curriculum policies are the outcome of competing discourse by a variety of stakeholders. Within the critical curriculum theory literature, the question of “What knowledge should be in the curriculum?” has become “Whose knowledge should be in the curriculum?” The shift reflects the political

function of curriculum policy that, these theorists argue, normally serves the interests of social elites over the socially disenfranchised. Curriculum policies represent concrete political positions and answers on the knowledge question.

The curriculum policy development process may, in some circumstances and situations, not appear to be political. Suppose an elementary school mathematics policy has been in existence for several years and suppose, furthermore, that there is no public or mathematics professional association debate over elementary school mathematics. Periodic updates and revisions to the policy may happen quietly and by the action of a small number of appointed curriculum policy writers, including teachers. The process appears to be academic and bureaucratic. But consider the professional mathematics wars over the kind and purpose of school mathematics and the public debate that periodically surfaces over mathematics literacy and achievement. The appearance of an apolitical elementary school mathematics curriculum is a function of a relatively quiet period in political debate over the mathematics curriculum.

Some curriculum policy development processes originate in public debate, sometimes by coalitions of parents or by advocates for a specific issue, for example, the environment, rather than with the cyclic need to update curriculum policy. For instance, public debate over literacy and numeracy—generated, perhaps, by international comparative achievement studies, widely discussed statements by public intellectuals, or rising international tension and competition—may show up as planks in political party platforms at election time. The political promise to revise or to create new curriculum policy may be an important factor in the election of a particular government. When elected, the Education Department or Ministry oversees the follow-up curriculum policy development process. Policy revised and created in this way is political in character and functions to justify voter trust in the political party. From this perspective, curriculum policy is political not only in the sense of being a practical resolution to public debate, but also in the party sense, meaning that curriculum policy is a two-sided entity that functions both to guide practical curriculum activity and to temporarily resolve political debate. Curriculum policy is best thought of as a fulcrum

balancing the practical guideline function with the political resolution of issues function.

### Curriculum Policy for Curriculum Policy

Curriculum policy statements exhibit variation from political jurisdiction to political jurisdiction. They not only vary in the name given to curriculum policy and in the terms used to organize and structure policy, but also vary within jurisdictions. For example, an elementary school science curriculum policy may, apart from the content covered, exhibit different features than a secondary school curriculum policy for the same jurisdiction. The decision over what a policy should be called, how it should be organized, with what terms, and in what detail is a political process. For instance, The Queensland Studies Authority recently commissioned a team of researchers to review worldwide literature on curriculum policy and to draft a syllabus design prototype for all Queensland syllabus documents from PreK–12. This report was then subjected to a public review and development process in which various features of the report were debated. Depending on how this process ultimately unfolds, Queensland may be said to have a curriculum policy for curriculum policy.

Some jurisdictions have, as part of their overall curriculum policy, a policy on the process of revising curriculum policy. Part of such a policy is the specification of the basis for evaluating and revising curriculum policy. Such policies may require a scan of professional, academic, and public opinion and will normally specify review committee composition, timeline, and feedback mechanisms for proposed changes. These are special kinds of formal curriculum policy because they are directed to the education bureaucracy rather than to schools and school boards. With frequent government changes in elected systems, the formal authority of such policies is muted.

### A Neglected Topic

Curriculum policy is neglected in the research literature, though it appears as an overview topic in textbooks and handbooks. For example, it appears in neither the table of contents nor the index in the two-volume *International Handbook of Educational Policy*. One reason for this neglect is that

policy analysts tend to be administrator scholars rather than curriculum scholars. Their expertise is curriculum context and their interests tend to system process over curriculum practice. Another reason is that the writings that do exist on curriculum policy by curriculum scholars tend to be on philosophical and ideological concerns rather than on policy analysis. For instance, there is a recent curriculum policy literature on the impact of national testing and accountability policies, but the literature tends to be ideologically concerned with what is perceived to be the harmful influence of policy.

### Curriculum Policy Examples

#### *Missouri Show-Me Standards*

The language of standards is widespread in recent years, and curriculum policy now appears in documents called standards, for example, the Missouri Show-Me Standards. The Show-Me Standards are an outcome of Missouri's Outstanding Schools Act of 1993 and reflects Washington, D.C.'s national education agenda. The development process was initiated by the state governor's following consultation with business leaders. Three key groups were involved: the Education Workgroup, which wrote the standards; the Commission on Performance, which monitored the process; and a series of public reviews and forums. The final statement of curriculum policy reflected the interactions of these three players.

The statement of standards begins with a note to readers concerning what high school students should know and be able to do. The standards are divided into four goals and six subject areas. For example, the goal calling for students to gather, analyze, and apply knowledge is broken into 10 subgoals that are to be demonstrated by students both within and across the subject areas. Altogether there are 73 statements for the four goals and six content areas, the Missouri standards are presented in a slim two-sided, one-page document with goals on one side and content areas on the other.

#### *Ontario Curriculum Documents*

Formal curriculum policy documents and policy associated documents are known as *The Ontario Curriculum*. The document *Language, Grades 1–8* is a policy document that describes to the public

what is to be expected of students from the elementary language program. In contrast, *The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 1–8: English as a Second Language and English Literacy Development—A Resource Guide* is a resource document supporting the Grades 1 through 8 language policy. The complexity of documents, their close relationship on the Web site, and the suggestive language used in the resource documents blur the boundary between curriculum policy and resource documents. The Ontario resource documents are examples of implicit curriculum policy.

Ontario has no overall statement of curriculum policy. Policy is organized by subject within elementary (Grades 1–8) and secondary (Grades 9–12), with 9 and 18 documents, respectively, resulting in over 500 secondary school courses. Each document has a general subject overview; a general statement of expectations by grade groupings, 1 through 8 and 9 through 12; a breakdown by grade; a section on student assessment and evaluation; another on program planning; and a glossary. The language document noted above is 160 pages, and its implicit curriculum policy support document is 122 pages.

The organizing terms are *strands, expectations, knowledge categories, levels of achievement, and provincial standard*. Strands are organizing categories for knowledge and skills expectations. Expectations are divided into overall expectations and specific expectations and appear as detailed lists of subject by grade. For instance, reading is a language policy strand, and reading expectations are described overall for Grades 1 through 8 and in detail by grade. For assessment and evaluation purposes, a chart of knowledge categories by achievement level is provided. Each knowledge-level cell contains a description of what students can do. There are four levels. Level 3 is the provincial standard below which students are performing below expectations and above which they are performing above expectations. These are broad descriptions, and by policy, teachers are expected to use discretion on which general and specific expectations should be the basis for the assessment and evaluation of individual students.

*The Ontario Curriculum* describes the process for writing and revising formal curriculum policy. Curriculum policy documents are revised on a 7-year cycle. Wide consultation with the profession, academics, other ministries, parents, students,

nongovernmental organizations, business, and others in the public is combined with reviews of other jurisdictions and of the disciplines to determine needed revisions. Writing teams drawn from school boards are appointed.

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*See also* Curriculum Change; Curriculum Development; Curriculum Implementation

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## CURRICULUM PURPOSES

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Curriculum purposes typically include the goals, aims, and objectives of an educational program. As such, purposes have long played a central role in curriculum studies. For Franklin Bobbitt, curriculum purposes focused on those skills necessary to adult life, but which were unlikely to be learned effectively outside of school. Ralph Tyler, unlike Bobbitt, did not argue directly for purposes that would concentrate on preparation for adulthood. Rather, his approach sought to identify the sources useful in formulating curriculum purposes. These

sources included studies of learners, studies of contemporary life, suggestions by subject matter specialists, and philosophy—thus providing a broad basis for addressing Tyler’s central question: What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? More recently, the objectives movement of the 1960s and 1970s took up the logic that any educational program should begin with a clear determination of what that program was to achieve. This emphasis on outcomes has also been evident in the standards and accountability movements that followed the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in the 1980s and the U.S. federal government’s efforts to establish definable outcomes in education.

In all of these examples, curriculum purposes have been intended to guide the outcomes of schooling. Nevertheless, purposes and outcomes are not necessarily the same. It is conceivable that a curriculum could deskill students or reinforce social prejudices even with admirable purposes. Whatever the outcomes of a program, its purposes are usually ameliorative; they seek to improve someone or something. On this point, two broad and overlapping traditions have characterized curriculum thought. One tradition focuses on social needs and the other on individual development. Both are considered below.

### Social Needs

Using social needs to determine curriculum purposes represents a longstanding practice. Plato adopted this approach when discussing the role of education in his ideal state, the Republic. Plato argued that youth should be taught according to their capacities to serve the city-state in one of three roles—that of artisan, guardian, or ruler. By doing so, both society and individuals would benefit, but in Plato’s view, the needs of society were prominent. The legacy of this approach is again seen in contemporary educational thought. One common example is the persistent belief that schools could serve as a melting pot to Americanize various ethnic and immigrant groups. The historical functions of endeavor were to ensure harmony among social groups and strengthen national stability. From the common school movement to the post-*Sputnik* Educational Defense Act of 1958, schooling has been touted as essential to the nation’s welfare.

These examples suggest a vision of social needs that seek to maintain the unhindered functioning of society. Such needs reflect society as it is. Thus, vocational education is often viewed as supplying the nation with a competent workforce, just as elite colleges are viewed as producing future leaders. A social needs approach, however, may also be based on a desire for social change. Such needs reflect society as it should be. This approach is often referred to as social reconstructionism. Its exemplars include George S. Counts’ book, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* Other examples of social reconstructionism include programs that seek to reduce discrimination based on race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and religion. Programs that promote peace education and teaching for ecojustice may also follow this approach.

### Individual Development

Curriculum purposes based on individual development, like those based on social needs, have a long history. The educational ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and later those of John Dewey are often associated with this tradition. Both Rousseau and Dewey recognized the social nature of education and the needs that arise from conjoint living. However, they insisted that these needs be balanced with a person’s needs for self-actualization. Capable individuals guided by their particular interests and who can exercise their individual abilities and talents are regarded in this approach as the cornerstone of a good and just society.

However, to achieve these social goals, education cannot begin with general social needs or the broadly conceived national concerns. Instead, education must look to the individual students at hand. Their impulses, needs, desires, and motives serve as the driving forces behind curriculum purposes. From this starting point, Dewey believed that an individual’s education would develop to approximate social needs and genuine preparation for adult life. Yet adult conceptions of needs are usually distant and intangible from the interests and lives of children. Thus, educators guided by social needs must often coerce students into learning seemingly irrelevant content. Through rewards and punishment students can be compelled to imitate skills and to memorize all sorts of information, but the result leaves their education superficial.



Both the social needs and individual development traditions noted here embrace a wide range of aspirations and values often mentioned in relation to curriculum purposes. Some of these aims are more strongly associated with one tradition over the other, but few are exclusive to either tradition alone. The aims of multicultural education, for example, are often couched in the language of social reconstructivism. This perspective seeks to prepare students to contribute to a pluralistic society; one free of racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. Yet multicultural understandings may also build on and broaden the personal experience of students thereby promoting individual development. Character education, on the other hand, has usually been based on the importance of moral development as part of self-actualization. At the same time, strong arguments can be made for character education as essential to social restructuring. Critical thinking is an example that serves both traditions, but again in different ways. Some see critical thinking as developmental and necessary to how individuals derive meaning from their private and public lives. Others view critical thinking as a tool for social and democratic reform. This range of examples suggests that although curriculum purposes are not self-evident, they still are significant contributions to the design and evaluation of educational programs.

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*See also* *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*; *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*; *Curriculum Thought, Categories of*; Dewey, John; *Nation at Risk, A*; *Objectives in Curriculum Planning*; *Reconstructionism*

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, DEFINITIONS AND DIMENSIONS OF

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Curriculum studies deals with a robust array of sources that provide the following: (a) *perspective* on questions about what curriculum is or ought to be, (b) alternative or complementary *paradigms* of inquiry that enable explorations of such questions, and (c) diverse *possibilities* for proposing and enacting responses to the questions in educational theory and settings of educational practice. This tripartite emphasis on perspective, paradigm, and possibility depicts substantive concerns of curriculum studies and serves as the organizing structure of this entry. A necessary beginning is to clarify the origins of curriculum studies.

### Origins

The term *curriculum studies* evolved during the past half century from its forerunner known as curriculum development, a term that emerged in the 1930s to designate a field that evolved at the beginning of the 20th century to facilitate curriculum (courses of study) for schools in the expanding project of universal schooling. Curriculum studies is a term that designates a shift of theory and practice as scholars sought understanding of curricula as phenomena of interest and societal import in contrast with sole concentration on service to leaders of practice in schools. By the early 1970s, widely recognized curricularists determined that their work should not primarily provide a basis for curriculum development in schools. They realized that if they simply served the will of schools, they were inadvertently supporting the will of those who made policy for schools. Such policy was thought to misrepresent public interests because it was conjured to fulfill the interests of the most wealthy and powerful members of society. This argument brought a wide range of scholarly sources to the forefront, such as diverse philosophies, literary and artistic works, and a range of social, political, and economic perspectives. Interests of equity and social justice, as well as self-realization and identity, have emerged as major topics of emphasis. The cause of societal maintenance that schools had long served was deemed limited if not puerile as a reason for scholarship.

Thus, the guiding questions of curriculum studies are pursued relative to whatever configurations of human association or community lend themselves to such pursuits and are not relegated to school alone. By 1982, the scholarly area of curriculum studies was fully instantiated by the educational research community, symbolized by the renaming of the curriculum division of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) as Curriculum Studies rather than Curriculum and Objectives, which was the name that had prevailed for the previous two decades.

The following sections discuss each of the three main topics of curriculum studies: perspective, paradigm, and possibility.

### Perspective

Curriculum studies derives perspective from the following: key questions it pursues, the field of inquiry, and its history, context, philosophy, and policy.

#### *Key Questions*

Introduced above, questions about what is worthwhile for human beings to grow into fully functioning individuals and contributors to the advancement of their social worlds is the central purpose of curriculum studies. Although pursuit of such questions traditionally has been considered a problem of schooling, it is now deemed a problem of any association of human beings or relationship among human beings that addresses these questions. To address these questions requires familiarity with bodies of knowledge accumulated by curriculum scholars and often summarized and reconceptualized in synoptic curriculum texts. Acquisition of such knowledge derives from a legacy of socialization into practical and scholarly dimensions of the field of curriculum studies. However, such socialization is not statically reproductive; rather, it embodies a strong call to imagination that builds on, and even departs from, the legacy of previous curriculum studies to create novel extrapolations. For instance, debate has ensued for many years about fairness and justice relative to answers afforded questions of worth. For instance, whose version of worth is being promoted or denied at a given time and place? The assumption is that other questions of education

(e.g., pertaining to management, finance, psychology of learning, remediation, subject matter learning, policy formulation and implementation, teacher education, professional development, change, or reform) are contingent upon questions of what is worthwhile.

In claiming the centrality of addressing the question of worth, curriculum studies ironically offers an equally strong caveat about doing so: Questions of worth are so complicated and complex that the greatest minds throughout history have been unable to answer them fully. Thus, curriculum studies is an area that staunchly advocates asking the most difficult questions about what human beings and their society are and should become and simultaneously realizes that answers to such questions can at best be partial. Nevertheless, children, youth, and adults abound in every culture, and they need to come to greater realization of who they are and might become—thus, the what, why, who, how, where, and when of that which is worthwhile. Because situational needs change often, these matters must be addressed continuously, realizing that answers to such questions cannot fully be known. Controversy abounds as experts do their best to partially answer what-is-worthwhile questions and as all human beings are admonished to ask such questions for themselves.

#### *Field of Inquiry*

The formal field of curriculum studies consists of many scholarly and practice-based organizations. There are too many to identify comprehensively, though most may be located in this encyclopedia. Larger associations range from the highly scholarly AERA to the practitioner-oriented ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development), which caters primarily to curriculum leaders in schools. In addition, cutting-edge interests have led to the growth of numerous smaller organizations, such as the Bergamo Curriculum Group, Curriculum and Pedagogy, The Society for the Study of Curriculum History, the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC), and the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies, along with its numerous national affiliates. Several of these groups have their own journals. Three major curriculum studies journals (*Curriculum Inquiry*, *Journal of*

*Curriculum Studies*, and *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*) have existed for several decades. Others have existed more briefly and include *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* (by AATC), *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* (by ASCD, but now discontinued), and one major curriculum journal for practitioners, *Educational Leadership* (by ASCD). Curriculum organizations are found in many different countries as well. Insofar as origins of curriculum studies reside in the foundations of education, many curriculum scholars turn to publications and meetings of the American Educational Studies Association, the John Dewey Society, the Philosophy of Education Society, and the Society of Professors of Education. Such associations and their publications constitute organizational foundations of curriculum studies. Journals such as *Harvard Educational Review*, *Teachers College Record*, *American Journal of Education*, and AERA journals carry key articles on curriculum studies, though they publish articles on many other educational topics. In addition, major publishers of educational books (e.g., Peter Lang, Routledge, Taylor Francis, Teachers College Press, SAGE, ASCD, Jossey-Bass, Information Age, Corwin, State University of New York Press, and other university presses) often have sizable holdings or book series in the area of curriculum studies.

### *Curriculum History*

Curriculum history can be construed as the history of curriculum studies as a realm of inquiry, or it can be considered as a source of perspective for engaging in curriculum studies. As a realm of inquiry, curriculum studies emerged in the late 1970s when scholars in the field revealed inequities and injustices of educational opportunity based on such factors as socioeconomic class, race, gender, age, language, ethnicity, culture, sexual orientation, and nationality. They no longer saw their mission as simply doing research on how to more efficiently and effectively develop, design, implement, and evaluate curriculum that perpetuated inequities promoted by state and the corporate interests. Therefore, these scholars studied and exposed the values and assumptions implicit and explicit in policies and practices that led to

unjust learning experiences in schools and other organizations. Similarly, they portrayed and proposed practices that overcame injustice. Today, curriculum studies scholars continue efforts to expose injustice, illuminate possibilities, and enhance pursuit of that which is worthwhile. They hope such work leads to more fully functioning persons and greater experiences of goodness and justice for human beings.

History of efforts to seek that which is worthwhile can be traced to time immemorial in innumerable proposals or countless ponderings of parents and communities about how to induct the young into life. Any of this is precedent for curriculum studies. Documentary and interpretive work within the relatively short history of universal schooling provides an abundant source for curriculum scholars to tap as they attempt to analyze, interpret, critique, and advocate for improved curriculum theory policy and practice.

### *Contextual Studies*

Considerable perspective for those who work in curriculum studies derives from sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, geography, ecology, cultural studies, and other areas of study that enable increased understanding of contexts in which curricula are embedded. The study of such factors from a curriculum studies framework is much different than it was during the curriculum development era that preceded it. In the curriculum development era, contextual factors were studied for the purpose of overcoming them in order to efficiently implement already determined curricular purposes. Scholars in the curriculum studies era resisted this instrumentalist purpose of research, seeing context not as enemy or impediment, but as a source of understanding. Hence, today curriculum studies hails study of contexts of schools or any other institutions of education as sites of critique and sources of understanding. Moreover, curriculum studies holds multiple dimensions of context as curricula worthy of intensive study—forces that interact with human agency to shape lives and relationships with the world.

### *Philosophy and Curriculum Theory*

Because curriculum studies focuses on that which is or ought to be deemed worthwhile, it

turns to philosophy, the realm of assumptions. In traditional philosophy, assumptions are often categorized according to perennial realms of metaphysics (nature, including human nature), epistemology (conceptions of truth and diverse ways of knowing), axiology (bases of value), ethics (conceptions of good and evil), aesthetics (theories of beauty or pattern), politics (positions on how to live together), and theology (beliefs concerning deified or spiritual realms). During the curriculum development era, theorists tried to discover pragmatic means of achieving preordained ends, often using empirical and analytic methods of inquiry. Drawing from John Dewey's more complex notion of pragmatism, however, those in curriculum studies seek to understand through attention to a holistic range of consequences—from intended to unintended. Further, curriculum studies builds on philosophies of idealism, realism, naturalism, and theology, as well as on more recent perspectives (e.g., existentialism, radical psychoanalysis, phenomenology, critical theory and critical race theory, deconstruction, and postmodernism) in attempts to understand human conceptions of what is worthwhile and actions upon it. Even if philosophy is not consciously engaged, certain assumptions rule human affairs by default in the sense that everyday volitions and actions are built upon habit, policy, resistance, deliberation, and imagination. In turn, all of these are contingent upon philosophical assumptions. So by taking a proactive posture, curriculum studies exemplifies a central assumption that all educational inquiry and endeavor should be accompanied by thoughtful philosophical considerations. One might say that engaging in curriculum studies is to embrace a never-ending quest wherein philosophy is embedded in action for the purpose of making life more worthwhile.

### *Curriculum Policy*

Curriculum policy is usually a function of social policy and large educational policy. Positively, it is a construction drawn from careful analysis of the key questions, resources of the field, history, context, and philosophy pertaining to curriculum studies. Negatively, it is an autocratic imposition orchestrated for the benefit of wealthy power wielders, who manipulate curriculum and educational

situations to sustain their own advantage at the pinnacle of the societal sorting machine.

Policy analysis in curriculum can focus on explicit, intended policy and how it is implemented and evaluated. In addition, it can focus on covert policy designed to control the poor, middle, and professional classes for the benefit of the elite classes. The intended curriculum, overt or covert, may be productively analyzed and interpreted relative to the extent that it is effectively carried out—a process known as treatment specification and verification. Or it may be interpreted more subtly in terms of how participants began with an initial sense of direction or disposition and through ongoing self-evaluation enabled policy to evolve new forms more tailored to the needs and interests of participants most closely involved with it. In either orientation to curricular policy, a number of curriculum venues emerge for analysis, interpretation, critique, and evaluation. One of these is hidden curriculum, which has at least three meanings: first, subtle messages that educators intend to convey, such as politeness or interest in learning; second, subtle messages that educators convey without intent due to personal mannerisms, such as screaming that learners should treat one another with compassion or autocratically teaching principles of democracy; and third, conveyance of structural attributes of the larger society in which the educational organization is embedded, thus perpetuating racism, classism, sexism, ageism, and the like. Curriculum policy analysis might also focus on the null curriculum—that is, that which is not taught (philosophy, alternative political systems, economic understandings, and human relations) or that which is given short shrift and first to be excluded from the budget (the arts, music, health programs, and ecological awareness). Policy, in this regard, might best be reflected in budgetary proportions of emphasis. The taught curriculum, too, can be analyzed to show multiple interpretations of how the intended curriculum is purveyed differently by different teachers. The tested curriculum bespeaks a limited band of emphasis on all that is learned, the learned curriculum, in any educational setting. Moreover, the learned curriculum might be quite different from *the embodied curriculum*, or that which is internalized and becomes part of a person's lived experience.



## Paradigm

The term *paradigm* has been appropriated from the history of science, particularly the work of Thomas Kuhn, and applied to many fields, including curriculum studies. It refers to a composite of values that shapes thought that governs inquiry in a given field. Accepted inquiry in a field of science governed research in that realm for a time, standardizing practices, until anomalies emerged in significant proportion to require alteration of the paradigm, promoting moves from Newtonian to quantum physics, from pre- to post-Darwinian biology, from pre- to post-Euclidian geometry, from Ptolemaic to Copernican astronomy.

In curriculum studies and in psychological and social sciences, there has been domination by the empirical-analytic paradigm, which is challenged by the hermeneutic-practical paradigm, the critical praxis paradigm, and the postmodern antiparadigm. In some ways, paradigm is closely related to ideology, which is a complex configuration of perspective forged from historical, cultural, social, ecological, economic, political, religious, and philosophical contexts combined with personal and communal acts of agency of acceptance, contestation, resistance, adaptation, reconceptualization, reconstitution, and reconstruction. Thus, categories of curriculum thought that represent ideological differences merge in complicated scenarios with paradigms of curriculum inquiry that represent orientations to inquiry or epistemological bases. Although space does not permit analysis of interactions between paradigm and ideology in this entry, paradigms are briefly depicted below, and readers are encouraged to meld them with ideologies as represented in different category schemes of curriculum theory and practice.

### *Empirical-Analytic Paradigm*

Dominant during the curriculum development era and still today in policy circles, advocates of this paradigm seek credibility by imitating their impression of research done by natural scientists, social scientists, and psychologists. One strong root of curriculum development traces to the rise of experimental psychology at the beginning of the 20th century. Another root traces to foundations of education, particularly to pragmatist philosophy derived from work by Dewey, William James,

and Charles S. Peirce. Pragmatist roots relate to practical and critical paradigms, which are discussed next. Empirical science builds upon the psychological roots and as a basis of credibility touts discovery and application of basic principles or law-like propositions to guide curriculum development, instructional delivery, and evaluation that involve significant forms of tests and measurements. Built within a structure of control that includes many layers of supervisors and workers, couched within a means-ends or process-product linear rationality, this paradigm is used to serve the rationale for large-scale policy endeavors such as *No Child Left Behind* (2000) and *A Nation at Risk*. These U.S. efforts bespeak assumptions of control and certainty that fuel the empirical-analytic paradigm, even if it is more often rationalization for subtle political and economic maneuvers than genuine rationale to enable pursuit of that which is publicly deemed worthwhile. It sports the appearance of careful definition and analysis and treatment specification and verification and treats research and knowledge as value free and objective, reliable, valid, and replicable. Emphasizing test scores as a key indicator of success or failure, advocates of this paradigm display their regard for parsimony and acceptance of constructed social and intellectual reality as a reality as virtually unattainable. It continues to be the dominant approach used by those who design instructional materials, advocate accrediting compliance, and design and follow lesson or unit plans rather than enable them to evolve through faith in participants' abilities to discover their situational needs.

A four-part conceptualization of principles of curriculum, derived from the work of Ralph Tyler, has been appropriated since the early 1950s by those who function in the empirical-analytic mode. Self-appointed disciples of Tyler have made his principles more linear and recipe-oriented than he intended. Despite the fact that Tyler clearly stated that his topical considerations were not to be followed as a recipe, but rather addressed needs emerged in the spirit of pragmatic philosophy, most adherents saw them as the following recipe: clarify purposes, select learning experiences to achieve the purposes, organize learning experience to horizontally and vertically deliver purposes, and evaluate to determine how well the purposes were achieved as a basis for curriculum revision. Although

applied most often to school curricula, this procedure was offered for any kind of educational setting—large or small, formal or informal. Since the 1950s, scholars of many ideological and intellectual persuasions and paradigmatic orientations have debated interpretations of central elements within the Tyler Rationale. They have considered the relative value of global or broadly stated purposes, behavioral or specific observable and measurable objectives, expressive objectives that seek imaginative surprise, and evolving purposes that begin with a sense of direction and change through inquiry by those in grassroots situations. Debate often rages over how sources of purpose should be balanced, identified by Tyler and augmented by many subsequent scholars: philosophy, psychology of learning, learner interest, social need, and subject matter interpretation. Such topics trace back to Dewey and other educators at the conclusion of the 19th century, when the curriculum field was in its infancy. In addition, debate centers on criteria for selecting purposes, both substantive (socialization, achievement, personal growth, social change) and procedural (representation, clarity, defensibility, consistency, feasibility). Although dimensions of these debates could be exclusive to the empirical–analytic paradigm, many relate more to the hermeneutic–practical paradigm and to the paradigm of critical praxis. Debate and deliberation have also continued on the other three topics identified by Tyler (learning experiences, organization, evaluation), turning dynamically and often dramatically on criteria for selecting positions within each. Curriculum scholars have attempted to clarify assumptions upon which selection is based and judgment about the impact of consequences of acting on them. Since the 1950s, scholars in curriculum studies have identified a host of contextual factors that have strongly influenced criteria and selection of purposes, learning experiences, organizational patterns, and modes of evaluation. Alternative paradigms have emerged to explore these matters and to seek other topics for consideration in addition to those within the Tyler Rationale.

### *Hermeneutic–Practical Paradigm*

Hermeneutics traces back to Judaic theology and practices of reinterpreting sacred texts.

Through phenomenological and existential thought, hermeneutics in the contemporary era has referred to interpretation of the metaphoric texts of one's life world. In curriculum studies, the notion of hermeneutics, then, becomes the interpretation of diverse discourses of experience that give meaning to one's life. Coupled with practical inquiry, which derives from both the practical deliberation of Joseph Schwab and the pragmatism of Dewey, curriculum becomes a quest for understanding where we come from, who we are, who we hope to become, and how we hope to live in and contribute to the world. William Pinar, Madeleine Grumet, and others have called this *currere*, the verb form of curriculum; *currere* is an active effort to understand through interaction with the world rather than through detached induction and deduction about it. Such inquiry seeks situational insight that enlightens ethical, aesthetic, and political decision and action within lived experience. *Currere*, then, is considerably different from conventional notions of curriculum as a journey or production set out in advance to be followed; it is an experiencing that evolves with pursuit of understanding.

### *Critical Praxis Paradigm*

Although curriculum studies scholars of this paradigm respect the ideals of *currere*, they argue that it is impossible to engage in interaction that is not politicized by unequal power relationships. Injustices, inequities, and oppressions of power need to be exposed as embedded in false consciousness and productive of unfair advantage. It is deemed necessary to critically question such matters at the grassroots level. Paulo Freire argues that it is necessary to engage in theorizing in the course of action that liberates from the bonds of oppression—political, social, economic, cultural, and psychological. In the early 20th century such questions were asked by educators, both within and outside the curriculum field. Within the field there were such scholars as Harold Rugg and George Counts, who along with Dewey, raised consciousness about the need to reconstruct society into a less greedy, acquisitive, and warlike place. Outside the field, sadly kept outside by racial prejudice of the day, there existed similar questioning of oppression raised by African American scholars, such as

W. E. B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. During the move from preoccupation with curriculum development to curriculum studies, Michael Apple and Henry Giroux were two prominent voices from the 1970s to the present who urged curricularists not only to ask questions about what is worthwhile, but also to explore who decides what is worthwhile and consequences that accrue from alternative images of what is worthwhile. Critical praxis has been influenced considerably by Freire's challenge to read and write their worlds. An ideal, then, is to move toward new conceptions of public spaces, to use Maxine Greene's language, through the re-creation of learning webs that Ivan Illich proposed should evolve in free and democratic spaces. The point is to replace autocratic, oligarchic corporate governments that purvey ideologies of domination and seek global colonization (often under labels of freedom, democracy, and justice) with grassroots participatory democracy that has been largely an unpracticed platitude. Movement toward democracy and justice requires modes of inquiry that are decolonized and listen to subaltern voices, such as advocated by Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

### *Postmodern Antiparadigms*

Drawn from work by such philosophic thinkers as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ferdinand de Saussure, Jacques Lacan, and James C. Scott, curriculum studies scholars such as William Doll and Patrick Slattery offer a caveat about master narratives of many kinds, including the idea of paradigms. Holding with some advocates of critical praxis that grassroots public spaces are the rightful seedbeds for curriculum studies and for social practices that emanate from them, postmodernists argue for a plurality of simultaneous narratives. This position counters the issue of which paradigm or ideology should dominate because all can be critiqued as master narratives. Nevertheless, postmodernists could be criticized facetiously for holding a master narrative that claims there are no master narratives. Some argue that eclecticism is a natural ally of postmodernism, whereas others hold that eclectic matching or tailoring of theory and research to situational needs is still too mechanistic for the shimmering waves of narrative that can barely be experienced, let alone grasped and applied.

### **Possibility**

Possibilities for curriculum studies are derived from diverse perspectives and paradigms. Some of these are encapsulated below, often as questions or lines of inquiry being studied today.

- What is worthwhile? This key question is addressed by farsighted curriculum leaders in schools and other educational institutions as well as by theorists in curriculum studies, as has been shown by James Henderson and Kathleen Kesson, among others.
- What is worth knowing, experiencing, doing, needing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, and contributing? Variations on such questions are finding their way into the curricular experiences of children and youths through innovative educators who realize that when curricula are organized around these existential human interests, learners seek to grow without manipulation or extrinsic motivation. Narratives of Sylvia Ashton Warner, Vivian Paley, Herb Kohl, Jonathan Kozol, Brian Schultz, Greg Michie, and Michelle Foster provide vivid examples.
- What can be done to increase meaning, goodness, and happiness in lives of young persons—in all our lives? William Ayers and others have urged focus by educators on building curriculum and teaching upon strengths as an antidote to the traditional propensity to build upon deficits.
- What prevents focus on meaning, goodness, justice, and happiness in schooling and in other forms of education? Apple, Linda McNeil, Alex Molnar, Susan Ohanian, Peter McLaren, and Angela Valenzuela are among those who show that interests of wealth and cultural domination too often create mandates that push emphasis on meaning, goodness, justice, and happiness in human lives to the sidelines of concern.
- How does the nexus of power (corporate, military, governmental, religious, and media) that strives for empire prevent progressive educational practices? Noam Chomsky, Joel Spring, John Willinsky, Pauline Lipman, William Watkins, and Giroux are among those who call for understanding of the immense power that has coagulated to perpetuate a worldwide culture that makes the wealthy wealthier and

even places them into leadership of a new world government.

- How can alternative forms of inquiry and modes of expression counter hegemonic practices? Narrative, biographical, autobiographical, and artistic forms of inquiry as advocated by Greene, Elliot Eisner, Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, Thomas Barone, Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillian, Michael Connelly, Jean Clandinin, Freema Elbaz, Max van Manen, Janet Miller, Craig Kridel, and George Willis offer a diversity of examples in this regard.
- How do class, race, culture, gender, ability, health, membership, age, appearance, place, belief, ethnicity, sexual orientation, status, nationality, reputation, and other factors influence education and other opportunities? Work against prejudice based on one or more of these factors of domination is exemplified in writings of William Watkins, Michele Fine, Lois Weis, He, Luis Moll, Grumet, Carl Grant, Nel Noddings, Jean Anyon, James Anderson, James Banks, Cherry Banks, and William Reynolds.
- How can the lore of educators (including parents and students) contribute to insight about matters mentioned in these questions? The voices of all of these, especially from those in-between cultures, form numerous curriculum scholars: He, Chris Carger, Bernardo Gallegos, Lisa Delpit, and Ayers.
- How can we focus more broadly on education, seeing schooling as one of several educative forces that create us and our sense of identity?
- How can we better understand intended, taught, null, hidden, and learned or embodied dimensions of curricula in schools and outside-of-school venues (e.g., in homes, families, churches, gangs, peer groups, radio, television, movies, computers, video, videogames, popular print, sports, stores, clubs, dance studios, music, art, hobbies, jobs, and more)? Countless authors abound, many in fields adjacent to curriculum studies, as well as within it.
- How can we understand each other's autobiographies and aspirations empathically? Work by William Pinar, Grumet, Janet Miller, Susan Edgerton, He, and Mary Catherine Bateson are exemplary.
- How can we build on strengths with faith in the goodness of human potential?

This last question, as well as those that precede it, is an invitation to readers to imagine their own responses and to create more questions of worth because that illustrates the spirit of curriculum studies.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Balkanization of Curriculum Studies; Collectives of Curriculum Professors, Institutional; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Currere; Curriculum, Definitions of; Curriculum as Public Spaces; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Administration; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Foundations; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Policy; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Supervision; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Teacher Education; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Social Context of Education; Curriculum Theory; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Curriculum Venues; Embodied Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; Institutionalized Text Perspectives; Null Curriculum; Outside Curriculum; Synoptic Textbooks; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE FUTURE OF: ESSAY 1

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We can think of six specific traditions of analysis that have had and will continue to have an impact on curriculum studies: technical, aesthetic, autobiographical, ethical, political, and historical. The first, technical, is concerned with what works—that is, its primary impulse is to examine the ways in which curricular and pedagogical goals are met. The second, aesthetic, treats curriculum as a construction that is best understood through the lenses of the arts so that it participates in the drama of creating meanings. The third, autobiographical, asks what curricula mean in terms of the actual experience of students, teachers, and others involved in the educational encounter. The fourth, ethical, is deeply concerned with curriculum as a moral encounter. It asks educators to treat others in a manner in which they would agree to be treated, in essence, to do unto others as one would do unto oneself. The fifth, political, is involved in questions of social justice. It is grounded in a clear commitment to equality; to asking about the differential class, race, gender, and other effects of our assumptions, policies, and practices; and to constructing curricula that interrupt dominance. Its guiding questions tend to be, “Whose knowledge is taught? To what effect?” Finally, the sixth tradition, historical, is dedicated to documenting the ways in which each of these other traditions has a significant past, a past that is filled with limits and possibilities.

Indeed, an important part of dealing with the future of curriculum studies is a firm recognition of the varied nature of its past. Many of the questions that are currently on the agenda of curriculum scholars have a long history. Although the theories that guide current research are at times more elegant and nuanced than past work, current and future scholarship becomes much more meaningful if it is connected to the issues and concerns that have guided the field since its inception. Thus, part of our task is the continual restoration and broadening of collective memory and to raise the question of who participated in or was marginalized by these historical processes and events.

Each of these six is and will continue to be crucial. Each serves as a corrective to the others. And each requires increasing levels of qualitative, quantitative, theoretical, and analytic sophistication, as well as a keen sense of the complexities involved in the practical matters of creating curricula in what are deeply complicated and often unequal institutional contexts. Increasing our sophistication and our institutional sensitivity is crucial for the future for a number of reasons.

One of the major dilemmas confronting curriculum studies will continue to be the problem of borrowing. In order to engage in serious and disciplined inquiry into the many issues that confront us, curriculum scholars have turned to other areas of knowledge and experience. Fields as wide-ranging as analytic and continental philosophies, aesthetics, phenomenology, politics, sociology, anthropology, action research, critical theory, critical cultural studies, Marxism, feminist research, postmodernism and poststructuralism, history, cognitive science, developmental psychology, and many other areas have been drawn upon. This fact is important because one of the most important tasks of the curriculum person is to “see the forest as well as the trees.”

Yet this act of borrowing in itself creates serious difficulties if not done very carefully. Surface level understandings are often imported into the field, thereby contributing to what has become a serious problem in curriculum studies.

This problem has had an effect. Much of the field has been rhetorical. It has at times been satisfied with slogans at the expense of substance, and this tendency cuts across all its various traditions. There is nothing necessarily wrong with such

discourse. Indeed, language can be used for many things. It can be employed for the purposes of description, explanation, control, legitimation, mobilization, and other things. However, when one form of language begins to dominate—legitimizing or mobilizing language, for example—concerns about evidence, logic, competing moral claims, and similar things may begin to be seen as less important.

This problem is not the only one we face. Unfortunately, the field has participated in deskilling itself as well. There were very good reasons for both the turn away from positivist understandings and techniques and the turn toward qualitative models. However, this shift has had the covert effect of reducing the field's ability to engage in and criticize the best of quantitative analysis. This tendency is damaging because it positions the field outside of some of the most important discussions of the effects of educational policies.

Other problems remain as well. We have been wedded to a particular institutional site—the school. Yet among the fastest growing movements in the United States and now in a number of other nations is home schooling. Much of this movement is grounded in conservative cultural and religious positions. This tendency points to a fundamental understanding that will need to be taken into account in future curriculum research. It is often social movements, not simply educators, that are the engines of educational transformation. Considerably more attention will need to be paid to social movements, both progressive and conservative. Thus, to more fully deal with the complexities involved in the ways the curriculum is actually determined and generated, curriculum studies will need a firmer grounding in critical cultural and social analysis.

In addition, much of the literature, including segments of the critical and postmodern—poststructural traditions, has cut itself off from crucial connections with issues of classroom practice. That curriculum studies has gained increasing academic respect is a partial gain. But that gain can be accompanied by a loss. The daily problems of building, defending, critiquing, recreating, and teaching important knowledge can get turned into forms of pollution, issues that are seen as not academically respectable.

This view would be a grave miscalculation and would cut us off from valued parts of our past. It

also runs the risk of forgetting that the primary object of curriculum studies is ultimately the concerns surrounding what does and does not count as official knowledge and how it is selected, organized, taught, experienced, and evaluated. The ultimate goal of curriculum studies is a form of praxis, theory, and research made sensible and alive through their organic connections with the deliberative practice of educational institutions and the students and educators who participate in creating and recreating them. Thus, future curriculum studies face many challenges. But a recognition of the complexity of what needs to be dealt with is an important step on the road to progress.

*Michael W. Apple*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5; Official Knowledge; Schwab, Joseph

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE FUTURE OF: ESSAY 2

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In a 1930 speech, W. E. B. Du Bois reconciled the need for both academic-liberal studies and industrial training as part of the curriculum African American college students needed to confront the realities of the current day and the future. He saw

industry, commerce, capital, and credit transforming into a superorganization with global influence and wanted the Black community to be in a position to create its own independent institutions of commerce, capital, and so on and have a role in transforming this superorganization to improve the lives of Black people instead of being enslaved by it.

Eighty years later, the need for a curriculum that prepares students to participate in a diverse society and global community is perhaps even more urgent for poor and working-class students. The United States and the world are breaking new boundaries as demonstrated by the first African American U.S. president, global acknowledgment of environmental and energy crises, the emergence of China and India as world powers, U.S. relationships with Arabic and African nations and our southern neighbors of color in Mexico and in Central and South America, and so on. As an increasingly diverse society in the global community, how we prepare all future generations will have a direct impact on our nation's place in the world.

The future of curriculum studies will require not only academic discussions of high theory, but also a continuous struggle over the direction and focus of what is taught. Today, the focus on accountability and outcomes has had a profound impact on school curriculum and classroom pedagogy. Current national educational legislation and policy instituted mandatory student assessment tests, which, not surprisingly, drive the curriculum at the state and local levels. This revitalized behavioral approach using performance objectives and systems management reduces curriculum to certain prescribed knowledge that prepares students to pass the test. Curricular questions of what, how, and why certain knowledge is selected and whose interest it serves, as well as questions concerning the testing industry itself, have taken a backseat to the resurgent obsession of testing and measurement. Interestingly and troublingly enough, both the prescribed curriculum and testing and measurement serve the same ends—they reinforce and preserve the societal hierarchy through the elevation of certain groups of students and the subordination of others. The results of high-stakes testing is a structured differentiated curriculum—children of middle-class families receive discipline-centered pedagogy, which gives them access to higher levels of knowledge, while working-class urban or rural

poor students receive basic instruction. Consequently, when all students confront the same state-sponsored assessment test, it is not difficult to hypothesize which students will score better. The use of testing as a diagnostic tool is one thing, but using it as a life sentence is a very different purpose. There are those who support this test-driven policy, perhaps because of strongly held beliefs that it forces uninvested or apathetic teachers to teach. Such sentiment comes from those who are justifiably concerned about and have critiqued failing performance in poor underserved schools. Yet a lingering concern for this curricularist is why is there such insistence and persistence on hierarchically structuring, measuring, and assessing humanity.

One of the great and long-term challenges for curriculum studies will be to interrogate the White patriarchal need for, and fear of not having, control and power over others, especially the darker other, and how this need manifests itself in curricular decisions and classroom pedagogy. The challenge will be to acknowledge the humanity of people of color in a way that relinquishes the necessity for hierarchical structuring and the mis-measuring of humanity. Vanquishing this scared belief and nurturing a belief that envisions humanity as symbolically kin will be the future challenge for curricularists and society at large. The United States and its Western allies will, at the very least, have to come to terms with sharing their positions of dominance, influence, power, and control in the global community and in future space exploration. This sharing may be why the West is so unyielding in its belief, spoken and unspoken, that objective science and measurement can demonstrate gradations of humanity.

Curricularists cannot wait for a sea change—we must make the sea change by taking what we know, believe, and theorize and in a concerted effort with teachers, work to implement curriculum that addresses the aforementioned issues of today and tomorrow, lifelong learning and preparation for the adult world of work. The future of curriculum studies will be trench warfare. The challenge is the actual constructing and implementing of a curriculum in spite of outside policies and politics and in the face of dysconscious racism among educators themselves. The future of curriculum studies is as a crack in the monolith, created from relentless eternal vigilance, and realization that the struggle

for control of curriculum will continue well beyond us: It is an unending struggle over policy, institutions, beliefs, worldviews, and paradigms.

Yet with all the concerns and challenges, societal transformations are occurring, an occurrence that should encourage curricularists to work with teachers to implement, lesson by lesson, curriculum development and organization. Change begins small and individually with teachers who are interested in curriculum development and who are willing to navigate through state standards to produce curriculum that provides students with knowledge and perspectives that embrace attitudes and behaviors for living and working effectively and respectfully with diverse groups of people at home and abroad. We must return to our roots to work in developing curriculum and playing with ideas that encourage teachers to teach their students how to manipulate knowledge and why they are allowed to do so. The future of curriculum studies will be the challenge to provide students with academic and technological sensibilities to live in a global community with a clean environment, ecologically friendly lifestyles, and a commitment to work for peace at home and abroad. Change comes over time. Our curricular task is to realize and plan for change today and tomorrow.

Beverly M. Gordon

*See also* Curriculum Development; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE FUTURE OF: ESSAY 3

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Curriculum studies is a field whose future must grapple with the cultural significance of curriculum as a symbolic act. Reconceiving curriculum from the perspective of culture will require a radical rupture in curriculum thought. Consequently, I draw on Clifford Geertz's seminal essay "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" to liken the curriculum to culture. Geertz's analysis of the Balinese cockfight recognizes the doubleness of cultural events, as well as the fact that events are not really real, but are made real through interpretation. The cockfight is a critical element of the culture of the Balinese in which blood sacrifice is offered to the demons to pacify their ravenous, cannibalistic hunger. Prior to any major temple festival, holiday, or ritual, a cockfight is held. However, as Geertz suggests, it is not just cocks fighting. The identification that Balinese men make with their cocks is a complex one. In Balinese culture, there is a profound revulsion of animality (anything to do with animals) because it is the direct inversion of what it means to be human, and yet men are obsessed with their cocks and the cockfight. The doubleness of the cockfight suggests that the Balinese man is identifying with what he most fears and hates, and ambivalence being what it is, he is fascinated by the power of darkness. I would like to suggest that, like a cockfight, curriculum represents what is most feared—darkness and death and the inevitable unknown that accompanies it. The crosswise doubleness of the curriculum rests in the projection of an ideal (the known) and the projection of what is most feared (the unknown). The struggle (or cockfight) over curriculum reflects not only the fight over the need for control, but also the profound fear of the unknown. When curriculum serves as the really real, it keeps fear, darkness, and death at bay. Ironically, it is this fear that keeps curriculum from being a living, breathing presence. In order to live, the curriculum must die.



The curriculum, like the cockfight, is a cultural symbol through which there is an ongoing negotiation of meaning. Culture is not universal and static, but is always an interpretative act engaged in reading the text of life. The cockfight is not just a cockfight, but a bloody drama in which fears, tensions, and desires are negotiated. Cultural rituals and rites are, as Geertz maintains, symbols that signify layered and deep meanings. The curriculum is not just curriculum, but functions on a highly symbolic level. Curriculum, like the cockfight, is the bloody drama in which we might liken the U.S. school children as the sacrifice to assuage the fear of the unknown or not knowing. As part of this culture, curriculum theorists are implicated in this bloody drama.

I draw on Geertz's essay to begin my thoughts on curriculum for a number of reasons. First, it is provocative, and much like my initial attraction to anthropology, it is intended to make the familiar strange. Curriculum has functioned for me as a window into the world. Curriculum questions foundational and fundamental aspects of a society: What is knowledge? What knowledge is valued? Who can be a knower? The ways in which these questions are understood and answered are critical to the production of subject identities and the possible identities made available in any particular time and space. It is this relationship between knowledge, identity, power, and culture that curriculum theory seeks to address.

As in the cockfight in which cultural desires, fears, norms, and values are articulated, I understand curriculum to be a symbolic space. As a common ritual in which all members of society engage, the curriculum is a cultural space that has functioned historically, politically, culturally, and socially as a contested site. There has never been a curriculum (just like there has never been a Balinese). As a cultural text, the curriculum serves as a space (just like the cockfight) to negotiate the deep tensions and contradictions of what it means to be human. The cockfight is no more about the feathers, blood, crowd, or money than the curriculum is about objectives, lesson plans, and tests. Curriculum is no more really real than the Balinese cockfight is real.

As symbolic, the curriculum, like the cockfight, is not about death in a literal sense (although we might argue that schools are killing children), but

is about our fear of death (of not knowing). Embracing fear entails looking death in the face and being present to it. This embracement requires a suspension of the future (which is a construct that functions to ignore death through the illusion of control) and the past (which is required as a means to have the illusion of progress). Dominant notions of curriculum can exist only within a linear temporality. Curriculum as a symbolic space requires that we rethink temporality outside a linear epistemology in which curriculum is inevitably predicated on being really real. This space is a geography that resists the real not because it does not exist, but because the meanings we give to the curriculum are more illuminating than the curriculum itself.

Meanings are illusive. As Madeline Grumet suggests, curriculum is a moving form. To continually be in motion with no set direction requires the ability to be in the present. Being present requires a rethinking of temporality in which we are not planning for the future or longing for a past, but in which we are engaged in the process of becoming. As curricularists, this requires the ability to let go of our most deeply cherished beliefs in light of new ways of seeing the world. Suspending our theories and beliefs (in essence, letting them die) in order to be present is a difficult task. This requires that we confront death.

Confronting death and dying is not a new idea. In 1969, Joseph Schwab declared that the field of curriculum was moribund. This death was the result of curriculum's focus on timeless and universal truths. Instead, Schwab sought a living curriculum, not one concerned with absolutes, but one that was alive with questioning, deliberation, conversation, and dialogue. Education should not prepare students for the future; rather, it should enable them to be present. To engage in the ongoing conversation that is curriculum is to recognize that curriculum is not a product. Despite efforts to reduce curriculum to something tangible, something measurable, something technical, I would argue that curriculum plays no functional or practical (in this sense technical) role. Even basic curricular metaphors are not really real. By reducing the complexity and mystery of the human experience, as Dwayne Huebner suggests, to the technical terms of control—such as the learner or the purpose—the curriculum

abstracts the students, making them not real, in essence dead.

Curriculum as a symbolic act signifies our deepest anxieties wherein schools symbolize either order (control–death) or failure (chaos–life). Curriculum, like the cockfight, is not about something really real, but has become the space in which our fears are played out. I would maintain that this fear is the unspeakable—the darkness, the unknown. How does learning occur? We do not know. What should students learn? We do not know. Curriculum as absence—this might be the starting place for conversation. How might we envision a curriculum of not knowing? What might a curriculum that is present to itself require? When curriculum is understood as symbolic, we enter a space in which the profound human capacity for meaning making is illuminated. Meaning making, as the cockfight suggests, is complex, contradictory, and paradoxical. Curriculum is complex, contradictory, and paradoxical. Rather than suggest that we know the learner or the purpose of learning we might, as Margaret Mead suggested, understand curriculum as the readiness to use unknown ways to solve unknown problems. In embracing the unknown, in facing the death of curriculum, we can perhaps be present to the sacred and symbolic nature of curriculum.

*Petra Munro Hendry*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1;

Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2;

Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3;

Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4;

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE FUTURE OF: ESSAY 4

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The future of curriculum studies, a distinctive specialization within the academic field of education, is uncertain. This uncertainty is due to external influences and related internal disruptions. Because school reform focuses on improvement in students' scores on standardized examinations, curriculum has become relegated to a means to an end. Forty years of school reform in the United States have reshaped U.S. curriculum studies: first, by removing its main professional preoccupation—curriculum development—and then by reducing the significance of the curriculum itself—and by implication, the significance of its study—in accountability schemes.

Given these circumstances external to the field, it is unsurprising that shifts internal to the field have been dramatic in nature. That loss of curriculum development as primary domain of labor precipitated nothing less than a paradigm shift during the 1970s, forcing the field to shift its work and its identity from curriculum development to understanding curriculum. Having rejected the bureaucratic instrumentalism of the curriculum development period (informed by Tyler's Rationale), the field moved toward theory, employing concepts from social theory, phenomenology, poststructuralism, and feminist and critical race theory. These scholarly efforts to understand curriculum did not retain their distinctive identities, but mixed and blended with each other, producing, in many instances, hybrid theory characteristic of cross-fertilization. In contrast to this tendency, efforts to understand curriculum in multicultural terms broke into separate identity-based streams of scholarship: indigenous education, Black studies, and queer theory. In recent years, identity politics has become not only more separatist, but also more shrill, attacking scholarship that does not privilege identity as central in curriculum considerations.

At the same time, a small group of curriculum studies specialists—akin to counter-reformationists during Europe's 16th century—proceeded as if the paradigm shift did not occur, extolling the work of the key figure of the first paradigmatic moment—Ralph Tyler—and employing schemes as if they had not been discredited. Other counter-reformationists

focus nostalgically on earlier periods when school reform was under the jurisdiction not of politicians and businessmen (as recent reform has been), but driven by education professors and schoolteachers, as the Eight Year Study had been.

Finally, the complexity of theory and the continuing controversy concerning the 1970s paradigm shift—the reconceptualization—from a primarily programmatic field focused on curriculum development to an intellectually provocative interdisciplinary field focused on understanding, curriculum appears to have persuaded many to flee history and theory into ethnography. Apparently empirical, ethnography provides opportunities to study what teachers and students think and experience, functioning for some as opportunities for resistance to politician-driven school reform. At the same time, to the extent that it is atheoretical and ahistorical, ethnography functions as an anti-intellectual effort to bypass persisting controversies in the field regarding its present character and future.

One such controversy concerns the relationship between theory and practice, a controversy focused on the distance between university-based scholarship and teaching practices in schools. Given politicians' relocation of curriculum development away from curriculum professors and schoolteachers to arts-and-sciences scholars and now private corporations, it is unsurprising that the distance between university-based scholarship and school practices has increased. Because it claims to describe what occurs in schools, ethnography provides a means of bridging the divide between theory and practice. Often, however, ethnographic studies occlude theory by reproducing what is practiced, thereby contributing little to the intellectual advancement of the field.

Undermined externally by political priorities for school reform, then, and lacerated internally by identity politics and continuing controversies over the field's history and present character, curriculum studies faces an uncertain future, a fact not lost on scholars today. To address how external pressures (exacerbated by internal disarray and controversy) have impacted the institutional circumstances (universities' support for graduate programs in curriculum studies, courses taught, scholars hired, etc.) in which the field proceeds, the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (AAACS)

has established a Commission on the Status of Curriculum Studies in the United States. Surveys will inform policy recommendations regarding the future of curriculum studies.

A second development that reflects anxiety over the future of curriculum studies is the establishment, also by the AAACS, of a Canon Project, an effort to identify key texts, scholars, and ideas in the history of the field. Although the ahistorical and atheoretical character of curriculum studies during the heyday of curriculum development was a key point in the paradigm shift of the 1970s, the field's tendency toward presentism has reasserted itself, in part due to external pressures and internal controversies. The AAACS Canon Project is an effort to influence the future of the field by establishing the main points of its past.

Aside from domestic (both internal and external) considerations, the future of U.S. curriculum studies will also be influenced by the extent to which scholars address issues raised by globalization. The events of September 11, 2001, intensified the dormant sense that U.S. scholars must attend to curricular developments worldwide. An international association was established; a U.S. affiliate formed the same year. Internationalization is not, however, primarily defensive, but cosmopolitan in character. Internationalization promises deepened understanding of the local and the individual through encounter with the global and the collective. Unlike economic and cultural globalization—often associated with U.S. cultural and economic expansionism—the internationalization of curriculum studies promises to intensify the self-critical intellectual sophistication of U.S. curriculum theory, especially that theory committed to multicultural, gendered, and political activism toward social justice and ecological sustainability. In that development lies the most promising future of curriculum studies.

*William F. Pinar*

*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Canon Project of American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE FUTURE OF: ESSAY 5

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Curriculum studies has emerged as a scholarly and practical field. It has moved away from the solely practical servitude to whatever school policy dictates. This positive feature garners more opportunity for the imaginative consideration of ideas since school policy has become so fully a function of support for governmental and business interests. The scholarly ethos of curriculum studies clearly keeps alive a refreshing orientation that seeks diverse possibilities in the spirit advocated by Maxine Greene, Alfred North Whitehead, W. E. B. Du Bois, John Dewey, Jane Addams, Paulo Freire, and many others. Such ideas are surely not without practical purport, and they are not subjugated by banal corporate interests. Sketched below are brief renditions of several directions for the future of curriculum studies: worthwhile pursuits, the big curriculum, curriculum of exile, literature and the arts, outside curricula, biography and autobiography, and creating good lives.

### Worthwhile Pursuits

The common thread that strongly holds together diverse advocates of curriculum studies, and even provides common concern for the curriculum development era from which curriculum studies evolved, is focus on what is worthwhile. From time immemorial, educators have asked: What is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, being, becoming, over-coming, contributing, and sharing? Interest groups have emerged to vehemently vie for leadership in

response to such questions, both within the curriculum field and in most societies at large throughout history. They have sought to determine the why, when, where, how, for whom, and in whose interest of the what considered worthwhile.

### Big Curriculum

The big curriculum refers to the barrage of propaganda and public relations that perpetuates worldwide capitalistic and patriarchal efforts of Western corporate–governmental–military forces, providing a homogeneous culture throughout the world—that is, an imperial and neocolonial conquest that quashes indigenous cultures, languages, and even species in the interest of power, greed, and manifest destiny. It does this principally through advertising, mass media, patriotic admonitions, and many forms of schooling that instill values of an acquisitive society.

Throughout the last half of the 20th century and with greater fervor in the 21st century, a new form of world government has emerged in the form of multinational corporations. It is clear that they set the policies advocated by their appointed puppeteers known as national government leaders. A neoliberal current of cultural, political, economic, social, and personal values surges through the world with a new manifest destiny—namely, a message that everything, including the deepest of meanings, can be translated into commodities to be acquired. Such are the curricula perpetuated by militaries and mass media necessary, and study of them is vastly neglected. Instead, the attention of curriculum workers (scholarly and practical) is diverted toward fiddling with schools while the empire burns in service of personal and corporate greed. Reform of school curriculum is akin to rearrangement of the deck chairs on a sinking *Titanic*. Critique of acquisitiveness is clearly evident in work of Dewey, Michael Apple, Maxine Greene, Ivan Illich, Henry Giroux, William Ayers, Donaldo Macedo, William Pinar, Jean Anyon, Pauline Lipman, William Watkins, Joel Spring, Bernardo Gallegos, John Smyth, Peter McLaren, William Schubert, John Willinsky, Geoff Whitty, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Martin Carnoy, Paulo Freire, and others in curriculum studies and related areas. So is the criticism of key public intellectuals: Cornel West, Noam Chomsky, Ralph Nader, Jonathon



Kozol, Herb Kohl, Kurt Vonnegut, Howard Zinn, Gore Vidal, Molly Ivins, Edward Said, Wendell Berry, Annie Dillard, James Baldwin, Alexander Cockburn, Margaret Atwood, Phillip Lopate, and a host of others. Saddled with mandates from corporate government to cover prescribed curricula in schools and thereby to propagate interests of the wealthy, educators and students of the future are often moved to social justice by joining together to uncover the intent of curricular hegemony rather than merely follow mandates that harm all but the rich.

### Curriculum of Exile

The big curriculum forces many persons, even cultures and subcultures, into states of exile. Existence in between cultures, as Ming Fang He has illustrated in her narratives in between China and North America, places many immigrants into lives divided among allegiances, pushing toward her current emphasis on curriculum of exile. Clearly, those who move from one part of the world to another due to imposition of the big curriculum or because of goods, services, and opportunities denied in a once vibrant culture by the same big curricular forces, are in exile. They are not quite in a new culture, never fully accepted, and cannot return to the previous one. Similarly, within cultures, especially involuntary immigrants, such as slaves in the United States, or remnants of genocidal efforts, such as Native Americans, there is also a sense of exile from one subculture to another. Clearly, the choice of U.S. examples should not be taken as singling out the United States as the principal place of exile. Every country has an ample history of curriculum in between dominant and subjugated factions, colonizers and the colonized, oppressors and oppressed, exilers and the exiled, and in each set the former writes the histories and policies and the latter remains largely mute. In-between situations and states of exile provoke the development of what Watkins and his student Susan Berger have called clandestine curricula, curricula surreptitiously devised to meet needs of oppressed groups.

### Literature and the Arts

Literature and the full range of arts, including popular arts, music, and film, have long been sources that

exposed oppression. Likewise, they have been bastions of challenge and inspiration to oppose oppression. Not only are such curricula tailored progressively to meet individual needs and interests, but also they meet needs because they speak to a solidarity of human interests in birth and death, love and justice, goodness and salvation, beauty and ecstasy, freedom and opportunity. Orhan Pamuk, J. M. Coetzee, Toni Morrison, Gao Xingjian, Jose Saramago, Kenzburu Oe, Wole Soyinka, Pablo Neruda, and Octavio Paz constitute a few of the voices from around the world that portray such interests.

### Outside Curricula

Interest of curricularists in varieties of public pedagogies are attempts to turn the public gaze toward curricula in unlikely spaces, places not usually identified as educational: homes and families, non-school organizations (clubs, churches, sports, community centers), mass media (videogames, the Internet, movies and film of all varieties, print materials including comics and popular magazines, books, television), peer groups (including gangs), multifarious relationships, vocations and avocations, and the cultures, languages, and communities they represent. Implicit and explicit, curricula within such places can be interpreted through lenses of curriculum studies.

### Biography and Autobiography

Curricular consequences can be seen holistically in portrayals of life worlds, biography, and autobiography. Curriculum scholarship has become and will continue to be more autobiographical and biographical—a telling of educational influence by the stories human beings have lived and are. Through multiple and narratives postmodern narratives, postmodern scholars search for the phenomenological core of meaning in personal and public life.

### Creating Good Lives

Returning to the initial point of continuing future focus on the historical legacy of what is deemed worthwhile invokes a focus on what it means to live good lives. It is not only the curriculum workers and educators, school based or not, it is most importantly the learners who can be kept alive and

enriched in meaningful growth by pursuing their natural interest in creating a good life for themselves. Long ago, Dewey, L. Thomas Hopkins, Harold Albery, and others urged educators to focus on central human interests by enabling learners to refashion themselves in relation to the world. If learners and teachers in every curriculum domain were encouraged to address how to live good lives, what that means, how it is a never-ending quest, and how it can contribute to fairness, love, and solidarity with other human beings and the surrounding world context, curriculum making would move toward democratization. Though one never becomes a fully functioning person nor arrives at participatory democracy, the journey is the curriculum that the future should create.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE NATURE OF: ESSAY 1

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The word *curriculum* can refer to a course of study as well as to a course of life. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines curriculum as

both course and career—that is, a course of school or university study or a course of life or career as in curriculum vitae. As the field of curriculum has evolved, curriculum has come to be seen, at least in most school and government settings, as focused on the first part of the OED definition—that is, as a course of studies. However, many in the field of curriculum studies want to return to a more complex meaning of curriculum—that is, a view that allows us to direct attention to both a course of study and a course of life. Those who work within the philosophical tradition of John Dewey and his ideas of experience and Joseph Schwab’s ideas of curriculum commonplaces are among those who would see curriculum as more than a course of study. In this essay, I begin with Schwab’s curriculum commonplaces and use Dewey’s theory of experience to present one view of what counts as curriculum studies.

Schwab defined the curriculum commonplaces—that is, teacher, subject matter, milieu, and learner—as the factors that bound or delimit the aims, content, and methods of curriculum. Taken as a whole, they bound the statements identified as curricular. In any curriculum statement, all four of the commonplaces are necessarily present. The four commonplaces and their interactions define what is essentially curriculum within this conception of curriculum studies.

Working from the curriculum commonplaces as bounding what counts as curriculum allows us to understand the different ways that we can understand curriculum as both a course of study and a course of life. Such a view offers a window into understanding what curriculum scholars mean when they speak of the official or mandated curriculum, the intended or planned curriculum, the enacted curriculum as well as the experienced or lived curriculum. Within this view, we can also understand curriculum as null, hidden, and evaded. Following from this view, we can also attend to the relationships or interactions among the official, intended, enacted, and experienced curricula. Attending in this way allows those of us who work in schools with children, teachers, and families the possibility of engaging in the complex conversations of curriculum making.

Although researchers frequently adopt other curriculum commonplaces as the starting point for understanding curriculum, the commonplace of

teacher is central to understanding the curriculum that is constructed, enacted, and experienced in classrooms. Drawing on Dewey's theory of experience, we conceptualize a Deweyan view of curriculum from a teacher's vantage point. Dewey's notions of situation and experience allow us to imagine the teacher as a part of curriculum making and in so doing, to imagine a place for contexts and culture (Dewey's notion of interaction) and temporality (Dewey's notion of continuity). Working within a Dewey-inspired conception of curriculum, then, the teacher is not a kind of metaphoric conduit that delivers a curriculum mandated or planned elsewhere, but is an active agent in the ongoing composing and living out of the curriculum.

Within this conception of curriculum studies, teachers and students are seen to be living out a curriculum. Although intentionality, objectives, curriculum materials such as textbooks and content do play a part, the focus of curriculum studies is on the teachers' and students' lives composed over time. The teacher is an integral part of the curriculum in which teacher, learners, subject matter, and milieu are in dynamic interaction. Curriculum making is seen as a process in which teachers, children, and parents make or cocompose curriculum together in classrooms within nested milieus or contexts. Contexts, or milieus, can be understood as composing landscapes shaped by institutional, cultural, social, and linguistic plotlines composed over time. In this way, we understand power and authority as shaping the spaces between and among people, places, and things. Subject matter, too, is understood in more complex ways within this view of curriculum studies. Attending to curriculum in this way allows us to see particular children's and teachers' lives within particular milieus or contexts and in relation to particular subject matter. By entering into relationships with particular children, particular teachers, and particular parents, we understand the unfolding curriculum as a course of lives as people's lives are being lived out as well as a course of studies.

Understood within this tradition of curriculum studies, curriculum topics such as reform, implementation, development, resources, and materials can be understood from the starting point of different commonplaces and their interactions. For example, if we understand curriculum reform from

the starting point of teacher, we would understand reform in terms of how the teacher imagines or experiences the ways the reform agenda shapes her or his classroom context and her or his curriculum making with children. We can also understand curriculum reform as it shapes the mandated, planned, and experienced curriculum. For example, the influence of reform may be understood to shape the curriculum differently if one is attending to the mandated curriculum than if one is attending to the hidden curriculum, and so on.

Within this conception of curriculum studies, curriculum is seen as fluid, context-dependent, political, and moral both for the course of study and for the course of lives of children, teachers, families, and other members of society.

D. Jean Clandinin

*See also* Curriculum, Definitions of; Curriculum Theory; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5; Dewey, John; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher Knowledge

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE NATURE OF: ESSAY 2

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When considering the nature of a field of study, I think most immediately about two of its key

constitutive components—knowledge and scholarship. A field of study is constituted of a dynamic body of knowledge that develops and changes to define the field and to represent it to and in the world. It is also constituted of an active scholarly enterprise that creates new knowledge that sustains the field and circulates that knowledge as meaningful within in broader contexts (including academic, sociopolitical, cultural, and practical contexts, for example). Knowledge and research are not mutually exclusive, but are rather interdependent. Together they inform, challenge, and inspire the field; they ensure the field as independent with its own identity and as distinct from other fields; and they further inform, challenge, and inspire practice. Both knowledge and scholarship are necessary to the existence of the field and to its viability in the world as a matter of importance, value, and worth.

The status of curriculum studies as a field of study in its own right is often challenged not only because it is viewed to be in its infancy (or youth by now) as a field of study, but also because it has had a contested existence. Conceptualizations of the field vary broadly in scope and significantly in perspective. The field of curriculum studies is often divided by an orientation to either philosophy or to practice, and these different perspectives are viewed as separate and conflicting. Questions such as is curriculum studies a philosophy, a set of knowledge or experiences, or a series of questions have recurred throughout time. However, the historical and current contested nature of the field is not important to explore in this essay. Regardless of the stance taken on the status of the field, the two key constitutive elements of knowledge and scholarship are sound and solidly ground curriculum as a field of study. As such, it is important to address the nature of curriculum studies. I have been inspired by the idea of curriculum as a field of study that turns imagination into reality (as developed by Elliot Eisner) and as a dance (as William Doll has discussed). Eisner refers to curriculum as a process where ideas are transformed by an act of educational imagination. Doll explains that curriculum is a critical, public, and communal process of experiential transformation that is based in dialogue and inquiry. These two views have reverberated in my academic and personal philosophy to inform my conceptualization of the

nature of curriculum studies in some form throughout my career. Therefore, I see knowledge and research in the field as largely shaped by these ideas. Over the last few years as the field of education has become embroiled in an overwhelmingly technocratic orientation (e.g., a testing regime, top-down bureaucratic control, and narrowing of curriculum), the conception of curriculum studies has suffered as well. Conversely, it is incredible that both Eisner and Doll use transformation in their framework for curriculum studies. For some time now, transformation in educational contexts has taken a backseat to technocratic ideas of control and standardization. Instead of falling into this narrow, limiting view of the nature of curriculum studies, it is important to hold to the idea of curriculum studies as a creative endeavor focused on turning imagination into reality (or more importantly and accurately for today's pluralistic and diverse contexts, turning imaginations into realities). Curriculum studies holds the potential to elevate education out of this quagmire that suppresses any ideas of transformation as central to the essence of the field.

What is important in this essay is to center curriculum studies as grounded in a conceptual, imaginative, and creative era (rather than an exclusive monopolizing technocratic, linear, sequential era) at both the philosophical and practical levels. This is of most critical importance as the world begins to recognize and struggle for some degree of balance between the romance of technology, science, and logic (which still matter, but not in a privileging sense) with the equally important need for creativities, big pictures, imaginations, and spontaneities, which are often shortchanged as relevant in a high-tech era. The plural linguistic forms used here, though possibly awkward, are important to honor the pluralities of the world and how they are not strictly numerical but are multiple in thinking, philosophy, and practice. Can the field of curriculum studies as characterized by ingenuity, creativity, story, design, and meaning making become first among equals within the technical era? What are the knowledge, research, and practical implications of a return to conceptualizing curriculum studies as turning imaginations into realities?

Reconsidering and recentering the energies of the field of curriculum studies has implications for



knowledge and scholarship. These are not new energies or new sensibilities for curriculum studies. In fact, they arguably represent the core of what curriculum studies has uniquely contributed as a field of study all along. In the future, this might well mean reconsidering and recentering curriculum studies in a movement to enliven education as a transformative endeavor that considers strongly the imagination of varied realities, dialogues, and inquiries as central to the future of the field if it is to have any merit in a changing society. The nature of curriculum studies is about transformation, design, and creation. These imaginative processes position curriculum studies to make significant contributions that are both conceptual and practical—that is, curriculum studies can influence ideologies and actual practice. It can lead a movement to recenter the ideas of transformation, design, and creation for better futures for everyone. Curriculum studies gives us the opportunity to create something new, something unexpected, and something transformative that changes the world. It gives curriculum scholars the license to consider how curriculum studies is connected to everything else and to the fundamental human experience. It allows us to alter the imprint of curriculum studies from a technocratic ideology to a humanistic one in which we look more holistically at education with an imaginative orientation such as a dance and use smart design sensibilities and to tell multiple stories about who we are. Curriculum studies has the credibility from its past to regenerate a new conversation that has the power to become contagious and that can change the world.

*Beverly Cross*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE NATURE OF: ESSAY 3

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Joseph Schwab's late 1960s' essay, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum," generally is acknowledged as one of very few of the most prescient and significant contributions to the field of curriculum. Widely read then and now, this essay has gained laudatory attention even as it has suffered indignities of misunderstanding, dismissal, or bare acknowledgment. In his appraisal, he declared that the curriculum field at the time was moribund. Many readers, past and present, remember this negatively judgmental term as an adequate summary of Schwab's thesis. These naysayers appear to have missed the essence of his message. For example, Schwab cogently argued that the practical had or should have the pride of place in both the language of and work in the curriculum field. He also emphasized the centrality to curriculum decisions of several crucial particularities, and he asserted that deliberation was the methodology of the practical. Schwab's proposals were comprehensive, logical, and based in practice. They also remain largely unimplemented. These proposals continue to be discussed fruitfully, but they unfortunately exist primarily as an artifact of their times.

On the other hand, Schwab's ideas prompted the development of a small group of mainly young university curriculum scholars, designated as curriculum reconceptualists. They sought specifically to shift concern for practical elements of curriculum and to focus on curriculum theory, to lessen participation in curriculum development projects in schools, and to undertake mainly sociological and political research of contexts, power relationships, and concerns such as social justice, all critically relevant to understanding the engagement of diverse students with special curriculum elements. Theorizing without practical involvement in school curriculum activities became a central activity of their scholarship. Curriculum work, on the other hand, became marginalized as what curriculum practitioners did and something remote from the theorizing engaged by university scholars.

As one outcome of this development, this group of contemporary university curriculum scholars occupied that part of the original curriculum field previously populated by professors who engaged

to some extent in the real world of public school activities. Many of this new group of curriculum professors claim lineage from the 1930s' social reconstructionist thinkers whose professional pursuits focused on matters of educational philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and only tangentially, history. These professors accepted curriculum studies as the name of their academic specialization. In several instances, they joined faculty colleagues with specializations in social foundations of education in order to constitute a specialty area in curriculum and cultural studies.

This has led to a divide between school curriculum leaders and curriculum professors. Yet another group of professors especially concerned with the curriculum in schools has been developing robustly in departments of educational administration and policy studies in colleges of education. This third group of professors has grown rapidly, yet most ordinarily do not teach courses with curriculum in their title. Their offerings, however, focus on instructional policies, programs of study, curriculum leadership, program evaluation, staff development, and educational change. Most of these courses include field-based studies and focus on significant curriculum practices and theoretical nuances in the interplay of forces (e.g., race, gender, opportunity) that impact schooling in a changing U.S. society.

Consequently, a singular field of curriculum studies no longer exists even in assertion, except in memory and bibliography. Moreover, the earlier divide between school curriculum leaders and curriculum professors has become a massive chasm. As the same time, a number of departments of educational administration in colleges of education have insisted that their administrator certification and degree programs require increased attention to the school curriculum. This component, however, appears not to be taught by curriculum specialists from other program areas, further expanding and diluting any notion of a field of curriculum and leading to the subsequent popularity of the term curriculum studies as a replacement, not just a substitution for the term curriculum field.

Curriculum studies has become a field of university inquiries and courses separated and distant from the reality of curriculum(s) in the practical or real world of schooling. These studies commonly

contextualize the physical forms of the curricula used by students to interpret primarily in a social setting student engagements related to the studied curricula. Curriculum studies' remoteness from the everydayness and complexities of school practice and practitioners almost, but not quite, makes reasonable the university professors' depictions, analyses, and critiques of what they name as curriculum. Rather, university curriculum studies professors seem to be and frequently are too far away to yield critiques of school curricula in relation to their purposes, the realities of student engagements with curriculum. Most cannot see enough of the context of schooling at such distance, and thus they fail sufficiently to understand both what they see and what they miss seeing.

This characterization of the field of curriculum studies, admittedly, is idiosyncratic, too general, and overly simplistic. On the other hand, it emphasizes my belief that the curriculum studies field, asserted into existence some 30 to 40 years ago, helps to illuminate only a few aspects of curriculums that are employed in schools. On the other hand, much of this field's offerings provide too little assistance with which educators might increasingly brighten more of the field of practice such that the influence of actual curricula on students might be enhanced.

*O. L. Davis, Jr.*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5; Schwab, Joseph

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE NATURE OF: ESSAY 4

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Few fields in education are as welcoming yet bewildering as curriculum studies, and few academics are as self-conscious of their identity and

the nature and future directions of their field as those called curricularists. The constantly changing field has always been an area that challenged and baffled, and to describe its character remains primarily an act of normative discourse. Yet the nature of curriculum studies takes on different dimensions when viewed through its conference presentations. An analysis of over 18,000 American Educational Research Association (AERA) Division B and related division conference presentations, delivered between 1970 and 2008 (along with papers from other curriculum theory conferences), reveals a dramatic shift in what constitutes curriculum studies. Although conference presentations do not a field make, pronounced changes in the orientation and composition of research indicate a fundamental transformation in the field of curriculum studies.

Attending professional conferences in the early 1970s meant disseminating scholarship or learning of others' research activities. AERA Division B presentations were oriented toward the professional and specialized knowledge components of the curriculum field (to use Lawrence Cremin's configuration of professional, specialized, and general education knowledge components). Most sessions were conceived to further build upon the accumulated research of the field, and Division B members came to learn of new studies and practices that could be taken back to their host institutions and implemented and/or taught to others entering the field.

With the expansion of curriculum inquiry to include qualitative, autobiographical, and narrative forms of research, and with the dissatisfaction and to a certain degree the recognized hypocrisy of certain forms of quantitative inquiry, the field of curriculum studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s broke from the traditional confines of social science-oriented, educational research. This development completed the slow transition from a field of curriculum with its focus on program design and development, balancing the tension between theory and practice, to a field of curriculum studies with a broader conception of educational inquiry and with an increased allegiance to the humanities. Research involved much more than reports of innovative and successful school practices, and conference sessions no longer included exclusively professional and specialized knowledge. Presentations

began to represent the third component of Cremin's configuration—the general education component—taking form as personal–professional development. Topics became less practical and instead, reflected academics' exploration of knowledge, acts of discovery, and autobiographical reflections about the nature of learning. Conference sessions provided a venue for the expression of curriculum researchers' diverse and often unbridled interests with an unconditional acceptance of varied content areas, encouragement of personal narrative, and opportunities for self-expression as novelist, thespian, musician, or dancer. Few educational fields of study offered such freedom, and those in curriculum studies flourished with an increased academic-oriented and less school and practice-oriented focus.

Although some critics viewed these new dimensions of the field as a willing suspension of significance, the actual work of curriculum studies academics may not have changed substantially. Many were still involved in curriculum design and development in their administrative and teaching roles. A substantial portion of conference presentations indicate that the forums for curriculum development had extended beyond the K–12 school setting. Work was under way within post-secondary education, specifically curriculum development in teacher education programs and in broader cultural settings. Yet the academic pursuit of much research in curriculum studies was conceived as an opportunity for even more divergent forays into the realm of general education where researchers' interests pushed educational thought through postmodern domains.

Currently, curriculum studies seems adrift. A field of study cannot be defined primarily by individuals' assorted interests, as the trend seems to have become in more recent years. Interests are ever expanding, ever changing, and at times, self-indulgent. What has taken lesser importance recently has been curriculum's historic role in the area of professional knowledge. In past decades, the field of curriculum fulfilled a very important academic need—providing a distinctive interdisciplinary perspective for the many other communities in education. Curriculum professors addressed issues that crossed the traditional educational areas of administration, tests and measurement, evaluation, instruction, supervision, foundations,

and posed important questions for various constituencies that would not have necessarily arisen during conversations within these separate communities. Many curriculum texts of the past represent this synoptic role with a wide assortment of topics spreading across the entire field of education that served to integrate professional knowledge among the other subfields of education and to offer some continuity among the levels of schooling.

This integrative dimension of the field is now less prevalent and certainly more difficult to achieve with today's cultural fragmentation. And many curriculum scholars delight in exploring general education realms, traveling farther afield in more unfamiliar, exotic lands, and guided by interests that are no longer bound by professional or specialized knowledge. Yet perhaps now attention should be devoted to needs and the professional and specialized component of curriculum studies. To do so would pose what seems at times as superfluous traditional questions from the field: What should a curriculum studies person know, and what do other educators expect from the field? Is there some loose assortment of core knowledge in the broadest sense—issues, questions, modes of inquiry—that serve to help define and center the field of curriculum studies?

Others have been invited to discuss the future of curriculum studies. Their realm I wish not to tread; however, when curriculum studies continues to be defined primarily by individuals' interests, our field will have great difficulty in determining its focus. Curriculum studies remains innovative and experimental, and the importance of the general education component should not be dismissed. In fact, this adventurous quality of the field should be applauded. Attention to needs rather than interests, however, could offer balance for a field of study that continues to expand and change. Now is the time to correlate synthesis, breadth, and commonality and to forge interests with needs in a quest for significance in curriculum studies.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES, THE NATURE OF: ESSAY 5

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There are many interpretations of curriculum. Understanding what curriculum is must be based upon how curriculum relates to education. Curriculum is the framework upon which all other educational decisions are made. Curriculum is the what of education. Curriculum answers the perennial question raised by Herbert Spencer in his essay, "What Knowledge Is Most Worth?" Finding the answer lies in the field of curriculum studies: the examination of factors influencing curriculum thinking, the principles that guide the development and design of curriculum, and the implementation and assessment of the curriculum. Curriculum studies is a constantly evolving field of research that reflects the latest knowledge in psychology, sociology, and technology, while firmly planted in philosophy and history. Because knowledge is constantly growing and changing, curriculum studies reflects those changes in its theories and practice. The curricularist (someone immersed in curriculum studies) is an avid student of the factors that affect decisions about what knowledge is most worth. Their expertise can guide the decisions made by people engaged in education in a rapidly changing world.

### Foundational Subjects of Curriculum Studies

There are five foundational subjects that inform curriculum theory and practice: philosophy, psychology, sociology, history, and technology.

#### *Philosophy*

Philosophy, the discipline upon which most educational programs are organized, influences decisions about the goals of education, the content to be selected, and the experiences and activities that are part of a person's educational experience. Philosophy determines the beginning, means, and ends of curriculum. According to John Goodlad, philosophy is the point at which all curriculum decisions are made.

Philosophies in the curriculum field fall on a continuum of very traditional to contemporary and conservative to liberal thinking; thus, curricularists



are faced with the difficulty of finding the middle ground within these beliefs that addresses content needs, student needs, and societal needs and that provide quality education for all students.

### *Psychology*

Psychology, one of the younger academic subjects, was established after Wilhelm Wundt opened the first laboratory dedicated to psychological research in Leipzig, in 1897. Psychology deals with how people learn and behave and is based primarily on physiology and neurosciences supplemented with knowledge of anthropology and sociology. The work of psychologists has influenced the understanding of behavior, cognitive development and intelligence, motivation, learning styles, and thinking skills. Psychology is evolving as more is understood about the nature of learners and human learning, much of this information provided through newer technologies that can determine how various parts of the brain function. Complex human beings are influenced by their innate abilities and their cultures. Understanding psychology helps the curricularists create educational experiences which nurture the potential of every student.

### *Sociology*

Sociology found its modern roots with the establishment of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago in 1892. Sociology is devoted to the study of human society, its organization, values, beliefs, and relationships of the groups within it. As societies become more complex, filled with many different voices expressing highly diverse ideas, schools struggle to find a curriculum that meets the diversity of the communities in which they are located. As behaviors of the larger society (e.g., violence, drug use, drinking, and corruption) penetrate the school environment, schools become change agents for themselves and society. Schools are viewed as the great equalizers with respect to race, class, gender, intellect, language, and handicapping issues. In this environment, curricularists understand that the school curriculum must prepare all students to meet the challenges of an unknown future by providing them with the skills to make wise decisions and to become lifelong learners.

### *History*

Understanding the past in order to function in the present and future is an important aspect of curriculum studies. Studying the history of education sheds light on events that influenced the development of and the need for curriculum studies. Curriculum studies developed its own methods, procedures, theories, and problem-solving techniques to understand the changes in knowledge and how that knowledge would impact education. Curricular ideas are tied to time and context of events. As the world changes, so will the questions change to which curricularists will seek answers.

### *Technology*

Technology's influence on curriculum studies is rapidly growing. Technology provides tools that allow more options for acquiring and sharing knowledge, of changing the nature of teaching, of providing excitement to learning, and of meeting more and different needs of all students. The tools of technology can bring the real world into the classroom; they can open the windows of cross-cultural communication, they can provide instant information, and they can create dialogues and discussions among all learners. They can help students share knowledge in exciting and dynamic ways. Curricularists study how new technologies enhance learning, the what, when, and how of learning. They can provide the guidance necessary to teachers and learners to ensure the appropriate use of technology in the teaching-learning environment.

## **New Times, New Challenges**

Well-trained curricularists with their knowledge of the five disciplines that impact what is learned in school can change the face of curriculum, teaching, and learning. Through constant analysis of new ideas and concepts from the foundational disciplines of curriculum studies and knowledge of past failures and successes, curricularists can make decisions that will maximize the learning potential of every student. Curricularists can help to find the balance of the growing opposing forces and positions in opinions and beliefs of what constitutes an appropriate education for all students; they can see the bigger picture and understand the consequences of limited vision on curricular decision

making. As the world becomes smaller and the challenges facing it greater, the curricularist will become an integral part of every educational institution. The future looks good.

*Marcella L. Kysilka*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1;  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2;  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3;  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4;  
Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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Historically, there was a relatively strong linkage between the fields of curriculum and educational administration. Although educational administration has always focused primarily on the education and at times the certification or licensure of superintendents, principals, and assistant principals, the field also has educated individuals who play curriculum-related roles within school districts (e.g., director of curriculum and assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction) and who play a range of curriculum-related policy roles in government.

Within the academic realm, there also was a close relationship between the two fields in the first half of the 20th century. During that time, in fact, curriculum courses normally were embedded within educational administration programs. In addition, curriculum was viewed primarily as a document that prescribed what should happen in the classroom to produce desired results; consequently, virtually everyone assumed that school administrators

needed to understand how to make a curriculum and to understand the basic principles of curriculum and instruction. *How to Make a Curriculum* is a book by Franklin Bobbitt, and *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* is a book by Ralph Tyler. Invariably one or both of these books were used in administrator preparation programs throughout much of the 20th century.

In the century's final decades, however, a new breed of curriculum scholars challenged what they referred to, pejoratively, as the Tyler Rationale, and curriculum studies, in essence, became a separate and radically different field than educational administration.

Although researchers in the educational administration field continued to focus their research on issues such as the effects of different school structures on such things as school climate and student learning, school effectiveness and its correlates, and the impact of school leadership on student achievement (as measured by standardized test scores), scholars such as William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet were reconceptualizing curriculum studies in radically different ways. Among other things, the reconceptualist movement attempted to strip the concept of curriculum of its institutional associations. The institutional, curriculum-as-document view was replaced by a conception of curriculum that equated the concept of curriculum with a highly personal—but also, somewhat paradoxically, a highly theoretical—search for personal meaning.

Another line of criticism came from self-described neo-Marxist curriculum scholars such as Michael Apple. Rather than challenging institution-based views of curriculum and embracing philosophical schools of thought such as existentialism and phenomenology, as Pinar and Grumet did, neo-Marxist scholars embraced critical theory and a macroview of institutions. This view assumed that school curricula—including those things that were taught informally through the way schools were structured—that is, the so-called hidden curriculum—were one of the vehicles that helped the larger society reproduce itself and, in the process, keep the powerful privileged and those at the opposite end of the empowered-disempowered continuum poor and disadvantaged.

Interestingly, the field of educational administration was experiencing its own theory movement

at approximately the same time that curriculum scholars were embracing theory. What educational administration scholars meant by theory, however, was quite different from what curriculum scholars meant. Although curriculum scholars looked to the humanities and European social thought for inspiration and guidance, educational administration scholars attempted to generate the sort of empirically tested social science theory that promised to provide the sort of institutional control that the new breed of curriculum scholars railed against.

One consequence of educational administration's social science theory orientation is that the field remained narrowly focused on improving school practice even as the newly independent field of curriculum focused on such things as self-development and societal critique. Indeed, educational administration's theory movement failed, at least in part, because social science theory—which is, by definition, general and always about ideal types rather than about actual schools—was never capable of providing the sort of detailed game plan for improving individual schools that theory movement advocates had promised.

The theory movement also was undermined by critiques of the movement's control orientation by educational administration scholars such as Canadian Thomas Greenfield (whose writings echoed the work of curriculum scholars Pinar and Grumet) and Australian critical theorist Richard Bates (whose thinking bore a strong family resemblance to the thinking of neo-Marxist curriculum scholars such as Apple). Greenfield's and especially Bates's influence can still be seen in contemporary scholarship and teaching in the educational administration field. Much of the field, however, remains focused on what schools and more specifically, school leaders must do to improve test scores that supposedly measure student learning.

*Robert B. Donmoyer*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Policy; Neo-Marxist Research; Reconceptualization; Social Control Theory; Tyler Rationale, The

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

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If one were to consider the intellectual genealogy of curriculum studies and social foundations of education, one could assert that they had many common ancestors. Both are in part descendents of politically and socially progressive early 20th-century thinkers and social reformers who were responding to the social, economic, and cultural contexts of the times. And finally both emerged from a strong, optimistic, and widely held belief that education could make the world better for a wider group of people. Although there was and continues to be a vibrant common area of overlap, the fields also evolved into separate entities.

The identity of social foundations of education has been characterized by a plurality since its birth. On the one hand, there were the cross-disciplinarians who were concerned with studying and writing about education for the purposes of bringing about social, cultural, and economic changes that would benefit the masses. There was and continues to be an equally strong strand comprised of scholars located firmly within the disciplines of history of education, comparative education, sociology of education, and philosophy of education. At its inception, educational psychology was also considered a part of educational foundations, but it eventually separated into its own field.

One of the major differences between social foundations and curriculum studies is related to the scope of the research agenda of each field. The area of social foundation is in part focused on study of the relationship between society and education. Part of this could overlap with curriculum studies in the sense that the curriculum broadly

defined could have great impact on the culture and politics of the society that it serves. The relationship between schools and society is reciprocal—that is, society also influences education. This influence can be seen recently in the emergence of the No Child Left Behind legislation, the increased use of standardized testing, and the political context since the 1990s. Thus social foundations is focused on the social and cultural contexts of education and on the impact of education on social and cultural forms.

Curriculum studies could be a component of both of these issues, but social foundations research scope is much broader. For example social foundations research could encompass the history of high schools in the Southwest without touching on curricular issues. In fact, there are a variety of social foundations topics that do not contain the study of curriculum. One could, for example, study the relationship between 4-year universities and quality of life in the country of Uganda. This research would be in the social foundations area of comparative education.

The research in the area of social foundations could be either quantitative or qualitative or interpretive, whereas research in the area of curriculum studies tends to be qualitative, interpretive, or autobiographical. There is a strand within the field of social foundations that is well connected with the area of curriculum studies. George Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* written in the 1930s, was characteristic of the optimism that permeated particular strands of the teacher education movement in the 1940s, which were pioneers of both fields and began to chart a path for progressive educators seeking to devote their professional energies to making the world a better place for more people. It was at that point at Teachers College that the Foundations Idea was started by a handful of scholars including those mentioned above who were intent on utilizing their positions as professional educators to bring about a world that was more humane, and more comfortable for the masses of the people who were living lives of economic and cultural marginalization. In a recollection of the times, R. F. Butts, one of the early directors of the Social Foundations Program at Teachers College, asserted that the one thing they all had in common was that they were for the underdog, they were international, and

they wanted to change the world. Later, the group would be strengthened by the emergence of Maxine Greene, also at Teachers College, who was to become greatly important to both the areas of curriculum studies and to social foundations of education.

A major development that impacted social foundations of education and curriculum studies was the emergence of postmodern and poststructural analysis across the disciplines. Although there were many scholars that championed this movement, one of them, Michel Foucault, wrote prolifically about the nature of power and the relationship between knowledge and power. The advent of modernity ushered in what is now known as Western metanarrative of the progress of the human race. More specifically, human beings are on a trajectory toward progress and away from backwardness. Postmodern theorists in both social foundations of education and curriculum studies have critiqued the dominance of the metanarrative by calling into question the ethnocentrism embedded in the notion that modernity emerged in the West and therefore places the West in the position of leading the progression. The entry in to the fields of social foundations of education and curriculum studies of several scholars of color as well as other critical scholars has reshaped the direction of the fields.

As social institutions, schools support particular interests; therefore, only one of the stories above will likely be championed as legitimate knowledge. The power–knowledge relationship, then, takes on immeasurable importance when thinking about the lives of educators. Much recent social foundations scholarship engages the nature of knowledge and its sociocultural origins. Central to this is examining the politics of knowledge, or more simply put, whose interests are being served by any particular narrative or curriculum, and whose interests are being marginalized.

Among the greatest contributions from both curriculum studies and social foundations scholars who locate themselves within postmodern analysis is the rescue of imagination and curiosity. Often when discussing education, students tend to create a border between what is possible, or how they can imagine the world, and what they refer to as the real world. “This sounds great, but in the real world . . .” They speak as if there was some sort of



fixed reality out there, separate from the theorizing and imagining they do that is somehow not real.

The idea of a world (real) with fixed meanings, where one can know something only because it is written in a book somewhere or where one cannot own a perception because it might be a misperception, is a concept that foundations and curriculum studies scholars critique. The emergence of post-modern interpretation has directed the focus of foundations and curriculum studies scholars to the ambiguity of meaning and thus has rescued many scholars from the anxiety and pain of feeling forced to speak and write in somebody else's voice. Imagination, surprise, curiosity, discovery, and ambiguity are alive and well in the classrooms of some social foundations and so are curriculum studies professors who refuse to believe that we can ever fully know the world. Social foundations and curriculum studies educators and students are able to revel in the passion of exploring the multiplicity of worlds that we inhabit and that inhabit us. They teach for the world as it could be and are not disabled by the so-called real world that itself is imagined and thus imaginary.

*Bernardo Gallegos*

*See also* Postcolonial Theory; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

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The link between curriculum studies and educational history is to be found in the emergence of the field of curriculum history. In the late 1960s

and early 1970s, curriculum history came into its own as a distinct area of inquiry within the field of curriculum studies with such disciplinary trappings as a complement of identifiable practitioners, an array of investigatory methods, and a more or less shared research agenda. Arriving on the scene when it did, curriculum history developed at the time that a number of educational historians were involved in a revisionist movement for reinterpreting the nature and purpose of their discipline. And it was the conflict surrounding revisionism that became the defining issue among those scholars who shaped the study of curriculum history.

Because of the close association of curriculum history to educational history, it is not always easy to differentiate the issues that distinguish these two fields. There is much in the way of overlap in the topics that educational historians and curriculum historians explore. They both, for example, are interested in the development over time of the course of study. What does seem, however, to distinguish these two groups of scholars is the focus that curriculum historians accord to the development of curriculum as a professional field of study. This is not an issue that has attracted much attention on the part of educational historians.

Key to the revisionist effort in educational history was the question of the regulative role of the school—that is, was the U.S. public school an instrument for advancing democracy and opportunity? Or was the school an instrument of social control for enhancing the power and privilege of the nation's elite? For much of the 20th century and now into the 21st, this has been a question that has engendered conflict among educational historians. Central to their work on this subject was the role over time that schools have played in an ongoing conflict that they saw between the aspirations of racial and ethnic minorities and the working class on one side and the interests of the White middle and upper classes on the other.

As a group of scholars, curriculum historians are largely divided between those who view the curriculum as a means for realizing democracy and opportunity and those who challenge this celebratory account of the development of the curriculum. This latter group has been generally sympathetic to the revisionist view of schools as instruments of social control for reproducing existing social class

relationships. They share the revisionist criticism of curriculum differentiation as a means of channeling the children of the rich and poor to different courses of study and ultimately to different and unequal life destinies. Yet they question the totality of the resulting regulation. They reject the view of the most radical revisionist educational historians that minorities and the working classes simply acquiesced in the directions that elites have set for them through the schools. Instead, they have defined a more balanced position that recognized the patterns of both conflict and consensus that have defined the development of the U.S. curriculum.

At the outset, the focus of attention for curriculum historians was on the development of curriculum ideas and proposals. It was in effect an intellectual history of the recommendations for what the schools should teach that had been advanced by leading educators and national committees. Yet in recent years curriculum history has been affected by the shift within the discipline of educational history from intellectual to social history. There is today a growing movement among curriculum historians for using case studies to explore the development of curriculum practice in actual school settings.

It is difficult to say what impact this link between curriculum history and educational history has had on the field of curriculum studies. It is important to note in this regard that curriculum studies during the late 1960s and early 1970s was undergoing its own transition as a result of the growing popularity among its practitioners of qualitative research. This was a shift that brought into the field the same concerns about the role of schools as instruments of social control that has defined curriculum history as a discipline. Yet it is also the case that curriculum studies scholars often seek to situate their research in a historical context and find that context in the work of curriculum historians who use the substantive and methodological insights of educational history.

It has not simply been the case that the relationship between educational history and curriculum studies has been one directional. As a discipline educational history has not been particularly receptive to the work of postmodern scholarship. It has largely been the work of curriculum scholars whose research and writing addresses historical themes who have taken the lead in introducing

postmodern ideas and methods into the research agenda of educational history.

Barry M. Franklin

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Foundations; Curriculum Theory; Historical Research; Social Control Theory

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

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*Educational policy* frequently impacts the school curriculum, either directly or indirectly, and consequently, should be a major concern of scholars in curriculum studies. The term educational policy refers to the rules and regulations that direct and govern schools, higher education institutions, and other organizations, programs, and initiatives that consciously promote learning. Policies normally are explicitly articulated and formally established; sometimes, however, the norms and standard operating procedures of organizational culture can function as quasi-policies and make formal policies unnecessary.

Although policies can be written more as suggestions than directives, a policy also can spell out significant consequences for complying or failing

to comply with policy mandates. A recent example of an educational policy that stipulates negative consequences is the No Child Left Behind Act enacted by the United States government.

Policy making is often equated with governmental action, and indeed, in the United States, some of the most important educational policies are made by school boards, state governments, and increasingly, federal officials. In other countries with more centralized governance structures (and national curriculums), the national government is the primary actor in the policy making arena.

Governmental officials are not the only people who make educational policy, however. Because all groups need at least informal policies to operate, even teachers, who are not normally thought of as policy makers, must develop policies to manage their classrooms. Research suggests that some of these policies (e.g., the policies teachers establish to form small instructional groups in their classes) are among the most significant for promoting—and inhibiting—student learning.

The field of educational policy making is more difficult to define—or even find. To be sure, in recent years the American Educational Research Association established a division called Educational Policy and Politics, but the association members who are most influential in the governmental policy-making process often are not affiliated with the division. In universities, educational policy programs sometimes are subsumed under—and at times indistinguishable from—educational administration programs; in addition, students getting degrees in public policy, public administration, political science, and economics can specialize in education policy and policy making.

To further complicate matters, in recent years some educational foundations programs (i.e., programs whose faculty focus their teaching and scholarship on discipline-based subjects such as educational history and educational philosophy) have rebranded themselves as policy studies programs. In other education colleges, the educational policy label has been affixed to some of the large departmental amalgams created by consolidation initiatives. These departments house a variety of education specializations (including, at times, curriculum studies); some of the specializations are, at best, only peripherally related to educational

policy and policy making as these terms normally are defined.

It would be reasonable to assume that most curriculum scholars would be interested in educational policy and that some would be influential in governmental policy making. For the most part, however, curriculum and policy scholars have inhabited separate universes. This separation did not occur accidentally. William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet, for example, explicitly argued that scholars in a reconceptualized curriculum field should, at least initially, ignore policy making and focus their attention on more abstract theorizing. This explicit rejection of policy work is hardly surprising because policy is designed to control and manage situations, and most of those who reconceptualized curriculum studies in the final decades of the 20th century were suspicious of all forms of social control.

In recent years, curriculum scholars have expressed a bit more interest in policy and policy making. Even Pinar devoted substantial space in his synoptic text on the curriculum studies field to the work of policy scholar Richard Elmore. Undoubtedly, the perceived negative impact of the No Child Left Behind legislation on the lives of students and teachers—and on the school curriculum—has been one impetus for curriculum scholars such as David Flinders to speak out on policy-related issues.

The challenge for curriculum scholars who want to influence governmental policy making is to find ways to effectively communicate with the policy community. Even policy analysts within the academy often work from very different bibliographies than curriculum scholars employ. Many policy analysts, for instance, may not be well versed in European social theory; they may, however, invariably be well schooled in the cost-benefit thinking of economists. The unanswered question at this point is the following: Can curriculum scholars translate the curriculum studies fields' key ideas into a language that policy analysts and policy makers will understand without losing too much in the translation?

*Robert B. Donmoyer*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Administration; National Curriculum; No Child Left Behind; Reconceptualization

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF INSTRUCTION

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Conversations that link curriculum and instruction are as old as the institutions that educate students. Decisions about what to teach have implications for how to teach. The origin of the notion of instruction as a production system can be traced to efforts during the early decades of the 20th century to apply industrial scientific management to education. In later years, instruction as a production system was related to the doctrine of behaviorism and to systems analysis and accountability. By mid century, with focus on accountability, evaluation became a central practice in the field of instruction and in the practice of curriculum development. Ralph W. Tyler, perhaps one of the most influential educators in evaluation, influenced policy and set guidelines for the expenditure of government funds. His work helped to codify educational evaluation as it pertained to aligning measurement and testing with specific educational purposes. By this time it was customary for scholars and practitioners to consider curriculum as a design problem. The well-known Tyler Rationale was articulated in *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* as the way to consolidate parameters for analysis of the internal components of curriculum construction—goals, implementation, and evaluation. Curriculum planners were guided to consider a curriculum program that consisted of purposes, learning experiences, organization and evaluation. Program evaluation, then, was intended to determine the effective aspects of the program and to revise the areas that were not

effective. In his book, Tyler described learning as taking place through the action of the student, not what the teacher does.

By the late 1960s, the fields of curriculum and instruction had fused in the guise of the objectives movement. With the large-scale entry of the federal government, first through the 1958 National Defense Education Act, the National Science Foundation, and subsequently by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, government linked with private funding sources to forge a powerful force in curriculum and instruction policy. The economic force effectively overshadowed individual child-centered education. The demands of the funding agencies for accountability influenced the emphasis on standardized treatments and evaluation. The dominant camp of curriculum scholars was representative of evaluators such as W. James Popham, who worked from a means–end perspective that required curriculum developers to clearly state objectives of a program prior to deciding its content and organization. Under their influence, in the 1970s thousands of U.S. teachers learned to write behavioral objectives using standardized and tightly controlled formats. The practice continues today as it serves the growing trend toward standardized achievement testing that has given impetus to conceiving curriculum in terms of test results.

By the decade of the 1970s, the voices of curriculum scholars whose work followed different scholarly perspectives began to be heard. Curriculum development as the prime focus had lost dominance. Federal monies were running out and the evaluators were leaving the curriculum field. Writing behavioral objectives had become the centrality of curriculum development and instructional design for at least two decades. However, as the reconceptualist movement matured, the two practices began to identify as different fields. These curriculum scholars had become the dominant force in the American Educational Research Association's Division B Curriculum and Objectives. In 1982, Elliot Eisner was the head of the curriculum division and oversaw the proposal to change the name of Division B to Curriculum Studies. This change was a clear signal that the field of curriculum studies had severed its relationship to both curriculum development and instructional design.



Today instructional design is a prominent practice in education that is viewed as an efficient way to deliver certain types of training. Computer applications in education are rapidly advancing in the field of instructional design and are becoming a major influence in innovative ways of delivering instruction. As a result of the technological assumptions and imperatives for practice that are now associated with instruction, curriculum scholars have produced a body of criticism to challenge the dominant technological view that influences both teaching scholarship and instructional design.

Curriculum scholars are troubled by the newer instructional technology and the growing trend toward standardized achievement testing that have given impetus to conceiving curriculum in terms of test results. With schools and teachers being evaluated according to student scores on standardized tests, there has been an increasing tendency for teachers to teach to the test. Hence, the test not only provides the quantitative data on the outcomes of instruction, but also exerts a powerful influence on instructional processes and very largely determines the curriculum. In effect, the curriculum is seen as the quantitatively measured outcomes of instruction. To curriculum scholars, such a conception of curriculum reduces the schooling process itself to a technological system of production.

Noreen Garman

*See also* Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Computer-Assisted Instruction; Instructional Design; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; *Preparing Instructional Objectives*; Reconceptualization; Standards, Curricular; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*; Teacher-Proof Curriculum; Tyler Rationale, The

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF SUPERVISION

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Curriculum studies and the field of supervision have been influenced by two somewhat complementary enterprises: bureaucracy and professionalism. In education bureaucratic needs are focused on political, practical, and efficient patterns for organizing and maintaining effective institutions. Professional needs are concerned with knowledge and experience that can ensure qualified (and in most cases, licensed) workers. A third enterprise is scholarship, the work of academics in creating new knowledge associated with the needs of the other two.

In the 1890s, supervision was cast within a bureaucratic organizational framework of administration. Supervisors as administrators paid little attention to curriculum making. Administrators concerned themselves with the new political demands associated with organizing and running their schools. Curriculum and supervision seemed to have been on paths that signaled two separate evolutionary fields. And although there have been repeated calls by scholars and practitioners to recognize the importance of viewing the two as integral partners in providing effective learning experiences for students, major forces have continued in different directions. There have been, however, periods of connection that reinforced the notion that teaching can be enhanced with the cooperative engagement of teachers, curriculum workers, and supervisors.

Curriculum scholars have speculated about the origins of curriculum as a field of study. Hollis L. Caswell, prominent professor at Teachers College who organized the new Department of Curriculum and Teaching in 1938, suggested that curriculum has been a subject of study and innovation since the beginning of organized education. Others have argued that the Herbartian movement in the late 1890s was a defining effort. However, Lawrence Cremin, educational historian and former president of Teachers College, posited that although the roots of curriculum date back to the late 19th century, curriculum did not emerge as a distinct field of study until the widely publicized program of

curriculum revision was introduced in the Denver school system in 1922. It was the superintendent who implemented an initiative in which classroom teachers participated significantly in a systemwide effort at reform. At that time, in most of the country, curriculum development was minimal and episodic. In urban districts, the supervisor's duty was to carry out the rigid and fixed courses of study determined by the superintendent. Both supervision and curriculum were under administrative structure. And although curriculum issues were the concerns of educators interested in philosophic challenges, school people were chiefly interested in structural, administrative reform to achieve their goal of standardization and uniformity, especially in large districts. Once the administrative innovation of systemwide curriculum development in both the Denver and Detroit schools caught on nationally, it became apparent that educators other than the superintendent would be needed to manage the process. It was training such curriculum specialists that provided a benchmark effort in the history of the field.

In 1926, the publication of two volumes by the National Society for the Study of Education contributed to the increased interests in curriculum across the country. Harold Rugg and George Counts, in a discussion of the current methods of curriculum making, suggested that a nationwide movement was under way and the time for curriculum revision had arrived. The publication strongly advocated for competent and knowledgeable professional curriculum specialists. In the last half of the 20th century, curriculum planning and development grew steadily, achieved wide popularity, and was perceived as useful in reconstructing courses of study. Education in curriculum studies through academic coursework was viewed as necessary and curriculum development as a professional enterprise became legitimate.

After 1900, in the field of supervision, urbanization intensified and the school systems grew more complex. The superintendent, as central office administrator, often lost contact with the day-to-day operations of the individual schools in the district and had to establish certain administrative and supervisory positions. Principals, general supervisors (later assistant principals), and department heads assumed responsibility for the oversight of the schools. Supervisors, seeking

professional status, attempted to disassociate themselves from bureaucratic and production-oriented role relationships. As a result, the scholarship emphasized democratic and cooperative supervision. And although educators in both curriculum and supervision drew from different professional discourses and scholarship, both fields were influenced by the writings of John Dewey.

For a good part of the 20th century, the interests of supervisors and curriculum workers remained disparate. Curriculum workers paid little attention in their practice and scholarship to administrative and supervisory aspects that facilitate curriculum theory. Supervisors seemed to neglect problems concerning curriculum. There were, however, attempts in various areas to develop collaborative efforts between curriculum workers and supervisors. An increasing number of educators began to realize that the image of the supervisor as an inspector with "super vision" could dramatically improve if the supervisor worked cooperatively with teachers and other school personnel. Furthermore, because a major function of supervision was to attend to the improvement of instruction, facilitating curriculum development with groups of teachers could help this effort. Educators were recognizing the necessary relationship between curriculum and supervision. The founding of ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) in 1943 reflected the belief by practitioners and scholars that a unified effort between supervisors and curriculum workers was needed to successfully carry out the instructional aspects of schooling and for a few decades the functions within the practice and scholarship of supervision included curriculum development as a way to improve instruction.

By the 1990s, however, the estrangement between curriculum studies and the field of supervision widened. Supervisors often had limited knowledge of curriculum discourses and focused instead on the technical skills of teaching in general. The implications of this estrangement were even more apparent in scholarship in the two fields as supervision became increasingly associated with more technical, administrative issues, and curriculum studies became more theoretical. In curriculum scholarship, a major question is to ask what knowledge is of most worth. In supervision research a fundamental question is to ask what are best

practices and how can we foster improvement of instruction.

In the dawn of the 21st century, major state and federal mandates are radically changing both fields. High-stakes testing has forced administrators to concentrate their practice on accountability through test scores. Curriculum work has focused on student achievement and state standards that must be aligned with testing. School districts often purchase curriculum packages from educational entrepreneurs. Large-scale technology and massive data management demands the attention of supervisors and curriculum workers. As a result both fields may find new ways to collaborate for the challenges of the new century.

Noreen Garman

*See also* Achievement Tests; Balkanization of Curriculum Studies; Best Practices; Instruction as a Field of Study; Supervision as a Field of Study

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF TEACHER EDUCATION

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Rather than work in a single discipline, faculty in professional schools, including education, work within a problem that is of compelling interest to stake holders. The contextual parameters within which professional schools operate shape the nature of the curriculum work done within them. In law schools, for example, the bar examination

and the importance to school prestige of graduate passing rates and employment directly influence decisions made about course content, purposes, and pedagogy. When graduates do not do well on a portion of the examination, consideration will be given to changing the courses and instruction associated with that set of topics. Candidate testing also is an important part of teacher education. Academic and verbal skills, content area, and pedagogical knowledge are tested and the results influence course and program design. Similarly, satisfying accreditation standards for professional schools plays an important role in curriculum studies. Representing accepted professional practice, meeting these standards dramatically affects the nature of the curriculum. Ensuring continuing accreditation necessitates ongoing analysis of student performance in relationship to curricular offerings. When deficiencies are noted, program revisions follow.

Within teacher education, in addition to students, arts and science, education, and school faculties, including administrators, and various levels of policy makers are heavily invested in program development and revision. There is a fundamental tension running throughout much of this work: on one hand, the charge is to educate individuals who fit into and can with relative ease work effectively within schools as they currently operate; on the other, is the intent to educate educators who are able and positively disposed to involvement in system change and improvement. The importance of this later concern is evident in teacher education programs oriented toward social justice, inquiry, and multicultural aims, where the expectation is that teachers can, do, and must influence positively the wider society, making it more just and compassionate. Accrediting bodies have embraced both charges.

In addition, professional schools are deeply concerned with questions of identity and membership. Upon graduation, the expectation is that the graduate will be prepared for a vocation and possess the dispositions and modes of thinking characteristic of the profession. Proof comes in the form of a license or certificate granting the right to practice. Identity is less an outcome of courses than of the entire professional experience and as such, is part of the informal or hidden curriculum. Nevertheless, it is an important outcome strongly

related to professional commitment—to those who actually engage in the practice successfully.

Finally, like theology schools that prepare ministers, education schools are necessarily deeply concerned about the kind of people who enter teaching. As a moral relationship, teaching not only sets the terms by which young people encounter the disciplines, but also provides standards of human kindness, caring, and decency.

Although the general problem that defines teacher education is how best to educate outstanding teachers, several related questions engage curriculum scholars. A few of these follow: The politics of teacher education, how decisions are made, who exercises influence and how, and how best to productively bring together the various stakeholders is an ongoing concern and research interest. Energy has been and is being directed toward identifying promising teaching practices for inclusion in the curriculum, especially for urban and minority children. Developing and refining models of assessment that fairly and accurately represent teacher impact on learning is of growing interest. The formation and sustaining of university–school partnerships remains a lively topic. New models of mentoring and forms of teacher collaboration are being developed and tested as are new patterns of field experience, including student teaching. Teacher beliefs and their impact on practice are a major focus of inquiry. Interest grows in teaching and technology and in the generation of new kinds of interactive materials. Questions of teacher development, life narratives, identity, and emotions are of growing consequence to curriculum scholars. Increasingly, individual teacher educators study their own practice, seeking improvement. Local program studies are gaining in influence. Work continues and grows in the various disciplines to gain insight into how they can better be taught and learned. Finally, curricular design work garners attention as teacher educators continue to seek to create content and course sequences, including between time spent in field studies and on campus, that better facilitate beginning teacher learning and development.

*Robert V. Bullough, Jr.*

See also Autobiographical Theory; Teacher as Researcher; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice;

Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice, History of; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development

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## CURRICULUM STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION

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Curriculum studies employs the social context of education to understand the tensions between the social sciences and the psychological, measurement sciences. Heretofore, in the earliest beginnings of the curriculum field, scientific management and psychological sciences predominated curriculum with a behavioral approach that categorized and structured hierarchies of student ability and aptitude, generated from a worldview that elevated measurement and testing as the ultimate determinant. Yet from the time George Herbert Mead's work influenced John Dewey, the recognition that students did not live in social vacuums, and therefore research on the child, society, and its institutions to illuminate societal issues and their impact on student academic work, existed in relative obscurity in educational research and was in a constant struggle for legitimacy.

The social context of education, as conceptualized by the American Educational Research Association Division G, formally recognized the need to employ social sciences in educational research. Curricularists embrace these same nonpsychological social sciences—sociology, urbanology, anthropology, political science, and social psychology—to help unpack society and its implications for curriculum organization and classroom practices. However, even after Division G's 1968 beginnings, the social issues that impact inequity of wealth and educational opportunity still exist.

The social context of education confirms that the curriculum field is a conflicted and contested terrain. At the national level, No Child Left



Behind (NCLB) education legislation has become a scientific and evidenced-based school policy mechanism, which many believe has reduced curriculum organization to the mantra “pass the test.” This revitalized behavioral approach using performance objectives and systems management results in curriculum differentiation for middle-class and urban and rural working-class students. NCLB’s high-stakes testing instituted mandatory student assessment. The penalties for low performance came in the form of vouchers and tax credits to attend better performing schools, including private and parochial, with the potential of destroying public education.

Another not unrelated layer of complexity is corporate interest. A century ago, industry demanded a curriculum that would develop a workforce to allow businesses to compete in world markets. Now corporations are in the business of education on national and global levels. Curriculum development and assessment is big business: educational television; attempts to privatize public schools; the testing industry, especially in light of NCLB; and corporations (such as Plato) market curriculum software in Europe; have distributors in the middle East, South Africa, and Singapore and are looking for new potential markets in Asia; and other English-speaking countries. Social context helps curricularists ask questions about such corporate interests and national policies.

The social context of education helps us understand that curriculum is profoundly political. The knowledge disseminated in schools is not neutral because society, and even science itself, is not neutral. The social tension is, in part, because those who have accumulated wealth, power, and privilege try to maintain their advantage, while those having less and in many cases, much less, struggle to change the rules so that they can acquire a better life for themselves and their children. In a democracy, citizens would have equal access to education, health care, a clean environment, and so on, but in a republic, some are more equal than others. The essential role of curriculum is a course of study to prepare subsequent generations for lifelong learning, the adult world of work, and, it is hoped, for a fulfilled social and personal life as a member of the global community. Yet there are those who are woefully unprepared to join the adult world of work, much less be a citizen of the

world. Studying social context allows curricularists to investigate why society operates in sometimes curious and unexpected ways. After all, electing Barack Obama, the first man of African descent to be U.S. president is revolutionary. Ironically, however, curriculum organization has taken a backseat to the standards, outcomes, and accountability regime. The results are a Sneddenistic type differentiated instruction—discipline-centered reform for the most able students and basic instruction for the least able students, which speaks volumes about their future adult opportunities. How does this curriculum configuration historically manage to replicate itself so accurately, precisely, and consistently over the years? In these contemporary times, employing social sciences to inform curriculum studies could illuminate new occasions for changing current configurations, with an eye toward the moral, ethical, and sane advancement of a global community. Will curricularists work to change the current education trajectory as learned from the lessons of the past? Time will tell.

*Beverly M. Gordon*

*See also* Cultural Production/Reproduction; Curriculum Development; Resistance and Contestation; Social Control Theory

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## CURRICULUM THEORIZING

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*Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*, a collection of essays edited by William F. Pinar, is the initial work in reconceptualization’s break with the traditional field of curriculum development. The field had been dominated up to that point by the Tylerian paradigm (1950–1970). This traditional Tylerian paradigm consisted of work in curriculum development, design, implementation,

and evaluation. The work of the scholars included in the collection was an attempt to raise issues, problems, and questions about the dominant paradigm in curriculum. Major scholars in the curriculum field of that period were included in the text. James B. Macdonald, Lawrence Cremin, Herbert M. Kliebard, Michael Apple, John Steven Mann, Alex Molnar, Ross Mooney, Dwayne Huebner, Maxine Greene, Philip Penix, William F. Pilder, William J. Murphy, William F. Pinar, George Willis, and Francine Shuchat Shaw all had one or more essays in the collection.

Pinar, in his preface to the text, outlines the curriculum field of the mid-1970s and elaborates on the reconceptualization. His cartography divided the field into three different tropes, themes, or areas. The first area was the traditional field characterized by curriculum development whose purpose was to prescribe and assist those at work in the schools. Pinar described the work as atheoretical. It served the purposes of answering how-to questions and providing guidelines for practitioners.

The second division in the field was the conceptual empiricists. This group, according to Pinar, comprised approximately 15% to 20% of the curriculum field at the time. This faction of the field was concerned with the theoretical, methodological, and practical orientations of the social sciences. The orientation was to apply the work of the social sciences to the questions of curriculum. The goal of this work was connected with issues of prediction and control, particularly of behavior.

The book is primarily committed to the work of the group that represented approximately 3% to 5% of the curriculum field at that time of the book's publication. The major concern of this group was to understand curriculum (which has become the major orientation in the field and generated much debate). The purpose of this work (i.e., reconceptualization) was not to be a guide to practitioners nor to apply the works of social science to curriculum, but to bring the conceptualizations of the humanities to the work of curriculum. At the historical moment of the 1970s, the work of history, continental philosophy, and literary criticism was being applied to the study of curriculum. The focus of study by these scholars changed the orientation of curriculum from the exclusively scientific and behavioral to existential experience,

politics, and consciousness. Pinar emphasized that this group's primary focus was on the understanding of educational experience.

Pinar also discussed in this text that reconceptualization went through three stages—that is, a field of study goes through stages. The first stage of a field is the development of a tradition. In the case of the curriculum field of the 1970s, it was the Tylerian tradition. The second stage is the stage of critique. This stage is made up of the critique of the tradition. According to Pinar, this stage could be as painful for the critic as it is for the critiqued. The third stage is the introduction of a new focus for a field (i.e., curriculum), which meant the reconceiving of the issues and areas the field covers. *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* was part of that process of reconceiving. The works of the scholars that were included were examples of that very attempt to reconceptualize the field.

One problem that arose from the title of this text was confusion over the terms *reconceptualists* and *reconceptualism*. These terms suggested a movement or a theoretical cohesiveness among those scholars working in the area that was not necessarily present. The terms, however, were used in the field of curriculum to describe the process of the reconceptualization that was multifaceted and multidimensional. The terms can best be described as misnomers. Despite this confusion over terminology that may have arisen from this book, it stands as one of the most important texts in the beginning of the reconceptualization of the curriculum field and its movement from the preoccupation with curriculum development to the complex notions of understanding curriculum.

*William Martin Reynolds*

*See also* Reconceptualization; Tyler Rationale, The

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## CURRICULUM THEORY

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U.S. curriculum theory is the interdisciplinary study of curriculum in its historical, political, racial, gendered, postmodern, autobiographical, religious, and international dimensions. The contemporary field is structured by three main historical moments. The first was the field's inauguration and paradigmatic stabilization as curriculum development (1918–1969). The second was the field's reconceptualization, first occurring from 1969 to 1980 with the transition from curriculum development to curriculum studies and continuing from 1980 to 2000 as the interdisciplinary academic field paradigmatically organized around understanding curriculum. Most recently, the U.S. field is undergoing a process of internationalization, beginning in 2000.

### Curriculum Development

The culminating event of the first paradigmatic moment was the appearance, in 1949, of what has been termed the bible of curriculum development: Ralph W. Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. This thin book—it began as the syllabus for Tyler's course on curriculum taught during the 1930s and 1940s at the University of Chicago—is organized around four questions that, he thought, should guide curriculum development: (1) What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? (2) What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? (3) How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? (4) How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? Within the university-based academic field of curriculum studies, however, criticism of the Tyler Rationale appeared, eventually became voluminous, and finally, became decisive, in spite of ongoing efforts to rescue it. Despite its intellectual fate within U.S. curriculum theory, bureaucratic versions of Tyler's protocol have remained in wide circulation in U.S. public schools. What is distinctive—for many critics lamentable—about Tyler's Rationale is that it links objectives to evaluation, ensuring that teaching is relegated to a form of implementation, the success of which is likely measured quantitatively. In Tyler's scheme lies the

rationale for contemporary schemes of accountability of standardized examination. Before the 1960s and the events triggered by *Sputnik* and antiwar and civil rights protests, the Tyler Rationale was extended, but not challenged.

The Soviet Union successfully launched *Sputnik I* on October 4, 1957. The world's first artificial satellite provoked new political, military, technological, and scientific developments. It marked the start of the United States versus the USSR. space race. In the aftermath of *Sputnik*, Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy made public education a major issue in the 1960 campaign against Richard Nixon. After Kennedy's election, his administration initiated a national curriculum reform movement, designed to transfer sophisticated disciplinary knowledge in the elite universities to the public schools. Toward this end, curriculum professors and schoolteachers were passed by; disciplinary specialists led curriculum development initiatives. A cognitive psychologist—Jerome Bruner—and a geneticist—Joseph J. Schwab—became the designated architects of reform-minded curriculum theory.

### Reconceptualization and Contemporary Curriculum Theory

With its traditional *raison d'être*—curriculum development—hijacked by politicians and their academic allies, curriculum theory went into crisis, resulting in a paradigm shift. Bureaucratized curriculum development—associated with the Tyler protocol—was replaced by an interdisciplinary academic effort to understand curriculum: historically, politically, racially, autobiographically—biographically, aesthetically, theologically, institutionally, and internationally, as well as in terms of gender, phenomenology, postmodernism, and poststructuralism. In the reconceptualized field, there were obvious links to earlier phrases: theological curriculum studies, for instance, can be linked to John Dewey's articulation of a common faith and political curriculum theory recalled the earlier interests of the social reconstructionists. Reconceptualized theological curriculum theory emphasized Latin American liberation theology rather than U.S. traditions, however, and reconceptualized political theory was avowedly neo-Marxist in orientation. And both sectors of scholarship addressed issues of

understanding curriculum rather than directing reform efforts in the schools. Due to the differences, the field became unrecognizable to many scholars who had come of intellectual age during the first paradigm.

Contemporary curriculum theory incorporates literal and institutional meanings of the concept of curriculum, but it is by no means limited to them. Curriculum is now a highly symbolic concept. Curriculum is now understood to be an extraordinarily complicated conversation. Through the curriculum and our experience of it, we choose what to remember about the past, what to believe about the present, what to hope for and fear about the future. Curriculum debates—such as those over multiculturalism—are also debates over the U.S. national identity. The traditional field had been ahistorical; contemporary curriculum theory is defined by its historicity. The traditional field had focused on bureaucratic protocols; the contemporary field is focused on the interdisciplinary study of educational experience.

This interdisciplinary structure of the field, and especially the strong influence of the humanities and the arts, makes curriculum theory a distinctive specialization within the broad field of education, a fragmented field broadly modeled after the social and behavioral sciences. As a distinctive interdisciplinary field (rather than subfield of a single academic discipline such as educational psychology or the sociology of education), curriculum studies may be the only autonomous academic discipline within the broad field of education. Several of the social sciences—most prominently academic psychology, but sociology as well—have colonized much of the field of education. Only curriculum theory has its origin in and owes its loyalty to the discipline and experience of education.

In its interest in and commitment to the study of educational experience, contemporary curriculum theory is critical of contemporary U.S. school reform. In this time of pervasive vocationalism, including academic vocationalism, when the curriculum is assumed to be courses of study leading to competence in the academic disciplines, curriculum theory testifies to the progressive insistence that education have value for society and the self, that its end is not only itself, but rather, that it must engage and extend the interests—intellectual, psychological, social—of students. Such engagement is

not a matter of seducing stubborn young minds into the school subjects, especially as these are aligned with their more sophisticated parent disciplines as these are currently compartmentalized and bureaucratized in colleges and universities. Rather, teaching—from the point of view of curriculum theory—is a matter of enabling students to employ academic knowledge (and popular culture, increasingly via the media and the Internet) to understand their own self-formation within society and the world.

Such understanding is both individual and social, local and global, historical and futural (terms with blurred boundaries, as each is embedded in the other). Its contextualization in the ongoing self-formation of students in anticipation of their participation in the public sphere not yet formed requires that teachers communicate the social, ethical, and political potential of what in the current curricular regime sometimes seems rather ivory-tower indeed. Curriculum theory is, then, about discovering and articulating for oneself and with others the educational significance of the school subjects for self and society in the ever-changing historical moment. As a consequence, curriculum theory rejects the current business-minded school reform, with its emphasis on test scores on standardized examinations, academic analogues to the bottom line—that is, profit. By linking the curriculum to student performance on standardized examinations, politicians have, in effect, taken control of what is to be taught: the curriculum. Examination-driven curricula tend to demote teachers from scholars and intellectuals to technicians in service to the state. The cultivation of self-reflexive, interdisciplinary erudition and intellectuality disappears. Rationalized as accountability, political socialization replaces education.

In this time of pervasive vocationalism, including academic vocationalism, when the curriculum is assumed to be a means to higher scores on standardized examinations, curriculum theory testifies to the progressive insistence that education have value for society and the self, that its end is not only itself, but rather, that it must engage and extend the interests—intellectual, psychological, social—of students. Curriculum theorists understand that such engagement is not a matter of obtaining compliance from stubborn young minds with institutional agendas of accountability.



Rather, teaching—from the point of view of curriculum theory—is a matter of enabling students to employ academic knowledge (and popular culture, increasingly via the media and the Internet) to understand their own self-formation within society and the world.

Curriculum theory understands teacher education as engaging prospective and practicing teachers self-reflexively in interdisciplinary study, study often located at the intersections of self and society, the local and the global, and the school subjects and everyday life. Moreover, both schooling and education (intersecting, but hardly identical terms) are studied at their organizational and intellectual center, the curriculum. They are also studied historically, in part to enable teachers to appreciate how they came to be working under current conditions, among them diminished academic freedom, including the loss of control over the means by which teachers assess students' study and academic accomplishment.

Curriculum theory understands teacher education not as learning a new language for what teachers already do, although the language we employ to understand what we do structures, as well as represents, professional conduct. Curriculum theorists appreciate the limitations of the language of learning, embedded as that term is in academic psychology, rather than in psychoanalysis. Curriculum theorists appreciate the significance of employing ethical, religious, and aesthetic languages to depict and structure their professional activities as educators. Curriculum scholars are often suspicious of rhetorical bandwagons such as competency based or outcome based or standards and immediately go to work to situate them historically in terms of the discourse systems in which they operate, especially in politicians' obfuscating rhetoric.

In studying curriculum theory, then, teachers are not being asked to learn how to do something new in the classroom, although their conduct there may well be altered, perhaps even transformed, as a consequence of studying curriculum theory. How it will be altered or transformed one cannot predict, however. Curriculum theorists do not regard their task as directing teachers to apply theory to practice, a form of professional subordination. Rather, curriculum theorists in the university regard their pedagogical work as the cultivation of independence of mind, self-reflexivity, and an

interdisciplinary erudition. They hope to persuade teachers to appreciate the complex and shifting relations between their own self-formation and the school subjects they teach, understood both as subject matter and as human subjects.

Skeptical of business thinking and of military discipline, both of which continue to be invoked as corrective to the supposed lack of rigor in schools (a gendered and racialized as well as academic judgment), curriculum theorists appreciate that the profession of teaching requires them—as faculty, that is, as private and public intellectuals—to understand and participate collaboratively in the school, including in the governance of the day-to-day life of the institution and in the administration of academic matters such as curriculum content, teaching styles, and the assessment of students' study.

Participating in the governance of the school requires curriculum theorists to remain (or to become) self-aware of the multiple functions and potentials of the process of education and of the institutions that formalize them. This requirement means becoming articulate about and exercising influence over curriculum content, including interdisciplinary configurations (such as women's and gender studies), theories of pedagogy, and the various means of assessing student study. How all this gets worked out, including teachers' already overburdened schedules (too many students and too many classes continue to characterize teachers' underpaid and unprofessional lives in too many schools) is outside the purview of curriculum theory, but its scholarly understanding is not.

Curriculum theory is a form of practical-theoretical reason. As such, it is not subject to the scientific norms of reason and truth. Curriculum theory can be best understood as extension and reconfiguration of theory in the humanities and the arts. Curriculum theory is significantly informed as well by social and autobiographical theory, themselves intersecting domains. Curriculum theory, then, is a form of autobiographical and theoretical truth telling that articulates the educational experience of teachers and students as lived. As such, curriculum theory speaks from the subjective experience of history and society, the inextricable interrelationships among which structure educational experience. The role of language in such truth telling is key. If curriculum theorists

employ, for instance, that bureaucratic language in which teaching becomes not an occasion for creativity and dissent and above all, individuality, but rather, the implementation of others' objectives, the process of education can become mutilated. Whatever language they employ, they become the language.

Curriculum theory reminds those committed to the project of education (which of course, does not always coincide with what goes on in the schools) that for intelligence to be cultivated in fundamental ways, it must be set free of corporate goals. Such an idea hardly excludes instrumental reason, calculation, and problem solving as major modes of cognition. Intellectual freedom must allow, however, for meditative, contemplative modes of cognition, and for exploring subjects—those associated, for instance, with the arts, humanities, and social sciences—that may have no immediate practical pay-off and might not be evaluated by standardized examinations.

### Internationalization

The events of September 11, 2001, intensified the sense that U.S. scholars must attend to curricular developments worldwide. The International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies was founded with an affiliate in the United States, American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies. Scholarly interest in the international study of curriculum is not a new phenomenon, however, evident in the scholarship of George Counts and other U.S. progressives. In the early decades of the 20th century, internationalism—associated with political movements on the Left—was advocated by the United States

Until recently, however, much of the North American scholarship devoted to understanding curriculum internationally had been conducted in Canada. In 2003, the first international handbook of curriculum research was published in the United States. Internationalization promises deepened understanding of the local through encounter with the global and the collective. Unlike globalization, internationalization promises to intensify the intellectual sophistication of U.S. curriculum theory, especially that theory committed to multicultural, gendered, and political activism toward social justice

and ecological sustainability. Internationalization promises a third paradigmatic shift in U.S. curriculum theory, the outlines of which are just now coming in view.

William F. Pinar

*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research

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## CURRICULUM THOUGHT, CATEGORIES OF

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Since its inception, the curriculum field has exemplified diverse perspectives or schools of thought. Several of the prominent category schemes have been developed by Herbert Kliebard, Michael

Schiro, William Pinar, Elliot Eisner, John McNeil, William Watkins, and William Schubert, among others.

When the curriculum field emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was already a time of considerable diversity as delineated by curriculum historian, Kliebard. He identified four categories or interest groups that emerged to contend in what he called a crucible of curriculum reform efforts: humanists, developmentalists, social efficiency proponents, and social meliorists. The humanists, such as Charles Eliot and William Torrey Harris, advocated variations on a liberal arts and sciences curriculum, whereas developmentalists such as G. Stanley Hall saw the need for a psychology of curriculum that connected human development to the development of the human race throughout civilization. Thus, developmentalist roots were found in the Herbartians, who built on the cultural epoch theory of Johann Friedrich Herbart. The social efficiency interest group advocated from applications of science to curriculum making, finding proponents that ranged from a pediatrician (Joseph Mayer Rice) to educational psychologists and measurement advocates (e.g., James M. Cattell, E. L. Thorndike, Charles H. Judd) and efficiency-minded curriculum designers (Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters), both of whom fell under the influence of time and motion studies advocated for efficiency in business and industry. This factory model of education associated with Frederick Taylor was contested by social meliorists, such as Lester Frank Ward, who saw curriculum as a basis for cooperation and democratic collaboration. Kliebard did not place the work of John Dewey in any one of these categories; instead, he saw Dewey as hovering among them, challenging them to eclectically blend the deepest and most profound dimensions of each for the productive benefit of learners and curricula that influenced them.

Sometimes, perhaps due to such unique placement of Dewey, progressive and traditional forms of education were seen as the two most prevalent categories of curriculum in the first half of the 20th century. These are the categories compared in the renowned Eight Year Study of high schools, the results of which were published in 1942, showing that progressive practices were equal or superior preparation for college.

Michael Schiro developed the following categories for curriculum ideologies based on the ways in which categories of philosophy of education were articulated: scholar academic, social efficiency, child study, and social reconstruction. Also drawing from philosophy, Robert Zais has shown that curricular positions can be traced to three orientations of philosophy: other worldly, earth centered, and man centered. Such categories or their synonyms have had a lasting effect; however, scholars engaged in the emergence of curriculum studies in the 1970s offered more specific categories, apart from the traditions of educational philosophy. Notably, Eisner and Pinar provided categories that helped shape the emergent movement of the field from sole focus on curriculum development to the study and understanding of curriculum as a social phenomenon. Categories of each of these curriculum theorists and their respective colleagues evolved over the years. For instance, in the early 1970s, Eisner with colleague and former student Elizabeth Vallance presented key work of notable scholars of the day that illustrated five conflicting conceptions of curriculum: cognitive processes, technology, self-actualization, social reconstruction, and academic rationalism. John McNeil has argued for similar categories in his widely used introductions to curriculum literature, beginning in 1978: humanistic, social reconstructionist, technology, and academic subjects. In several editions of *The Educational Imagination*, beginning in 1979, Eisner refined six curriculum ideologies, culminating in the following: religious orthodoxy, rational humanism, progressivism, critical theory, reconceptualism, and cognitive pluralism. Eisner often has expressed an intellectual debt to Schwab's distinction between theoretic and practical inquiry in curriculum and his advocacy of an eclectic position that Eisner in turn applies to the conflicting conceptions and ideologies he has delineated over the years, showing that at increased depth there exists complementarity along certain lines.

Starting in the mid-1970s, Pinar offered a three-part characterization of the origins of the curriculum field: first, traditionalist, supporting curriculum development in schools; second, conceptual empiricist, emphasizing both business efficiency and the deification of quantitative scientific studies; and third, reconceptualist, moving into new directions that added an organic view of nature, a concept of

individuals as creators of knowledge and culture, experiential bases of method, attention to preconscious experience, liberty and higher levels of consciousness, means and ends that include diversity and pluralism, political and social reconceptualism, and new language forms (derived from analyses by Paul Klohr). Pinar advocated the move from curriculum development (with an emphasis on orchestration of extant fields of knowledge for dissemination) to curriculum studies that now characterizes the field, offering emphasis on the importance of *currere*, the active verb form of curriculum, denoting the conscious reconceptualizing or theorizing of meaning in present flow of living, based on interpretation of the past and anticipation of possible futures. In order to grasp the immensity of the task of understanding curriculum, Pinar and his colleagues have shown that numerous discourse communities have each provided texts that enhance insight and awareness through the following perspectives: historical, political, racial, gender, phenomenological, poststructuralist and postmodern, autobiographical and biographical, aesthetic, and theological. These enable understanding to advance more fully than by merely addressing the institutionalized texts of the past that focus on curriculum development, teachers, and students. Moreover, through such texts, Pinar and colleagues have advocated curriculum studies that is internationalized as well as reconceptualized.

Schubert has offered curriculum studies and practice-oriented categories that have also evolved over the years since first being presented in the 1980s. These now include intellectual traditionalist, experientialist, social behaviorists, critical reconstructionist, and postmodernist perspectives. Schubert's former student, William Watkins, has addressed the problem of cultural homogeneity in category systems by offering the following Black orientations to curriculum theory (that paralleled the development of White, Eurocentric curriculum theory, but was not accepted in the latter literature): functionalism, accommodationism, liberalism, reconstructionism, Afrocentrism, and Black Nationalism. Adopting a more process-oriented category scheme, John P. Miller and Wayne Sellar categorized curriculum orientations as fostering transmission, transaction, or transformation. Miller also has distinguished conventionally analyzed categories with a more holistic orientation. The interest of transformation

speaks to the future of the field itself, raising questions as to whether these diverse category schemes represent sophistication or confusion. Some argue that the pluralistic nature of extant categories represents refreshing attempts to conceptualize and interpret a highly complex array of interests. Many indicate that together these categories capture more of the terrain than would one settled category scheme. Indeed, a rich uncertainty may be the best place for pursuit of questions that can be only partially and conditionally answered.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* *Currere*; Curriculum as Public Spaces; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Curriculum Studies, the Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, the Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, the Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, the Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, the Nature of: Essay 5; Curriculum Venues; Embodied Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; Null Curriculum; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## CURRICULUM VENUES

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Curriculum is often assumed to be the intended curriculum or the policy statement from a school



or other educational institution or relationship; however, there exist simultaneously a diverse array of venues of curriculum that should be interpreted in order to understand any curricular context. Such venues include the following variations on curriculum: intended, taught, experienced, embodied, tested, hidden, null, outside, clandestine, and exiled or in-between.

Before discussing each of the above venues in brief, it is important to juxtapose them with two conceptions that illustrate the complexity of curriculum as envisioned in curriculum studies. One conception is that which Joseph Schwab developed in *School Review* in 1973. He argued that the translation of curriculum in practical situations involves understanding a dynamic interaction of four curricular commonplaces: teachers, learners, subject matter, and milieu. The consequences of the impact of each of these commonplaces on the others is the curriculum. The other conception is provided by Arthur W. Foshay, who depicts a *curriculum matrix* as a three-dimensional interaction among 25 variables in three categories: *purpose* (intellectual, emotional, social, physical, aesthetic, transcendent), *substance* (mathematics, science, history or social studies, language and literacy, writing and composition, foreign languages, arts, vocational and technical, cocurriculum, school culture), and *practice* (evaluation, cost, governance, circumstances, when, how, why, what, who). Together, these conceptualizations of curriculum complexity illustrate the daunting task of those who try to understand and influence curriculum.

From such perspective, it is clear that *intended curriculum* is important, though far from the total picture. Intended curriculum pertains to the explicit policy statements from governments, ministries of education, state departments of education, school districts, local schools, and nonschool agencies or organizations that express an educational mission. The part of the educational mission that deals with that which is purported to be taught and learned is the intended curriculum.

The *taught curriculum* usually differs, in large or small ways, because the manner of teaching and the personality of teachers, as well as their individual choices and supervision or lack thereof provides a curriculum that varies from stated intentions.

Despite differences in intent and teaching, the ways in which learners' accumulated experiences meet the teaching-learning situation, the *experienced curriculum* provides another lens for interpreting curricular impact.

To merely experience something does not mean that it remains in the person who experiences it. Sometimes tests of application are used to determine whether aspects of curriculum have been received by learners. However, application does not mean that it has become part of a learner's life. The *embodied curriculum* is a conceptual venue designed to capture this phenomenon.

The *tested curriculum*, highly touted today as indicative of the educational bottom line, something measurable and equivalent to the quarterly report in the corporate world, can be seen as a rather miniscule dimension of the pervasive effects of any curricular situation.

This point is accentuated by introducing the *hidden curriculum*, which comprises diverse dimensions. First, it can be simply the mannerisms of the teacher, some of which are intended as subtle influences (politeness or interest in learning) and others that are unknown by the teachers—functions of personality, positive or negative, that often influence learners more fully than what the teacher intends. Second, the hidden curriculum is structural, meaning that values, prejudices, and ways of living that are part of the surrounding society and culture are reproduced by the educational institution and thereby become hidden curricula.

The *null curriculum*, a term coined by Elliot Eisner, refers to that which is not taught. It influences by its absence. Sometimes topics are not even considered as possibilities, and at other times, they are discarded as less important than that which is selected as part of the intended curriculum (or other venues of curricula for that matter). In addition, part of the intended curriculum can be shifted to null curriculum status when budget cuts occur or when powerful priorities are set in motion.

The *outside curriculum* pertains to that which occurs in the lives of learners to shape who they are and who they might become. Such curricula exist in homes, families, nonschool organizations (from church, sports, and the arts, to street gangs), informal peer relationships, jobs, hobbies, and mass media (e.g., television, radio, video, popular music, magazines, papers, books, the Web, computer

worlds, videogames). Each of these constitute curricula with intended, taught, experienced, embodied, hidden, tested, outside, clandestine, and exiled or in-between dimensions. To understand any one of these curricula in a person's life, it would be valuable to know about the others to have a more full understanding of the whole person.

Part of the outside curriculum is often neglected because those who are relegated to the periphery of any society are heard less. *Clandestine curriculum*, as expressed by William Watkins and by Susan Berger, pertains to that which develops without permission from controlling or dominating forces, such as curricula that have evolved among prisoners in concentration camps, slave societies, or other colonized peoples.

*In-between curriculum* is a curriculum that derives from exile. When persons leave one culture to live in another, they often find themselves in a state of exile from both. Their lives are in a state

of being in between without knowing the whereabouts of home, as well-depicted with Chinese immigrants in North America by Ming Fang He.

This sample of curriculum venues is only the tip of the iceberg of complex curricular phenomena explored in curriculum studies. A complex understanding of curriculum must attend to all of these and more.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Experientialism; Hidden Curriculum; Intended Curriculum; Mindless Curriculum; Null Curriculum

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## *DARE THE SCHOOL BUILD A NEW SOCIAL ORDER?*

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Curriculum studies have long examined the interaction of school knowledge and the social order. Many question whether schools contribute to dynamic thinking and human agency or conforming acceptance to cultural norms. George S. Counts's booklet *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* critiques the socializing function of schooling as it searches out the politics of possibility in the curriculum.

Concerned with America's social and economic inequities, University of Chicago graduate and longtime Columbia University professor of education, Counts (1889–1974) (re)examined schools and the curriculum through a series of essays in the 1920s. Jolted by the Great Depression, Counts critiqued “progressive” education as limited and set forth a new politicized, some say radical, agenda for education. Three papers delivered in 1932, “Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive,” “Education Through Indoctrination,” and “Freedom, Culture, Social Planning, and Leadership” were published as *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* that same year. This book is often viewed as the platform of the social reconstructionist movement.

Counts's earlier books, including *Selective Character of American Secondary Education*, *Social Composition of Boards of Education*, *School and Society in Chicago*, and *The American Road to Culture* set the stage for *Dare the School*

*Build a New Social Order?* In those works, he examined the failure of (high) schools to reduce economic inequality, substantiated corporate control of educational policy, spotlighted the resistance to elite influence in school governance in Chicago, and commented on the role of school in culture making.

The first section of *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* presents a critique and break with progressive education and the Progressive Education Association. Counts wrote of his great hope for schools, namely the curriculum, to be active and vibrant in addressing social issues. Focused on child centeredness, progressive education lacked a social point of view and was unable to spread social democracy. He wrote that in the midst of economic catastrophe and political uncertainty it had no theory of social welfare and no political direction. The progressives, he argued, were good liberals under the influence of middle-class elitism. They were romantic sentimentalists who could not grasp the urgency for sweeping social and economic change. He concluded that authentic education must go beyond the uplift of children to promote an understanding of the world.

In the next section, Counts examined critics of his reconstructionism who raised fears of indoctrination and imposition. He believed the indoctrination thesis was a red herring. Children are not autonomous and are inevitably socialized into cultures and traditions. The real problem for Counts was not indoctrination, but rather an irrelevant and impotent curriculum in matters of social democracy. Counts scoffed at the mythological

paradigm of impartiality wherein schools produce dispassionate agnostic individuals who withhold judgment in the interest of objectivity. Children and society, he argued, are not neutral and in fact are influenced in many ways. He suggested we place our concerns on the ideals of our society.

Section 3 joins Counts's views on technology with the role of teachers in transforming society. He proclaimed that the center of gravity is shifting from politics to economics. The conquest of nature and scientific advancement allows for the creation of abundance where poverty is finally banished. Economic democracy in the technological industrial society can end want, creating goods and services for all. Despite the Depression, a new world is on the horizon. It needs us. For Counts, teachers are uniquely positioned, for they possess the knowledge and wisdom of the ages. They are organized and presumably have the interests of the children and society at heart. Teachers should reach for power, for they are the bridge between school and society.

Section 4 explores the contradictions and possibilities for democracy within the industrial society. Counts reminds us that the United States has a democratic tradition rooted in revolutionary impulses. Democracy had to be fought for. For him industrial feudalism has brought with it parasitism, privilege, and the hegemony of property. Despite excesses, the possibility for democracy still exists. He argues that our society needs a social agenda, and that this agenda demands that the industrial machine serve the many, not the few. The resources of society must serve the welfare of the masses. We need collective ownership of the important resources. Technology must be used for the good of all.

The final section is a broad political and philosophical treatise. He indicts the fetish of property and greed as it debases us all. He writes capitalism is cruel, inhumane, wasteful, and inefficient. It thrusts our society, and indeed the world, into crises. We must reconstruct the economy and our social ideals. He concludes that schools and teachers are an important part of the vision of a democratic collectivist society.

*William H. Watkins*

*See also* Social Reconstructionism

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## DELEUZEIAN THOUGHT

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Gilles Deleuze's philosophy as applied to rethinking the curriculum foundations of education has received more and more attention. Historically, Jacques Daignault, Ted Aoki, Gustav Roy, William Reynolds, and Julie Webber have attempted to theorize Deleuze along curriculum lines. Most often Deleuze is labeled a poststructuralist, but such a generalization fails to recognize his own unique contribution to psychoanalysis and the Bergsonian dynamics of image and memory; both domains challenge the linguistic text. Under Deleuze, desire is given a positive conceptualization at the prereflective unconscious, while the image of thought presents a radical affective epistemology that confronts categorizations.

Generally speaking, a number of concepts developed by Deleuze (along with his cocollaborator Félix Guattari, his often cited coauthor) lend themselves to curriculum theory, which are proving to be influential: rhizome, minor literature, multiplicity, and difference. Their reception and articulation into the field of curriculum theory, however, remains uneven and reductionist, dependent on the knowledge and application of the educator. Deleuze's comprehensive theory requires standing the philosophical tradition on its head and then further making sense of pedagogy and the curriculum in such a changed universe. Some broad strokes as they pertain to curriculum theory can be articulated to give the reader a sense of the potentiality (and not possibility as is so often stated) of a Deleuzian philosophical invasion comparable to the one that has already taken place by a portion of the educational field embracing the philosophy of Michel Foucault.

The most dramatic aspect of Deleuzian thought is his reorientation from transcendent to immanent



modes of thinking—that is, from notions that structure knowledge and time from universalist positions of authority, meaning, and law to an emergent creative process of actualization to produce events that have their own singularity of time. Time is not homologous and linear, but constituted by heterogeneity and difference. Deleuze paradoxically names his philosophy as transcendental empiricism. This term also means a rejection of dialectics that has characterized critical pedagogy in education spearheaded by Paulo Friere and followers such as Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren. Deleuze searches for a nondialectical philosophy of becoming that avoids the path of negation as famously developed by the Hegelian dialectic of sublation as the synthesizing of differences. In contrast, the Deleuzian trajectory is meant to forward difference and singularity in such a way that avoids the notion of difference caught by representation as practiced by all forms of pedagogical identity politics, not to mention this also being the very form of designer capitalism. The ontological quest for being is supplanted by the ontological creation of becoming.

Such an inverted universe, what Deleuze and Guattari refer to as the plane of immanence, if embraced by educators would begin to ruin representation as the mobilization of their concepts would begin to deterritorialize the educational curricular field. The most obvious start of such ruination would be the planned curriculum, which is based on a lineal model of quantifiable time and restricted resources, thereby occupying an unreachable transcendent ideal position. Each reenactment or lesson already presupposes a failure, appearing as its shadow in the form of the lived curriculum. In this sense, curriculum as a lived possibility is supplanted by its potentiality. This important distinction between the two terms—potentiality and possibility—articulates why there is a continuous failure to achieve the transference of knowledge planned by teachers, measured and evaluated against a transcendental standard of development or achievement. Such efforts always remain in the realm of possibility.

In distinction, potentiality would take the lived curriculum as the place of becoming where the mobilization of desire is not already channeled by a transcendent plan. Creativity proper rests in such a becoming with knowledge redefined as a

multiplicity—that is, as the creation of concepts, thereby offering a striking contrast to how curriculum is to be perceived. Not only is it an emergent process, but also it suggests the making of a singular sensibility through a process that recognizes failure, accident, and fate—that is, life as Deleuze theorizes it. Also, when it comes to identity formation, it is not based on a litany of predetermined categorical signifiers that populate both educational theory and designer capitalism—sex, gender, color, age, ableism, race, ethnicity, and so on. Rather, the process of curriculum is theorized at the prereflective level of molecular formation, in Deleuzian terms, where time and certainly memory are the virtual factors. The curriculum now becomes the achievement of multiple heterogeneous sensibilities of differences. Each life is thereby different precisely for its potential to create the as-yet-unthought. Such a curriculum would orient itself to what Deleuze would call a pedagogy of individuation that radically departs from the entrenched paradigm of neoliberal individualism.

jan jagodzinski

See also Aoki, Ted T.; Foucauldian Thought; Psychoanalytic Theory

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## DELIBERATIVE CURRICULUM

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Deliberation is a formal process of inquiry about curriculum policy, program development, and other curriculum activity, including conflicting goals and values in specific situations of practice. Its fundamental purpose is to reach justified decisions about curricular action in particular contexts

considering the problematic character of a situation. Through this process, public policy decisions are implemented in social and typically institutional contexts with development of materials and strategies for their use. Deliberative inquiry focuses on curriculum policies and guidelines concerning a particular classroom and less often, a school, a district, a state, or a nation.

Researcher Ilene Harris depicted deliberative inquiry as a form of curriculum inquiry because it links the interrelated tasks of doing practical curriculum activity with doing formal curriculum inquiry, namely research, through a systematic structure of deliberation about curriculum decisions. This process of inquiry is informed by asking and answering subsidiary questions through multiple forms of inquiry for which deliberative inquiry serves as a framework to incorporate the results in decision making. Through formal curriculum inquiry, particular curriculum questions are identified, questions that are open to inquiry and can lead to definite answers addressed through appropriate forms of rigorous, disciplined, intellectual processes. Through practical curriculum, activity choices are made in specific situations relevant to policy questions about what should be taught, to whom, and under what guidelines of instruction, and they are based on thoughtful examination of alternatives in the context of values and knowledge. Practical curriculum activity should be informed by the results of formal curriculum inquiry. However, because any theory represents only a partial reality deriving from a generalization of a plethora of particulars and selected areas of research, curriculum judgment and action must be informed by multiple research approaches, sources of knowledge, theories, and principles.

The need for using deliberation in the curriculum was first identified by Joseph Schwab, who in the late 1960s argued that the field of curriculum is moribund due to the theoretic bend it has taken and is unable at its present form to contribute significantly to the advancement of education and the improvement of practice. He urged diversion of its energies from theoretical pursuits aimed at knowledge generation to practical disciplines emphasizing choice and action. Schwab, in his articles on the practical paradigm, associated the practical, perceived as a mode of inquiry rather than rules of thumb, with the method of deliberation. Practical arts employ perception and problemation to

recognize particularities of practical situations, to identify problems, and to generate alternative solutions to act upon the best one. He also proposed use of eclectic arts, which determine which combinations and portions of sciences and theories shed useful light on specific curriculum problems. Schwab suggested that in each phase of deliberation the four commonplaces—student, teacher, subject matter, and milieu, which are elements in every education situation—participate and are considered.

William Reid, who in 1982 coined the term *deliberative inquiry*, viewed deliberation in terms of practical reasoning. He saw curriculum problems as among a wider class of uncertain practical problems involving prudential, moral, and ethical considerations. These problems can be solved through deliberation or practical reasoning, an intricate and skilled intellectual and social process whereby, individually or collectively, questions are identified, grounds are established for deciding answers, and a choice is made among the available solutions. The ambiguity of the choices made and of the outcomes of the decisions are what attribute uncertainty to these problems. Reid argued about the importance of considering institutional and political contexts in conducting deliberations, the effect of relevant facts, and acceptable solutions. Also, Decker Walker in the 1970s formulated a naturalistic model for curriculum development, a model that represents phenomena and relations observed in actual curriculum projects as realistically as possible, and it includes processes of deliberation and practical reasoning as central features. In this model, both theory and practice are modes of inquiry, each competent in its own sphere and each informing the other via the radical differences they carry.

Deliberative inquiry is an educative process for participants, who gain competence in deliberation and reflection, insights, and new perspectives, and who experience growth as they try to determine the relationship between means and ends in a constant, circular negotiation process. Specifically, as a group—ideally composed of students, teachers, subject-matter experts, and stakeholders—they discuss what to do and begin to clarify values that inform their choices. This new, collective understanding reshapes their ideas about what should be done.

*Nikoletta Christodoulou*

See also Action Research; Arts of the Eclectic; Commonplaces; Curriculum Policy; Problem-Based Curriculum; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher as Researcher

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## DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

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Considered by John Dewey to be for many years the most fully stated expression of his philosophy, *Democracy and Education* was published in 1916, the year before the United States entered World War I. The book has remained continuously in print since the time of its first publication. By his own account, *Democracy and Education* is a comprehensive expression of Dewey's experimentalist philosophy in relation to the great social transformation taking place in the world through science and industry, requiring an accompanying transformation of the aims and methods of public education in the light of U.S. democracy.

Influenced by Charles Darwin, Dewey held that society itself exists through a transformation process of growth and renewal like biological life and that education is the means of generating the social continuity of life. He defined education in terms of growth—as the reconstruction of experience, adding to the meaning of experience and increasing the ability to direct the course of subsequent experience. In effect, Dewey held that education for democracy required an education that would put the rising generation in control of its destiny; the process is one of growth and realization, not subordination. The school and society cannot be seen as progressive unless they are making progress, and this progress requires the release of human potential through the expansion of educational opportunity to all the children of all the people. In this vein, *Democracy and Education*

was and continues to stand as one of the most powerful and systematic expressions for opening the pathways to the needed education reforms in the building of U.S. democracy.

Virtually every chapter addresses problems and issues bearing on the school curriculum. In addition to the chapters “The Nature of Method” and “The Nature of Subject Matter,” individual chapters address each of the broad fields of the school curriculum: play and work; geography, social studies, and history; science; labor and leisure; and vocational education—as well as chapters on thinking, interest, experience, and aims in education.

For Dewey, the concept of knowledge laid down by the old literary culture is inadequate to the practical needs of modern democratic society. Democracy requires an enlightened citizenry, and the means to enlightenment is to be found through the methods of science or method of intelligence as used in life and not delimited to the pursuit of technical and specialized knowledge.

The essentials of method are the essentials of reflective thinking for problem solving and for the testing of ideas through application. The traditional school, Dewey pointed out, is still employing a curriculum that was fashioned and followed in and for an earlier era. Since knowledge is the outcome of method, there is no distinction of subject matter and method. The fact that a body of knowledge such as a science is organized is evidence that it has been methodized.

Throughout *Democracy and Education*, Dewey exposed the dualisms that plague thinking. In addition to the false dichotomy of subject matter and method, Dewey exposed such dichotomies as mind versus body, man versus nature, emotion versus intellect, ends versus means, nature versus nurture, intellectual versus practical, experience versus knowledge, social demands versus individual rights, individuality versus individualism, academic versus vocational, intellectual versus practical, essentials versus nonessential studies, logical versus psychological, objective versus subjective, pure versus applied knowledge, humanities versus science, and labor versus leisure.

Dewey was not calling for a happy medium, but for an attitude of gaining new perspectives on problems so as to create genuine insights for building needed solutions based on the best available

evidence. In effect, progress is not an end, but is always in the making.

*Daniel Tanner*

*See also* Dewey, John; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## DERRIDAN THOUGHT

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Curriculum studies advances through the work and thought of Jacques Derrida. Derridan thought, like curriculum studies, advances complicated conversations and difficult memories. Curriculum studies is a field that examines issues on teaching, the university, democracy, race, class and gender, sexuality, politics, ethics, responsibility, nation, place, and geography. Derrida complicates ideas such as these by deconstruction. For Derrida, deconstruction is a way to think through ideas. Deconstruction is not destruction; rather, it is a form of generative interpretation. Thus, to deconstruct terms in curriculum studies such as geography, nation, and identity—for example—Derrida suggests that each term founders under the sign of an *aporia*. Every idea is unstable as it entails its opposite. Derrida coined the term *differance*. The *a* in *differance* signifies that this is not the same as *difference*. *Differance* suggests that ideas are subject to delayed meaning. *Differance* is a maneuver, a shifting, a slippery movement between signified and signifier. Thus, for curriculum studies, the word *nation*—for example—is subject to the movement of *differance*. What *nation* means now is not what it will mean in the future. Meaning delayed.

Derrida thought that the dogmatic thought inherent in totalitarianism are dangerous. Much of Derrida's work is a reaction against dogmatism in

French occupied Algeria—as he grew up there as a Jewish child and suffered from anti-Semitism and colonialism—and the dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini and the shame that was Vichy France. In response to the sameness that dictatorship demands, Derrida emphasizes the notion of the *alterity*. *Alterity* means absolute otherness; nothing can be reduced to sameness. Derrida makes much of the word *archive*, which is subject to the movement of the *aporia* and *differance*. The archive is overdetermined by memories, histories, cultures.

Derrida makes much of the term *revenant*. In relation to the archives of curriculum studies, the revenants of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud are relevant. For Derrida, Marx and Freud haunt. Marx has made an impression on culture. No matter what, we are stuck with him. With the affront of neoliberalism, we have seen an explosion of Marxist theory in curriculum studies. And yet Marxism, some claim, is dead. Think of the former Soviet Union and the former East Germany, for example. The revenant of Marx haunts curriculum theory. It seems that many Marxists do not want to call themselves Marxists—although they use Marxist theory in curriculum studies. Likewise, the revenant of Freud haunts the psychoanalytic wing of curriculum studies. Some scholars would rather not say that they are Freudians. They might say that they are post-Freudians or Lacanians, but not Freudians. The name Freud haunts. There is something about the name Freud that makes some people uncomfortable. Curriculum studies advances through Derridan thought, especially through its psychoanalytic and political implications.

*Marla Morris*

*See also* Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research; Psychoanalytic Theory

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## DESCHOOLING

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*Deschooling* is a complicated term and arises in discussions of various alternative forms of education such as free schools, community-driven opportunity webs, and in the current literature related to the homeschooling movement. Deschooling was introduced in 1971's *Deschooling Society*, written by Ivan Illich and included in the *World Perspectives* book series edited by the humanist philosopher, Ruth Nanda Anshen. In suggesting the disestablishment of schools—thus nurturing the opportunity for each person to engage in a curriculum of learning, sharing, and caring—Illich's writing was representative of the work of Anshen's series as a statement of possibilities in a progressive frame of social and moral consciousness.

Illich credits his long-term associate, Everett Reimer, for stimulating his interest in and critique of public education. Reimer and Illich collaborated on ideas of deschooling a variety of societal institutions in addition to education—institutions such as medicine, social programs, the military, and so on—during regular meetings at the controversial Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC, cofounded by Illich in 1961) in Cuernavaca, Mexico. The two men came to the conclusion that the obligatory nature of the institution of school served to limit a person's right to learn and, broadly, that reliance on institutions and institutional processes served to preempt expectations for and reliance on personal goodwill. Even further, Illich and Reimer believed that the growing institutionalization of society served to strengthen and perpetuate the institutions in society. Illich credited Valentine Borremans, the director of CIDOC, for challenging him, in collaboration with Reimer, to engage in a perspective that led them to determine that it was not only the institutions of society, but the ethos of society that ought to be deschooled.

Illich's discussion of deschooling included references to the terms *tool* and *conviviality*. He argued that the institution of school is used as a tool that, through its systematic methods and schedules, reinforces the class hierarchies and economic inequities that, ironically, the institution of school purports to rectify. Although good curriculum work requires complicated decisions and conversations, becoming "schooled up" by policies of standardized

management uncomplicates school. Since most people are now all schooled up, the myth continues that the institution of schooling is efficient and benevolent.

For Illich, people were schooled to become more regimented, exploited, certified, and enslaved, losing their potential for creativity, potency, autonomy, freedom, novelty, and dignity. In contrast to a schooled-up society, Illich proposed a convivial society of curriculum scholarship that would allow autonomous and generative interactions among persons and their environments by means of tools least controlled by others. He considered conviviality as an individual freedom realized in personal interdependence and so, supportive of good curriculum work of relational and ethical value toward the common good.

Currently, deschooling is a term used by the homeschooling community to refer to the process of shifting away from the schooled mind-set after leaving the institution of school. It is also used in describing a period of time (many suggest 1 month for every year of institutionalized schooling) for children to adjust to learning without the regimentation of bells, workbooks, checklists, and standard schedules for learning.

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*See also* Alternative Schools; Freire, Paulo; Homeschooling; Summerhill

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## DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS

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In the 21st century, school desegregation is still inextricably linked to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, which declared racially segregated schools illegal. However, 10 years after *Brown*, not only were the

courts still undecided about what desegregation really meant, but the ruling in *Brown* had largely been ignored, especially in the South. To put an end to deliberate delays in desegregation, the 1964 Civil Rights Act ordered desegregation to achieve equality of educational opportunity—which is the idea that all people have an equal chance of achieving regardless of race, sex, or class. In general, the concept of school desegregation has influenced the curriculum studies field by providing an important historical backdrop that informs the development and design of the methods, policies, and procedures of this field to ensure that in a pluralistic society such as the United States the curriculum in schools is culturally, socially, and economically relevant and geared toward the equitable and successful education of all students.

Despite three major waves of desegregation efforts in the United States as a strategy to pursue equality of educational opportunity and to overcome school segregation, unequal access to courses, and unequal educational outcomes, over half a century since this landmark decision, schools in the United States are reportedly more racially segregated than ever before. In fact, as a result of Supreme Court decisions in the early 1990s, such as *Dowell v. Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools* (1991) and *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), as well as most recently *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007), public schools are becoming more segregated than before *Brown*. The current resegregation of schools, and failure to achieve the desegregation promised by *Brown*, is largely a result of rampant confusion about what desegregation actually means and how it is best achieved, as well as a result of fundamental differences between the related concepts of desegregation and integration of schools that has historically impeded, and continues to impede real progress in school desegregation efforts.

Although fundamentally different, desegregation and integration are often used interchangeably. Desegregation of schools is an equality of educational opportunity concept that refers to the idea that students of diverse racial backgrounds should attend the same schools as opposed to racially isolated and identifiable schools that are often marked by sweeping differences in resources, facilities, funding, curricula, and personnel. In

contrast, the integration of schools occurs not only when students of different racial backgrounds attend the same schools, but also when conscious and effective steps have been taken to overcome educational disadvantages and inequities that minority students in these environments often experience and to encourage and develop positive interracial interactions and relationships. In spite of the common, yet inappropriate, conflation of these concepts, the desegregation of schools, more so than integration, has been a major educational goal in the United States, as evidenced by numerous legal battles, court rulings, educational and social policies, and entire social justice movements over the last 50 years.

Just as desegregation and integration are fundamentally different concepts, the strategies used to achieve them are different as well. Specifically, two of the main tactics that have been used to foster desegregation are busing (which usually involves transporting minority students to majority schools) and school choice programs (which allow parents to select between schools based on their preferences for school philosophies or curriculum), both of which have often been implemented to the detriment of students. These tactics are largely aimed at simple restructuring of schools and the reorganization of students in a way that ensures that minority and majority students can and do attend the same schools, but little more. On the contrary, a main strategy used to integrate schools has been the focus on multicultural education, which seeks to provide students with historically accurate and sophisticated representations of the various cultural groups that comprise U.S. society. Thus, in terms of integration tactics, there is a keen focus on more than majority and minority students attending the same schools, such as respecting diversity and teaching all students to value the history, culture, and contributions of all groups as just as important and relevant as one's own.

The field of curriculum studies has also been particularly instrumental in school desegregation efforts with curriculum studies theorists, researchers, and educators impacting school desegregation in various ways. In this field, school desegregation has largely been addressed through the development of strategies aimed at not only changing the racial composition of schools and districts, but also addressing within-school segregation.

Specifically, the establishment of magnet and charter schools has been one tactic devised through the curriculum studies field to desegregate schools on the basis of talent or special interests such as science, math, or the arts. Similarly, detracking, or the heterogeneous grouping of students, has also been a primary strategy promoted by the curriculum studies field to facilitate school desegregation. In opposition to tracking, where students are categorized and assigned to groups based on measures of intelligence, achievement, or aptitude—which often results in students in different groups receiving different treatment and ultimately having vastly different educational experiences—detracking is believed to foster desegregation, and even integration, by mixing students of various abilities and skills in one classroom and thus requiring the curriculum to be modified so that all students are able to learn despite their various skill levels. Detracking also encourages students to learn from one another and to value what each other contributes to the learning experience. Ultimately, such tactics have been found to raise the academic achievement of minority students and to have no adverse effect on the achievement of White students. In fact, desegregation efforts have been noted to work best when they are comprehensive, covering multiple grade levels and large geographic areas and having clearly defined long-term goals.

The curriculum studies field has been particularly instrumental in devising and making popular the use of multicultural education as a major strategy to address within-school, and even within-class, racial segregation. Multicultural education was developed out of the *Brown* decision and is particularly relevant to conversations about educational reform. As a tool for school desegregation, multicultural education has a curricular emphasis on race and ethnicity. It recognizes and is largely focused on the identity and personality development of students through the use of a curriculum that is conscious of the values, beliefs, and goals it represents and teaches. Specific multicultural reforms have included utilizing texts that include the work and experiences of marginalized groups, recognizing and accommodating different learning styles and multiple intelligences, and implementing nontraditional and innovative pedagogical methods. Moreover, multicultural education aims to facilitate school desegregation by not only empowering students from

marginalized groups with the knowledge and tools to pursue social justice issues and foster real social change, but also informing both minority and majority students, and all involved in the educational process, about different cultures, customs, and ideas in an effort to improve the overall quality of education.

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*See also* *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown I* Decision; *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown II* Decision; *Busing and Curriculum: Case Law*; *Charter Schools*; *Equality of Educational Opportunity*; *Equity*; *Integration of Schools*; *Keeping Track*; *Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices*; *Magnet Schools*; *Marginalization*; *Multicultural Curriculum*; *Multicultural Curriculum Theory*; *Resegregation of Schools*; *School Choice*; *Tracking*

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## DESKILLING

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Deskilling refers to the process by which educators lose their dynamic roles as curriculum workers when they no longer are allowed to create or modify curriculum. Instead, they must deliver tightly controlled, packaged, fragmented, and “teacher-proof” curricular content such as commercially produced worksheets, scripted questions, and prepackaged units. Although deskilling chiefly refers to the work experiences of teachers, this

phenomenon has ramifications for learners and schools as deskilling ultimately discourages reflective practice, arts integration, multidisciplinary curriculum, creativity, intuition, and critical thinking. Deskilling has become a crucial issue in curriculum studies because it leads to the suppression of teachers' intellectual and moral responsibilities.

The theory of deskilling emanates from Harry Braverman's book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, published in 1974. Braverman maintained that modern production and standardization in capitalist societies changed work from a craft to atomistic, unskilled tasks. This thesis also emphasizes workers' isolation from production and management's escalating control of workers. A decade later, critical and feminist curriculum theorists made parallel arguments by focusing on teaching as a labor process in which centralization, efficiency, and isolation have severe repercussions for the teaching profession.

Scholars assert that deskilling has meant devaluing of teachers' academic expertise and denigration of the moral dimensions of teaching that encompass caring, nurturing, and attention to children's developmental or emotional needs. Other concerns are that as teachers deliver curriculum rather than use their academic and pedagogical expertise, they will in fact lose some skills. Or teachers may be hired because they do not have strong knowledge and skills because they can be paid low salaries and will be compliant—readily following scripted curriculum and feeling dependent on the state or administration to give them curriculum. Moreover, teachers may accept their deskilled roles as the discourse of corporatism and managerialism becomes legitimized.

Scholars explain that several factors have contributed to deskilling. First, highly publicized political attacks on schooling have led to tighter, more rigid state control of education via standardized and high-stakes testing, centralized curriculum decisions, and teaching evaluated only on the basis of behavior outcomes and test results. Business also has influenced education by demanding academic standards favored by industry to further support a market economy, promoting tracking of students into either college or worker preparation, and commercializing of education through the selling of curriculum packages, achievement tests, and required

television shows. Once more, corporate discourse predisposed parents to think of themselves as consumers who regard teachers as employees rather than as professionals.

A major factor in explaining how deskilling occurs is intensification. The concept of intensification describes the work conditions of teachers in contemporary schooling as affected by increased regulation. Intensification involves teachers' experiencing of expanded workloads that include manifold administrative tasks, reduction of genuine collegial opportunities, declining quality of life, and pressure placed on themselves and by others to meet managerial goals. In addition, high-stakes testing increases teachers' stress by punishing low performance rather than providing more resources to help teachers to work more successfully. Because of intensification, there is little time for creative curriculum making, and teachers need to rely on outside experts to prepare the curriculum.

Although not disputing the phenomenon of deskilling and its consequences, contemporary curriculum and policy researchers have offered critique of deskilling as a monolithic theory. First, they suggest that teachers experience intensification differently depending on factors such as their self-identities or organizational skills, the support received at home, and leadership in their schools. For example, some teachers work with principals who understand the demands of teaching and create school cultures that encourage meaningful work and community. Researchers also posit that teachers do not lose skills, but instead have become reskilled by developing new competencies including better understanding of assessment or increased collaborative skills to make the workload more manageable by sharing teaching strategies. Finally, scholars suggest that educators do not passively accept deskilling. Rather, teachers enhance their expertise through graduate study, participation in professional organizations, and teacher and action research. Furthermore, teachers mediate the mandated curriculum by introducing rich and meaningful content and resist deskilling through activism in opposition to working conditions and centralized curriculum.

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*See also* Accountability; Cult of Efficiency; Efficiency; High-Stakes Testing; Modernism; Scientific Management; Teacher-Proof Curriculum



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## DEVELOPMENTALISTS TRADITION

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The developmentalists tradition consisted of educational reformers who, at the turn of the 19th century, helped to determine the course of U.S. curriculum. Developmentalists believed that children should be taught based on the natural order of their development. Developmentalists agreed that schools in the 1800s generally treated children as receptacles of academic knowledge. Children were presented with subjects and teaching methods that opposed their natural predilections. Developmentalist reformers promoted the introduction of active participation that was harmonious with children's instincts and interests and child-centered study. In this way, developmentalists believed curriculum could become a means to unharness a child's natural learning. This entry describes the beliefs of the developmentalists tradition; the child-study movement; the work of its pioneer leader, G. Stanley Hall; and the criticisms of the tradition.

### Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, the population of students attending U.S. schools and the course of studies offered in U.S. schools became influenced by a new social consciousness. The roles of the teacher and the school as the embodiment of social virtue and value that unified the community began to change. Predicting students' final career paths became the basis for adapting curriculum to U.S. schools' population. As cities grew, schools became responsible for helping students prepare to survive in the new industrialized world. By 1890, four major interest groups struggled for control of the U.S. curriculum. One of those groups was the developmentalists. (The others were humanists, social efficiency educators, and social meliorists.)

Hall, a pioneer in educational psychology, was pivotal as a leader in the developmentalist tradition. His research focused on the study of children's minds. He presumed that if educators were aware of what children knew, they would better be able to systematically teach them what they needed to learn. The child-study movement sought to observe and study children's development in laboratory and natural environments.

Hall and scholars of his time supported the cultural epoch theory, which posited that a child's individual development parallels the developmental stages through which the human race as a whole traversed historically. The theory's widespread acceptance as a valued principle supported a scientific order of curricular studies that integrated rather than isolated subjects. Curriculum could be understood as a scientific and historical epoch that was interrelated and sequenced. For example, while children were in their savage stage of development, they studied ancient fables and mythology that derived from that historical epoch. A curriculum so organized seemed to appeal to children's natural interests. It was believed children had a natural affinity to materials that fit with their epoch stage of development. Cultural epoch theory was endorsed by scholars and widely configured curriculum during this era.

Cultural epoch theory was supplemented by Hall's belief that young children were not capable of intellectual reasoning. He did not think schools should try to civilize children by training them to conform. He saw intellectual training as unhealthy and believed the stages of childhood and adolescence should be prolonged and promoted. Elementary curriculum should be dominated by play until children at least were 8 years old. Children should not be expected to take part in harmful intellectual tasks, but rather should play and follow their primitive interests.

Between 1890 and 1900, secondary school enrollment doubled for several reasons. Many people were moving to the cities, a move that made it easier for adolescents to attend school, and advances in technology, such as the telephone, caused high unemployment for young adults who often got work as messengers. As a result, many adolescents continued on in school whereas previously they went into the workforce. Developmentalists, such

as Hall, recommended that courses be offered in high schools that matched adolescents' natural interests, capabilities, and needs. For example, teaching literature was considered a necessary venue for learning morals.

Hall was also preoccupied with differentiated instruction that looked at methods for teaching various levels of learners. He viewed preadolescence, for example, as a developmental stage that required special consideration and instruction due to children's development. His views largely were responsible for the creation and large-scale incorporation of the junior high school, a separate school or group of grades for preadolescents. It was determined that preadolescents should be isolated from their older influential postpubescent peers. This practice continues today as a structure to allow instructors to meet the special needs of preadolescent learning and development.

### Criticisms

Although Hall and other developmentalist and child-study scholars pushed instruction and curriculum toward the natural order of a child's development, often it was believed that the tradition was infused with romantic ideas and mythical beliefs. Although child study was promoted as scientific, often its application to pedagogy was based more on beliefs than on data and evidence.

John Dewey argued that curriculum should present organized subjects directed by teachers rather than emerge from the child's development. Through this statement, he recognized that progressive education must move beyond its origins in the developmentalist tradition.

*Cynthia A. Lassonde*

*See also* Humanist Tradition; Social Efficiency Tradition; Social Meliorists Tradition

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## DEWEY, JOHN

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After having read John Dewey's *Democracy and Education*, published in 1916, James B. Conant commented that he had the feeling that if Dewey (1859–1952) had not existed, he would have had to be invented. As one of the greatest philosophers of the 20th century, Dewey had orchestrated pragmatism and the idea of progress with the U.S. democratic experience through education.

In his autobiographical account, Dewey briefly traced his journey from undergraduate years at the University of Vermont to graduate studies in philosophy at Johns Hopkins University. He pointed out that university faculty at the time were clergymen, but he added that the theological phase of his studies had no lasting influence on his intellectual development, except negatively. Dewey related that his upbringing in Vermont where he was born followed a conventionally evangelical path of the more liberal kind, but his struggles that were to arise between acceptance of the faith of his upbringing and his eventual discarding of traditional and institutional needs emerged not from philosophical teaching, but from personal experience.

### From Absolutism to Experimentalism

In his autobiographical essay, aptly titled "From Absolutism to Experimentalism," Dewey identified four connecting turning points that were to define his philosophical transformation. First was his recognition of the significance of the practice and theory of education in influencing the young, including himself. This point led to his realization that what otherwise might have developed as separate interests in psychology, social institutions, and social life became fused in his own thinking. Dewey noted that a critic had indicated that Dewey's thinking was permeated too much by interest in education. But Dewey expressed doubt that any philosophic critics had ever become acquainted with *Democracy and Education*, which

Dewey regarded as his most fully expounded philosophic work at the time. To Dewey, it was ironic that philosophers in general had not taken education with sufficient seriousness when they themselves are usually teachers. For had they done so, continued Dewey, it might have occurred to them that any rational person would come to regard education as the supreme human interest.

The second turning point in Dewey's philosophical development was his growing concern over the pervading dualism between science and morals, a dualism that he considered nothing short of an intellectual scandal in philosophical thought, for science is based upon the moral principle guiding systematic inquiry to find and act upon the best available evidence. Democracy, contended Dewey, requires that the methods of science or the method of intelligence infuse the U.S. mind through education. He warned that the use of science only for technical and specialized pursuits raises the danger that it will get its best chances in war. To Dewey, this is not science, but the political misuse and abuse of science.

The third turning point, according to Dewey, was the realization of the biological conception of mind as advanced by William James. Although many philosophers had addressed the idea of organism, their approach was mainly structural and static. For James, and later Dewey, we must think of life pragmatically as life in action. Like life, education is defined by growth and renewal. Dewey criticized the mechanistic psychology of the times, and envisioned the linking of philosophy to the significant issues of actual experience, with the methods and findings of psychology as life in action.

Dewey's fourth turning point was his vision of an integration or synthesis of a philosophy congruous with modern science and relevant to actual problems and needs in education, morals, and religion. And he envisioned the new unification in philosophy emerging when the social sciences and arts receive reflective attention as in the case of science.

### **Experimentalism as a Uniquely U.S. Philosophy**

To no small extent, Dewey's experimentalism proved to be a milestone in the quest for the philosophic

unification he envisioned. He orchestrated the spirit of U.S. pragmatism and the idea of progress with the democratic experience through education. Yet in his own time and to this day, philosophers would question Dewey's abiding focus on education, as though that would be delimiting to his perspective and influence. But Dewey's ready answer was that the field of philosophy could be viewed as a general theory of education. Yet to this day it is not uncommon for an undergraduate student majoring in philosophy at a first-tier U.S. university not to have undertaken the study of Dewey and his experimentalist philosophy.

### **Progressive Education as Part of the Social Transformation**

In his autobiographical essay, Dewey made mention of his growing awareness of the great industrial and commercial transformation taking place in the United States at the time he was a student at Johns Hopkins. Little did he know that he would become a major figure in the transformation through his influence on U.S. educational theory and practice. Early on in his career, Dewey recognized that a democracy requires a vital connection between school and society and that this connection is borne through the child's experience through the school curriculum. The beginnings of this awareness by Dewey likely stem from his experience as a high school teacher after his graduation from the University of Vermont. Following completion of his doctorate in 1884, Dewey took an instructorship in philosophy and psychology at the University of Michigan. From there he taught briefly at the University of Minnesota. At Michigan, Dewey's interest in education, and more specifically in the school curriculum, expanded and intensified as he served on a faculty committee evaluating the high schools of the state.

### **Institution Building**

In 1894, Dewey was invited by President William Rainey Harper to move to the newly opened University of Chicago to head the department of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy. As founding president of the university (chartered in 1891 and opened in 1892), Harper worked vigorously in building the university as a leading center of

research and scholarship. Harper shared with Dewey an abiding commitment to the public schools and the advancement of education as a field of university study. Dewey's work at Chicago was to prove fateful in his direct involvement and influence on the school curriculum and on the field of curriculum studies.

Only 2 years after his move to Chicago, the University Elementary School was opened as the Laboratory School in Dewey's department. Two Chicago secondary schools were combined as the University of Chicago Secondary School in a newly established School of Education, and in 1901, a practice-demonstration school was incorporated into the School of Education under the directorship of Colonel Francis Parker. In remarkably short order, under Dewey and Parker, the university could lay claim to having created one of the nation's greatest and most comprehensive centers for education studies.

### The Dewey Laboratory School

From his studies of children and the development of the curriculum at his Laboratory School (the Dewey School), Dewey gave public lectures to raise interest and support for the Laboratory School. The lectures were published under the titles *The School and Society* and *The Child and the Curriculum*. Both short books were written with remarkable clarity and insight into the creation of a curriculum attuned to the nature and needs of the child and to the democratic prospect for society. Both works have remained in publication to this day and continue to be relevant to the contemporary education situation. For example, in *The Child and the Curriculum*, Dewey actually identified and described the developmental stages of the child beyond infancy and connected the stages to the needed structure and function of the curriculum. Dewey anticipated not only Jean Piaget's theories by decades, but also a host of progressive reforms that were to take place in education over the course of the new century.

Dewey's identification and explication of the needed congruence of the fundamental factors in the education process serve as a curriculum paradigm to explain why so many education reform efforts fail. Put simply and directly, the structure and function of the school curriculum must be in

harmony with the nature and needs of the learner and the democratic prospect (the principles and processes that undergird U.S. democracy). Otherwise, the consequence is the child versus the curriculum, individual nature versus the social culture, and the fragmentation of the curriculum into conflicting and competing parts for priority—factors that guarantee the failure of any reform effort.

In establishing the Laboratory School, Dewey went to lengths in *The School and Society* to explain the needed laboratory or experimental conditions that would provide unhampered investigation with the support of needed resources. He was concerned that the conditions required of a laboratory school would be misinterpreted as ideal or impractical. He drew a parallel with the function of the laboratory in science and industry, which requires controlled conditions unlike existing practices.

Dewey's work at Chicago was abruptly cut short by a falling out between Dewey and Harper on the role of the Dewey Laboratory School and the Parker Demonstration School. The dispute likely stemmed from the actions of the dean of the School of Education to promote the latter as the University Elementary School when in fact that was the name given the Dewey school at the time of its establishment. The administrative problem soon caused confusion on the part of parents and the public and resulted in the reduction of funds for Dewey's Laboratory School. As a result, Dewey resigned his post at the University of Chicago in 1904 to join the faculty in philosophy at Columbia University.

### Child Study

Dewey's Laboratory School and *The Child and the Curriculum* gave impetus to the child-study movement, which was seen by Dewey as nothing less than Copernican in realization and impact. But early on, Dewey warned against child centeredness in the absence of a carefully planned curriculum representing an environment to stimulate and nourish thought in ways appropriate to child development. He anticipated that many parents and even progressive educators would strip the curriculum of unsettling social ideas in the quest for a kinder and gentler school to the extent that the child be free to determine the curriculum. Dewey



held that nothing can be developed from nothing, for even a philosopher cannot spin a universe of truths out of his own mind, let alone a child.

In contrast to the emptiness of this romanticism, the crisis of the Great Depression found other progressives embracing social reconstructionism by recasting the school and the curriculum as a direct instrument for social reform. To Dewey and his fellow experimentalists, this reconstructionism would be nothing short of indoctrination—anathema to democracy.

### Progressive Education and the Idea of Progress

Dewey lived to see many of his ideas, once regarded as visionary and even revolutionary, become accepted practice—from the high school as a selective academic institution for the few to a comprehensive school encompassing a diversified curriculum for all, from rote and recitation to reflective thinking and application, from discipline by external control to discipline as responsible self-direction, from a subject curriculum to a correlated and integrated curriculum, and from subject matter as a body of fixed content to subject matter as the outcome of investigative methods for transforming the control and uses of knowledge for the growth of the learner in life. Yet he realized that these reforms were only transformations and signs of progress, not permanent accomplishments—for progress is an unending process in building democracy.

### False Dichotomies

Throughout his life, Dewey attacked the common penchant for dualistic thinking that creates oppositions and conflicts and that only serves to restrict inquiry and synthesis needed for problem solutions—such as the dualism between culture and utility, or the separation of the so-called cultural or academic studies over the practical studies, when in the reality of democratic society the vocational studies are cultural. He pointed to the dualistic fallacy between content or subject matter and methods that had plagued the curriculum field.

Dewey pointed out that subject matter is the outcome of method (inquiry). Physics, for example, is not a dead body of subject matter, but a method of investigating physical phenomena

ranging from the behavior of subatomic particles to the universe itself.

One of the dangers of separating curriculum and instruction has resulted in the focus of the field of supervision of instruction as separate from curriculum. The consequence has been instructional supervision, which regards the role of the teacher as concerned with delivery of curriculum and with the curriculum as being set by policy from above. In reality, it is the teacher who makes or breaks the curriculum, contended Dewey.

### Democracy and Education

Dewey was not seeking compromise, but insight into dissolving the dualism of conceptual and practical connections for problem solutions. Hence, for example, a system of universal or mass education is superior in quality to a system of selective education because the inclusive system provides more opportunity for social improvement and democracy, and it dissolves the traditional dualism between the cultural and the vocational and between a leisure class and a working class. In this connection, he fought together with other progressive educators for the creation of a uniquely U.S. high school encompassing a comprehensive curriculum for a cosmopolitan pupil population as opposed to the European-style dual system separating the academic from the vocational. His definitive work explicating his experimentalist philosophy, *Democracy and Education*, systematically revealed how the broad fields of knowledge as expressed through the school curriculum must connect vitally with the U.S. democratic prospect.

Another dualism attacked by Dewey is that of freedom and discipline. For Dewey, self-discipline or self-direction in the context of social responsibility, whether in the classroom or society, enhances freedom. The dualism between freedom and security has been raised in contemporary times with the U.S. people told by their leadership that certain civil freedoms must be sacrificed for the sake of national security. This issue was anticipated by Dewey who held that freedom is the voice of democracy. With regard to the school, the teacher must be free to teach if children are to be free to learn. With regard to society, democratic ends cannot be realized through dictatorial means. In pointing to the fallacy

of the ends–means dualism, Dewey held that freedom of inquiry and communication enhance security for a free society, whereas restrictions on inquiry and communication only undermine the prospects of a democratic social order.

### Reflective Thinking

The unifying process for the curriculum was seen by Dewey as manifested through reflective thinking for problem solving. In *How We Think*, Dewey addressed the ways through which teachers could transform the curriculum by engaging the learner in the processes of problem solving through scientific attitude and methods, as contrasted with traditional rote and recitation.

By means of reflective thinking or scientific inquiry, decisions on social problems would be acted upon by means of the best available evidence continually held tentative pending the outcomes of further investigation and verification. Reflective or independent thinking is the key to the release of intelligence—as opposed to dogma, dictate, or blind traditions that hamper intelligence and progress. With regard to the alleged dualism between inquiry and emotion in scientific thinking, Dewey held that investigation is indeed served by inspiration no less than in the arts.

### Other Dualisms

Dewey and his fellow experimentalists rejected the dualism between heredity and environment. Influenced by Darwin, they viewed the two forces as necessarily interactive and held that through education humanity can shape environmental conditions. Dewey and his fellow experimentalists championed environmentalism generations before it became the trend in the social sciences. They opposed social Darwinism of survival of the fittest on the grounds that through education, humanity can control its destination rather than being under control of natural or man-made conditions that hamper intelligence and progress.

Other false dichotomies exposed by Dewey were those relating to thinking and doing, mind and matter, science and humanities, cognitive and affective, theoretical and practical, aesthetic and utilitarian, form and function, science and morality, and competition and cooperation.

### Progressive Education as Progress in the Making

Dewey's last published statement appeared shortly before his death in 1952 at the age of 93 in the introduction to a book by Elsie Clapp—a moving account of the building of progressive schools in Appalachia serving a destitute population suffering from unemployment, hunger, and disease in abandoned coal-mining communities during the Great Depression. In his statement, Dewey addressed the organized attacks on the achievements of progressive education that were becoming frenetic and widespread. He pointed out that progressive education was part of the wider social movement for the improvement of the human condition and that no education is progressive unless it is making progress.

*Daniel Tanner*

*See also Democracy and Education; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Social Reconstructionism*

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## DEWEY LABORATORY SCHOOL

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The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago—commonly known as Dewey's Laboratory School,

in tribute to John Dewey's role as its founder, director (1896–1903), and philosopher-in-chief—had a two-pronged function: (1) to cultivate an active and supportive learning community in which the social and intellectual needs and capacities of children could be met and (2) to make discoveries about learning, teaching, subject matter, curriculum organization, discipline, and administration by applying educational theory to practice in an experimental setting. As both an elementary school where children were educated and a university department where scientific investigations were conducted, the Laboratory School had as its constant purpose the fostering of curiosity, inquiry, learning, and growth among students and educators alike. Just as the school created for its students a society-in-miniature where they could learn to solve real-world problems experientially and cooperatively, so too did it provide for its educators an idealized school setting in which they could tinker toward educational innovation experimentally and collaboratively. Indeed, what made the Laboratory School characteristically Deweyan was its fusion of educational means and ends: from the harmonization of the psychological and social factors of learning, to the integration of subject areas, to the unification of method and content in the curriculum, and more.

Dewey's pedagogical theories were by no means fully formulated when the Laboratory School opened in 1896. In fact, some of the strategies he experimented with were simple adaptations of various approaches being tested at comparable lab schools in Europe or in progressive public schools in the United States. Chief among the philosophical influences on Dewey's work were the ideas of Friedrich Froebel, who posited that a school's primary responsibility is to teach children to live cooperatively, that children's activities and play are capable of educational use, and that the school should reproduce on the child's level the typical doings of the mature society. Dewey's realization that some of the most important elements of his own early education were obtained outside the classroom also had a significant impact on his emerging curriculum thought. Finally, Dewey envisioned his school as a place that would release children from the tedium of the typical turn-of-the-century classroom, where lecture and recitation were the norm.

The Laboratory School attempted to embody the ideal of the school as an embryonic society in which children would gain social experience and insight, as well as intellectual and manual skills, by participating firsthand in the activities (referred to as occupations) fundamental to the workings of the home and the larger community. In Dewey's view, engaging in society's occupations would stir the imagination of children who inherently are concerned with whatever adults are concerned with. Rather than merely mimicking adult tasks, however, the occupations would be authentic ends in themselves. For example, when learning history, students would recreate the activities and circumstances of the historical actors they were studying so as to develop historical empathy and social insight, or they would engage in problem-solving activities so as to conceptualize how concrete social problems might be addressed in the past, present, and future. In this scheme, education was none other than life.

In the Laboratory School's first years, the curriculum had two dimensions: the children's side, consisting of activities, and the teachers' side, consisting of subject matter. Dewey ultimately determined through experimentation that carefully planned activities not only helped students amass practical information and skills in various subject areas (e.g., cooking teaches about chemistry, arithmetic, botany, zoology, culture, and manual arts), but also awakened in children their natural propensity toward formal inquiry. Thus, while an integrated curriculum was appropriate for introducing young children to the holistic fashion in which real-world activities are carried out and problems are addressed, a more specialized kind of curriculum organization was appropriate for mature students whose interests might lie in pursuing the conventional subject disciplines—history, geography, literature, foreign languages, science, mathematics, music, and art—in depth. Although there was a prescribed curriculum with certain knowledge and skills that all children needed to learn, there was also flexibility for students to pursue their interests beyond the curriculum's scope. In other words, there was always room for growth at Dewey's Laboratory School.

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*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; *Democracy and Education*; Dewey, John; Project-Based Curriculum

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## DIDACTICS—DIDAKTIK— DIDACTIQUE

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The relevance of the topic is linked to a growing international rapprochement within the curriculum field, making necessary understanding regarding differing traditions of the planning of teaching and learning. One may say that there exist two main traditions: the Anglo American tradition of curriculum studies and the Continental and North European tradition of didactics. Although the curriculum studies tradition is internationally acknowledged, adopted, and adapted, the tradition of didactics is still relatively unknown in English and U.S. curriculum contexts and settings.

The word *didactics* originates from the Greek *didaskein*, which meant to be a teacher or to educate. As a word used in English, it has a rather negative connotation. It is, for example, found as an adjective meaning to behave like a teacher. The term is generally avoided in English and U.S. curriculum contexts. In Nordic (*didaktikk/didaktik*), German (*Didaktik*), and French (*didactique*) contexts, the word is used only to a limited degree in common language, while it is in educational contexts one of the most central ones. It has, however, when applied professionally, a variety of meanings. An unambiguous understanding of the subject matter, scope, methodology, and system of didactics as part of education as a scientific discipline does not exist. Differing schools, traditions, and models may be clearly discerned. There exists consequently a variety of definitions that all claim to be legitimate both historically and in contemporary contexts. Some definitions focusing on the field and scope of didactics according to Friedrich Kron are as follows:

- Didactics as a science and theory about teaching and learning in all circumstances and in all forms

This definition is the most comprehensive and widest.

- Didactics as the science or theory of teaching

Didactics defined in this way comprises the broad sphere of reality consisting of socially legitimated and organized teaching and learning processes accomplished on a professional foundation.

- Didactics as the theory of the contents of formation and of its structure and selection

This understanding of didactics focuses formation and the formation potential of subject matter.

- Didactics as theory about the steering and controlling of the learning process

In this understanding, teaching and learning processes are regarded as analogues to cybernetically controlled technical systems.

- Didactics as the application of psychological teaching and learning theories

Within this understanding, the research aspect is predominant. The leading research interest is the bettering of all factors related to teaching and learning.

Today in French, German, and Scandinavian educational contexts there is a marked tendency to include educational practice as part of the concept of didactics where the term is viewed as the theory and practice of teaching and learning.

Simplified we may say with Rudolph Künzli that the concern of didactics is as follows:

- What should be taught and learned (the content aspect)?
- How do we teach and learn (the aspects of transmitting and learning)?
- To what purpose or intention should something be taught and learned (the goal/aims aspect)?

Another way to put it is as follows: As a real phenomenon in these educational contexts didactics exists

- as theory and as prescription—and consequently as reflection and action—underlining differing



theories and models of didactics with their different foci and views of its scope and function;

- as different levels of abstraction, such as, for example, general didactics, special didactics, and school subject didactics; and
- as a scientific discipline, as a research area and as courses of study—that is, the institutionalized aspect.

These are, however, analytic categories; as real phenomena they overlap. One can, however, at least identify three levels as core areas of didactics:

- a theoretical or research level, where the expression denotes a field of study;
- a practical level, where didactics is exercised, comprising, among other fields, the fields of teaching, curriculum making, and the planning of teaching and learning; and
- a discursive level, where didactics implies a frame of reference for professional dialogues between teachers and between teachers and other interest groups discussing school matters.

Institutions naming the core of their activities “didactics” may be found in the fields of educational research, teacher education (departments of general didactics and subject matter didactics), school administration, as well as inservice training contexts, just to mention some.

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See also European Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview

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## DISCIPLINE-BASED CURRICULUM

The curricula in most formal educational systems of developing and developed countries are divided into separate and distinct subjects or disciplines, such as science, mathematics, literature, social studies, and the arts. In the curricula, school children are expected to concentrate on a single field of study, possibly supported by several courses in closely associated disciplines. Curriculum theorists refer to such curricula as discipline based. The term discipline based covers the full range of distinct subjects or fields of study, including the more traditional usage in areas such as mathematics or physics; in areas of study with a strong professional focus, such as molecular biology; and in newer areas of study, such as media education.

In a discipline-based curriculum approach, the courses that provide students with a foundation in the subjects or disciplines are critical to the curriculum. Students must have frequent and recurring opportunities to practice their disciplinary skills throughout their fields of study in a way that allows later courses to build on the work of earlier ones. Assuming that certain core skills and competencies are absolutely essential for practice any time and anywhere, curricular emphasis is laid on the teaching and assessment of essential knowledge, skills, and competencies throughout the course of distinct subjects or disciplines.

The instructional emphasis of discipline-based curriculum tends to be on specific, current, and factual information as it emerges from the disciplinarians. A discipline-based curriculum approach characterizes teaching practice within one subject and encourages teachers for specialization, depth of content knowledge, and integrity to the conventions of their discipline. For teachers, disciplinary affiliation plays a primary role in professional engagement for the development and distribution of good practice in teaching and learning. Content area teachers tend to see reality through the lenses of their subjects or disciplines. Reasonably, the content area teachers are generally convinced that their perspective is the most important one. In the absence of criteria for resolving disagreements over which knowledge is of highest value, curriculum tends to be shaped by institutional politics.

In general, a discipline-based curriculum approach encourages teachers to plan a series of connections to control the way the students come into contact with the subject matter. By doing so, teachers are expected to make the main ideas and issues more accessible to the school children. In a discipline-based curriculum approach, classroom instruction is generally concerned with sequencing resources, moving from rule to example, and thereby focusing on task analysis, teaching hierarchies, the use of drill and practice activities, and finally, testing the accurate recall of disciplinary knowledge. This static and generally linear model of teaching and instruction characterizes the nature of classroom practices in most traditional discipline-based curricula. It is teacher centered and promotes a high degree of accountability for the memorization and recognition of disciplinary knowledge and display of skills and behaviors that constitute most of the traditional, teacher-proof curriculum. However, this model of teaching and instruction does not allow school children to explore, reconstruct, and create authentic classroom products and activities.

Many curriculum theorists argue that the discipline-based curriculum limits students' learning to narrow aspects of content knowledge and does not allow for real-life explorations and learning of issues of interest to school children. A traditional, discipline-based curriculum assigns students with passive, information-storing rather than information-producing roles. In rare hands-on classroom activities, school children tackle reality in all its rationally invigorating complexity. In most courses, however, students simply read or listen to "expert" view as it comes out from the textbook and teacher and try to remember it long enough to be successful on exams. The only competency demanded is to recall. Rarely does discipline-based curriculum require students to explore, analyze, classify, synthesize, or engage in high-level thinking processes.

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*See also* Hidden Curriculum; National Curriculum; Teacher-Proof Curriculum

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## DIVERSITY

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The term *diversity*, initially associated with the field of anthropology, refers to cultural, human, and social differences. Popularized beginning in the 1960s as a result of the civil rights movement, diversity has become an umbrella term for people of various backgrounds who have faced exclusion and discrimination—both from individuals and from institutions—for political, economic, and social reasons and/or because of stereotypes and biases about their particular group. Originally used to refer principally to people of color and women, more recently the term has been broadened to include ethnicity, national origin, native language, sexual orientation, social class, religion, cognitive and physical ability, age, and other differences. Remedies for discrimination and exclusion have ranged from affirmative action in recruitment and hiring, to special programs to educate the wider community about social and human differences. In education, curriculum reform has been at the center of approaches to diversity.

### Who Is Included Under the Term *Diversity*?

Most organizations, including schools, universities, and corporations, now recognize and attend to issues of difference through recruitment and retention and professional development, as well as through other activities meant to enhance the climate of a diverse community. Until quite recently, most organizations viewed diversity as a rather narrow set of differences, usually limited to race and ethnicity. Outreach efforts and internal programs (promotion, staff development, etc.) generally focused on groups labeled by the federal government as underrepresented, that is, women, African Americans, Latinos/as, Native Americans, and in some cases, Asian Americans.

Although the federal legal definition of underrepresented is still limited to race/ethnicity, gender,

and more recently, physical and mental disabilities, since the 1980s the term diversity has expanded, at least in some arenas, to either explicitly or informally include a broad spectrum of demographic, experiential, attitudinal, and philosophical differences. The focus of efforts to address diversity has been to create more hospitable and accepting organizations through the development of awareness and understanding of differences, and the promotion of inclusiveness and learning of all within the organization. This focus is especially true in education in general and in curriculum in particular.

### Curriculum and the Conundrum of Diversity

Although there is little argument with the fact that diversity exists and has been a reality within the United States since its very beginning, approaches to diversity have varied greatly. Consequently, how to think—and what to do—about diversity has always been a contentious matter. In fact, because the question of power is central to matters of diversity, it can be said that all the great debates and struggles in curriculum in the past century and a half in the United States have centered on matters of diversity in one way or another. In the United States, the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, or *out of many, one*, has been interpreted in numerous and often contradictory ways. Although this ideal is based on the belief that the nation must be simultaneously supportive of pluralism and dedicated to unity, how to balance these sometimes conflicting values has been a hotly contested issue throughout U.S. history.

From the idea that people of all backgrounds should form a melting pot, to battles over whether English should be the official language of the nation, the history of the United States is replete with examples of vastly different approaches to what some have seen as the problem and others as the promise of diversity. For some, *E Pluribus Unum* has meant the complete assimilation of newcomers to the nation, particularly through what has been called Anglo conformity—that is, the wholesale adoption of the language, culture, traditions, behaviors, and ideals of the nation's dominant group, including dropping one's native language, culture, and allegiance to other nations. For others, *E Pluribus Unum* has meant a more gradual adaptation to the new country, or what

has been called the melting pot, where some cultural manifestations (usually music, food, and other tangible expressions of culture) may become part of the common culture. For others still, it has meant the even more gradual incorporation of newcomers into the nation, with immigrants and their offspring encouraged to maintain their native language and ethnic ties while they are learning English and adapting to the culture of the host nation. This approach has been called cultural pluralism. The differences among these three approaches for dealing with diversity are sometimes quite stark and at other times nuanced.

As a result of the differing views of *E Pluribus Unum*, official and unofficial policies and practices related to diversity have veered from one extreme to the other and everything in between. In addition, trying to square the ideals of democracy and inclusion with the reality of the nation's history of racism and oppression—from the near extermination of Native Americans to the enslavement of Africans and other actions throughout our history—is what Gunnar Myrdal, in his groundbreaking study of the lives of African Americans in the 1940s, termed the American dilemma.

Another, and related, defining ideal of the United States dating to the founding of the U.S. common school in the mid-19th century is the belief that public schools can and should be, in the words of Horace Mann, the great equalizer. Mann, a key player in the push for universal, free, and compulsory education, believed that students, regardless of social class, ethnic, or cultural background, should share equally in the benefits of a public education. John Dewey, the noted educational philosopher whose work was emblematic of the Progressive Era in education, also believed that schools needed to serve all students regardless of station, rank, or diverse circumstances of any kind. It is this belief that has led to some of the quintessential battles over public schooling from the 19th century to the present, including struggles over desegregation, integration, busing, bilingual education, multicultural education, and others.

### Responses to Diversity

A number of approaches have been used to address discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, and other differences. These have ranged from

affirmative action to correct past inequities; to systemic changes at the institutional, local, and national levels; and in the case that interests us here, to specific curriculum reform efforts.

### *Affirmative Action*

Affirmative action is the process of actively seeking and recruiting individuals from underrepresented groups for postsecondary education as well as for employment in public and private organizations. Most often associated with the civil rights movement, affirmative action came about as a result of demands by the victims of discrimination, especially women and people of color, for equity and retribution for past ills. Later, persons with physical and other disabilities also demanded to be included under the protections afforded by affirmative action. Although formal affirmative action has become less visible in the past decade than it was in the 1970s and 1980s, primarily due to court cases at the state and federal levels challenging this practice, many private and even public institutions are more aware than ever of the benefits of having a diverse student body and workforce in their organizations. Consequently, efforts to recruit and retain a community that is more representative of our society as a whole continue in many organizations.

### *Institutional Changes*

In the past half century or so, institutions of all kinds from schools to colleges and universities, as well as private and public organizations, have engaged in systemic changes to develop a more welcoming climate for all people. Many of these changes have come about not through actions initiated by the organizations themselves, but rather as a result of pressure from those both inside and outside these institutions to remedy inequitable conditions. At the K–12 level, efforts have focused on such issues as the desegregation and integration of schools, as well as on curriculum reform and professional development centering on issues related to diversity.

The rapidly increasing diversity of the student body since the 1980s has resulted in over 40% of all students in U.S. public schools being currently from backgrounds other than the mainstream—that is,

they are non-White and/or non-English-speaking. Most teachers, however, are White and English-speaking, and many have had little personal or professional experience with people of diverse backgrounds. Given that our society remains quite segregated in terms of residential and schooling patterns, the same is true of teachers of color who, although they may be aware of their own identities, may not necessarily know much about students of other backgrounds. Consequently, it is imperative that all educators, regardless of their own backgrounds, effectively learn to teach students who are different from themselves.

Although some institutional changes have been made in schools, colleges, and universities, not all changes have proved positive nor have they been consistently developed or implemented. In K–12 education, institutional reform has included detracking to ensure more equity in student choice of courses, culturally sensitive disciplinary policies, and preservice and professional development to incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy into teachers' practices. In higher education, changes have centered on providing a more culturally diverse curriculum and the recruitment and retention of a more diverse faculty and student body. Here, too, the changes have been sporadic and uneven.

In teacher preparation programs as well as through inservice programs, teachers and other education professionals have received information and resources related to diversity and they have learned specific approaches for teaching students of diverse racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Nevertheless, many new teachers still maintain that they have not been adequately prepared to teach a diverse student body, especially students whose race, ethnicity, language, and special needs differ from the mainstream. At the same time, more rigid accountability structures implemented since the passage of the federal No Child Left Behind legislation in 2002 have constrained professional development activities, resulting in less attention being paid to diversity, and fewer resources spent on it.

In K–12 public education, a particularly thorny issue has been the achievement gap—that is, the widely differing achievement levels of students of different backgrounds. The achievement gap is especially evident between European American (White) students and African American, Latino/a,



and Native American students, as well as some students of Asian American backgrounds. In recent years, the gap has been somewhat reduced as a result of more stringent national standards and high-stakes standardized tests, but some critics maintain that this reduction has come about at too high a price—that is, through the constricting of the curriculum and the curtailment of teacher and student creativity in the service of higher test scores.

### *Curriculum Reform*

In the specific case of curriculum, particularly in K–12 public education, approaches to diversity have ranged from efforts to Americanize students (a term popular at the turn of the 20th century when immigration from Europe was at an all-time high, but no longer in favor, although such approaches are still evident in efforts to assimilate newcomers, or the campaign to make English the official language of the United States) to the opposite approach of providing native language classes to help students make the transition from their native language to English. In the K–12 curriculum, Americanization included everything from teaching cleanliness and social skills to mandated courses in English, American literature, and U.S. history. Probably even more significant than the expressed curriculum were efforts to Americanize students (and, often, their families) through the hidden curriculum as seen in such practices as Americanization classes and patriotic celebrations of U.S. holidays and heroes.

Creating a healthy and productive learning environment for all students is at the heart of curriculum reform efforts addressing diversity. The impact of attending to diversity in curriculum is clearly evident in content and pedagogy at all levels of education from early childhood to doctoral studies, as well as in the contentious debates about how diversity should best be addressed. An example is the philosophy and practice of bilingual education—that is, using students' native language along with English—to teach curriculum content. Although the latest iteration of bilingual education started in the 1960s, educating children through the use of their native language while they were also learning English has a much longer history in the United States. For instance, bilingual instruction in German and English was quite common in

the Midwest in the 1800s and before the end of the 19th century, the same was the case with Polish, Italian, Norwegian, Spanish, French, Czech, Dutch, and other languages. Nevertheless, bilingual education remains a controversial issue and it has been eliminated in a number of states since the 1990s. Another example of how diversity in curriculum has been contested is the diversification of the canon, particularly at the university level, with opponents charging that such diversification has destroyed the Western canon and even the very foundations of U.S. society.

In the past several decades, the concern for equity in education has been epitomized most clearly through multicultural education, a field that has focused on curriculum reform, inclusive pedagogical strategies, and institutional change. Other related and parallel movements, including ethnic studies, bilingual education, global studies, social justice education, multicultural teacher education, and critical race theory, have also had a significant impact on curriculum in K–12 and higher education. Concentrating on such issues as racial and social class segregation, the disproportionate achievement of students of various backgrounds, and the structural inequality in both schools and society, all of these approaches and philosophies are directly related to a concern for diversity.

*Sonia Nieto*

*See also* Antiracism Theory; Bilingual Curriculum; *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Brown I* Decision; Critical Race Theory; Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Identities; *Democracy and Education*; Desegregation of Schools; Integration of Schools; Multicultural Curriculum

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## DIVERSITY PEDAGOGY

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Inspired by the civil rights movement in the 1960s, diversity pedagogy emerged in response to the controversial early works that viewed ethnic minority and poor children as deficient due to cultural, language, ethnic, and economic differences. A diversity ideology in education can be defined as structures of visionary thinking or sets of beliefs, attitudes, ideas, opinions, assumptions, and theories that (a) address cultural, social, economic, and political context and curricular content of schooling and (b) examine human developmental issues, social and cognitive growth affecting individual, and group differences in the teaching–learning process. Theoretically, diversity ideologies improve the learning experiences of all children. They are especially concerned with a curriculum that includes relevant content and ensures access to equitable (fair and impartial) schooling opportunities for underserved students. Underserved children include students from ethnic minority groups, immigrant children, students whose home language is not U.S. English, and most children who attend high-poverty, underperforming schools. Diversity pedagogy is a diversity ideology developed by Rosa Hernández Sheets that focuses on the natural and inseparable connection between culture and cognition in the teaching–learning process. It can be considered one of five major diversity ideologies. The other

four major diversity ideologies—multicultural, antiracism, critical pedagogy, and critical race theory—primarily use a sociological foundation to address on the social, political, economic, and legal context of schooling. This entry introduces diversity pedagogy theory (DPT) and describes its structural aspects.

DPT provides educators with an organized set of pedagogical tools to help develop open-minded dispositions, gain a culturally inclusive knowledge base, and learn culturally responsive teaching strategies. It links culture, cognition, and schooling in a single unit. It unites classroom practice with a deep understanding of the role culture plays in the social and cognitive development of children. DPT views the natural connectedness of culture and cognition as key to incorporating multiple factors of diversity in the teaching–learning process. It acknowledges the indissoluble, joint role of culture and cognition in the human developmental process. Diversity pedagogy also recognizes the powerful, active role students play in their learning.

Structurally, DPT has eight dimensional elements. Each dimension has two interrelated parts: teacher pedagogical behaviors (TPB), which describe how teachers think and act in the classroom, and student cultural displays (SCD), which show the ways children express who they are and what they know. These two paired, side-by-side, tightly interconnected dimensional elements in eight dimensions serve to guide teacher and student behaviors. The eight dimensions are diversity–consciousness of differences, identity–ethnic identity development, social interaction–interpersonal relationships, culturally safe classroom context–self-regulated learning, language–language learning, culturally inclusive content–knowledge acquisition, instruction–reasoning skill, and assessment–self-evaluation

The eight dimensions are not hierarchal, do not take place in isolation, or occur in a given order. One dimension is not more important than another and one does not have to be mastered before another. In the classroom, the eight dimensions naturally intersect with each other. Teachers rarely behave in only one dimension and children will not demonstrate a single dimension. DPT theorizes that teachers who consistently recognize, interpret, and respond to student cultural displays have more opportunities to respond to students’

academic, language, social, ethnic, and cultural needs. These teachers are more likely to consider the diverse characteristics, strengths, and competencies of their students. Awareness of student cultural displays increases the probability of teacher potential to support social growth, enhance ethnic identity development, maintain heritage language, and promote self-regulated behavior. This type of teacher behavior also makes meaningful connections between students' prior cultural patterns of knowledge to the intended acquisition of new knowledge.

*Rosa Hernández Sheets*

*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Latino/a Research Issues

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## DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

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The methodological research approach termed *documentary research* has multiple meanings and different usages within the broad research landscape across disciplines. Although the term is commonly used within the field of sociology—even cited as one of the most common forms of research conducted by sociologists—for research that leverages archival documentation including texts, documents, newspapers, films, photographs, governmental publications, census data, paintings, diaries, journals, and books, its meaning within the field of curriculum studies, albeit related, is different. Whereas sociologists focus on these various documents as sources of data and as reliable artifacts when conducting their research, the field of curriculum studies sees documentary research as the art and science of producing the documentation itself. This act of doing documentary research can

be conducted through producing written accounts, photography, recordings, or film of various phenomena in the social world. Documentary research in curriculum studies is a form of aesthetic, arts-based inquiry. To those interested in documentary research within the curriculum studies field, the writers, photographers, interviewers, and filmmakers act as researchers explicitly attempting to develop their craft in order to portray a view of reality. These people conducting documentary research, often referred to as documentarians or documentarists, have interest in detailing what exists in the social world by revealing what they consider to be the actual state of affairs in sites, environments, or other places of interest.

Both the fields of sociology and curriculum studies draw on the term *docere*, the Latin word for “to teach,” as the basis for what is occurring in this form of research. The research that results is presented to inform others about a particular way of life, group of people, or event. In addition, both fields of study look for proof through various pieces of documentation (in any of its multiple forms) as evidence that this something exists. In curriculum studies and other related educational fields, however, the foundation of documentary research goes beyond simply using the documents as sources of data; the intention for this form of research is to take action in order to inform through the construction of a document. These documents, commonly referred to as a documentary, suggest particular meaning. The resultant creation or portrayal attempts to reveal authentic events or situations in believable and realistic ways. Through various forms of representations, although the imagery through visual, auditory, and written form are favored, the documentary product of documentary research implies an attempt to discover or uncover what is real or what exists so that others can view it or engage with it. Because of this, documentary research presents a form of authentication about the events, situations, or the way of life that is documented. Through the creation of the documentary, the researcher puts together images through scenes, moments, or illustrations that assist in reconstructing what is occurring in the given phenomenon being studied.

Although documentary research within curriculum studies is related to the work of sociologists,

historians, anthropologists, and even journalists, documentary research within curriculum studies is not as interested in accumulating the same “proof” that something exists as is necessary or expected within these other fields primarily because curriculum scholars contend these kinds of finite representations do not exist. This is not to infer that the research is less rigorous or trustworthy than the approaches of the other disciplines, but it suggests that the story, social location, and positionality of the documentary researcher along with the narrative behind the constructed portrait, image, written account, or film is critical to conducting this form of research within curriculum studies. As this form of research works to portray some particularity or phenomenon, it seeks to document life in realistic and believable ways, but is cognizant that elements of objectivity and subjectivity are challenged by the very nature of engaging in this kind of research. The barriers or artificial lines of what is factual and what is interpreted get blurred as those engaged in documentary research try to discern meaning.

Although this attempt at a realistic appraisal revealed through the documentary may be precisely what the documentarian attempts to do through the research, inferred objectivity gets complicated in this form of research. A documentarian’s perspective and subjectivity are amplified when the reconstruction is developed and revealed to an audience. Rather than insisting on objectivity or arguing for an objective interpretation, documentary research in this form has at its very center the notion that constant interpretation and subjectivity is at play. Similar to the biases and subjectivity associated with ethnographic research, the documentarian, just as the ethnographer, has choices in the way that the work is presented and represented. The subjectivity and the location from where the documentary is produced is an integral, essential aspect of the research. What individual researchers bring to the table is a basis for understanding a particular phenomenon and is built into this form of research. The meaning that is made and the understandings that are conveyed through the images of documentary embrace the perspective of the researcher so that the interpretation of the phenomenon or hypothesis is framed from this standpoint. Although there is an attempt to be value free, there is nothing impartial about the representation that is developed and this is fully

acknowledged. Those engaged in this form of research take note of, and present what they present in the multiple forms written, photographed, recorded, and filmed accounts because of their experiences, education, ideological frames, and their worldview.

*Brian D. Schultz*

*See also* Aesthetic Education Research; Arts-Based Research; Biographical Research; Ethnographic Research

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## DU BOIS, W. E. B.

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Known as a sociologist, philosopher, historian, and activist, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963) was also one of the preeminent scholars of the 20th century whose work greatly influenced the field of education and curriculum studies. His polemics and lifelong advocacy of liberal, progressive, and reconstructionist views provided thoughtful critique as it deepened our collective understanding of school knowledge, race, and power for those working in the field of curriculum studies.

Du Bois entered Harvard University in 1888 as a junior. At Harvard, he earned a second BA and enrolled in graduate school, studying under legendary professors William James, Josiah Royce, and George Santayana. After receiving his master’s degree in 1891, he studied at the University of Berlin and then returned to Cambridge to become the first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard.

Leaving a professorship at Wilberforce University in Ohio, Du Bois moved to Atlanta University



to teach economics and history, during which time he published in 1903 a compilation of unpublished papers titled *The Souls of Black Folk*. This work includes one of his most quoted statements that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, he challenged Booker T. Washington, opposing accommodation, gradualism, and industrial education. He called instead for more liberal education and social agitation to break the bonds of racial oppression.

Du Bois helped organize the First Pan-African Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). His celebrated books on race issues include *Dark Water: Voices From Within the Veil*, *Black Reconstruction in America*, *Black Folk Then and Now*, *Dusk of Dawn*, and *Color and Democracy*. In 1940, he created *Phylon*, a journal of social science, published at Atlanta University. The indefatigable scholar-activist continued to develop his views, especially his critique of U.S. capitalism and racial inequality. Cold war politics and hysteria targeted Du Bois as he ran for public office and joined forces with the international peace movement.

### On Education and the Curriculum: A Legacy

Committed to social change, Du Bois, the radical democrat, as he was occasionally called, believed in the power of ideas to transform and reform. He wanted the curriculum to have a social point of view. He rejected medieval knowledge, believing that the pressing racial, economic, and political inequities mandated that school knowledge for all people consider the interests of equity, democracy, and justice.

Du Bois is forever wedded to the talented tenth concept, which advocated that the top 10% of African Americans should obtain higher education to develop their leadership capabilities and to create opportunities for other Blacks. Criticized by some as elitist, his obsession with intellectual training must be understood. He noted that a people not far removed from chattel slavery must be trained to participate in social and especially political life. Knowledge was the first step to progress, and only a select few were prepared, he believed, to engage higher intellectual training. Their pupils would

then see the world through their eyes. Intelligence, he believed, was social power.

As a curricularist, Du Bois held strong views about school knowledge and instruction aimed at African Americans. He opposed the Hampton model, which advocated industrial education, believing it reinforced subservience. It was a gift to the industrialists and vested wealth. He, however, was not opposed to vocational education for occupation. He fiercely promoted a liberal curriculum that featured the social sciences and humanities. For him, all individuals, especially teachers, must learn about history, politics, economics, geography, physics, classical literature, mathematics, and poetry. He wrote that the teacher of blacksmithing should also be a person of education and culture acquainted with the modern organization of business in the world. Teachers of math, he noted, must also understand human interactions.

He extended his curriculum thinking beyond elementary and secondary schooling into higher education, especially the Negro college. The Negro college, he believed, must be a place of unfettered inquiry. He wrote of the college-bred Negro and the mandate on the Negro college to participate, in fact, serve as a command post in the uplift of the race. The Negro college curriculum must break with the canon and include people of color in explaining the civilizing of the world. Fervent study was indispensable to the task. Articulating and demanding academics in the Black college occupied much of Du Bois's life. He lamented that many Black college students were distracted by the values of indulgence and complacency over contribution to the collective libratory mission of the race.

Giving life to his curricular views, Du Bois wrote many courses, some cutting edge, on Black history, social science, and politics. At Atlanta University, for example, he wrote and taught a course titled Karl Marx and the Negro. Some view him as the father of Black studies.

Human agency was at the heart of Du Bois's educational and curriculum views. He advocated that the inquiry into injustice be wedded to practice. The school curriculum at every level must examine the unequal distribution of wealth, political economy, colonialism, national and international race relations, and other manifestations of tyranny and oppression. Beyond that examination, he wanted people to vote, protest, organize,

caucus, speak out, and commit themselves to social change.

### Du Bois: Black Social Reconstructionist?

Reflecting on his Harvard experience, Du Bois noted that he aligned himself with those who planned a new world. His sweeping views and activities took him far beyond the work of conventional curriculum theorists, yet he remained drawn to schools and school knowledge. His life coincided with the rise of curriculum as a field of study, but he is not claimed by the leading figures or the conventional literature. Scholars know he had brief brushes with John Dewey, for example, at the founding convention of the NAACP, but neither mentions the other. It can be argued that Du Bois, the democratic socialist, held views consistent with the radical wing of the Social Reconstructionists in the 1930s. Neither he nor they held out hope that industrial capitalism would relieve economic want and suffering.

From the outset, Du Bois believed in the transformative power of ideas. Earning a living must not be the sole objective of education. He wanted people, Blacks especially, to be worldly, assertive, and purposeful. He maintained that education must be liberatory; hence, it should be subversive,

and the curriculum should instill a sense that learning is power.

Like the reconstructionists, Du Bois believed teachers must be statesman and activists. They must do the world's work. Democracy must be central to the curriculum if Black people were to participate in the sociopolitical processes. Schools must impart knowledge that leads to action, social change, and uplift.

*William H. Watkins*

*See also* Woodson, Carter G.

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# E

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## EARLY CHILDHOOD CURRICULUM

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Embedded within Enlightenment and modernist discourses of progress, linearity, dualism, and science, Western Euro-American constructions of childhood have dominated curriculum both as defined and practiced. These constructions have focused on human beings from birth to 7 or 8 years of age. The first section of this entry describes the basic influences and content of this dominant curriculum. The second section focuses on post-modern challenges to this universalist view of young children (or reconceptualizations of early childhood curriculum) and places diversity, critical multiculturalism, and equity at the forefront of early childhood curriculum. Finally, the last section briefly describes the most recent influences on curriculum as dominated by adults outside of early education from business groups to citizens who believe that education should be measured quantitatively and that even public education experiences should be competitive and follow business models that benchmark and label those who do not attain the appropriate score as failing.

### **Dominant Narratives of Early Childhood Curriculum**

The most commonly presented history of early childhood curriculum begins by tracing the progress of human beings through functioning as hunter-gatherers, through the construction of villages, then cities. In this predominantly Western

(mainly European and U.S.) history, those who are younger have been labeled as especially vulnerable. Although debates continue as to the frequency of the practices, younger human beings are described as experiencing abandonment, infanticide, and slavery and have been shown to work long hours in factories. Schooling was constructed for privileged young males who were taught reading and writing, or apprenticeships were created to teach occupations, most often from father to son. As objects of Enlightenment discourses used to construct fields of sociology and psychology, young children (and older children also) became the focus of a range of writers, some who actually practiced the curriculum perspectives that they put forward. As examples, in Europe, Martin Luther argued that all children should be taught to read the Bible. John Amos Comenius proposed that the first 6 years of life serve as the foundation of all knowledge and are best spent with the mother. Although sending his own five children to founding homes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau put forward a curriculum based on natural development, on learning about nature and the physical world, and on focusing on reasoned logic for a hypothetical child. In the early 1800s, Johann Pestalozzi used the work of Rousseau to construct pedagogical methods that he believed placed the child at the center of learning. His methods were expanded by his student Friedrich Froebel, who developed a clearly defined curriculum that he termed kindergarten that compared the child to a naturally developing seed who would grow into a mature fruit; his curriculum focused on play, but used

specifically designed three-dimensional materials (named gifts from God) with planned activities (occupations) that could be completed with the activities. The beliefs of these Enlightenment scholars have played a major role in conceptualizations of curriculum for young children even to this day, as is evidenced by the use of the term kindergarten for early childhood programs in a range of locations.

Although education and curriculum in general have been influenced by (a) the belief that poor parents do not usually provide sound knowledge and learning experiences for their children and (b) that the field of psychology can yield knowledge about how people think, understand, and learn, these beliefs have dominated mainstream curriculum for young children. Sigmund Freud's focus on the early years as determining adult functioning has literally been accepted in most types of theories ranging from the belief in critical periods for particular types of learning (therefore, the belief has been that curriculum must be presented at appropriate times, even critical times when a child is ideally ready) to philosophical lenses from which brain research is constructed to mother-blaming for problems in adulthood. As European males have constructed psychological theories about their own reasoned thinking, those who were younger became the objects of the explorations and described using developmental labels (domains) of progress that would advance from childhood to adulthood: physical, emotional, social, cognitive, linguistic, and so on. These labels and the theories constructed around them have literally been used to create curriculum goals, objectives, content and activities, and outcomes that are considered to contribute to a young child's developmental progress. Cognitive developmental theory as described by Jean Piaget, but mainly interpreted by U.S. early childhood educators and known as constructivism, has had the most profound influence on what is judged to be curriculum that best fits young children using the psychological perspective.

For example, developmental psychology asserts that each individual child develops logical mathematical skills that progress from concrete to abstract understandings of classificatory thinking, relationships between objects and constructs, and forms of conservation (e.g., number, volume). Curriculum goals, content, and activities are then

constructed to facilitate this logical mathematical development further and are in the form of physical manipulation, exploration, and problem solving with three-dimensional materials. Constance Kamii, a Piagetian early childhood educator, has fully developed curriculum based on developmental psychology. Three forms of knowledge are presented: physical (objects in the world), logical mathematical (relationships between objects in the world), and social knowledge (ways of functioning that are determined by the social group). Psychology has been used to create a range of developmental programs that focus more or less on particular domains, usually emphasizing play, exploration, and concrete experiences.

During the 20th century, as child development emerged from psychology as a strident voice in the construction of early childhood curriculum, a range of other events and perspectives also played a role in the construction of early childhood curriculum and in debates even within the overall modernist philosophy concerning childhood. One example is the emergence of models of early childhood education curriculum. Sources of these models vary and include the program designed by Maria Montessori in Italy in the early 1900s as a specific form of schooling to remove poor children from city streets and teach them basics for survival; programs that emerged from the U.S. war on poverty such as Head Start and Follow Through legislation in the 1960s that created specific cognitive developmental curriculum, behavioral and direct instruction oriented curriculum, and broad-based developmental curriculum models; community-oriented cognitive models such as the approach named for Reggio Emilia in northern Italy. In addition, in the United States, the National Association for the Education of Young Children has put forward a document that describes developmental curriculum that has now been circulated around the globe.

### **Critically Reconceptualizing Early Childhood Curriculum**

Consistent with challenges to universalist discourses during the late 1900s and using curriculum reconceptualization as a model, during the 1980s a group of early childhood educators from around the globe began to construct a broad-based critical perspective within the field. Using feminist



poststructuralism and postcolonial critique, the work has challenged the dominance of developmental psychology and the Euro-American belief that science can discover the contents of the mind of the Other (even when that Other is labeled child). Constructions of the concept child have been contested, as the point is made that an adult-child dichotomy both privileges Cartesian dualisms and creates advantage and authority for those identified as adults. These early childhood reconceptualists have focused generally on critical issues of oppression, equity, and social justice and specifically on rethinking the foundations of the field. Curriculum based on developmentally appropriate practice has been critiqued as monocultural, ethnocentric, and lacking the recognition of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural multiplicities. Any universalist perspective that creates one way of understanding and interpreting the world as the best is considered problematic and unjust.

This critical perspective in early childhood curriculum has introduced notions of the multiple, the contextual, and the emergent as possibilities for curriculum. Younger human beings, even those identified as young children, are accepted as partners in the educational process who can (and should) explore issues of popular culture and societal values, the complexities and multiplicities of gender and identification, diverse definitions of family and ways of living, colonialist and other socially constructed binaries (such as good and bad guys), and even the use of decolonizing feminist methodologies. Various scholars have specifically addressed each of these as related to classroom practice. An explicit example is the construction of collectivist early childhood curriculum in Aotearoa (the Māori name for New Zealand), planned learning experiences that are based on Māori culture and do not use dominant forms of psychology.

In addition to challenging dominant truth orientations regarding children and exploring the unlimited possibilities for early education curriculum and multiple knowledges overall, varied and diverse reconceptualist perspectives have pointed to the critical notion that all knowledge is political. The institution of early childhood education is discussed as a site of major and minor curricular politics—in the ways that childhood social provision is constructed—in the ways that normativity is challenged—in the ways that children and adults

work together to address social, cultural, environmental, and economic issues. Early childhood reconceptualizing suggests that even as work continues in the range of types of early education settings (whether child care, preschool or nursery, primary education, or other childhood services) that the following could always occur: (a) critique of underlying assumptions within discourse practices, (b) recognition of history and forms of dominance that privilege some and disqualify others, (c) recognition of political agendas and power structures, and (d) reconceptualizing possibilities. The examination of the effects of political agendas and public policy alterations on early childhood curriculum has been a component of this critical scholarship. The following section illustrates this inquiry with regard to applying business models to early childhood curriculum.

### **Neoliberal Business Models of Early Childhood Curriculum**

Most recently, in a range of locations around the globe, governments have put into place legislation that requires education programs to be judged based upon particular standardized test instruments. In response, multinational corporations have formed to sell and score the instruments. Private tutoring companies have been founded to provide services to educational institutions for a fee, and educational materials that teach for the test are being sold. Further, the stakes are high because if appropriate bottom-line scores are not attained (a discourse similar to balancing the financial books), there are negative consequences (e.g., labeling, loss of jobs, even entire school closures). This definition of curriculum based on particular high-stakes tests uses the language of the corporate world, terminology such as benchmarks and accountability, public-private partnerships, and neoliberal market concepts such as competition between schools, entrepreneurialism, choice, and decentralization.

Early education varies around the globe as to perspectives that support services for all as a social common good—or beliefs that would standardize curriculum for all young children—or decentralizations that depend on privately practiced programs that are funded by customers. These circumstances have affected curriculum. Although examples could

be drawn from around the globe, the remainder of this entry discusses recent actions in the United States that illustrate how this neoliberal market early education has been applied to kindergarten, primary, and in some cases preschool programs for young children in public schools and the critical inquiry of such actions. The passage of No Child Left Behind federal legislation created a lens through which schools and teachers are evaluated, and critical theorists note that it marks schools and teachers as failures based on child test scores resulting in curriculum that focuses on test content. For example, Head Start, government programs for young children from poor backgrounds that have for 40 years supported parent and community involvement in curriculum content and design, has in recent years been revised to focus on reading achievement (interpreted as test scores). Free market, school decentralization proponents who unsuccessfully advocated for government financial vouchers that could be paid to private schools, have effectively promoted schools of choice (termed charter schools) that can be administered by a range of groups that include private corporations within publically supported systems. Critical theorists contend that in the name of accountability, such practices and the public policies that support them deny the existence of either dominant or diverse forms of knowledge that can be used in educational environments related to curriculum. Further, they argue that widespread acceptance of these practices would make all forms of curriculum invisible (and potentially irrelevant to the public), whether dominant developmental perspectives or diverse forms of knowledge that would support diversity and challenge oppression and societal inequities and envisioned by critical and reconceptualist early educators.

*Gaile S. Cannella*

*See also* Curriculum Development; Curriculum Theory; Early Childhood Curriculum, History of; Reconceptualization

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## EARLY CHILDHOOD CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The dominant history of early childhood curriculum (as attitudes, content, and teaching methods), focusing on children from birth to age 8, is grounded in the Enlightenment, modernism, and the Euro-American construction of social science from which emerged sociology, psychology, and education. Early childhood curriculum has been located in a range of public and private education and care settings and has been termed nursery, preschool, kindergarten, and primary education. Mainstream definitions of curriculum for young children have ranged from custodial care to diverse philosophical views regarding child rearing and learning, content and activities that include play, belief in a predetermined human development process that can be facilitated by particular kinds of curriculum, child-centered teaching, and education based on behavior modification. However, over the past 30 years, a post-modern critical perception of early childhood

curriculum has emerged that contests modernist constructions of curriculum as inappropriately creating a view of younger human beings as if they are all the same simply because they are young (and labeled children). Most recently, early childhood curriculum has come under the influence of neoliberal capitalism that emphasizes high-stakes test-oriented forms of accountability, decentralization and competition, and private funding (as has much of K–12 through higher education). This entry provides a brief description of this curriculum history, first as embedded within the broad modernist, androcentric focus in (what has been labeled) the West from which emerged education, psychology, and human services; second as challenged in recent years by curricular perspectives that represent diversity and that contest universalist notions of childhood and standardized learning; and finally, as contemporarily imposed through neoliberal accountability legislation and models of thought.

The modernist discourse of early childhood curriculum is historically embedded in the construction of schooling over the past 300 to 400 years, the emergence of psychology as a field that would explain the mind of the individual, and the elitist belief that those in poverty are not generally as capable as others (especially as related to learning and education). Early childhood education is practiced in public and private locations and labeled care and/or education (e.g., preschool, nursery, kindergarten, primary education), yet beliefs influencing curriculum have generally accepted the notion that adults can determine child needs and plan curriculum that will meet those needs. Debates occur as to whether needs should be met by parents or teachers, in the home or in early childhood settings, and by public institutions or private organizations (even corporations). Disagreements have continued as to whether curriculum should be designed as academic, behavioral, or developmental; arguments continue labeling best practices as child-centered and best practices as predominantly direct instruction abound. However, debates notwithstanding, overall dominant views of early childhood curriculum are grounded in the work of European Enlightenment and Euro-American human development scholars who believe in the adult–child dichotomy, that adults can and should understand the thinking of the child, that adults can determine

universal child needs (mentally and physically), and that children progress through domains of development (e.g., physical, social, cognitive) that can be determined by experts. This knowledge is then used to plan curriculum content and activities that are believed to further the child's growth, ability to reason, and general school academics such as reading and writing skills. Over the years, various programs have been developed by individuals such as Friedrich Froebel or Maria Montessori or through government programs such as Head Start and Follow Through legislation in the United States. More often than not, these programs have been legitimated as curriculum for poor children, a group considered to have less appropriate learning experiences in their daily lives than more socioeconomically advanced populations.

As civil rights gained attention during the 1960s generally and in the United States especially, some educators (and others) who believe in diversity grew increasingly concerned about the ways that notions of universal human (child) development and beliefs in a universal childhood experience serve to discredit cultural diversity, various forms of knowledge, and the multiple ways that human beings can experience and construct the world. Influenced by perspectives such as cultural studies, critical theory, feminisms, critical multiculturalism, and postcolonialism, some early childhood educators have challenged and continued to question modernist, child development orientations toward curriculum. Following the critical reconceptualist movement in curriculum studies, a group of reconceptualist early childhood educators from around the globe gather each year to emphasize broader, more diverse, less deterministic approaches to early childhood curriculum. This reconceptualist perspective focuses on diverse knowledges and ways of function (not simply those supported by Western interpretations of logic) and defamiliarizing what has been believed to be known about those who are younger. In addition, this early education perspective addresses societal oppressions and injustices, the social policies that construct them, and ultimately, the curriculum for those who are younger.

Although both modernist and reconceptualist perspectives continue to have major influences on early childhood curriculum, over the past 10 years, the rush toward globalization and the privileging of neoliberal market economy has shaped the content

and practice of education for young children. In many locations around the globe and in many types of early childhood settings, curriculum is being constructed based on legislation (such as No Child Left Behind in the United States) that has defined education as a score on a high-stakes achievement measure, which opponents believe results in curriculum that is grounded in the content of the test. Critics contend that much of this legislation supports corporatized programs that use achievement scores as the bottom line so that curriculum (of whatever type) has become a construct that is either standardized and prescribed or has become invisible and considered unimportant.

*Gaile S. Cannella*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Curriculum Theory; Early Childhood Curriculum

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## ECOLOGICAL THEORY

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*Ecological theory* is an orientation in curriculum studies that aims to be responsive to the complex intersections between culture and the natural environment and questions how those intersections work for or against environmental sustainability on a local and global level. Sustainability generally refers to practices that do not interfere with natural systems' abilities to renew themselves and to practices and orientations that will not reduce future generations' abilities to live on Earth. Although it overlaps with environmental education, ecological theory emphasizes the ways in which humans interact with their surroundings, and those interactions (not studies about the environment alone)

become central to the curriculum. Global governmental and nongovernmental agencies, along with recent developments in global climate change, have highlighted a need for a theory of curriculum that is Earth-inclusive.

Currently the term ecological theory is not widely used in curriculum studies and among curriculum theorists; more often terms such as *ecological education*, *place-based education*, and *ecojustice education* are used. However, in *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, William Pinar does use the term ecological theory and categorizes it as a political one, along with other theories committed to unearthing the hidden curriculum of schooling such as critical pedagogy and cultural studies. Pinar points out that Chet Bowers has put forth strong criticisms of the cultural assumptions in schooling that deter sustainability and that ecofeminist theory elaborates upon the relationship between gender and sustainability. Furthermore, Pinar mentions David Jardine's work in phenomenology and ecological theory. Although Pinar's account is one of the few that uses the term ecological theory, many scholars' research and work could be classified as such. Several such scholars are included in a 2005 special issue of *Educational Studies* that was dedicated to ecojustice and education. Editor Rebecca Martusewicz acknowledges and even emphasizes that not only are the authors' ideologies and assumptions different, but also they are in some cases incompatible; therefore, to offer one definition of ecological theory not only would be difficult, but also would be wrongheaded. In order to describe various aspects of ecological theory in curriculum studies, it is important to draw upon the work of a variety of scholars including Chet Bowers, Peter Corcoran, David Gruenewald, David Jardine, Rolf Jucker, Rebecca Martusewicz, Gregory Smith, David Sobel, and Kathryn Ross Wayne, to name a few. Although it is impossible to be comprehensive, individually and collectively the work of those mentioned above, as well as of others who are not named, can provide a working conceptual framework for ecological theory. To that end and to describe some of its major movements and ideas, this entry distinguishes between ecological and environmental education theory, explains several aspects of ecological curriculum theory, and provides examples of ecological theory in action.



### Ecological Theory as Different From Environmental Education

Environmental and ecological education is a collective, broad term encompassing many facets of Earth-inclusive education. Traditional environmental education is primarily housed in math and science subject areas or offered as supplemental to the regular curriculum. Gruenewald has argued that environmental education in this institutionalized form negatively affects its original social and ecological goals, and that because environmental education has largely been subsumed by general education, it loses its potential for true reform.

The more recent movement toward ecological curriculum theory emphasizes the embeddedness of humans in natural biological systems. In other words, ecological theory does not, as environmental education often does, teach about the environment as a subject, but rather reorganizes curricula around the connections between humans and their environment. Gregory Smith and Dilafruz Williams, in their edited volume *Ecological Education in Action: On Weaving Education, Culture, and the Environment*, point out that while environmental education is generally focused on scientific analysis of environmental problems and social policy, ecological education attends to the necessary cultural transformations that must take place in order to live sustainably. Furthermore, ecological education emphasizes attention to humans' relationships with particular places and draws wisdom from cultures that have, in the past and present, lived sustainably through specific practices suited to the characteristics of their local regions.

Ecological education seeks fundamental transformation in the ways humans reside in their natural, social, and built communities. To that end, several principles guide ecological education. First, learning should be grounded in a sense of place. This sense of place should be cultivated by exploring local human and natural communities, especially in conjunction with local elders. Second, students should develop and practice an ethic of care for local and for distant places and people. Third, students should be afforded an opportunity to experience community settings that counter individualism and promote restoration of the commons (shared resources). Fourth, students should acquire practical skills and knowledge needed for sustainable lifestyles. Fifth, ecological education

models should offer critiques of cultural assumptions that have led to the ecological crisis. In other words, ecological education provides a vision for not only a healthier Earth, but also a healthier global community.

Ecological education has also been recently connected with global education. Nel Noddings, an educational philosopher long concerned with care theory, outlines the ways in which ecological thinking helps us understand the interdependent nature of all humans on the planet. Ecological thinking includes habits of mind such as information gathering, reflection, and critical thinking that result in care for other global citizens. Attention to care in ecological education has been echoed by others and remains an important aspect of ecological curriculum studies.

### Phenomenology and Integrated Curriculum

Phenomenological curriculum theory attends to the lived experiences of those in particular situations; from an ecological perspective, phenomenology refers to the associated contexts and connections. Jardine espouses this idea with a simple example. In one of his education courses, he hands out a piece of paper and instructs his students to list ways in which the paper could be used in or as curriculum. One student suggests that all curricula could be organized around this single piece of paper—how it was made; the effect on trees, soil, and water; the loggers and their lives; and the fuel and chemicals required to process and refine the paper. Thinking about curriculum in this way, Jardine contends, leads to a truly lived curriculum, one that speaks to how humans live their daily lives. In studying one thing, he suggests, one is studying all things, a curriculum that opens doors to the complexity and vitality to which Jardine refers. Rather than offer children mastery of requisite skills and accumulated facts, ecological education in this form aims to offer the skills, knowledge, and understandings to literally live on Earth, to sustain their own lives and the lives of their communities.

Jardine's contributions to ecological theory in large part deal with integrated or connected curriculum. At the heart of this integrated curriculum is attention to a variety of voices of which the human voice is just one among many. Rather than separate learning into predisposed disciplines

such as math and science, integrated curriculum takes advantage of emergent order, and organization must originate from things themselves. Teaching, then, is characterized in part by introducing children to the authority of the ecosystems that sustain them.

### Ecojustice Pedagogy

Ecojustice pedagogy seeks to help communities revitalize sustainable practices through commons-based educational reforms. The *commons* refers to natural systems and cultural patterns that are shared, without monetary cost, by all members of a community. For example, air, water, and forests are aspects of natural systems to which all community members should have equal access. Cultural commons include intergenerational knowledge of food preparation practices, arts, and medicine, among others. Ecojustice educators contend that enclosure of the commons, or the privatization and corporatization of the commons, limits access to and democratic decisions about shared resources.

Ecojustice pedagogy emphasizes the interrelationship among human cultures and the more-than-human world. Specifically, language and thought patterns, or root metaphors, may be evaluated for their juxtaposition to sustainability. Bowers emphasizes the flaws of metaphors such as individualism and anthropocentrism, suggesting that they be replaced by a different root metaphor: ecology. As the root metaphor (pattern of thinking) for ecojustice pedagogy, ecology emphasizes interdependent relationships instead of individualistic pursuits that place higher importance on human progress (over the health of the entire system). Bowers elaborates on how ecology as the root metaphor informs educational processes—that they must respond to the fact that living systems involve conservation, change, and the adaptation of diverse cultural systems. Bowers suggests three areas of focus: (1) environmental racism and class discrimination, (2) recovery of the noncommodified aspects of community, and (3) responsibility to future generations.

### Place-Based Education

Place-based education describes an approach to schooling and to curriculum studies that considers

the local environment of primary importance; learning experiences arise from local contexts. Attachment to place and beliefs about the natural world affect how humans live as global citizens. Understanding what place means to themselves better enables students to understand what place means to others in distant parts of the globe. Four aspects of the human connection to place include the political-psychological, the environmental, the relation between local and global citizenship, and love of place and human flourishing. By reorganizing curriculum to include studies of place, the local environment, and human flourishing, ecological educators strive to help students become better global citizens.

A broad range of initiatives fit under the title place-based education. Not only is place-based education a way to simply incorporate Earth-based themes, but also it serves as a model for whole school reform efforts. However, because the place-based models are place specific, there is no prescriptive framework for what must happen. Instead, David Sobel has offered four philosophical directions that characterize this type of reform.

First is the importance of understanding local limits and learning how to live within our means at a local and global level. For education, this means embracing sustainability as an overarching principle. The second principle moves educators to thinking about schooling as an ecology with interconnected parts that advocates for integrated curriculum that is project based, characterized by teacher collaboration, and involving extensive use of community resources and volunteers. Systems thinking in schools would blur the lines between home and school—between learning and life. The third principle encourages a shift in curriculum that would match the child's developmental needs; it should focus first on the local and immediate before expanding to historical and global perspectives. The schoolyard and nearby habitats provide such a curriculum. The fourth principle urges educators to tailor curriculum around the local environment and culture. Therefore, each school has its own curriculum because it has its own surrounding environment and culture. This curriculum can happen in urban, suburban, or rural environments. These four philosophical directions underscore the importance of teachers in the

school reform process, and schools wishing to use the place-based model are encouraged to hire an environmental education consultant—a teacher whose job it is to support and inform ecological investigations. These four core principles suggest a deeper understanding and exploration of what it means to live in a particular place. Furthermore, these deep understandings are said to restore humanity's adaptive capabilities that will lead to ecological, not just human, flourishing.

In addition to echoing many of the above themes of place-based education, David Gruenewald and Gregory Smith reiterate that place-conscious education emphasizes local diversity and social consciousness. More specifically, Gruenewald and Smith challenge the notion of culturally responsive pedagogy that is not also place responsive. This critical pedagogy of place includes attention to the experiences of people in their total environments—social, cultural, built, and natural—and the associated historical and cultural memory of particular places. In other words, because culture and place are inextricably linked, so should be the educational systems that serve local communities. These educational systems should engage in decolonization, or understanding local forces of oppression, and reinhabitation, the ways in which communities can shift to more sustainable local ways. Children who experience such an education, it is suggested, will then be better able to determine which aspects of contemporary society are worth preserving and which are not.

### Common Roots: Ecological Curriculum Reform

To illustrate several of the above ecological principles, it is useful to turn to an example provided by Joseph Kiefer and Martin Kemple, who discuss their efforts to reform public elementary schools in Vermont based on a pedagogy of place. Common roots is a comprehensive school reform model that sought to connect public elementary schools with the local community knowledge and natural heritage. The impetus for this reform effort was the astounding recognition of statewide hunger in Vermont, a traditionally agricultural state. Therefore, food and gardening became a central educational and ecological principle guiding the curricular reform efforts.

As the project progressed, Kiefer and Kemple recognized the need to further include teachers in their reform efforts. They designed a three-credit university course that was focused on the cultural causes of curricular segmentation and its implications for schooling, for communities, and for the world. Through this course, teachers developed integrated curriculum that formed a schoolwide journey. This journey reflects and explores the community in which the school is situated. Five basic questions framed the curriculum development: Where are we? Who are we? What are we doing? Where can we go? How do we get there? Many themes emerged from their discussions, including how the local community sustained itself for the previous generations and what future generations will need to know and be able to do. Some themes include historic theme gardens through which a variety of foods were grown each year that reflected a particular time in the community's history, school yard habitats through which the local diversity of life was explored and nourished, and cultural literacy through which the customs, traditions, and lifeways of the local cultural and ethnic groups were learned and passed on. Common roots is an example of a comprehensive, community-centered transformation that integrated practical experiential projects pertaining to local history, agriculture, arts, and environmental issues.

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*See also* Ecopedagogy; Environmental Education; Global Education; Problem-Based Curriculum; Project-Based Curriculum; Social Justice

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## ECOPEDAGOGY

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The term *ecopedagogy* is a blending together of the two terms *ecology* and *pedagogy*. Unlike environmental studies, ecopedagogy is not concerned with a particular topic area within science education. Rather, ecopedagogy was coined as a way to think about the nature of curriculum itself and as a way to organize, understand, and teach in all curricular areas. As such, it provides teachers and researchers with an alternative model of curricular theory and practice that steps away from antiquated industrial images of knowledge and learning and that is more in line with a wide range of contemporary research in the natural sciences, the human sciences, and work that explores the place of information and communications technologies in education.

Ecopedagogy was formulated as both a critique of and an alternative to the industrial assembly-line model of curriculum. In this industrial model, curriculum topics are broken down into their component parts, placed in developmental sequences according to rules of efficient, sequential assembly, and doled out one isolated piece at a time to students. Ecopedagogy thinks about curriculum differently than this. It begins with the assumption that curriculum topics are not objects that can be disassembled and whose disassembled parts can be treated as if they are authentically learnable independently of the relations between those parts. Any seemingly isolated curricular mandate or objective is to be rethought in terms of the fields of relations to which it belongs. Ecopedagogy thus draws upon ideas, assumptions, and images from

ecology—interdependence, relationships, landscapes, fields, habitats, generativity, renewal, cycles—and uses these to place or locate curriculum objectives or ideas back into the conceptual and disciplinary locales that make them what they are. Curriculum topics are to be thought of as full of relationships and interdependencies; they are to be thought of as existing in rich and diverse fields of thought. All of the curriculum areas entrusted to students and teachers in schools are thus to be treated as living disciplines rather than piecemeal objects. For example, the first question ecopedagogy asks when addressing a curriculum topic such as quadratic equations or the use of commas in English sentences is not how do I teach this piece of knowledge to students, but rather where does this piece of knowledge belong. What is the field within which this is a meaningful and substantial piece of knowledge? What other ideas, concepts, knowledge, experiences belong in this field with this topic? In other words, the basic questions of ecology are about the topic under question, its topography, its surroundings, and its place. Only then is an ecopedagogical approach to curriculum ready to ask the next question: How do I open up this field of relations for my students and invite them into the work that is proper to this field?

There are several related consequences to the shift to ecopedagogical thinking. First, it involves not only a move from assembly-line consciousness to field consciousness, but also a move from the arms-length objectivity, distance, and disinterest that an assembled object demands to a sense of immediacy, implication, and investment in what one knows. Ecopedagogically conceived, curriculum topics are living inheritances whose life and well-being are placed in the hands of teachers and students. Ecopedagogy therefore requires teachers and students to think about how they are already living in the midst of these topics and what their real life is in the world being passed on to the young. Knowledge, thus conceived, is both intergenerational and ancestral. The Pythagorean theorem, for example, is not just a formula that one can memorize for an upcoming examination, but is a clue to a long, complex history, and an opening into a large field that included right angled triangles, surveying, architecture, art and visual composition, ancient Greek cults, the harmony of the spheres, daVinci's Vitruvian Man, and so on.



This multiplicity is another characteristic of ecopedagogical understanding of curriculum—these curriculum topics are, of necessity, both bounded and open ended. Unlike the assembly-line image where a fragment of knowledge is learned, applied to an examination, and then forgotten, each piece of work adds itself to the enrichment of one's understanding of a field. Lifelong learning, then, is not just an educational cliché, but is in the nature of knowledge as, so to speak, living fieldwork. Living disciplines are not fixable once and for all, but are open to question, extension, and exploration. Therefore, ecopedagogy necessarily links curriculum and teaching to the living practice(s) of knowledge in the world. Who are the experts in this field? Where and how is this knowledge practiced in the world? How can the knowledge explored in the classroom be made public? These are the sorts of questions that ecopedagogy requires. Unlike environmental education, which speaks of the (albeit valuable) practice of getting students outdoors into the environment, ecopedagogy understands all curriculum areas as having an interdependently worldly character.

Ecopedagogy relates to ideas such as multiple intelligences and differentiated curriculum. Each of the curriculum topics entrusted to schools is diverse and multiple. Quadratic equations, for example, are numeric and abstract, geometric and spatial, discursively describable, picturable in images, expressible in artistic forms, visible in the arcs of a tossed baseball or the curves of Frank Gehry's architecture. Ecopedagogically conceived, curriculum topics need differentiation and multiplicity, not just because students have multiple ways of knowing, but because the topic under consideration is itself multiple and diverse.

Ecopedagogy also links to new work in the neurosciences about how learning occurs, to the ways in which new computer technologies rely on an image of knowledge organized as a web, to recent work regarding indigenous peoples' ways of knowing where every seemingly isolated thing is in fact full of all its relations. Finally, with its emphasis on living disciplines, ecopedagogy lends itself to new forms of curriculum study that focus on the life-world of teachers, students, and schools.

*David W. Jardine*

*See also* Ecological Theory; *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*; Environmental Education; Human Ecology Curriculum; Ways of Knowing

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## EDUCATIONAL CONNOISSEURSHIP

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*Educational connoisseurship* is a term used in the field of curriculum evaluation and research to denote a heightened sense of awareness of the subtleties of various educational and curricular phenomena. The term was coined by Elliot Eisner in the early 1980s. Educational connoisseurship is the first condition necessary to engage in the act of educational criticism. Educational criticism is an approach to educational evaluation in which the subtle qualities perceived are rendered in a form that is analogous to the writing of art critics.

Educational connoisseurship implies an ability to see clearly the complexities within educational or curricular commonplaces. In defining connoisseurship, in general, Eisner drew upon the work of John Dewey as he distinguished between the act of recognizing particulars as members of a category or examples of a concept, and the act of *perceiving* qualities within objects, settings, or events that set them apart from all others. Perceiving requires a kind of sensory exploration that goes beyond mere recognition of that which has been previously encountered. One may therefore be a connoisseur in almost any aspect of life, whether baseball, bicycles, beer, artistic sculpture, or curriculum materials. An evaluator or researcher who is an educational connoisseur observing, for example, a classroom will be able to appreciate the unique

character of the activities in which students and teachers are engaged.

How is connoisseurship developed? It begins with a desire to experience and appreciate nuances within a set of phenomena. However, this experience must be developed over time, the result of a sustained, focused effort at perception. Moreover, connoisseurship demands a concentration that provides lasting memories of particular qualities experienced. Memory provides a crucial background against which new perceptions are placed, allowing for finer discriminations of qualities. In classroom settings, therefore, an educational connoisseur must become a student of human behavior or artifacts. This role will usually require, among other things, experience within a variety of educational settings over time that allows for ever more finely tuned comparisons and contrasts to be made.

Eisner also emphasized the importance of a classroom structure within which apprehended particulars are placed (although other theorists have not unanimously agreed with this). Eisner often employed the metaphor of a game of chess to make this point: In order to understand the meaning of the various moves therein, players and onlookers must first be aware of the structure or rules of the game in which particular strategies are played out. Likewise, for Eisner, a deep acquaintance of the educational connoisseur with various theories in the social sciences (and education in particular) is important, along with a broad understanding of educational history. Once again, this theoretical and historical knowledge should serve as a backdrop for richer descriptions of educational phenomena and a prerequisite for wiser educational decisions.

Some critics of the notion of educational connoisseurship have objected to what they see as a sense of elitism connoted by the term. Some have decried it as a privileging of outside experts with specialized backgrounds who offer deeper truths about the meanings inhabiting an educational setting than those available to practitioners and other inhabitants of the setting. It is doubly troublesome to critics when the notion of educational criticism is paired with that of educational connoisseurship. When the so-called insights of an outsider are inscribed into a privileged text, antidemocratic issues of power may come into play.

Proponents of educational connoisseurship and criticism have responded to these objections by insisting that their epistemological intents have been misconstrued. Far from an assertion of objective truths, their critiques, they argue, are meant as careful but fallible accounts to be placed against a variety of similar observations by others (including educational practitioners and administrators) who likewise move beyond an exclusive reliance on quantitative instruments, observation schedules, standardized skill checklists, and the like. Because Eisner saw all human endeavors—including acts of perception and judgment—as inevitably value-based, he cautioned that totally objective accounts are impossible. It is, therefore, crucial, for ethical reasons, that multiple accounts from various vantage points be made available through the processes of curriculum and educational evaluation.

*Tom Barone*

*See also* Curriculum Evaluation; *Educational Imagination, The*; Eisner, Elliot

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## ***EDUCATIONAL IMAGINATION, THE***

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*The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs* (1979, 1985, 1994) is perhaps the most influential book authored by Elliot Eisner in the field of curriculum studies. The book has been widely viewed as greatly contributing to the development and advancement of a school of thought that highlights the importance of aesthetic theory in thinking about curriculum design and program evaluation. Indeed, in 2000, the Museum of Education

at the University of South Carolina designated it as one of the significant books of the 20th century.

*The Educational Imagination* represents Eisner's most successful attempt at bringing his background in the arts (especially the visual arts) to bear on the field of curriculum studies. Although some of the groundbreaking ideas within it were presaged in his earlier writings and public addresses, the book applied an aesthetic approach to educational planning, teaching, and curriculum evaluation in a single textual space. The book thereby presented a coherent alternative to the dominant systematic, science-based tradition of curriculum development, instructional delivery, and assessment of learning.

At the heart of this alternative approach is an emphasis on the importance of the aesthetic elements of imagination, nuance, and context in matters of curriculum. This emphasis was evident throughout, as Eisner made the case for (a) the mapping of a variegated field consisting of six curriculum ideologies, (b) a planning process that welcomed the possibilities of emergent and unpredictable outcomes, (c) the inevitable presence of the null (or untaught) curriculum, (d) a view of teaching as an art rather than as a science, and (e) the perception of subtleties in curriculum commonplaces through educational connoisseurship and within the genre of curriculum evaluation called educational criticism, the use of artistic media in disclosing what has been perceived.

Eisner suggested that curriculum planning and evaluation occur within any of several of what he (first and second editions) called orientations, and later (third edition) ideologies. Each ideology is inevitably value saturated and always, in a democratic society, in competition with the others. These belief systems are, however, rarely fully articulated and publicized; nor, therefore, are the educational aims and goals that flow from them. They are, nevertheless, important to understanding what Eisner identified as the three kinds of curricula taught in schools: the explicit, the implicit, and the null curriculum. The latter notion includes the wide range of items that are neglected or undertaught, within schools. Eisner's conception of the null curriculum may have (at least partly) emerged out of his lifelong advocacy

for the arts in public schools, a subject often considered frivolous rather than basic to the curriculum.

A third important contribution to the field of curriculum studies in *The Educational Imagination* concerns the use of advanced organizers in curriculum planning. Through this book, Eisner popularized and refined his earlier arguments against the dominant view of behavioral objectives as the singularly sanctioned formulation of curricular aims in the planning process. Eisner offered an alternative set of possibilities for identifying educational aspirations within curriculum planning. This was the notion of the expressive outcome. Expressive outcomes, argued Eisner, are not statements of final outcomes specified prior to an educational activity. Instead, they arise within and through educational activities that allow for an array of unpredictable but productive outcomes.

Finally, because Eisner saw curriculum planning and teaching as artful activities, he imagined the possibilities of evaluators employing the strategies of art criticism for understanding and disclosing their most salient features of curriculum commonplaces. To that end, he desired an educational evaluator to be a kind of connoisseur of the subtle dimensions of curriculum and teaching in specific contexts, with the talents needed for artistically disclosing them to an audience in a powerful, aesthetic manner. Eisner included examples of works of educational criticism (most by his students) in each edition of the book.

Tom Barone

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; Arts-Based Research; Arts Education Curriculum; Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Educational Connoisseurship; Eisner, Elliot; Null Curriculum

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## EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

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*Educational Leadership* is the official journal of the ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development), formed out of a merger in March 1943 of the Department of Supervision and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association (NEA) and the Society for Curriculum Study to become the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development of NEA, which changed its name to ASCD in 1946 and became an independent organization.

In October 1943 this new department established *Educational Leadership* as its journal. The publication committee consisted of the representatives from the public schools, education professors from a variety of universities, and the president of the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development. The first editor was Ruth Cunningham, executive secretary of the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development.

The content of the journal was targeted to the membership of this department: supervisors, school principals, professors of education, curriculum specialists, teachers, and superintendents of schools. The title for this journal, *Educational Leadership*, was chosen to appeal to those individuals who were visionary and who could energize their colleagues to move forward to tackle the problems inevitable in a changing educational world. *Educational Leadership* was published monthly from October through May. From its inception, *Educational Leadership* was a themed journal. The first issue, October 1943, was titled “Teaching in Wartime” and included topics related to the patriotic nature of teaching, the teacher shortage, helping emergency teachers, the joy of teaching, and the effects of the changing world on teaching.

ASCD continued to publish *Educational Leadership* as one of the benefits of membership in ASCD. As the journal developed under ASCD, the editor’s role transformed from being the responsibility of the executive editor of ASCD to a full-time position. The first full-time editor of *Educational Leadership* was Robert Leeper, who began his duties in 1950. Many of the features of the journal created under NEA were continued by ASCD: for example, themes continued to direct

the content of the journal; columns focused on various curriculum concerns—“The New in Review”—and included new ideas in curriculum development, reviews of books, films, recordings, and programs and was edited by Alice Miel; I. Keith Tyler coordinated “Tools for Learning”; Henry Harap organized “Front Line in Education”; and Steve Corey developed the “Importance of People.” In 1949, Fred T. Wilhelm, executive secretary of ASCD, included the column “Curriculum Research,” which continued into the mid 1970s. Historically, at least one third of the issues of *Educational Leadership* from 1943 to 1964 were devoted to issues related to curriculum development.

*Educational Leadership* began and continues as a themed journal, soliciting articles focusing on pertinent issues of the time and serves as a source of current information on new ideas, controversial issues, social concerns, and research-based programs for those professionals who continue to work in the educational world.

*Marcella L. Kysilka*

*See also* ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Curriculum Development; Miel, Alice

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## EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHER

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*Educational Researcher* is one of a number of journals published by the American Educational Research Association (AERA). It is unique among AERA journals, however, for at least three reasons. First, it is the only AERA-published journal that is sent to all members of the association. Second, because all members of AERA receive the journal, it is used by the association to communicate various sorts of association business to members of the association. Every May, for example,



the “Call for Proposals” for papers and sessions to be presented at the following year’s association meeting is printed in the *Educational Researcher*. Finally, the *Educational Researcher* does not normally publish studies, per se, or even traditional literature reviews. Rather, the preferred genre in this publication is something akin to the essay.

Each issue of the *Educational Researcher* is divided into three sections. The first section contains what are referred to as feature articles. These articles normally run from 5,000 to 7,000 words. A second section labeled “Research News and Comments” contains somewhat briefer and more narrowly focused discussions of policy issues and controversies that either directly or indirectly impact the practice of educational research. The final section contains conventional book reviews and essays that review related works of different authors or of a single author’s line of research. The *Educational Researcher* has served as a forum in which some of the field’s most disputed questions are debated. During the final quarter of the 20th century, for instance, when advocates of quantitative and qualitative research methods were waging the so-called paradigm wars, the pages of the *Educational Researcher* frequently were used to debate a whole range of methodology-related questions.

In a landmark *Educational Researcher* article, for instance, Sandra Mathison demonstrated why qualitative researchers’ notion of triangulation should not be thought of as a synonym for quantitative researchers’ concept of reliability. Similarly, Alan Peshkin, in another issue of the *Educational Researcher*, presented a compelling case for thinking of qualitative researchers’ subjectivity as a potential asset rather than as an inevitable liability in the inquiry process. Years later, as the 20th century was nearing an end, a newly named features editor, Robert Donmoyer, published an *Educational Researcher* article that explored issues related to editing an association journal in a paradigmatically diverse field such as education.

During the first decade of the 21st century, the *Educational Researcher* has continued to function as a forum in which members of the educational research community can debate important research-related issues. A 21st-century controversy that has received considerable attention on the pages of the *Educational Researcher*, for instance, is the one ignited by the publication of

the National Research Council’s (NRC) report, *Scientific Research in Education*, a report that defined scientific research quite narrowly. Educational researchers who were displeased with the report’s definition often articulated their displeasure in scholarly articles published in the *Educational Researcher*. The journal also published responses to critiques of the NRC report—as well as complete articles—by those responsible for the report.

Undoubtedly, the *Educational Researcher* will continue to serve as a forum in which research-related issues can be debated. In this era of blogs and online message boards, this sort of forum may seem less important than it used to be. Still, there should always be a place for debates built around well-crafted papers in which arguments are carefully rendered and precisely made. At its best, this is what the *Educational Researcher* is about.

Robert B. Donmoyer

*See also* Ethnographic Research; Qualitative Research; Quantitative Research

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## EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE

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The Educational Testing Service (ETS) was established in October 1947 to consolidate five testing offices including the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), Cooperative Test Service, and Graduate Record Office. The ETS received its charter as a nonprofit corporation in December 1947 from its New York office (Princeton University housed the main office). When the ETS was established, there was no national testing agency in the United States, although about 60 million tests were administered

to 20 million people each year. Quickly expanding into a national institution, the ETS was created to produce and administer tests, enhance their technical features, and conduct psychometric research. However, it has never been clear whether the ETS is a testing agency, curriculum clearing house, or personnel records office. The conflation of these functions underlies fundamental questions of testing, curriculum, and class stratification: Is the ETS public spirited or does it preserve private privilege? Are the tests it produces and administers fair? Has its corporate power to standardize curriculum exceeded public mechanisms to regulate this process? The corporation's non-profit status is also perennially thrown into question, given that its first large-scale contract (draft-deferment testing for the Selective Service System in 1951) generated a \$900,000 profit, and its current annual revenue is \$900 million from 24 million test takers.

The ETS's most recognizable tests were produced or acquired in its first two decades and continue to generate a base of revenue and controversy. The *Graduate Record Examination* (1949), *National Teacher Exam* (now the *Praxis Series*; 1949), and the *Test of English as a Foreign Language* (*TOEFL*; 1961), acquired from the CEEB in the mid 1960s, are immensely popular. For example, the *TOEFL* is administered each year in 110 countries for 6,000 institutions to 6.2 million test takers (compare to 600,000 *Praxis I* and *II* exam takers each year). But perhaps the *Scholastic Aptitude Test* (*SAT*), initially developed in 1926 and its derivatives, such as the *SAT Achievement Tests* (*SAT II Subject Tests*; 1934), *Junior SAT* (1937), and the *Preliminary SAT* (1959), are the most renowned and controversial. Although initially called an aptitude test, the *SAT*, it has been argued, has the characteristics and faults of intelligence tests. The aptitude or ability measured is simply the ability to do well in college. Measuring developed ability or educational preparedness to predict college performance, the *SAT* provides objectivity for making tough, meritocratic decisions on admissions and awards. It is defended on a basis that its measures are free of bias. *SAT* test takers increased from 80,000 in 1950 to about 800,000 in 1960, the year the University of California system began requiring the test for applicants. Annual administrations

surpassed one million in 1963 and are currently at about 2.2 million. Increases in the number of students taking the *SAT*, or its rival, the *American College Test*, track college enrollments. Findings of discrimination in testing were common through the 1960s and 1970s, and the *SAT* raised a far-reaching question: Can scores be significantly raised by curriculum?

The commercial test prep or tutoring industry paralleled the expansion of the ETS, and standardization was coincident with testing. In 1976, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) began investigating companies, such as Kaplan, that advertised increases, as much as 150 points, on the *SAT* (total = 1600) challenging the ETS's position that tutoring made little difference. The FTC's 1978 report affirmed tutoring claims, unifying activists for truth-in-testing legislation and access to curriculum. California enacted legislation in September 1978 and New York in January 1980 to require disclosure of test items used in determining individual scores. Also in 1980, Ralph Nader released *The Reign of the ETS*, a scathing 554-page report—a last straw forcing the corporation to reconcile its public profile with its power and monopoly. The tutoring and standardized curriculum market boomed; Sylvan Learning Systems was founded in 1979, and The Princeton Review in 1981. In 1993, Sylvan won an exclusive provider contract to administer the ETS's electronic tests in centers across the United States while landing contracts with city school districts to standardize curriculum for the *SAT II* and other tests throughout the 1990s. ETS is now a multinational corporation including the ETS Global Division and ETS Global BV subsidiary.

Stephen Petrina

*See also* Achievement Tests; High-Stakes Testing; Intelligence Tests; *SAT* (Scholastic Aptitude Test); Tested Curriculum

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## EDUCATIONAL WASTELANDS

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In 1952, Arthur Bestor, a professor of history at the University of Illinois, submitted a series of resolutions to the American Historical Association contending that educational theorists and school administrators devised programs of teacher training that degraded academic subjects. A year later, Bestor published these complaints in his book *Educational Wastelands*. Although Bestor's criticisms fit the views of conservative citizen's groups who disliked the progressive influences in schools, Bestor distanced himself from such reactionaries. As a young student, he had attended Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of the most progressive secondary schools in the country. Praising many of his former teachers, Bestor approved of the genuinely thoughtful progressive education he had received; however, he was disappointed when the faculty had introduced a course called social studies wherein students discussed social problems without the careful analysis typically found in historical studies. Bestor applied the name, regressive education, to this tendency to turn progressive education into anti-intellectual activities.

In *Educational Wastelands*, Bestor charged that two educational movements epitomized regressive education. One was life adjustment training. The other was the effort of the National Education Association's Educational Policies Commission (EPC) to spread comprehensive high schools.

According to Bestor, the life adjustment movement began in 1945 when Charles Prosser drafted a report of a conference of educators that claimed 60% of U.S. youth could not benefit from traditional academic or vocational training. To help this majority of students whom school programs had abandoned, the federal government appointed a commission on life adjustment education, and states such as Illinois offered curriculum programs that offered training in life situations such as selecting the family dentist, maintaining wholesome relationships, and improving one's personal appearance. Bestor noted that the life adjustment movement claimed it would offer solutions to these life situations, but he believed the claim was ironic. Disciplines such as history, sociology, and political science had arisen to offer sustained and

objective critical inquiry to help people understand the sources of social difficulties, and life adjustment education disparaged such academic study.

Interestingly, historians disagree about the importance that the life adjustment movement had on curriculum. On the one hand, Diane Ravitch argues that the life adjustment movement exerted significant influence on teacher training, and the direction of that influence was anti-intellectual. On the other hand, Daniel and Laurel Tanner contend that there were only two commissions on life adjustment education, and these disappeared by 1954, shortly after Bestor published his book. According to the Tanners, the contribution of life adjustment education was to offer critics a label they could deride.

The other and more important object of Bestor's criticism was the EPC. Quoting a supplement of the 1944 report, *Education for All American Youth*, Bestor claimed the members of the EPC wanted schools to satisfy 10 common needs of youth. These included such needs as developing salable skills, maintaining good health, and understanding the rights and duties of citizens in a democratic country. These may be important needs; however, Bestor thought institutions other than schools should deal with them. For example, schools cannot ensure that children maintain good health, but schools can teach students to express themselves accurately in their mother tongues. Further, developing the ability to speak well could enhance people's opportunities for employment, at least indirectly.

When Bestor looked for the authors of the proposals, he found they were members of three groups: professors in colleges of education, public school administrators, and bureaucrats in state offices of education. Bestor said these groups formed an interlocking directorate that dominated public education and that recommended policies for textbooks and curriculum development.

The case of the EPC may indicate that Bestor overstated his complaints. For example, James Conant, president of Harvard University, was one of two university presidents on the EPC in 1944. Furthermore, in 1952, Conant was chairperson of the EPC when the EPC released a report titled *Education for All American Youth: A Further Look*. Noting that the end of World War II did not bring peace to the world, the report urge high

schools to meet the needs of youth; however, the report added that the nation needed experts in science, mathematics, and languages who could aid in the country's defense. Thus, the EPC's revised report included statements about the benefits of academic disciplines.

The important question was whether all students should study academic courses. Bestor declared that all students required sound knowledge of science, history, economics, philosophy, and other fundamental disciplines. Although Conant may have agreed with Bestor's sentiment, the EPC's recommendations offered gradations of academic disciplines to students with differing abilities or interests.

*Joseph Watras*

*See also* Comprehensive High School; Life Adjustment Curriculum

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## EDUCATION AND THE CULT OF EFFICIENCY

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*Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, by Raymond E. Callahan, is widely considered to be the most important and thorough examination of the history of the social efficiency movement in the fields of education and curriculum. The book, published in 1962 and dedicated to progressive educator George S. Counts, offers a classic critique of the scientific management approach to schooling. Although this approach achieved prominence during the first third of the 20th century, many suggest that it underpins the popular imaginary about and administration of schools today.

Callahan meticulously documents the early incursion of the principles of a business model into the organization of schools and the curriculum development process. Explained in the 10 chapters of the book are the principles and mechanisms of scientific management, the negative atmosphere regarding schooling in the second decade of the 20th century, the application of the approach by educators, the work of the educational efficiency expert, the platoon school movement, the new profession of the school executive, and the mainly deleterious results of the movement.

Although the book has held great interest for the field of educational administration, it has also held great consequences for the field of curriculum studies. This result is largely due to the fact that the principles of scientific management were transported into the arena of curriculum design.

The notion of scientific management was the brainchild of business consultant and industrialist Frederick Taylor and introduced to education most prominently by curriculum theorist Franklin Bobbitt. The rationale of school-based scientific management relied heavily on the public school as a business or factory. It was a response to a discontent among the public that schools were spending tax dollars wastefully. An approach based on sound principles of science and business was considered to be an effective remedy for this state of affairs.

For Callahan, however, the idea of school-based scientific management was an approach that, while considered by many to be a panacea for what ailed education, in reality possessed several significant drawbacks. Among them, he argued, were the following:

- Control of the educational process would be removed from the hands of lay people who are presumably the source of a true democracy and placed into the hands of efficacy experts and businesspeople, who would operate in their own specialized interest rather than in the broader interests of the public.
- The scheme radically misunderstands the nature of the educational process as one that is quite simple and merely procedural. Callahan suggests that the plan is naïve in its failure to grasp the complexities of education as a field that is not simply mechanical in nature, but that is fraught



with all of the complexities inherent in human activity.

- The plan mistakenly views school people in terms of a factory metaphor with students as raw materials on an assembly line to be assembled by the workers (teachers with predetermined standardized procedures, cooperatively overseen by supervisors, or school administrators) to ensure efficiency in teaching the greatest amount of material to the greatest number of students in the least amount of time.
- The scheme gave greater power to administrators over teachers who, for Callahan, are closer to students and therefore are more likely to grasp the idiosyncratic needs, proclivities, and talents of each individual child. Moreover, teachers are demeaned in the process, considered to be (as by Franklin Bobbitt) mechanics ordained to follow rigidly received instructions rather than philosophers who are capable of making complex, value-based, professional decisions on behalf of students.
- The scientific management approach is designed to offer scientific certainty in a field that may not be essentially a science and that is instead necessarily one filled with ambiguity and uncertainty. In its desire for absolute comparisons between schools and school people to allow for rewarding the most efficient, scientific management offers a false precision in its focus on learning outcomes that are easily measured over the more complex that cannot be accurately measured.

Tom Barone

See also Cult of Efficiency; Scientific Management

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## EDUCATION OF BLACKS IN THE SOUTH, THE

James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* explores the antecedents and unfolding of Black education in the South. He asserts that the conflict of free labor versus slave labor alongside the socioeconomic political environment of the post-Civil War South shaped decades of Black education and its curriculum debates. This work provides an in-depth examination of the origins of the curriculum in segregated schools.

Preceding legal freedom, Anderson notes that Blacks were drawn to education and founded underground schools for themselves. As the slaveocracy crumbled, efforts to educate Blacks gained support from abolitionists, missionary societies, and benevolent Whites.

By the mid-1860s, the newly established Freedmen's Bureau found 500 Black schools already existing as the formative period for exslaves' education was underway. The curriculum quickly became contentious as Southern Black leaders envisioned a classical and liberal curriculum for literacy, uplift, and socialization. Powerful Northern philanthropists and social engineers wanted stability in the new South.

Anderson describes the initial architecture of the new Black education and curriculum. Hampton founder and leader, Samuel Armstrong, brought his missionary background, military experience with Black soldiers, and understanding of the political economy of the new South to the task. Proclaiming people of African descent as inferior, he felt them teachable and suited to the agricultural and vocational demands of the new economy. Most importantly, Blacks, he felt, needed character education and moral training. He established Hampton as a normal school committed to industrial or trade education and teacher training.

Anderson's exploration of the Hampton curriculum revealed daily course hours in vocational training alongside Bible study, lessons in practical morals, citizenship training, and character building. Respect for property and contracts was a part of the curriculum. Students were taught table manners, cleanliness, and the habits of work. Ideologically, the plight of Blacks was explained in

the Hampton social studies course as natural and that their advancement was best accomplished by social responsibility. These concepts were packaged as the uplift and development of the race. Accommodationism meant Blacks must fit into the social order, not try to disrupt it. The Hampton idea evolved as a merger of pedagogy and accommodationist social philosophy. The curriculum was, in effect, ideology. Hampton became a case study in the political construction of school curriculum.

The last few decades of the 19th century saw the collapse of Reconstruction, a surge in Southern violence against Blacks, the expansion of Northern industrialization, and the consolidation of corporate hegemony. As the century turned, philanthropic foundations became more involved in Black education and the selection of school knowledge.

The curriculum became a major battleground as Northern corporatists made extended efforts to connect with Southern moderates. Anderson chronicles the many conferences; for example, he chronicles Capon Springs, which was attended by corporatists and during which policy was established even though Black educators were excluded. The industrial philanthropists favored manual and vocational training combined with accommodationist ideology instead of a liberal, more classical curriculum. The curriculum of accommodationism, Anderson argues, was sought to maintain Southern racial hegemony while advancing the political economy of the South. The mission of the school curriculum aimed to keep Blacks working in their natural environment. Politically, accommodationist education helped placate and unite the previously hostile Whites of the South with Northern aims.

The new century found expanding Northern industrialization accompanied by a stabilizing agricultural South poised to advance. Black education helped create a kind of semicitizenship, was instrumental in addressing regional tensions, and helped facilitate new demands on the labor market. The Northern corporate industrialists embraced the formula.

Increased philanthropic involvement affected course offerings. Monitors from corporate sponsored boards and committees chastised Black schools for offering classical languages and advanced mathematics. Survey data note that Black schools spread quickly in the pre-World War I

20th century. Teacher training within the accommodationist ideology dominated the curriculum.

The accommodationist idea was not unchallenged. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W. E. B. Du Bois opposed Booker T. Washington as he argued for a liberal, perhaps social reconstructionist, curriculum where Black people could both know and change the world.

Anderson concludes with a discussion of the apostles of liberal culture. He describes the importance, tensions, evolution, and spread of higher education in Black life. Although missionary involvement in Black education differed from the socioeconomic vision of the corporate philanthropists, in the final analysis, both groups accepted Black inferiority and supported a curriculum that taught the Negro to understand his or her place in society.

*William H. Watkins*

*See also* Du Bois, W. E. B.

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## EFFICIENCY

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In the field of curriculum studies, efficiency has come to be seen as the application of business principles to education—an attempt to prevent taxpayer waste while improving the performance of teachers and students. Readers might agree that this is an admirable aim, but many in education feel this desire for efficiency has translated into schools seen as factory plants rather than campuses, teachers viewed as teaching units, students seen as human capital, and learning seen as a product rather than as the acquisition of knowledge. The history of efficiency in education has its roots

in the progressive movement of the early 1900s and is in evidence today in the standards and high-stakes testing that is part of accountability in the early 2000s.

Raymond Callahan does the most comprehensive discussion of the application of efficiency's effects on schools in *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*. He traces the origins of the movement to Frederick Taylor's scientific management, a movement in the business world that was concerned with maximizing production while minimizing cost. This effect was to be accomplished through scientific observation based on task analysis of any given job an employer needed done to manufacture a product. Examples of the application of Taylorism in industry abound and even created a new career: the efficiency expert. Callahan illustrates the transition from business application to education by citing Ellwood Cubberley, a major leader in the new field of educational administration (i.e., leadership) in the early 20th century. Cubberley believed that schools are, in a sense, factories. The raw materials (i.e., children) are to be shaped into products. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of civilization, and it is the job of the schools to build students to the specifications laid down by the public. Cubberley believed that this would demand good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production, and the elimination of waste in manufacture. This view of schools has pervaded the thinking of school administrations from the beginning of this strand of progressivism until today. Importantly, curricular reforms falling under the term efficiency movements have been widespread in countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. Thus, the application of business principles to education had, and continues to have, proponents around the globe.

Today efficiency is best evidenced by the move to standards, testing, and accountability as illustrated by the No Child Left Behind Act. Schools that underperform are closed rather than targeted with extra funds for improvement. Success is defined by the ability to quantify performance. Thus, knowledge is standard, acquired, and regurgitated on high-stakes tests that state departments of education have graded by external businesses rather than by trusting teachers to evaluate student

progress. Further, some authors believe that even the privatization movement in schools is evidence of efficiency due to the belief that competition, a business model in capitalist countries, will yield the most efficient (i.e., effective) schools—in economic terms: maximum bang for the buck! These business models have included consumerism on scoreboards, restrictions on vending machine brands, Channel One with its free televisions in return for forcing students to watch commercials, and outsourcing school cafeterias to fast food companies—all in the name of the efficient use of taxpayer dollars.

Taylor believed that each business required extensive onsite research in order to draw up a plan that would assist that manufacturer to increase efficiency. Many in the field of curriculum studies argue that the simple reduction of students to raw materials and teachers to producers of education removes the human element from schooling. For the curriculum field, the solution is to redefine efficiency in conceptual terms that incorporate not only economics, but also include humanistic and democratic goals. Then taxpayers could feel satisfied that schools were aware of economics, and schools could achieve the true aims of education.

*Barbara Slater Stern*

*See also* Cult of Efficiency; *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*; Scientific Management; Social Efficiency Tradition

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## EIGHT YEAR STUDY, THE

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The Eight Year Study (1930–1942) sought to articulate the relationship between high school and college curricula and to reconceive the purposes of secondary school education. Sponsored by the Progressive Education Association (PEA)

and funded by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, this national project, also known as the Thirty School Study, consisted of three PEA commissions and full-time staffs who worked directly with the faculty of 42 high schools and 26 junior high school programs. Through “exploration and experimentation,” what became a motto for the study, the Commission on the Relation of School and College (formed in 1930 and chaired by Wilford Aikin) addressed how the high school could serve youth more effectively. The Commission on Secondary School Curriculum (chaired by V. T. Thayer and formed in 1932) designed curriculum materials in the areas of general education: science, mathematics, social studies, arts, and language and recognizing that further study of youth needed to be undertaken, established the Study of Adolescence project, coordinated by Caroline Zachry. The Commission on Human Relations (formed in 1935 and chaired by Alice Keliher) prepared social science–related curriculum materials, incorporating the then innovative use of motion pictures, and examined human problems faced by youth. The commissions’ research, publications, and implemented programs conceived and transformed educational practices in the fields of curriculum studies, instruction, teacher education, educational research, and evaluation.

The Eight Year Study offered participating schools the opportunity to redesign their general education curricula from a separate subjects–discipline configuration to an integrated core curriculum (typically incorporating what was called a fused or broad problems core). New curricular materials were required for these programs, and commission staff worked with teachers during 6-week summer workshops to develop resource units, a type of curricular material that offered great flexibility for use in the classroom. Participating school faculty at the more experimental schools practiced teacher–pupil planning (also called cooperative learning) where students and teachers were developing resource units and acquiring materials from resources in the community. The core curricula, resource units, and teacher–pupil planning conceived learning as a series of experiences, balancing student interests with societal and educational needs. The Eight Year Study schools participated in an extensive student testing and

assessment program with a battery of sophisticated tests and inventories assessing student knowledge, skills, beliefs, and values.

One of the most overlooked aspects of the Eight Year Study was its work to use and popularize psychoanalytical discourse at the secondary school level. Caroline Zachry of the Thayer Commission’s Study of Adolescence helped to introduce the use of psychoanalysis as a form of professional development and as a method for teachers to develop insights and new sensitivities toward students. Thayer and Keliher Commission staff included Peter Blos, Erik Homburger (Erikson), and Walter Langer, all of whom worked with Sigmund Freud in Vienna and prepared project reports and materials merging the use of depth psychology with cumulative student records. In what became known as the Zachry Seminar, Eight Year Study staff and teachers would present student cases and analyze motives as a way for participants to reconsider their fundamental educational beliefs.

To correct a popular misconception of the Eight Year Study, the Aikin Commission’s Follow-Up Study (of college success for 1,475 pairs of students) was not the sole purpose of the experiment. Many of the participating schools did not embrace the spirit of experimentation or engage in serious innovation, but the Follow-Up Study, what now commonly defines the Eight Year Study, followed many of the wrong students—those who graduated before secondary school experimentation was even fully underway. Recognizing that great variation existed among the participating schools, the Aikin Commission initiated the study within the study where 323 students’ college records from the six most experimental schools were examined and compared with student records from traditional school matchees and to students from the other Eight Year Study participating schools. These students substantially outperformed their peers on virtually all measures of college success, suggesting that schools could experiment with curriculum design without jeopardizing the future academic success of their graduates.

Another contemporary misconception maintains that the project had no impact on secondary education. The Eight Year Study is the most well-known example of cooperative study. With its participating high schools and junior high schools, this project helped to initiate other cooperative



school study projects during the 1930s and 1940s, including the Cooperative Study in General Education (1939–1945), the Secondary School Study (1940–1947), the Southern Study (1938–1945), the Michigan Secondary School Curriculum Study (1936–1948), and the California Study of Cooperating Schools (1934–1939). Although the Eight Year Study did not eliminate the use of the Carnegie Unit for secondary education in the United States (which was never its originally stated intent), the participating schools displayed a variety of conceptions and practices that greatly influenced the fields of curriculum and instruction, evaluation and assessment, educational technology, professional development, educational policy and leadership.

In addition, the Eight Year Study was not named for an educational experiment that was conducted for 8 years. If funding had been available, the project would easily have continued for 20 years. Eight years referred to the period of interest of the researchers—4 years of high school and 4 years of college—and their efforts to ascertain forms of articulation between the secondary school and college curricula. Other inaccuracies include the spelling of Wilford Aikin's name, which is often misspelled as Aiken.

A careful examination of the mid-to-late 1940s curriculum planning literature calls into question the generally accepted belief that World War II prevented the Eight Year Study from influencing the U.S. curriculum. With the release of the first final report in December 1942, the events of World War II certainly turned attention away from curricular experimentation. Yet, what may have exerted much more pressure and served as a deterrent for school reform was the release of the 1945 Harvard Redbook, *General Education in a Free Society*, which justified the importance of general curriculum and then recommended that high schools maintain a separate subjects–Carnegie Unit high school program, further establishing the strength of the traditional high school disciplines. Few publications have received such national attention as the Harvard Redbook, and its message to high school administrators served to negate the recommendations of the Eight Year Study and further, to confirm that the current secondary school curriculum was philosophically and programmatically acceptable in its traditional form.

The overall intent of the Eight Year Study was not to promote a progressive education curriculum or to compare administrative progressives with pedagogical progressives. Instead, the more successful experimental schools were guided by a unique group of Eight Year Study progressives, who were academically oriented while also recognizing the importance of focusing curricula around the interests and needs of students. Distinct from administrative and pedagogical progressives, social meliorists, and child-centered progressives, Eight Year Study progressives viewed student needs as both personal and social in nature and not merely as expressions of individual interests. Configuring their schools around a conception of democracy as a way of life, they introduced a carefully designed practice of teacher–pupil planning, core curriculum, testing, and program assessment and stressed the importance of disciplinary knowledge. The Eight Year Study proved the importance of educational exploration and served as an experiment in support of school experimentation, implicitly asserting that a healthy school was an experimental school.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Cooperative/Cooperative Studies; Core Curriculum; *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Redbook); Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Psychoanalytic Theory; Teacher–Pupil Planning

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## EISNER, ELLIOT

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Elliot W. Eisner is widely regarded as one of the most prominent and influential U.S. curriculum theorists and arts educationists of the 20th and 21st centuries. Eisner's most significant contributions to the field of curriculum studies pertain to his interests in the cultivation of perception and the promotion of new conceptions of literacy within multiple forms of representation. These interests were central to his lifelong advocacy of the importance of aesthetics and imagination in the general school curriculum; in the curriculum design process; in teaching; in approaches to curriculum research, evaluation, and assessment; and in the transformation of the public school. This entry focuses on Eisner's academic training and educational positions, his primary contributions to curriculum theory, and the awards and honors he achieved.

### Educational Degrees and Academic Positions

Eisner's interests in arts education and curriculum studies were evident early in his career. In 1954, he received his bachelor of arts degree from Roosevelt University in art and education and a year later a master of science degree (in art education) from the Institute of Design at the Illinois Institute of Technology. Eisner taught art for 2 years at a Chicago high school and then successfully pursued a master of arts in education (1958) and a doctorate of philosophy in education (1962). Both of these degrees were from the University of Chicago, where he also taught art at the Laboratory School. After a 3-year stint as assistant professor at the University of Chicago, Eisner was recruited by Stanford University as associate professor of education and art. There his career flourished for over four decades until his retirement in 2006 as Lee Jacks professor of education and professor of art.

### Primary Achievements in Curriculum Theory

For over four decades, in his writing, teaching, and public speaking, Eisner's emphasis on the

aesthetic in curriculum and schooling ran counter to dominant scientific, industrial, and technocratic currents.

Early on, Eisner challenged the behavioral objectives movement of the 1960s, objecting to the notion that all intended learning outcomes must be formulated by curriculum planners in advance of student engagement in an educational activity. Initially labeling his alternative to behavioral objectives as *expressive objectives*, Eisner later coined the term *expressive outcomes*. An expressive outcome was the result of an engagement in an *expressive activity*, within which emerge student purposes. Eisner argued that the unpredictable, emergent outcomes of such activities would and should vary in accordance with the cultural and personal background of the individual student.

A similar argument was later found in his objections to the standards movement that swept the United States, beginning in the 1980s. For the educational community and general population, the definitions of an educational standard were usually elastic, fluid, and vague. Eisner, however, called attention to the origins of the term within the scientific management movement begun by businessman and consultant Frederick Taylor and extended to the field of education through the work of Franklin Bobbitt. Bobbitt equated curricular standards with the standardized measurements of physical objects (steel railroad rails, in particular). For Eisner, therefore, standards (like objectives) implied a rigid, static conformity in learning that was harmful to the development of the imaginative faculties of students and to what he called *productive idiosyncrasy*. Without this quality, he contended, students were less likely to contribute productively to society in a manner suited to their unique personalities.

These ideas located Eisner within the tradition of John Dewey, who saw curriculum planning as largely an organic, holistic, emergent process that fostered a wide range of student meanings. Dewey's emphasis on personal relevance and growth within a larger culture (and school curriculum) was present in an early book by Eisner (coedited with Elizabeth Vallance) that mapped the curriculum field through five conflicting conceptions of curriculum. Eisner's own curriculum ideals partially rested within a kind of cognitive pluralism, a belief that the curriculum must foster

in students an array of capabilities and intelligences that partook, in fact, of both human cognition and emotion.

Pluralism of a methodological sort was evident in Eisner's groundbreaking arts-based approach to curriculum evaluation and educational research. Eisner originally called this approach *educational criticism*. The term implied that evaluators may study and disclose the wide array of meanings within various educational and curricular phenomena (curriculum materials, teacher and student encounters, school architecture, etc.) in the thickly descriptive and interpretative manner of an art critic. The later term art-based more explicitly emphasized the possibility of employing a wide variety of art forms for inquiry and data disclosure purposes.

### Awards and Honors

Eisner's most influential curriculum publications were the three editions of *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs* (1979, 1985, 2002). But this work was only part of a large body of important articles, book chapters, and presentations at professional venues. Recognition of his achievements resulted in many honors and awards. These included honorary doctorates at several universities and colleges worldwide, election to the presidencies of premier educational organizations such as the American Educational Association and the National Art Education Association, and prestigious awards such as the Harold McGraw Prize for Excellence in Education and the Brock International Prize in Education.

*Tom Barone*

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; Arts-Based Research; Arts Education Curriculum; Educational Connoisseurship; *Educational Imagination, The*; Null Curriculum

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## ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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The elementary school curriculum in the United States has long been shaped by societal forces since its original inception in the colonial era. Although the goal of this entry is not to provide an extensive review of historical roots or an exhaustive description of current trends, it does provide an overview of some of the major developments, issues, tensions, and ideas that have greatly impacted and influenced the field.

The scope and sequence of elementary school curriculum are formed by underlying philosophical beliefs and specific ideas about what skills children need to master by a certain age or developmental phase. Today the typical elementary school curriculum is commonly organized on broad areas such as mathematics, language arts, physical education, science, and social studies. This approach is designed to cover a variety of content areas while at the same time facilitating skill and capacity development. As is true of other Western nations, the elementary school curriculum in the United States has had many goals, including instilling civic responsibility, social skills, self-realization, academic skill, and economic efficiency. Scholars also suggest that elementary schools have also had the goal of assimilating children into White cultural norms and of sorting and tracking children from historically marginalized groups into lower socioeconomic status careers. The primary goals of U.S. elementary curriculum have been shaped by historical events, societal values, and local contexts.

### Historical Overview

During the 1600s and 1700s, settlers in the North American colonies established schools that were originally modeled after the schools of their European homelands. This system was based

upon two tracks: one for upper classes and one for children who were of lower socioeconomic means. The first group attended preparatory schools with special attention on preparing White males for college. Schools for lower socioeconomic groups attended church-sponsored primary schools that offered basic subjects such as religion, reading, writing, and mathematics. During the late 1700s, Thomas Jefferson and Noah Webster promoted a movement to create a U.S. version of elementary education. Jefferson asserted that each state should be responsible for providing both females and males a basic elementary education that would be funded by the public. Although this was not established during Jefferson's lifetime, his ideas would have a significant influence on the future establishment of public elementary schools.

During the 1830s and 1840s, a movement started to replace or supplement church-based schools. Sunday schools were established in larger cities to provide religious and literacy education. A second form of schooling, mutual instruction commonly known as monitorials, became popular. This method involved a master teacher who selected older students to tutor and mentor younger students. This method was popular because it provided a relatively inexpensive way to provide a basic education for young children. Initially these schools were fully funded by private donors, but this funding eventually gave way to a public school system in the mid to late 1800s. These schools were purported to be open to all children regardless of socioeconomic status and ethnic background. However, many children were still denied access to schools, particularly those who were African American.

Although widespread, the common school movement was most strongly established in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Common schools were rare in the South until after the Civil War. Initially, most common schools were run in a one-room school house and were focused on basic curricular areas such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. Although some African American children attended common schools in the North, school access was limited until the U.S. Congress founded the Freedmen's Bureau, which created elementary schools for the children of freed slaves. Many of these schools operated until

1872 when the bureau closed down its operations. School access—and the denial of it—continues to be an issue that lives in public debates on schooling.

From 1890 through the 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs ran boarding schools for Native American children that included an elementary unit. Along with a basic curriculum, the primary aim of these schools was to assimilate native youth into White culture. Some continue to question whether schools continue to assimilate children from a variety of cultures.

During the 1900s, the notion that schools are affected by outside influences such as social, political, philosophical, and economic matters began to be considered. Stanley Hall asserted that there should be more activity in the classroom and suggested the child study model of curriculum. This model emphasized that curriculum should be based upon student need and interest. John Dewey agreed that more active learning should be at the heart of the curriculum, but that activity should be meaningful and have a purpose. W. H. Kilpatrick, a student of Dewey's, created the project method, which involved allowing children to select purposeful activities. Although the teacher may select the problem to be solved or goal to be achieved, the children plan and execute the majority of project activities.

In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education published the report *A Nation at Risk*. This report outlined the decline of the U.S. education system and encouraged a greater emphasis on accountability, academic preparation, and standardized curriculum. Building on these ideas, the No Child Left Behind Act, passed in 2001, required that children in Grades 3 through 8 be tested annually in math and reading; low performing schools be identified; and that parents can in some cases receive financial support for tutoring if their children are attending a low performing school. This act began heated debates about charter schools and vouchers. There is currently no national curriculum for elementary schools in the United States; curriculum is generally regulated by state and local districts. The emergence of the standards movement has significantly diminished local autonomy, which some assert is a positive event while other disagree.



### Curricular Issues

Curricular issues also center on content areas, including literacy and language arts, social studies, science, mathematics, physical education and health, and the arts. Each of these areas has its own set of challenges and possibilities for curriculum implementation in elementary schools.

Literacy and language arts has long been framed by the debate between the value of skills versus process or the phonics versus whole language debate. Professionals in this area, such as the National Council for the Teachers of English, assert that this debate unnecessarily divides the field and falsely defines literacy instruction. Rather than position this area on one side or the other, this group and others have attempted to create a common ground for discussion of this area of language and literacy. This perspective is based upon the idea that literacy forms a basis for communication, learning, problem solving and application, reflection, and literary response and expression. Moreover, language and literacy have recently been framed by discussions on how to best meet the needs of second language learners, the value of vernacular speech patterns and language usage (e.g., Black or African American vernacular), and how to facilitate culturally relevant ways to teach diverse students.

Social studies encompass a variety of areas of study including sociology, history, geography, political science, anthropology, and economics. The goals of social studies education are to gain process skills, explore social and emotional aspects such as feelings and values, and apply knowledge. Although social studies has been seen as a valuable curricular area, this subject often gets neglected or is seen as a topic to be integrated with other content areas.

Science courses engage children in both content and process knowledge. Inquiry-based science curriculum has become popular in elementary schools. This approach involves giving students some, but not all information. Key elements of an inquiry-based approach include hands-on activities, ample time to explore, flexibility, and posing high-quality questions.

Mathematics has been regarded as essential to students' success. Curriculum scholars are concerned about what should be emphasized in mathematics classrooms. They are concerned about

imparting useful everyday knowledge, the transferability of knowledge, and how to encourage students to see mathematics as a way of thinking and knowing. From this perspective, math is seen as a way of viewing the world rather than as a set of discrete skills. Along with these discussions, increases in standardized testing of mathematics have created heated debates among educators about what approaches to the teaching of mathematics are the most useful and effective.

Although childhood obesity rates are rising in the United States, physical education and health have been receiving less and less time in elementary school schedules. Physical education's low status leads to space constraints and overenrollment in physical education classes. Debates among educators in this field center on whether a physical education curriculum should be taught by a specialist or even if it can be taught by a generalist. The benefits of physical education are many; these include helping children to learn sportsmanship and health issues (e.g., the value of exercise) and to become coordinated in their movement. Elementary teachers, particularly those who work with young children, value movement as a foundation for learning. Jean Piaget, a Swiss psychologist, asserted that learning is a result of a child's interaction with his or her environment. Based upon this recommendation, many teachers incorporate physical education into their own curriculum. Such teachers consider both fine motor (e.g., cutting with scissors) and gross motor skills (e.g., jumping and skipping) as essential for children to master.

The areas of physical education and the arts have been losing ground in elementary schools due to limited funding and an emphasis on academics and standardized testing. Advocates for the arts often state that the arts deserve more time and attention in schools. Debates over what qualifies as art and what is the purpose of art education continue. Some believe that only fine art, predominantly generated by Western European artists, is of value. Others state a variety of cultural perspectives on what qualifies as art, or cultural art, should be included in the curriculum. There is also a debate over whether art should be included in elementary schools simply because art is of value or whether art should serve the purpose of being a vehicle for other content areas.

### Other Issues and Tensions

A number of other tensions and issues that are being discussed in the public forum concerning elementary curriculum center on how curriculum can meet individual student needs and how curriculum can address broader societal concerns. These issues include the achievement gap between historically marginalized students and those who have been privileged by the system, issues arising from increasing immigration rates, school violence, issues affecting children of poverty, technological advances, and inclusion of children with special needs.

There is a continued tension between two curricular approaches in elementary education: (1) a focus on critical thinking, reasoning, and application and (2) an emphasis on practice, drill, and memorization. This dichotomy is also characterized by the debate between standardized curriculum and active hands-on modalities. This tension begs the question of whether curriculum should be governed by standards and testing or whether the curriculum should generate tests and standards.

Another issue that has arisen in elementary curriculum has been as a direct result of the shifting demographics of our nation's student population. Over the last several decades, our school population has become more diverse while our teaching force has remained predominantly White, middle class, and female. This dynamic has resulted in the need for elementary educators to consider ways in which the curriculum can become more culturally relevant. Likewise, the persistent achievement gap between children from historically marginalized backgrounds and from White middle class backgrounds remains. These issues have placed issues of equity and diversity at the forefront of elementary curriculum.

In addition to cultural understanding, elementary curriculum creators continue to consider how to meet developmental needs of children. Over the last several decades, elementary teacher certification, in some states, has been reorganized from a kindergarten through 6th-grade licensure to a 3rd-grade through 6th-grade certification. This reorganization reflects the idea that early childhood consists of kindergarten through 3rd grade. Regardless of how childhood development is divided, most developmental models include three specific areas: physical development, cognitive

development, and social development. Piaget and his student David Elkind are two scholars who have generated foundational research and theoretical frameworks in this area. Both assert that children suffer when they are presented with curriculum that does not match their developmental levels. Critics of their approach suggest that a strictly developmental model does not appropriately consider issues of race, class, or gender.

A similar tension in elementary curriculum relates to the increasing number of elementary-aged children who are English language learners. Increasing immigration rates have caused elementary educators to consider issues of solely implementing English as a second language instruction or incorporating dual language programs in schools.

Societal changes such as increasing rates of single parent families, same-sex parent families, latch-key children, mental illness, technological change, homelessness, poverty, and family mobility have caused a need for elementary curriculum to consider the needs of a rapidly changing society. Elementary curriculum has been influenced and shaped by historical, political, economic, and philosophical influences. Thus, it has a reciprocal relationship with people in that it is shaped by the people who engage it, and in turn, the people who work in this area and ultimately the children who learn through it are also influenced by changes in elementary curriculum over time.

*Beth Powers-Costello*

*See also* Middle School Curriculum; *Nation at Risk*, A; Scope and Sequence, In Curriculum Development; Secondary School Curriculum

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## EMBODIED CURRICULUM

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*Embodied curriculum* is the curriculum that takes form and shape in the experiences of people and that ultimately becomes part of their lived experience. It puts emphasis on the body, which is regarded as the locus of perception and understanding of the world and the environment, including the classroom and the subject matter. The evolution of the term embodied curriculum takes on historical significance as it enables one to grasp the term curriculum from a strict body of knowledge to be learned independently of people's life experiences to a more liberal way of viewing knowledge and reality—that is, as a mutual and continuous construction and reconstruction and negotiation of what reality is and how it is experienced. This ability gives a new grasp of curriculum, one that considers the several factors that affect the way people view the world.

In a traditional sense, embodied curricula take form and shape in official documents and textbooks and in the knowledge to be learned and are made mandatory by departments of education. This shape and form, however, represents a disembodied curriculum, for it is connected to some external-to-the-self source. In contrast, contemporary literature and discourse on curriculum recognizes the importance of feelings, meanings, expressions, imagination, sensory-motor, and spatial experiences in understanding the world and how lived experience plays out in people's lives and how it becomes part of their curriculum. The incorporation of bodily experience in curriculum theory raises issues of objectivity and subjectivity of knowledge and reality and questions pertinent to what is known and what is supposed to be known by individuals. The notion that knowledge and reality are static and outside of the self is replaced by the view that the world is

also constructed in the way we experience it and understand it, a mutual exchange between reality and individual perception.

Embodied curriculum is to be traced in the progressive history of integrated and core curriculum argued by John Dewey in 1902 in his effort to eradicate disembodied, externally imposed curriculum. The focus, he argued, should be on the creation of personal and public meaning through the connection of school curriculum with the lived curriculum of children. Constructivist approach, experiential learning, and learning by doing, all represent the embodiment of lived experience in the curriculum. Embodied curriculum is also traced in phenomenology, which is the study of lived experience, a connection nicely exemplified by Max van Manen. Embodied curriculum represents all that which contributes to and comprises a deep understanding of the meaning of everyday experiences. This understanding is further stretched out in the work of William Pinar, who aesthetically imagined *currere* as a core of curriculum inquiry, a reading and writing of the self in relation with the world.

Later on, in 1980s, scholars connected the notion of embodied curriculum with feminist literature, an extension of the curriculum reconceptualization movement. Janet Miller, working with autobiography, explored relationships among gender identity, the self, and others and how these relationships are embodied in the breaking of silence, which is the silence of women's experience. In examining conversations with women, Miller studied the way larger social imbalances of control and power, hierarchy, and imposition are part of these women's lived experiences, and it is manifested in their gender. Also, the work of Madeleine Grumet, informed by psychoanalysis, phenomenology, autobiography, political, and feminist theory, illustrates that knowing resides in intersubjectivity. Grumet also exemplified the importance of gaze and touch, which internalize experiences, making them part of one's lived experience.

Embodied curriculum focuses on the role of the human body in understanding the external world. Mark Johnson's work on the body in the mind and the mind in the body and his arguments about objectivity and subjectivity create another dimension to the way curriculum, knowledge, and reality are understood. Objectivity points out the

uniqueness and authenticity of knowledge that accepts no other meaning than the one externally imposed, whereas subjectivity accepts the body as the locus of complex meanings and interactions with the environment. Educators, despite the testing and standards implemented by official mandates and curricula, are called to make use of theirs and their students' bodily experience and to challenge the several meanings generated by the way reality is individually understood, partly due to the constraints of the sensory-motor activity of the body.

*Nikoletta Christodoulou*

*See also* Core Curriculum; Currere; Feminist Theories; Outside Curriculum; Phenomenological Research; Psychoanalytic Theory; Reconceptualization; Ways of Knowing

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## EMPIRICAL ANALYTIC PARADIGM

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The empirical analytic paradigm in curriculum studies derives from intellectual traditions of empiricism and philosophical or conceptual analysis. Empiricism refers to derivation of knowledge from experience, usually by scientific inquiry, and the analytic tradition in philosophy gives careful attention to definitions of concepts and related dimensions of language. Thus, the empirical analytic paradigm in curriculum studies bespeaks this orientation applied to curriculum matters.

The curriculum field began at the onset of the 20th century with an orientation to inquiry that melded everyday problem solving with prescriptive philosophizing derived from an amalgam of philosophical traditions: realism, idealism, scholasticism, naturalism, and pragmatism. Based on these origins, curriculum inquiry prior to 1950 was

geared primarily toward developing and revising curriculum for schools. In the 1950s, when normal schools, the main purveyors of teacher training, sought credibility in academe and joined with 4-year colleges and universities, they felt obligated to become more research oriented. Thus, they moved from what William Pinar has labeled traditionalists to conceptual empiricists. Conceptual empiricists utilized forms of inquiry from the empirical analytic paradigm. Enamored by successes in science and technology, they attempted to develop a science of education and more specifically of curriculum development and design. Thus, they patterned their inquiries after natural sciences and developed research, development, and dissemination models. By the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, scientist and curriculum theorist Joseph J. Schwab thoroughly critiqued this move to achieve intellectual credibility. He argued that these would-be researchers used a language of inquiry that did not fit the kinds of problems faced in curriculum. Using Aristotle's distinction between theoretical and practical inquiry, Schwab castigated advocates of conceptual empirical or empirical analytic inquiry as being too theoretic in the sense that theoretic meant starting from a problem source in the state of mind of researchers, one that defines problems across many situations based on similarities and ignoring differences that make the situations unique. He argued for practical inquiry that focused on actual states of affairs separately, not unwarranted generalizations. Similarly, he criticized the method of inquiry that can be characterized as induction and hypothetical deduction for fostering generalized knowledge and misguided attempts to derive laws of education akin to laws of gravitation or motion in physics. Instead, he advocated inquiry through interaction with situations and their contexts or milieus and said that practical inquiry is content with situationally specific insights. Finally, he criticized the end of theoretical, conceptual empiricist, and empirical analytic inquiry for seeking knowledge qua knowledge, or more sarcastically, for the sake of publication only, and he advocated ends of knowledge that provide ethically and politically defensible decision and action.

Schwab's critique of empirical analytic inquiry was shared by many, and in the 1970s, he warned on many occasions of the inappropriateness of



mimicry of natural sciences. In fact, he contended that the mimicry was based on vastly delayed understanding. For instance, the statistical empiricism adopted and adapted by social scientists and educational researchers in the early 20th century was already outmoded for natural sciences, which had moved into more theory-oriented work, and by the time social scientists and psychologists took up theory, natural scientists had moved to situational analysis, which is akin to the practical inquiry that Schwab advocated for the curriculum field. Schwab also criticized the propensity for specialization that narrows perspective and is a strong feature of empirical analytic work. He declared that specialists in related disciplines (education, sociology, anthropology, psychology) are unaware of relevant knowledge among such disciplines. He considered it even more harmful that researchers in subdivisions within disciplines or areas of study are unaware of insights in adjacent subdivisions (e.g., cognitive, clinical, development, behavioral, and psychoanalytic psychology). Finally, he railed against the propensity of educational researchers to seek credibility at even the cost of integrity, instead of creating inquiry that fits the subject matter with which they need to inquire.

The critiques by Schwab, Pinar, and others offered alternative paradigms of inquiry through which curriculum studies could engage a richer range of understandings. Schwab called for practical, quasi-practical, and eclectic forms, while Pinar and others called for reconceptualization of inquiry by pursuing discourse communities that focus on history, political economy, race, gender, biography, autobiography, aesthetics, phenomenology and hermeneutics, deconstruction, postmodern perspectives, theology, and international perspectives. In a current postparadigmatic context, curriculum studies today does not rely on one guiding paradigm. It flows among many depending on the kinds and qualities of inquiry being pursued.

Within this broader perspective, empirical analytic inquiry remains an important form of inquiry; scholars are able to tap its strengths and avoid its limitations. Positively, it can be argued that this is the form of inquiry that brought humanity many benefits, from wonder drugs to skyscrapers, from elevators to air conditioning, from the printing press to the personal computer. The networks of transportation, communication, and health services

that have derived from empirical analytical inquiry can hardly be denied. However, neither can the misuses of testing in education and societal sorting, instigation of war materials and involvements, devastation of the environment, and corporate colonization of myriad impoverished areas of Earth. These, too, have been enhanced by empirical analytic inquiry.

Nevertheless, the central method of empirical analytic inquiry is very much alive and continues to have great influence. The method involves the following: experiencing a felt need for overcoming a dilemma, conceptually clarifying dilemmas into a problem that can be investigated, systematically investigating the context of problems, surveying literature and professional expertise to gain all knowledge associated with a problem in question, formulating hypotheses or educated possibilities for resolving the problem, imagining the consequences of acting on the hypotheses, selecting and applying the hypothesis that seems to have greatest potential to solve the problem, studying the intended and unintended effects of the application, and revising to forge even better resolutions.

Such empirical analytic work requires acceptance of values of validity, reliability, objectivity, and replicability. It posits principles of control and certainty that adherents to other paradigms do not accept. It seeks law-like findings while realizing that any counterexample can negate or falsify a generalization. To the chagrin of adherents of other paradigms, it assumes that empirical analytic methods of inquiry are value free, as are verifiable findings. Others, too, assume that empirical analytic inquirers accept the dominant view of social reality while multiple views potentially exist simultaneously. Empirical analytic inquiry values efficiency and parsimony, asserting that despite criticism this orientation to inquiry produces what works. As such, and despite the substantially increased acceptance of many different forms of inquiry, empirical analytic inquiry remains the dominant form of inquiry in educational research today. Clearly, it is the most widely touted orientation to research that serves as a basis for policy that influences curriculum; No Child Left Behind (NCLB) is an example. Criticisms of the empirical analytic paradigm may be focused more on misuses, such as in massive testing in NCLB, or in other simplistic interpretations, than it is on the

uses of science and careful conceptual analysis that accompanies empirical analytic inquiry at its best. Nevertheless, it remains open as to whether the phenomena with which curriculum studies is most fully concerned can be understood best through applications of empirical analytic inquiry or through other forms and the paradigms that facilitate them.

*William H. Schubert*

See *also* Curriculum Evaluation; Curriculum Inquiry; Paradigms; Ways of Knowing

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## ENGLISH EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Central to the intellectual field and professional practice of English education is a curriculum of great complexity. Although its focus might be defined simply in terms of reading and writing skills and experiences, the historical contest over the content, purpose, and process of English education demonstrates that literacy is inextricable from the complexities of culture, ideology, psychic life, and social power. Moreover, unlike other areas of the school curriculum, English education centers study the very language through which teachers and students communicate. Even when bound by reform efforts focused on the basics, therefore, the English curriculum is continuously unsettled and reshaped by the literacy practices and experiences that are its focus.

The complexity of curriculum in English education can be further understood when viewed through the lens of curriculum studies. Outside the field of curriculum studies, many limit the definition of curriculum to official school content. Given the present culture of schooling, therefore, curriculum is most often understood to be a standardized body of knowledge mandated by local, state, and national organizations and aligned with state and federal assessments. The field of curriculum studies, in contrast, has advanced a more expansive concept of curriculum. Curriculum scholars do speak to its institutional forms, but they also explore the symbolic implications of the concept, drawing attention to the lived experience, cultural context, ideological content, and social underpinnings of education.

In *What Is Curriculum Theory?* William Pinar argues that curriculum is a nexus of public and private discourses and experiences, a complicated conversation that includes but exceeds formal school knowledge. This metaphor is particularly apt for education in the English language arts. If educational reform efforts have diminished the conversation between practicing teachers and curriculum theory, teachers of English nonetheless remain concerned with the problems and possibilities of communication in various rhetorical contexts—concerned, in other words, with the complexity of conversation. English teachers may, therefore, be in a privileged position to renew the relationship between teachers and the field of curriculum studies and to show, as many curriculum scholars argue, that teachers and students are fundamentally agents of curriculum inquiry and development. The potential for teachers of English to deepen the conversations in which they and their students participate is evident in the current professional practice of English education.

In schools in the United States, teachers of English instruct students in their use of the English language, supporting their growth as readers and writers in personal, professional, social, and academic situations. To help students negotiate obstacles and experience success in their literacy development, English teachers draw from a broad range of cultural, theoretical, and methodological resources. As a result, curriculum in the English classroom is most often richly intertextual—that is, it represents the interplay among literature, film, music, plastic arts, and multimedia texts;

among theories of linguistics, literary criticism, rhetoric, composition, and education; and among a host of pedagogical strategies for teaching the language arts.

The academic field of English education shapes the curriculum both through the preparation and professional support of teachers and through its research into the teaching and learning of English. Professional development networks established through the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), the International Reading Association (IRA), and the National Writing Project also provide English teachers valuable support in their role as curriculum developers. By tapping into this support, conducting teacher research, and understanding their power to enrich and diversify the curriculum, teachers of English have significantly improved English language arts education.

Advancements in English education demonstrate that many teachers have attempted to transcend a tradition of rote learning focused on the formal features of language and an insular curriculum focused on White patriarchal culture. Literature instruction in schools, for example, increasingly foregrounds the personal experience of reading, the complex transaction between the reader and the text, and the value of texts that represent diverse cultural experiences. Many English teachers integrate a wide variety of textual forms in language arts education; along with developments in multicultural literacy, therefore, the inclusion of young adult literature, multimedia genres, and students' self-selected texts in the English classroom has significantly challenged the traditional canon of White male writers.

Current writing instruction has also moved beyond formalistic approaches to education. Once focused exclusively on the grammar, organization, and mechanics of writing products, writing instruction in schools now frequently supports students' idiosyncratic and recursive moves through the writing process. Students in English classes now compose texts for multiple purposes and audiences, and they develop their writing skills through journal writing, peer review, visual mapping, and electronic communication. The formal elements of language study are more often contextualized in the processes of reading and writing. And many teachers help their students

understand the relationship between the dialects in which they speak and conditions of social power. Finally, in the English classroom, creative uses of computers, video technology, and the arts have helped students of English engage more deeply in the processes of research, social critique, and self-reflection.

Despite significant advancements in the professional practice of English education, teachers of English currently face the challenge of greater standardization of the curriculum. Unlike those standards of learning aligned with high-stakes tests, however, NCTE and IRA have provided nonprescriptive guidance for the development of English language arts curricula in their publication *Standards for the English Language Arts*. The complicated conversation that is the English language arts curriculum, therefore, is currently characterized by a tension between, on one hand, teaching students to master discrete and measurable literacy skills and on the other hand, teaching students to explore and integrate diverse ideas, experiences, textual practices, and cultural perspectives.

Brian Casemore

*See also* English Education Curriculum, History of; Language Arts Education Curriculum; Reading; Reading, History of; Whole Language/Reading Issues

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## ENGLISH EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The English education curriculum is the body of knowledge and experience that comes to form in the teaching and learning of English. Its sources are multiple. Various groups in the history of English education have argued for the centrality and even the primacy of a particular element of the curriculum—grammar, literature, or student experience, for example. The fact remains, however, that what comes to form in English education is a complex intermingling of discourses, practices, texts, social forces, and subjective experiences. The history of this curriculum is revealed in the way it has been defined from various perspectives over time. The following account represents major trends in the conceptualization and institutionalization of the English education curriculum, highlighting key developments in theory and praxis as they occurred chronologically.

The teaching of English in the United States can be traced to forms of literacy education that existed in classical antiquity and in the Middle Ages. But the historical events that have most influenced English education in the United States occurred as the nation developed, as educators taught reading and writing in colonial dame schools and in the common schools of the 19th century, conceptualized English as a discipline and school subject, expanded the English curriculum during the Progressive Era, and struggled to understand the teaching of English in the wake of numerous competing educational reform movements.

### Early Instructional Texts and Practices

Literacy instruction in the early years of the country reveals ideas about language and learning that continue to influence English education today. Elementary reading instruction, for example, has origins in the use of religious primers in the 17th and 18th centuries. The earliest primers in English were translated from Latin devotional texts, and over time they were integrated with ABC spellers, thus formally linking moralistic content and basic language instruction. In the U.S. colonies, *The New England Primer* was the most successful of these instructional texts. First published around

1688, it was the predominant form of reading instruction for over a century. Noah Webster's language books appeared in the late 18th century, *The Blue-Backed Speller* becoming the most popular. With these texts, Webster sought to standardize spelling and pronunciation, to establish a uniquely U.S. English, and to foster patriotism and ethics in youth. McGuffey Readers, first issued in 1836, were also influential in the history of reading instruction. Leveled readers designed for multigrade level classrooms provided elementary students with moralistic content in excerpts from informational and literary texts, further defining reading instruction as a process of inculcating ethical and cultural values.

In his seminal historical study *Tradition and Reform in the Teaching of English*, Arthur Applebee elaborates on the way these early instructional texts and practices represent beliefs that surface in various ways throughout the history of English education. Moreover, Applebee charts the development of English teaching from disparate forms of language instruction, through the formation of the discipline, to the professional practice of the 1970s.

The educational practices that would eventually coalesce in the discipline of English found legitimacy in the secondary schools and colleges of the 18th and 19th centuries by upholding the theory of mental discipline rooted in the faculty psychology of the time. Modeled on the grammatical study of classical languages, instruction in English grammar called for students to memorize rules, analyze sentences, and correct errors. Grammar achieved a prominent place in the curriculum because of its supposed exacting use of mental faculties and its apparent contribution to the effort to standardize U.S. English.

The study of written and oral expression, like the study of grammar, was guided by prescriptive, rule-oriented instruction during this early era of U.S. education. The college curriculum provided space for these rhetorical studies. Even as works of English literature found their way into this curriculum, the focus remained on their conformity with and deviation from rhetorical laws and principles. Literature, particularly modern literature, presented a challenge to instruction rooted in a classical tradition. Though it could serve as the object of rhetorical analysis, it did



not, of necessity, require the student's use of mental discipline. By engaging the imagination and by inspiring emotions, many believed, literature posed a threat to the order of reason, a perception of literature that would have to be surpassed for the discipline of English to fully emerge.

### English as a Discipline and School Subject

By the end of the 19th century, romanticism justified the ascendancy of literature to a form of knowledge that could restore cultural values. Published in 1867, Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* praised culture as the collective fabric of human experience, inspiring U.S. educators to embrace literature as a medium for the transmission of culture and as a form of resistance to the destruction of traditional U.S. values. Philology provided the methodology perceived rigorous enough to support the civilizing study of modern languages. In 1876, the philologist credited with centering literature in the emerging discipline of English, Francis James Child, became the first professor of English literature in the United States.

In 1892, the Committee of Ten organized by the National Education Association formed subject matter groups to clarify the purposes of secondary education in the United States. The Conference on English undertook the tasks of providing coherence and balance to the various elements of the discipline (grammar, rhetoric, philology, literature) and aligning the English curriculum across the secondary and postsecondary levels. With its report in 1894, the conference established English as an official subject in the high school curriculum, emphasizing the now distinct and often conflicting dimensions of the field: communication and literature.

At this time, the National Conference on Uniform Entrance Requirements compiled a list of literary works to be included on college entrance exams, a practice that largely determined the content of the high school English curriculum until 1931. Protests against the use of these canonical lists led to the founding of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) in 1911. Although founded in response to a particular policy issue, NCTE quickly moved to the fore of the profession and now shapes the breadth of research, policy, and practice in the field. NCTE's widely read publication *English*

*Journal* was first issued in 1912. In 1914, teachers of public speaking separated from NCTE to form their own professional organization, and in 1956, debates over elementary reading instruction led to the formation of the International Reading Association (IRA). IRA has since grown to address all aspects of the language arts, and it now publishes several influential journals. Finally, in 1949, the Conference on College Composition and Communication formed within NCTE to focus on the teaching of writing. Though initially directed toward teachers of freshman composition, the organization and its journal now address issues of writing instruction relevant to teachers throughout K–16 schooling.

### English Education in the Progressive Era

The Progressive Era in U.S. education—roughly the first half of the 20th century—was a period of fecundity in educational thought that fostered new perspectives on the school curriculum generally and on the English education curriculum specifically. Significant developments in the understanding of students, schools, and society expanded the field's concern with disciplinary subject matter to include the complexity of student experience. As John Dewey and Jane Addams advanced ideas about the essential role of education in the development of democratic society, they called attention to the range of experiences—cultural, socioeconomic, linguistic, and political—that inform the particular educational journeys of students. Research in the emerging field of educational psychology also drew attention to human development, inviting educators to consider how students' interests and developmental needs might become the foundation of curriculum and instruction. As a result, many educators began to value the goal of having students enjoy literature. While maintaining the argument for literature as a medium of moral education and cultural transmission, teachers sought to enhance the role of experience in these educative processes and began to look outside of the traditional literary canon for texts to include in the English curriculum. Modern texts in a range of genres found their way into the classroom, and literature created for students of particular age groups proliferated. Literature for adolescents, for example, found a strong advocate

in Dora V. Smith, who in the 1930s offered a course on the subject at the University of Minnesota and helped popularize the burgeoning genre.

Several curriculum models appeared during the Progressive Era that informed the teaching of English, including the project method, a framework for centering purposeful activities in the classroom, and the correlated curriculum, a design concept promoting the integration of knowledge and experience across different subject areas. In 1935, the NCTE Commission on the Curriculum, seeking to establish coherence among multiple popular approaches to English education, published the influential report *An Experience Curriculum in English*. Resisting curricular prescription, the commission articulated the value of educational units conceptualized as domains of experience that could be structured progressively and coherently within a school year and across grade levels. Significant outcomes of the report were a de-emphasis on formal grammar instruction, a deepening of concern with educational experience, and an increase in literature textbooks organized around experiential units. Over the next 20 years, these curriculum models would profoundly affect conversations among English teachers, providing a foundation for understanding the English curriculum as an integrated network of language arts. Criticism of progressive education in the 1940s and 1950s would eventually diminish efforts to enhance the experiential dimensions of the English curriculum. Among the critics was Mortimer Adler, who in 1940 published *How to Read a Book*, a work that popularized the Great Books curriculum and called for a return to the culture and discipline of the Western intellectual tradition.

Literary scholarship from this period has significantly shaped understandings of text and textual experience. I. A. Richards's influential *Practical Criticism*, published in 1935, was a precursor to both the new criticism and reader response movements in literature theory. In this work, Richards employed reader response methods, analyzing the reading strategies and interpretive struggles of his students; however, Richards is most often associated with an opposing theoretical camp, new criticism. The new critics, among them Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, turned to Richards, even as they resisted his interest in reader responses,

because his practice of close reading supported their conception of the autotelic or self-enclosed text. Louise Rosenblatt's *Literature as Exploration* was published in 1938. A fuller conceptualization of literary experience than the one introduced by the Commission on the Curriculum, Rosenblatt's important work drew attention to the complex emotional and aesthetic experience that subtends any individual's reading process. Although new criticism remains influential today in instructional practices that emphasize the formal elements and purportedly determinate meanings of texts, reader response theory now also significantly informs the curriculum, as many teachers of English across all grade levels invite students to explore the subjective and social character of their literary experiences.

### Curriculum Reform: 1950s to the Present

The National Defense Education Act of 1958, prompted by the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* and rising fears about deficiencies in U.S. education, focused on improving education in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. NCTE's Committee on the National Interest, however, eventually compelled Congress to provide funding for English by pointing to insufficiencies in the preparation of English teachers. English, nonetheless, remained lower in a curriculum hierarchy dominated by math and science as leaders in the field of English education attempted to define the subject as a specific body of knowledge.

In the wake of Jerome Bruner's 1960 publication *The Process of Education*, the Commission on English organized by the College Entrance Examination Board attempted to define Bruner's concept of the structure of the discipline. The commission's report emphasized a conception of the English curriculum that remains influential today: the tripod curriculum of language, literature, and composition. Another reform project of the 1960s that followed Bruner's theoretical framework was Project English. Sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, Project English created centers at several universities for research, curriculum development, and teacher preparation in the field of English education.

For many teachers and scholars, the Anglo-American seminar on English education held at

Dartmouth College in the summer of 1966 represents a significant turning point in the history of the field. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the seminar involved leading scholars and teachers from the field of English education in the tasks of defining the subject of English and determining how it should be taught. The Dartmouth Seminar represented diverse perspectives on the field and initiated a dialogue of such complexity that no consensus on the definition of English could be reached. The conference, nonetheless, came to symbolize the movement away from a formalistic English curriculum, focused on a literary canon and language structures, and toward a personal growth model of language use, centered on expressive writing, creative process, and subjective responses to literature. In 1967, John Dixon reported his perspective on the conference in *Growth Through English*. An era of experimentation in English education that began at Dartmouth continued through the 1980s as teachers explored a range of whole language, reader response, and writing process pedagogies.

As these new orientations to English education took hold, significant critiques emerged. Critical theorists, for example, identified the personal growth movement's neglect of the social and political contexts of language use, while traditional educators attempted to reestablish the view of English as a specific body of knowledge and skills to be transmitted to students. In the midst of these tensions, *A Nation at Risk* and related reform efforts found teachers largely culpable for the failure of U.S. schools. Rather than providing opportunities for exploring and expanding the English curriculum, these reforms have caused English teachers to become entrenched in issues of standardization, testing, and accountability. Given these challenges, the history of English education is worthy of much study, for it is through such study that teachers of English will find as yet undisclosed patterns, tensions, and ruptures in the field opportunities—that is, for shaping and understanding the English curriculum now unfolding in the 21st century.

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*See also* English Education Curriculum; Language Arts Education Curriculum; Language Arts Education Curriculum, History of; Reading; Reading, History of; Whole Language/Reading Issues

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## ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

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Environmental education emerged in the 1960s as the term for the educational dimensions of the environment movement that, at that time, was concerned about air and water quality (pollution), the growth in world population, continuing depletion of natural resources, and environmental degradation. Early definitions were framed as being aimed at producing citizens that are knowledgeable about the biophysical environment and its associated problems, aware of how to solve these problems, and motivated to work toward their solution. Some proponents trace the roots of environmental education in the United States to conservation education and the liberal–progressive educational philosophies of, for example, John Dewey. Much of the activity in environmental education in the United States continues this tradition,

and some writers attempt to truncate discussion of any alternatives.

### Objectives and Guiding Principles

Curriculum objectives relating to awareness, knowledge, attitude, skills, and participation have been continuing themes in the development of the field of environmental education. One change of emphasis, however, has been in the scope of the environmental focus that has shifted from the biophysical environment to the total environment—natural and built, technological and social (economic, political, technological, cultural-historical, moral, aesthetic)—to the three pillars of sustainable development—environment, society, and economy.

In the 1970s, as a result of the 1972 United Nations (UN) Conference on the Environment, the formation of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), and several United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)–UNEP intergovernmental conferences on environmental education, a set of goals and objectives for environmental education were agreed upon that have continued to form the fundamental principles for the field. However, through successive UN meetings, environmental education has evolved over past decades to have a contentious relationship with the more recently described area of education for sustainable development.

Environmental education has been interpreted as both curriculum product and curriculum process. It requires a change in the curriculum content to include the knowledge and skills that were seen as an essential component of the area, but it is also a way of learning associated with changing attitudes, behaviors, and participation in society.

A complicating factor for environmental education as both a product and as a process has been that it does not neatly fit into any traditional subject areas of the curriculum, and its interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary nature has meant that it has often been marginalized in traditional schooling as a result.

Although there was an apparent consensus about the goals, objectives, and guiding principles for environmental education in the period immediately following the 1977 Tbilisi UNESCO–UNEP intergovernmental conference, this consensus also

included a dissatisfaction with what had been produced, a dissatisfaction that subsequently led to a variety of contestations about the field. These contestations include the nature of the view of curriculum appropriate for environmental education, how environmental education is implemented in the formal curriculum, truncation of discussion on the nature of environmental education, the implications for education of the holistic nature of environmental problems, and the socially constructed nature of the environment and of education.

Some of the contestations had also occurred during the preceding 1975 Belgrade UNESCO–UNEP international workshop on environmental education. For example, many of the authors of position papers, who were mostly from the developed world, reflected the biases of educational structures and environmental concerns of their countries. Their papers were about the curriculum and needs of environmental education without reference to the nature and special characteristics of the environmental situation itself: for them, environmental education was like any other subject or new theme in the curriculum. However, other participants from the developing world drew attention to the *raison d'être* of environmental education being the world environmental situation and that the characteristics of that situation—not those of traditional education—should provide the framework and criteria for this education.

### Curriculum Approaches

Increasingly through the years since the Tbilisi and Belgrade meetings there has been discussion of an appropriate educational paradigm for environmental education. Although many persist in trying to accommodate environmental education within a traditional view of the curriculum, others have argued that there is a need for a different approach.

In his 1972 Ohio State University doctoral dissertation (published in book form in 1979), Arthur Lucas proposed a model for environmental education as being education in, about, and for the environment that has become a mantra for the field. Subsequent discussions highlighted that while education for the environment most characterizes the intent of environmental education as being about motivating people to resolve environmental problems,



this is readily converted to education about the environment at the classroom level and incorporated into the traditional curriculum. Environmental education as education in the environment or about the environment became common in school curricula in the Western world in the 1970s and 1980s. Environmental education as education for the environment and with environments developed more in the 1990s with the growth of socially critical education.

In the 1980s, an ERIC/SMEAC survey of U.S. state education agencies requesting information about how schools include environmental topics in their curricula found that environmental education is generally accomplished through infusion or insertion of discrete topics in association with science curricula, although a range of possible positions and mechanisms is possible. The more traditional forms of environmental topics—nature study, outdoor education, and conservation education—were commonly noted, although energy education occurred more often.

A well-known example of this type of environmental education is Earth education, as developed by Steve van Matre during the 1970s. This “green” approach is a self-proclaimed alternative to environmental education that aspires to be the educational arm of deep ecology. It aims to help learners build a sense of relationship with the natural world and to directly interact with the living things around them. Earth education programs and activities encourage the development of sensory awareness and ecological concept building with particular emphasis on the big picture in understanding life. Earth education explicitly rejects the shallow environmentalism of much conventional nature study and seeks instead to develop the kind of identification of humans with nature to which deep ecology aspires.

In contrast with the individualistic approach of Earth education, a socially critical curriculum is conceived as engaging students in social problems, tasks, and issues and giving them experience in critical reflection, social negotiation, and the organization of action, both individually and collectively. In a socially critical curriculum students are engaged in social practices and social structures immediately and not merely prepared for later social participation. The emphasis is on society and the individual in society rather than just the

individual and is therefore a more “red” than green approach to ecopolitical action. The rhetoric of environmental education uses similar language. For example, UNESCO publications from around 1980 argue that environmental education should adopt a critical approach to encourage careful awareness of the various factors involved in the situation, involve students in planning their learning experiences, utilize diverse learning environments and a broad array of educational approaches to teaching and learning, and provide opportunities to be actively involved at all levels in working toward the resolution of environmental problems. Thus, environmental education has increasingly been seen by some of its proponents as concerned with developing a curriculum that encourages the practice of just, participatory, and collaborative decision making and involves critical analysis of the development of the nature, forms, and formative processes of society generally and of the power relationships within a particular society.

Critical pedagogy and critical curriculum theory have been subjected to criticism from a number of different perspectives. Chet Bowers, for example, has criticized critical curriculum theorizing for being anthropocentric and for ignoring ecological imperatives, for accepting Cartesian dualism (thus separating mind and body, man and nature) and for failing to adopt a holistic perspective, and for emphasizing personal empowerment through individual rational critical reflection while discounting the influence of tradition and culture.

Environmental education has also had a close, but uneasy relationship with science education for much of the past four decades. Since its earliest inceptions, proponents have asserted that environmental education should become an essential part of the education of all citizens because they need an understanding of their environment and because society needs a scientifically literate nation. The importance of citizens having ecological understanding continues to the present day as part of the goals of education for sustainable development. However, while environmental educators recognize this relationship, many science educators do not.

During the 1980s, many environmental educators recognized that the implementation of environmental education within the formal curriculum was not a simple task as it did not fit the traditional social reproduction curriculum. Its approach was

seen as being interdisciplinary, which was difficult enough, but it was also concerned with values and providing social groups and individuals with opportunities to be actively involved in working toward resolution of environmental problems, which science (and many other) teachers did not feel confident to handle. Many people persisted in trying to make it fit by leaving out the difficult bits of values, participation, and decision making, but retaining the relatively uncontroversial ecological content.

One trend in the developing practice of environmental education in schools has been for teachers to begin by teaching about the environment (usually in a classroom setting). They may then progress to teaching both about and in the environment by going outdoors to investigate environments through such activities as data collection. They may also progress to teaching for the environment by working with students on local environmental action projects. A more radical socially critical pedagogy that encourages learning with environments has also been suggested. However, the involvement of students in environmental action is not yet common practice. The timidity of many teachers and schools in this matter is understandable (because environmental problems are invariably politically sensitive), but their fears are often groundless.

Many writers have recognized that environmental education is not achieving its overall aims, let alone its ecopolitical action aims, and have proposed alternative strategies. Proposals have come from both the red and dark green ends of the ecopolitical green spectrum. The red end (so labeled for its neo-Marxist affiliations) includes supporters of a socially critical orientation for environmental education. The dark green end includes those whose vision of environmental education is informed by the values of deep ecology. A feminist perspective on environmental education has also been developed that spans the spectrum from blue (so named for its conservative affiliations) through red to dark green.

Proponents of environmental education have seen it as a movement that seeks to establish a new social order and promote the values that will hasten this change. As such it is more aligned with the social reconstructionist debate that saw schooling as changing rather than reproducing society. Such a view has continued with the 1987 World

Commission on Environment and Development report arguing that the world's teachers have a crucial role to play in helping to bring about the extensive social changes needed for sustainable development to be achieved.

### Ongoing Issues and Future Challenges

The ongoing issues and challenges for the future of environmental education are numerous, but some points are clear. First, the environmental crisis will not go away. Survey after survey indicate that there is sustained, and generally increasing, community concern about the state of the environment. Environmental groups, industry conflicts, and political confrontations over the environment are a constant feature of media reporting. And the scientific community continues to remind us that the environment is in a continuing state of degradation. Whether schools have as their curriculum focus social reproduction or reconstruction, the environment should be looming large in their agenda. There is some general agreement that confronting the environmental crisis requires dramatic changes in people's attitudes and behaviors toward the environment and that education has a key role in achieving these changes.

Even though there is widespread concern about the state of the environment, and although environmental education has been on the political agenda in many countries since the late 1960s, the field has continued to operate on the margins of formal education. For example, from its earliest days, educational administrators have seen the field as being more of a political priority than an educational one. Its changing status with respect to national, state, and local curriculum processes reflect changing political prioritizing of the environment as well as changing educational priorities, and its almost universal continuing uncertain status in the formal curriculum reflects its marginalization within the educational agenda.

The argument that environmental education is interdisciplinary—not fitting within the bounds of any traditional subject area in the curriculum—has also meant that no one particular subject area has owned it, and so it has often slipped between the cracks of the boundaries between the subject areas. Similarly, the arguments that it is concerned with critical analysis of society and involves political

action have meant that many have been unwilling to become involved in implementing environmental education program. Teaching about or in the environment seems a lot less controversial, but the rhetoric says that it is only when there is education for the environment that environmental education is actually happening. Yet further marginalization can occur through emphasizing the attitude and action components of environmental education rather than environmental knowledge, which can make some teachers uneasy.

In addition, policies and practices of environmental education have overlooked women through gender blindness, and this overlook is another aspect of its marginalization, as is the silencing of indigenous peoples in the discourses of environmental education. A further problem is the individualistic orientation of much environmental education, which has tended to marginalize the field through its focus on behaviorism and individual agency.

The shift from environmental education to education for sustainable development—2005–2014 is the UN decade of education for sustainable development—has even further confused the identity of environmental education and its placement in the curriculum. Although most would argue that we need it, many still argue about what it is and where it can fit into an already overcrowded curriculum.

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*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Dewey, John; Ecological Theory; Reproduction Theory; Science Education Curriculum; Social Reconstructionism

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## EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

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The *Equality of Educational Opportunity* study (EEOS), also known as the Coleman Report, was requested and commissioned by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1966. The purpose of the Coleman Report was to assess the availability of equal educational opportunities to students regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin at all levels of public educational institutions in the United States. It addressed four major issues: (1) school segregation, (2) schools and their characteristics, (3) achievement gap, and (4) relation of achievement to school characteristics. Specifically, the Coleman Report examined the school environment as measured by school curriculum and programs and by resources, including facilities, principals and teachers, and student bodies. The Coleman Report concluded that U.S. public education at that time was largely unequal in most regions of the country, particularly in regions where there were significant numbers of African Americans.

Focused on six racial and ethnic groups of U.S. public school students, the Coleman Report found that U.S. public schools in the late 1960s were largely segregated. White students were the most segregated, with 80% of first and 12th graders attending schools that were 90% to 100% White.

Among minority groups, African American students were the most segregated, with more than 65% of first graders attending schools that were between 90% and 100% African American. Such segregation ran parallel to the inequities found in school resources and curricula, which were closely related to academic achievement.

Coleman and colleagues found that minority students had less access to physical and human resources that supported curriculum and instructional programs (e.g., physics, chemistry, and language labs). These students also had less access to a more fully developed curricular program (e.g., college preparatory curriculums, accelerated curricula, vocational curriculums, intelligence testing). For example, minority students attended schools with a larger teacher–student ratio than did White students minorities. Compared to White students, African American students, on average, attended a school with a greater percentage of teachers who had attended college fewer years, had less teaching experience, and had lower salaries. In addition, minority students had fewer books in their libraries and fewer textbooks.

Following the administration of achievement tests in reading, writing, calculating, and problem solving at Grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12, the Coleman Report indicated that the test results showed that most minority students, and particularly African American students, at Grades 1 to 12 scored lower than White students in verbal and nonverbal skills, with a widening gap as the grade levels increased. The researchers concluded that school factors and nonschool factors (e.g., poverty, community attitudes, and low educational level of parents) may disadvantage minority students. Also, the investigation of student body characteristics revealed African American students most frequently came from a large family with less education. In particular, the EEOS found that African American students were more affected by the quality of their schools and curriculum than were their White peers. Ultimately, Coleman and colleagues suggested that in order to narrow the achievement gap between minority and majority groups, it was imperative to increase the integration of schools, which would enhance the quality of the curriculum and the improvement of schools.

The Coleman Report made a significant contribution to equality of educational opportunities as

evidenced by the desegregation in the policies and practices of curricula and the narrowing of the achievement gap among racial and ethnic groups over the past four decades. Despite this, substantial variations in student achievement still exist due to the policies and practices of curriculum inequality. Thus, to achieve the true equality of educational opportunities that allow all students to enjoy equal access to all programs and benefits provided by the public education, it is imperative to develop an equitable and gender balanced multicultural curriculum that eliminates segregation, appreciates diversity, and incorporates the perspectives, experiences, and achievements of men and women of diverse racial, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds, ethnicities, and national origins.

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*See also* Desegregation of Schools; Equity; Excellence; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Goals 2000; Integration of Schools; Learning Theories; Outcome-Based Education

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## EQUITY

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Equity, in general terms, means the quality of fairness or impartiality. Equity, related to education and curriculum, does not connote that every student should be treated in the same way; rather, it indicates that each student should be guaranteed fair treatment with equal access to resources and curricular programs. To ensure educational curricular equity for all students, the U.S. government has enacted numerous laws, such as The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (e.g., Titles VI and VII), The Education Amendments of 1972 (e.g., Title IX), and Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of



1997. Through these laws, an unprecedented commitment has been made to educate all students, regardless of such challenges as their language, physical abilities, backgrounds, characteristics, and/or gender, to be effective thinkers, problem solvers, and communicators so that they can participate successfully in a globalized technology-driven world.

Despite laws aimed at guaranteeing equity for all, securing educational curricular equity in reality becomes the responsibility of the professionals in the education field, including school boards, superintendents, principals, teachers, and staff, as well as community members. First, school districts and schools should design an equity plan to ensure that curricula are established to maintain an inclusive educational program, that responds to the needs of all students through understanding that student learning is influenced by a myriad of factors such as students' gender, culture, language, socioeconomic level, talents, exposure, and family values. Second, school policies and procedures should address curricular equity guaranteeing that all types of students are included and represented in the curriculum. Third, all stakeholders must be willing (a) to discuss openly and sensitively the diversity of students, speaking with inclusive language and (b) to incorporate such diversity discussions in the curriculum. Fourth, high expectations of achievement should be held for all students regardless of ethnicity, gender, ability, or socioeconomic level. Fifth, physical and human resources that supported curriculum and instructional programs should be accessed equally. Curriculum materials and visual media accompanying them should (a) portray gender, races, ethnicities, ages, religions, and abilities in multiple roles and responsibilities and (b) demonstrate the various groups' contributions fairly. Sixth, school policies, including curriculum policies, should promote and demand respectful behaviors. Such policies aid in establishing a learning environment with language and actions without prejudice. Seventh, equity also should include the capacity for all students and teachers to feel they are participating in a safe environment; thus, safety curriculum should be supported financially and should be established inclusive of peer mediation. Eighth, professional development should focus on establishing an agenda of inclusiveness and equity in schools and

on advancing the values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills that promote understanding and respect for students' ethnic, cultural, and economic backgrounds. Such professional development improves the way that educators relate to and interact with students of diverse backgrounds and helps them in developing a fair and socially just learning environment. Ninth, a flexible and inclusive curriculum requires success-oriented approaches to assessment and evaluation that are related to the aims of the curriculum, the design and delivery of the curriculum, and the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of students. Tenth, curriculum aligned with state or national standards may promote educational equity in that the equivalent standards are expected of all, not just some students in some schools. Standards-based education reform, though surrounded by controversy, emphasizes clear expectations for all students and seeks to establish attainable and measurable principles for the entire student population.

Many students today continue to have inequitable opportunities and do not experience quality learning due to curriculum inequity. Constructing curriculum for equity is a consistent and dynamic process requiring not only awareness of the contextual realities of students with different linguistic, ethnic, racial, cultural, and gender backgrounds, but also commitment to diversity, pluralism, multiculturalism, respect, dignity, and high expectations. More importantly, constructing a curriculum of equity necessitates (a) the courage to address and dismantle systems of oppression and (b) a revolutionary resolve to remove the barriers to the achievement of a truly just distribution of power and opportunity.

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*See also* Desegregation of Schools; *Equality of Educational Opportunity*; Excellence; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Frameworks in Curriculum Development; Goals 2000; Integration of Schools; Learning Theories; Outcome-Based Education;

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## ETHICAL CULTURE SCHOOLS

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The Ethical Culture School is a historical curriculum model based on the work of its seminal influence, Felix Adler, and is an organic alternative for education in the United States as a Sunday school program of study, a private school option at Fieldston Ethical Culture School in New York, and as a charter school option in New Jersey.

Adler, graduate of Columbia College with a doctorate from the University of Heidelberg, merged Kantian idealism with elements of U.S. Transcendentalism to develop a theophilosophic statement that he promoted by founding the Society for Ethical Culture in 1876. Adler contended the differences that demarcate major religious traditions are not as significant as the common ethical foundation. Adler urged companions to attend to urban social problems such as tenement housing and child labor as active response to the moral imperatives to recognize the inherent dignity of all people, mutual support, and social responsibility.

In *The Moral Instruction of Children*, Adler suggested a common fund of moral truth serves to unite and direct schools in the United States, and the effective teacher transmits this cultural ethic through moral training in a climate of intellectual exploration. Adler presented a model of educational reform based on the cultural epoch theory whereby the child grows into adulthood by replicating the past stages of Western civilization. Adler relied on habit formation and integration of moral lessons in the school environment, but also called for the exercise of moral reasoning. Adler divided human development into distinct stages, each with a predominant duty that moral instruction challenges to provoke maturity. In infancy, obedience to parents forms the central duty to be fashioned in the child. In early childhood, forming right habits is of primary importance. With regard to all

dimensions of social living, from ages 6 to 14, duty shifts to acquiring knowledge of physical life, family, filial and fraternal obligations, and emotional control. The young child learns regularity, obedience, and a sense of self-responsibility, having parents or instructors impose their will on the activities of the child. Curriculum at this age consisted of moralistic fairy tales, fables, and bible stories. The final subject for study in early childhood is the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, consistent with the cultural epoch influence.

The uncomplicated reinforcement of moral conduct through story in childhood is replaced in adolescence with an exploration of moral principles. These lessons on duty follow an inductive method, stating a theorem and then adapting the theorem to incorporate exceptions. Children learn general principles of conduct by reflecting on their origins in human experience. Moral reasoning required direct moral instruction, but the standard curriculum of secondary education, Adler argued, also carries moral lessons. Science teaches truthfulness; history is the study of exemplars of moral conduct as well as being an investigation of the outcomes of immoral behavior. Literature, music, gymnastics, and even manual training teach standards of excellence. The greatest lesson, Adler reminds, is the example set by the instructor in his or her conduct.

Adler's sequenced approach to moral education through example, story, moral problem solving, and application formed the basis of the Sunday schools conducted at Ethical Culture Societies in New York and other major urban areas in the United States. The establishment of schools to advance ethical action in the society was a priority for Adler, with a free kindergarten and a Workingman's School established by 1880. The elements of moral education and personal development were joined with an emphasis on manual training, a humanist arts-focused curriculum, and teacher training. Consistent with the tenets of ethical culture, the school continued to evolve, accepting tuition paying students and was reorganized in 1895 as the Ethical Culture Schools. In response to the student population, Ethical Culture Schools adopted a liberal arts curriculum incorporating progressive instruction while retaining Adler's emphasis on moral reasoning. On the 50th anniversary of its founding, the Ethical Culture

Schools moved to a larger campus in the Bronx with the Fieldston Building intended as an architectural realization of ethical culture education. The Fieldston School participated in the Eight Year Study and served as a research site and headquarters for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum's Adolescent Study. This school continues to emphasize the principles of service, ethics, and academic rigor, but as a high-tuition private school.

In 2008, the state of New Jersey authorized charter school status for the Ethical Community Charter Schools, a group of schools that emulate elements of the ethical culture development model of moral development and reasoning, service, and intellectual inquiry. The impetus for this charter school is from members of the New York Society for Ethical Culture.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

See also Alternative Schools; Cultural Epoch Theory

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## ETHNICITY RESEARCH

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Ethnicity denotes membership in a particular racial, national, or cultural group and observance of that group's customs, beliefs, and language. One of the earliest considerations of the educational development of ethnic minorities in the United States came in the form of the common school movement, which primarily proposed a curriculum intended to encourage a common sense of citizenship and patriotism among U.S. various ethnic groups. However, there were some ethnic groups, such as those of Native American, African American, Latino/a American, and Asian

American descent, who were either excluded or marginalized by the common school movement. Within mainstream curriculum conversations, these groups were often thought to be either biologically inferior or culturally deprived; thus the educational development of these groups was aligned with curricula that sought to Christianize, civilize, and/or prepare them for vocations that would maintain their subservience to the dominant group. Although these ideas were prevalent and guided much of the state and or federally supported education of these groups, they did not go uncontested. Members of subordinated ethnic groups challenged these types of curricula with commentaries and studies that stressed the importance of cultural history and values in the education of minority children. Carter G. Woodson's *Miseducation of the Negro*, for instance, is a classic example of early ethnicity research that critiqued the viability of the mainstream curriculum for African Americans and in so doing laid an important foundation for future ethnicity research and its importance in interrogating, complicating, and broadening mainstream curriculum discourse. However, the exclusion of these ethnic groups from mainstream curriculum conversations and thus often from curriculum history would remain the case until the late 1960s when African Americans and other ethnic minorities began to call for more representation in U.S. school curricula from elementary school to college.

In the 1960s, there were two key developments that ushered the concerns of ethnic minorities into the field of curriculum studies. First, the curriculum field, which had been focused on issues of development and implementation, began to expand its scope to include a more interdisciplinary perspective that sought to broaden the meaning of curriculum and to study its social, political, and cultural dynamics within the context of school and society. Second, following the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, African Americans began to push for more representation in elementary, secondary, and college curricula. Initially their protests gave rise to Black studies programs in many colleges and universities and later as more ethnic groups—Native, Latino/a, and Asian Pacific Americans followed suit, ethnic studies programs became the basis of one of the most significant movements in U.S. education.

Many of the scholars who studied in or were influenced by these programs became key proponents of the multicultural education movement. By the 1970s, multicultural education had gained significant recognition as an important prospect in improving the academic achievement of minority children as well as raising the awareness of the majority population about the cultural history and values of various ethnic groups. Although it began as a call for more minority representation in the curriculum, the multicultural education movement developed into a more complex approach aimed at reforming teaching materials, teaching and learning styles, teacher perceptions and behavior, and school culture. Multicultural education has served as the foundation and/or impetus for much of the ethnicity research that has taken place in the field of curriculum studies.

Since the 1970s, ethnicity research has greatly impacted curriculum studies as it has challenged the idea that curriculum is a culturally and racially neutral process or product and has shown it to be at times a powerful tool of cultural repression and forced assimilation. Although each of the aforementioned ethnic groups has a distinct and complex history of educational development, there are several fundamental ideas that have grown out of research on their histories, experiences, and ongoing challenges. One of the most important is the idea that one's cultural being—histories, values, and behaviors—plays a crucial role in one's educational well-being. What ethnicity research has shown, however, is that the cultural reality upon which the curriculum in U.S. schools is built is a Northern European one to the near exclusion of all others. As such, the research often refers to the phenomena of cultural discontinuity or the cultural disconnect between school and home and between teacher and student. Cultural discontinuity in many cases is exacerbated by cultural resistance, the student's resistance to learning a curriculum that has essentially devalued his or her cultural being. An overall goal, then, of much of this research is to theorize ways to achieve cultural congruence.

One strategy for achieving cultural congruence, as mentioned earlier, involves pushing for more culturally diverse representations in the mainstream curriculum. These would include, for instance, more images of ethnic minorities and

more accurate representations of their histories and/or perspectives in school texts. Another strategy would be educating the largely White middle-class and female teaching force to be more attuned to and thus understanding of diverse cultural worldviews and the ways in which they impact learning and teaching styles. Research in this area has brought to the forefront the concepts of culturally responsive teaching and culturally relevant pedagogy. Bicultural and bilingual education have also been key strategies as they stress the importance of developing curriculum that is based on values, behaviors, and languages from both the home and school cultures. Ethnocentric education has also been explored as a way to achieve cultural congruence and improved academic achievement among ethnically diverse students. Although this strategy is controversial in that it requires racially and/or culturally separate schools, such as African-centered or Puerto Rican-centered schools, it offers the most aggressive challenge to the dominance of European-centered curriculum, for it acknowledges the reality that racially and culturally distinct groups often possess epistemologies that are not only different from the scientific rationality that grounds mainstream curriculum, but have been historically devalued by it.

Although the majority of ethnicity research is focused on improving the educational well-being of ethnically diverse student populations, there is also a growing body of work that is thinking through how children of dominant groups are disadvantaged by the lack of culturally diverse representation in the curriculum.

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*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Cultural Identities; Diversity Pedagogy; Indigenous Research; Latino/a Research Issues; Multicultural Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum Theory

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

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During the final quarter of the 20th century, ethnographic research methods became widely accepted in a number of fields, including the field of curriculum studies. In curriculum studies, for instance, acceptance of ethnographic methods permitted researchers to study the so-called hidden curriculum phenomenon empirically and conceptually. Ethnographic methods also served as a foundation for a range of other qualitative research strategies that segments of the curriculum studies field enthusiastically embraced. One example would be curriculum theorist Elliot Eisner's educational criticism approach to inquiry. To be sure, Eisner based his educational criticism approach to inquiry on criticism in the arts, but at least in the early years, educational critics often borrowed and adapted their empirical research strategies from ethnographic research.

Historically, the term ethnographic research referred to the sort of field-based inquiry practiced by social anthropologists in England and cultural anthropologists in the United States. Social and cultural anthropologists immersed themselves for extended periods of time in the lives and folkways of isolated, so-called tribal cultures to understand either their social structures or their very different ways of thinking and acting. Over time, the distinction between the social and cultural schools of anthropology began to blur, and most anthropologists today employ what might be best characterized as a sociocultural perspective. Today, and in the past, however, both the field studies that sociocultural anthropologists do (and have done) and the research reports they produce (and have produced in the past) are labeled *ethnographies*; the anthropologists themselves were—and are—called *ethnographers*.

Today, of course, there are few isolated tribal cultures left in the world for anthropologists to study. Consequently, contemporary sociocultural anthropologists often study subgroups within their own cultures. They might study a “tribe” of physicists, for example, or do an ethnography of an accounting firm in the wake of an ethical crisis in that profession. Anthropologists, of course, also study contemporary schools as vehicles for cultural transmission.

One other difference between the present and the past is that today fields other than anthropology have begun appropriating both the ethnographic research label and the ethnographic methods that sociocultural anthropologists developed to do their field work. As has already been noted, one of these fields is curriculum studies. Like other educational researchers in the final quarter of the 20th century, many curriculum scholars became dissatisfied with the quantitative research methods that the educational research community had been using throughout the previous three quarters of the century. These researchers found a ready-made storehouse of alternative methods—and a well-articulated rationale for using them—in the sociocultural anthropologist's ethnographic research. Some educational researchers within and outside of the subfield of curriculum studies even began to use the term ethnographic research as a synonym for qualitative research.

The remainder of this entry focuses on three general topics: ethnographic research methods in sociocultural anthropology, the subfield of educational anthropology, and the curriculum studies field's interest in and appropriation of ethnographic research techniques.

### Ethnographic Research Methods in Sociocultural Anthropology

#### *Participant Observation*

When anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski traveled to Melanesia in the early part of the 20th century to study groups of people who were radically different from the people in his own culture, it made no sense for him to try to employ the sorts of research designs being used by social scientists back home. It made no sense, for example, to divide the natives into control and experimental

groups and conduct experiments; even survey research designs were inappropriate for a culture with no written language. Furthermore, even when Malinowski began to master the local language, he was still not positioned to administer preset survey items orally because there was no guarantee that his interviewees—who thought and acted very differently than Malinowski did—would interpret the interview questions the way Malinowski intended or that Malinowski could correctly interpret the natives' responses.

To cope with this unusual situation, Malinowski, through a process that was often more serendipitous than planned, developed a set of research procedures that came to be known as participant observation. Basically, participant observation entails becoming actively engaged in the life of the cultural group one is studying. (The phrase *going native* is sometimes used to characterize this engagement process.) It also entails simultaneously standing back, observing, systematically recording, and analyzing the cultural life one is experiencing. The duality implicit in the research strategy of participant observation is possibly best captured in the title of anthropologist's Hortense Powdermaker's classic book, *Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist*.

#### *Underlying Assumptions About the Form and Function of Research*

Clearly, the research strategy that Malinowski developed—and that most ethnographers, in one way or another, still use—is quite different than the research strategies used by most other social scientists in the 20th century. Furthermore, the differences are more than procedural. Implicit in the participant observation strategy are assumptions about the form and function of research that also differ radically from the assumptions made by most of the social sciences.

One rather obvious difference is the participant observer's view of subjectivity. Although most social scientists viewed (and continue to view) subjectivity in the research process as a problem—and employ a variety of instrumentation and standardization procedures to ensure that the researcher's subjectivity is kept at bay during research activities—ethnographers view a researcher's subjective responses as essential for learning about

what, from the ethnographer's perspective, is an alien universe.

To be sure, a researcher must carefully manage his or her subjectivity; going completely native is highly problematic even in ethnographic research, in other words. But when appropriately leavened with critical reflection and the systematic recording of one's direct observations and personal feelings for later analysis, a researcher's subjective experiences serve as entry into worlds that could never be accessed or understood without the researcher's active engagement. Indeed, a failure to engage would mean that the ethnographer would end up imposing his or her own meanings onto a cultural group rather than accessing the group members' thinking and interpretations.

The notion of participant observation also normally carries with it a different view of the purpose of research. Although traditional researchers normally have as their ultimate goal the construction of general theory that transcends particular contexts and situations, the goal of most types of ethnography in sociocultural anthropology is to explicate the idiosyncratic elements of particular cultural groups.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz borrowed philosopher Gilbert Ryle's concept of thick description to characterize what most ethnographers hope to produce. Geertz noted that any behavior can have multiple meanings attached to it; the goal of the ethnographer, Geertz wrote, is to explicate the layers of meaning found within a particular cultural context. What ethnographers provide, in other words, are interpretations of the interpretations made by those who are part of the cultural group the ethnographers has studied.

To be sure, some anthropologists do engage in something called ethnology—that is, a practice that entails building general cultural theory from ethnographies of individual cultures—but that practice became less popular in the 20th century because it too often glossed over cultural differences in its attempt to find—or critics would argue, manufacture—cross-cultural generalizations. Geertz, in fact, argued that most cultural theory stripped of the details that produced it is either vacuous or little more than common sense.

Geertz, however, did not totally reject traditional social scientists' notion of theory. Rather, he turned the notion on its head. He suggested that

theoretical constructs were, indeed, required to interpret situations. Ethnographers could not describe—or even recognize—culture, for example, if they did not have the theoretical construct of culture at their disposal. The key idea, here, however, is that Geertz and his fellow anthropologists transformed theory into a tool for doing research rather than the endpoint of the research process that more traditional social scientists envisioned.

### *Variations in Ethnographic Research Within Sociocultural Anthropology*

Even within sociocultural anthropology, ethnographic research is not a completely unproblematic construct. Although most contemporary anthropologists have transcended the traditional divide between social and cultural anthropology, sociocultural anthropologists continue to disagree about many things.

Certain anthropologists, for example, have challenged Geertz's self-described semiotic view of culture and suggested substituting a cognitive view, instead. Rather than creating thick description, cognitive anthropologists such as Ward Goodenough and James Spradley use a series of interview and analysis techniques they call *ethnographic semantics* to discover the definitions of specialized terms members of a cultural group use and the linguistic relationships between these terms.

Cognitive anthropologists, for instance, have used ethnographic semantic techniques to discover everything from the many ways that Eskimos categorize ice to the multiple categories that cocktail waitresses use to refer to and treat their customers. The assumption is that language mirrors thought and that by explicating the shared language and linguistic structures a cultural group uses to think and act intelligently in their cultural context, one will understand the culture. As might be expected, Geertz has argued that this cognitive perspective represents an inadequate and indeed, an impoverished view of culture.

Another contemporary controversy has been fueled by charges that the cultures that anthropologists study and from which they generate thick descriptions of today are no longer remote and untouched by the rest of civilization. Ethnographers, however, have continued to focus on face-to-face cultural interactions and/or contextual idiosyncrasy;

as a consequence, they completely ignore global forces. Anthropologists who critique their field in this way often recommend re-embracing a strategy that was once largely rejected by the field: Analyze ethnographies from multiple sites much as earlier ethnologists interested in developing more general cultural theory did. These critics, in short, recommend that the anthropology field once again actively attempt to transcend the local and the idiosyncratic, albeit for a somewhat different reason than the reasons that motivated ethnologists in the past.

One final variation is worth noting: A cadre of early 20th-century anthropologists anticipated the arts-based research movement in educational research by nearly a century. In 1890, for instance, anthropologist Adolph Bandelier published his novel *The Delight Makers*, which was a fictional account of the data Bandelier had gathered while studying a group of American Indians. Bandelier reasoned that fiction was the best way to communicate to the general public the truths he had discovered about a radically different cultural group. Even today, a small cadre of anthropologists continues to use art and literary modes of communication to display the results of their work.

### **The Subfield of Educational Anthropology**

#### *The Study of Cultural Transmission in Tribal and Western Cultures*

Because ethnographers have always studied cultural socialization and the phenomenon of cultural transmission, they have always, in a very real sense, studied education. Tribal cultures' formal initiation processes, for example, can legitimately be seen as analogs for schools in contemporary Western culture, even though ethnographies of these tribal "schools" reveal that the sacred cultural beliefs transmitted in them are radically different from the career-oriented formal curricula taught in most Western schools.

These apparent differences caused some anthropologists to take a closer look at Western education. This closer look resulted in a rethinking of schools and schooling in Western society, a rethinking that portrayed schooling as an extended initiation rite through which students of different races, classes, and genders were socialized into the roles their culture expected them to play. During the

1960s and 1970s, in fact, works such as Ray Rist's *The Urban School: A Factory for Failure* helped generate and empirically ground numerous discussions in the curriculum field and elsewhere about the so-called hidden curriculum of schools.

### *The Emergence of a Formal Field of Study*

Not surprisingly, the sort of studies of schools and schooling alluded to above resulted in the creation of an identifiable academic field of study called *educational anthropology*. The field has its own journal—appropriately named *The Journal of Educational Anthropology*—as well as a founding hero, Stanford University anthropologist George Spindler. One of Spindler's students, Harry Wolcott, produced an early educational ethnography, *The Man in the Principal's Office*, that received considerable attention within the educational research community and served as a model for other would-be educational anthropologists to emulate.

### *Educational Ethnography Variations*

Just as in the larger field of sociocultural anthropology, the subfield of educational anthropology has exhibited considerable variation over the years. Different groups of researchers, in fact, have embraced both micro and macro versions of ethnographic research.

Microethnographers such as Fred Erickson and Ray McDermott, for instance, have used videotape to minutely analyze the interaction patterns of such things as counseling sessions and elementary school reading groups. More often than not these microethnographers quite literally counted behaviors. This counting helped give their work status in the educational research world that has traditionally valued quantification.

Other educational researchers such as Gary Anderson were inspired by critical theory to move to the more macro end of the micro–macro continuum. This group practiced what they called *critical ethnography*. The rationale for critical ethnography is reminiscent of the rationale for multi-site ethnography described above: Educational ethnographers should study not only the culture that is created through face-to-face interaction within a school, school district, or other educational setting, but also the impact of larger societal

forces that shape and constrain the interpersonal interactions—and consequently the culture that gets created—in those settings.

### **The Curriculum Studies Field's Interest in and Appropriation of Ethnographic Techniques**

During the final quarter of the 20th century, all sorts of educational researchers, including researchers from curriculum studies, became interested in ethnographic research. For the most part, this interest was fueled by frustration with the results—or more precisely, the lack of results—produced by quantitative studies.

This frustration, initially, was felt most strongly by those who evaluated the effects of educational curricula and programs. These scholars began to realize that the traditional experimental designs they had been trained to use did not fit comfortably onto the often complex programs they were charged with evaluating. Some evaluators, for instance, pointed to significant unanticipated consequences of certain educational interventions, consequences that were ignored by experimental studies that, by design, focused only on formally articulated *a priori* goals. Others pointed out that those who conducted large-scale evaluation studies ignored even clearly articulated goals that were difficult (if not impossible) to measure in traditionally accepted ways.

These problems led some evaluators to radically rethink what evaluation research should look like. Many looked to the discipline of anthropology and that discipline's ethnographic research techniques for methodological alternatives to the quantitative methods they had been trained to use.

Program evaluators' interest in ethnographic methods soon expanded to the entire educational research community, and ethnographers' research techniques and constructs—for example, participant observation, the researcher-as-instrument, thick description—soon became part of the vocabulary and the methodological repertoire of many educational researchers, including researchers in the field of curriculum studies.

Educational researchers' appropriation of ethnographic techniques and thinking has been so extensive, in fact, that today many educational researchers now use the terms qualitative research and *ethnographic research* more or less interchangeably.



From a historical perspective, however, this conflation of terms is more than a little problematic.

Problems arise because ethnographic research traditionally has had a substantive focus on culture as well as a methodological commitment to using participant observation-oriented research designs. Consequently, although curriculum studies scholars' empirical explorations of the hidden curriculum phenomenon might legitimately be viewed as a form of ethnographic research—because the hidden curriculum functions as a form of cultural socialization—many other qualitative studies in the education field, including studies in the subfield of curriculum studies, are not ethnographies in the traditional sense. Therefore, for most of the qualitative studies conducted in the field of curriculum studies and in education, generally, it might be best to think of ethnographic research as being subsumed under—rather than as a synonym for—the more generic category of qualitative inquiry.

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*See also* Grounded Theory Research; Hidden Curriculum; Performance Ethnography; Qualitative Research; Quantitative Research; Quasi-Experimental Research

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## EUGENICS

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Eugenics (from the Greek roots for good and generation or origin) was an international scientific, political, and moral ideology and movement that reached its height in the first half of the 20th century. Advocates of eugenics touted its potential to improve the quality of the human race through the promotion of higher reproduction of certain people and traits and through the reduction of reproduction of certain people and traits. Following the end of World War II and the recognition of the genocidal enactment of this ideology, it was largely regarded as a brutal movement that inflicted massive human rights violations on millions of people and was substantially abandoned by the mainstream and academia. However, the legacy of eugenics continues to be felt in both policy and practice, as ideologies of race-based characteristics and aptitudes manifest themselves in current regimes of testing, standards, curriculum differentiation, tracking, and segregation of students. There is continuing evidence of eugenics' policies in teacher education, curriculum development, and school organization.

Eugenics was presented as a way that human breeding could be controlled to improve the species. From the beginning, however, there were subtle and overt rhetorics that proved extremely dangerous. In the early part of the 20th century, Americans were increasingly fearful of foreigners and immigration, and local eugenics' societies and groups sprang up around the United States after World War I, with names such as the Race Betterment Foundation. Not only did eugenicists promote better breeding, but also they wanted to prevent poor breeding or the risk of it. In 1924, the Immigration Act was passed by majorities in the U.S. House and Senate. It set up strict quotas limiting immigrants from countries believed by eugenicists to have inferior stock, particularly Southern Europe and Asia.

The most infamous proponent and practitioner of eugenics was Adolf Hitler, who incorporated U.S.-developed ideas and strategies for race betterment into *Mein Kampf* and emulated eugenic legislation for the sterilization of defectives that had been pioneered in the United States. Hitler was proud of his connection with U.S. eugenicists and drew extensively from their writing and research.

Perhaps the most well-known modern eugenicist was William Shockley who, late in his life, became intensely interested in questions of race, intelligence, and eugenics. Shockley believed that the higher rate of reproduction among the less intelligent would lead to a drop in average intelligence and ultimately to a decline in civilization. He proposed that individuals with IQs below 100 be paid to undergo voluntary sterilization.

Shockley created great consternation among other eugenicists, some of whom thought he gave their work a bad name because of his overt racial agenda. Others praised him for breaking the taboo of frank discussions about racial differences.

Unfortunately, the legacy of eugenics is still alive and thriving in our educational system. Not only was Lewis Terman, one of the originators of the Stanford-Binet intelligence test, an early proponent of tracking, but his views were rooted in a eugenic conception of intelligence. He maintained that school instruction could never educate male laborers and female servants to become truly thoughtful, intelligent voters, and intelligence tests have proven this to be true.

Alan Stoskopf has pointed out that the idea that educational standards could be measured through single-numbered scores is a concept deeply embedded in the current high-stakes testing movement and the policies of No Child Left Behind and has resulted in devastating effects on students of color and those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

The ways in which students are still sorted into educational programs on the basis of IQ tests with their curricular options curtailed by their putative potential and aptitudes remains a serious manifestation of a eugenics' orientation. The overrepresentation of students of color and poor students in special education program and the corresponding overrepresentation of upper middle-class White students in gifted programs is evidence of the enactment of (often unstated) concepts of eugenics.

Students from particular racial and ethnic groups are deemed capable of only lower-level curriculum and direct instruction, while more advanced curriculum and creative, interactive pedagogical strategies are reserved for those deemed more capable.

Mara Ellen Sapon-Shevin

See also Cultural Production/Reproduction; Equity; Meritocracy; Tracking

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## EUROPEAN CURRICULUM STUDIES, CONTINENTAL OVERVIEW

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Curriculum studies as a field of education may today be found in continental Europe (including the Nordic countries) in most universities, teacher education institutions, and institutions of further training. This tendency represents in certain ways a late 20th-century development. It was in 17th century Europe that the concepts of curriculum and didactics were first used to denote educational phenomena. Didactics was linked to Wolfgang Ratke's (1571–1635) *Methodus didactica* and to Johann Amos Comenius's (1592–1670) *Didactica magna*. The use of the term *curriculum* may be linked to Daniel Georgius Morhof (1639–1691), professor in Rostock from 1660. From this century on, traditions developed in which the expression didactics became the usual one on the continent, while the term curriculum was the one adhered to in the English-speaking Western world. One may say that there exist two main traditions: the Anglo-American tradition of curriculum studies and the Continental and Northern European tradition of didactics. The curriculum studies tradition has, however, to a certain degree been acknowledged, adopted, and adapted also in European continental educational contexts, as indicated, without, however, these curriculum studies losing their lasting

influence from the didactic tradition. This fact makes for the relevance of the present topic.

The word curriculum is not a common word in any of the continental countries and is used only in special contexts such as curriculum vitae. An exact translation of it in any of the European continental languages does not exist. The word usually used to transfer the meaning of curriculum is *læreplan*, *läroplan* (Norwegian, Danish, Swedish), *Lehrplan* (German)—translated into English meaning curriculum guidelines. The concept *læreplan* has, however, acquired a manifold meaning implying complex relations in compliance with the concept of curriculum. Another way to put it is to say that curriculum and curriculum studies as well broadly covers the why, what, and how of education and schooling. The why refers to the aims and goals related both to superior goals and to the aims of school subjects, the what to the content in general and to specific schools and school subjects, while the how refers to teaching methods related to classroom practice. This implies compared to English-U.S. curriculum studies a marked difference underlying the didactic inheritance stressing *Bildung* and the importance of educating for life and the whole person more than educating for certain standards that can be measured individually.

In continental Europe curriculum studies have, from the 1960s and 1970s, preferred to focus on the subjects that make up the curriculum or teaching content. This growing interest arises from a number of different causes. The societal importance of frequent efforts to reform the curriculum through plans for reconstruction has highlighted the centrality of school subjects. Moreover, a renewed emphasis on content in terms of defining basic skills or a core curriculum naturally focuses on school subjects. The introduction of school subject didactics in teacher education courses and as part of academic degree courses during the 1980s has also contributed to this trend. A professor of school subject didactics will be found in most universities in the Nordic countries and especially in Germany.

In the present entry on curriculum studies the main focus is on traditions in continental European curriculum studies and on recent trends. When traditions are concerned, especially two kinds of curriculum studies may be discerned: historical studies on the educational system, including the

school subjects, and on the history of educational and philosophical ideas. Concerning recent trends, a marked characteristic of contemporary work is a tendency to view curriculum issues as embedded in complex philosophical, sociological, political, and cultural problems. This may cause difficulties when attempting to classify the underlying incentive of specific curriculum studies. At the same time complex issues related to, among other things, comparative evaluations of student standards such as the Project on Student Assessment Study (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) as well as European Union initiated cross country research and research networks give rise to a great variety of curriculum studies. Curriculum studies of the subject matter are, however, very central to both traditional and contemporary curriculum studies. Some examples of different studies from both periods are included in this entry.

### Traditions in European Curriculum Studies

A variety of research approaches may be discerned, and it is also the case that different research traditions still live side by side.

The first of these traditions is dominated by historical, descriptive curriculum research, following a well-established historical approach. Historical research studies on the curriculum can be related on the one hand to the history of educational movements and ideas and on the other, to the history of educational systems and institutions and of educational legislation. Historical studies of the educational system provide important data and knowledge about curriculum reforms. The aim of these studies is to describe historical events rather than to develop theory. The history of educational and philosophical ideas related to the content of school subjects is another approach. A classic and very influential study of the history of ideas in the Scandinavian context is Håkan Andersson's work on the aims of history teaching in Finland, 1843 to 1917. He places the history of school subjects in a wide societal, educational, and philosophical-ideological context, anticipating the kind of school subject research that was later to be developed by people such as Ivor Goodson.

The second tradition is curriculum research as curriculum development, following, to some

extent, a scientific approach. The third one is curriculum research according to macrosociology, using a critical perspective related to structuralism. The influence of the sociology of education and the sociology of knowledge has brought about a shift from more traditional types of curriculum studies—that is, from atheoretical attempts to chronicle the development of a school subject—to a different way of looking at the nature of education and consequently, a new approach to analyzing the antecedents of curriculum change. Tomas Englund argues that research in Nordic curriculum history forms part of an international universe, historically related to the new sociology of education and critical curriculum theory, and that this tradition may be seen, in certain ways, as a critical correction to the optimistic, rational-scientific conception of curriculum, and to studies of curriculum history based upon it. Three stages or trends of influence may be discerned.

The first is linked to the new sociology of education, where the focus of influence exerted seems to be the nature of school knowledge as related to the social class of students.

A second and overlapping influence comes from French educational sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron. Instrumental in bringing about this influence was especially Staf Callewaert, a Belgian Marxist who came to live in Sweden and Denmark, holding for some years the chair in education at the University of Copenhagen. Through this influence a move toward reproduction theory became noticeable, focusing on the function of school subjects and school knowledge in terms of both social and cultural reproduction.

The concept and phenomenon of curriculum codes—underlying curriculum principles—specifically coined and developed by Ulf P. Lundgren and his associates within the Research Group for Curriculum and Reproduction at the Stockholm Institute of Education, has also become important. It is seen as inherent in the development of school subjects, and is consequently acknowledged in many studies related to the social history of school subjects, and may be looked upon as a special Scandinavian contribution inspired by the new sociology of education, as well as by reproduction theorists.

The fourth one is curriculum research based on curriculum theory and curriculum history theory.

Following the curriculum history research done in the United Kingdom, the Swedish reproduction and curriculum code research, and the research done on school subjects at the German Institute for Science Education, we may talk about the generation of a fund of theory directly related to curriculum history as a scientific and academic discipline. To give an example, according to Stefan Hopmann and Henning Haft some determining factors to be taken into consideration when trying to understand historically the introduction of new school subjects may be the following:

- The scientific, cultural, and perhaps economic limits and merits of a school subject.
- The definition and transformation of those features into curricular concepts by experts, teachers, associations, and interest groups.
- The pattern and stability of the overall framework, as well as of the different interests inside and outside schools that are associated with their particular operational characteristics.
- The reactions and interventions of parents, teachers, and students, on the one hand, and of the society's or the economy's various purchasers of knowledge on the other.
- The political, administrative, and educational resources available for the new subject's implementation.

### Recent Trends

Currently, there seem to be a strong desire to examine the curriculum field from the point of view of both empirical and theoretical interests, embracing a wide range of contexts and of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Indeed, one specific study may encompass several theoretical and methodological viewpoints and deal with more than one context. This may be understood in terms of an awareness of the complexities of curriculum issues in postmodern society. A further marked characteristic of contemporary work is a tendency to view curriculum issues as embedded in complex philosophical, sociological, and cultural problems. This may cause difficulties when attempting to classify specific curriculum studies. A clear-cut description seems, therefore, not possible or desirable. Some compelling issues may, however, be focused leaving room for



describing underlying theoretical and methodological frames of reference.

### *Research on Curriculum Reform*

The 1990s in most European countries saw an upsurge of curriculum reform proposals and implementations beyond anything previously experienced. It is possible to describe the overall intention of the educational innovations that have been put in place as systemic; indeed, they represent an attempt at major systemic reform, though what is meant by systemic reform may differ from country to country—for instance teacher initiated, standards driven, or curriculum driven systemic reform. It makes sense to characterize systemic reform as a reform that is the following:

- Part of a wider reform of the educational and social system.
- Part of a comprehensive reform aimed at all levels of education.
- Reform positing coherence among school types within the school system.
- Reform striving for goal coherence—that is, based upon national overarching goals that are translated into goals for all school subjects, and into curriculum programs at all levels.
- Reform that is implemented through the incorporation into planning strategies of all relevant factors and constraints, including teacher education and assessment.

### *Research on the Process of Curriculum Making*

Naturally, the field of curriculum studies has focused on curriculum reform as a much preferred object of research and source of material for theory construction. One study that makes an issue of the process of curriculum-making as well as implementation and enactment, is the international comparative project “From Curriculum Development to Syllabus Planning.” Findings from Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Finland, and the United States have recently been published in articles and reports, most recently by Moritz Rosenmund. This five-country study was initiated in order to develop both theoretical and practical understanding of curriculum processes.

Already a theoretic approach based on earlier research in Germany has been suggested by this

project. It addresses the administration of curriculum as a discourse connected to, but different from political activity on the one hand and pedagogical practice on the other hand. This theoretical viewpoint is founded upon existing curriculum history theory, based upon historical research on curriculum administration, and also upon recent research on curriculum making in the German Federal Republic in the period 1970 to 1985, conducted by Hopmann and Haft.

The focus of this research is on the rise of curriculum administration and on the development of curriculum guidelines at a state level. A central topic within this research has been the ordering and selection of curriculum content as it is institutionalized as a result of the historical evolution of curriculum administration, resulting in restraint on future possibilities for development and implementation.

### *Governance and Evaluation of Curriculum Reform*

The governance of curriculum reform in continental Europe has since the 1990s seen a new operational style where management by overall objectives has been put in place. Management by objectives has become a key concept in the vocabulary of politicians and bureaucrats. The idea is that specific rules should be replaced by major political goals that set standards for the public sector while avoiding restrictions on professionals to organize their work.

The evaluation of curriculum reform is naturally an important project and of growing interest as part of curriculum studies in continental Europe and naturally linked to the governance of curriculum reform. Moreover, system evaluation is regarded as a way of securing quality, efficiency, and implementation of political decisions. One project, *Achieving School Accountability in Practice*, may be looked upon as a relevant example.

Issues related to the governance and evaluation of curriculum reform seem to gain a growing interest in European curriculum studies especially when projects such as TIMSS and PISA related to comparative evaluations of student standards reveal negative findings in many European countries. At a 2007 meeting in Austria at the University of Vienna, curriculum researchers from different European

countries discussed and questioned the validity and reliability of especially the results from the PISA tests, resulting in a publication. No doubt this will give rise to related relevant curriculum studies.

### *Research on Information and Communication Technology*

A recent trend in the field of curriculum studies is linked to research on learning processes and information and communication technology. The relevance of the field to European curriculum studies is already apparent in a publication from the University of Maastricht in 1999.

*Björg Brandtzæg Gundem*

*See also* Accountability; Curriculum Change; Curriculum Development; Curriculum Evaluation; Curriculum Policy; Systemic Reform

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## EVOLUTION

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*See* Creationism in Curriculum: Case Law

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## EXCELLENCE

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Excellence refers to emphasizing specific curricular areas in hope of best ensuring economic growth and national unity. Excellence may be viewed through a variety of historical contexts, but is generally a reaction to schooling aims and practices that impair students' ability to compete in the local, national, or global marketplace, and strives for the development and transmission of national unity and civic literacy. A central means of doing this is through the creation and implementation of content-area standards assessed through standardized testing and/or a national curriculum. The excellence movement in the United States has had a profound effect on educational policy nationally and curriculum studies within the academy as many of the initiatives, curriculum, and research agendas constructed are grounded upon the central notions of this quest.

What makes the excellence movement distinct from other curricular movements is its emphasis on collective concerns such as economic growth and national unity. The quest for excellence can be seen as an imposition on the schools insofar as the movement resulted from events that occurred outside of the schools. During the middle of the 20th century, the excellence movement developed in two interrelated ways. First, schooling in that era brought forth sharp criticism against the anti-intellectualism of the public schools from academicians and military leaders such as Arthur Bestor and Hyman Rickover. Second, *Sputnik I's* launch on October 4, 1957, drew focus toward matters thought essential to national defense and unity.

One manifestation of this was the 1959 Woods Hole conference at which academics and scientists attempted to deconstruct the central tenets of specific academic areas. The excellence movement led to much educational experimentation in the 1960s and 1970s and emphasized the need for schools to deliver specific content (e.g., math and science) seen as important to the economic growth of the United States and instruction that fostered national unity. This experimentation provided fertile ground for curricular theorists to construct a variety of educational programming that either supported the goals of the excellence movement or constructed other opportunities for children that emphasized the whole child.

In 1981, then Secretary of Education Terrel Bell sponsored a commission to examine the quality of U.S. education. The result of this work was the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Education Reform*. The report was authored by university presidents, school board members, school administrators, business executives, and a teacher, and focused on content, expectations, time, and teaching. *A Nation at Risk* also included suggestions for correcting the alleged deficiencies of the schools in the areas of content, standards and expectations, time, teaching, and leadership and fiscal support. *A Nation at Risk* called for increased rigor and standardization within a limited range of curricular areas to better prepare students for work in the economy to keep the United States competitive, as well as training the best and brightest children in high needs like science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Like the work in the previous decades, the correctives suggested in *A Nation at Risk* were grounded in the collective economic needs of the United States as tied to the future growth and security of the nation.

From the 1990s through the present, a variety of other educational reforms attempted to advance the excellence in education movement. Reforms and programs such as Goals 2000, No Child Left Behind, the American Competitiveness Initiative, and national and state standards impacted what is taught and how curriculum is delivered. Discussions regarding the training of highly qualified teachers also affected these issues. Even though a greater focus on the individual child's performance existed previously, these reform movements were driven

primarily by the economic and security needs of the United States. Each of the reforms and programs associated with the excellence movement limits access to curricular experiences outside those viewed as essential for global competitiveness and national security. Mastery of the essential skills is demonstrated almost exclusively through standardized tests. The increased centralization of and federal funding for educational programming that focuses on particular content areas as leading toward specific areas of study as the child matures is a hallmark of the current quest for excellence. The tensions between the underlying principles of the excellence movement and other movements that primarily emphasize citizenship, equity of opportunity, socialization, or autonomy are central in curricular studies located in the academy and public schools as well as policy makers at the state and national level.

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*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Core Curriculum; Curriculum Design; *Educational Wastelands*; High-Stakes Testing; National Curriculum; *Nation at Risk, A*; No Child Left Behind

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## EXCLUDED/MARGINALIZED VOICES

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The concept of excluded/marginalized voices is rooted in Black feminist thought. Emerging during the late 1960s, the concept of voice has played a central role in Black women's writing. Black female academics aimed at creating a powerful voice that linked the historical subjugation of Black women's knowledge to the way in which

knowledge has been produced both within and outside of the academy. By establishing a connection between voice, the personal experiences of marginalization, and political resistance, this work contributed to new methodological approaches that challenged traditional sites of knowledge production. These scholars struggled to give voice to the experiences of communities that were traditionally excluded from, marginalized by, and subjugated to official knowledge.

Feminist scholars joined curriculum theorists to probe how and what knowledge was legitimized not only within academic research, but also in all educational institutions. The concept excluded/marginalized voices developed with the underlying premise that educational institutions are a microcosm of larger society. Schools reproduce social inequities by reflecting and perpetuating dominant cultural attitudes and values. Educational practices exclude certain voices while privileging others by positioning certain ways of knowing as objective and devoid of racial, gender, and class politics. In addition to excluding individual voices, the exclusion of particular issues and experiences from curriculum and policy debates has had the effect of silencing and further marginalizing collective voices. This structuring of silence occurs as power dynamics sustain and legitimate the silencing that occurs at an institutional level. Curriculum scholars have critically challenged policies, discourses, and practices that enabled the structuring of silence. This is often accomplished through the analysis of discursive practice, as well as highlighting the complex ways in which gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and other categories of marginalization intersect.

Within the larger aim of democratizing schooling, curriculum scholars attend to these processes, as they recognize that even within structured silence the dissenting voices of students and teachers can be heard. Curriculum theorists ask how these silenced spaces are created and simultaneously resisted. In this way, they have moved beyond the concept of silence by demonstrating that those in the margins not only do speak, but also their voices sometimes tell us a great deal about how educational structures actually work. Drawing on feminist scholarship, such as bell hooks's early works, the concept excluded/marginalized voices has thus shifted from a metaphor of space (on the margins)

to one of sound, focusing on the practices of silencing as well as resistance through voice within and around schools.

Within curriculum studies, the conceptual use of excluded/marginalized voices is interdisciplinary. The term bridges feminist, critical, postcolonial, literary, legal, and multicultural theory. This is related to the interdisciplinary nature of its foundations in feminist thought. Feminist scholars have drawn on curriculum studies to link voice, marginality, and silence to concepts of conscientization and self-actualization. bell hooks's prolific work on pedagogy exemplifies the trajectory of the concept of voice between Black feminist thought and curriculum studies. Drawing extensively on Paulo Freire's framing of education as the practice of freedom, bell hooks sees the classroom as a space where all students can participate in the process of coming to voice, questioning dominant truths and authorities that have systemically excluded and marginalized voices both within and outside of the classroom. Henry Giroux has contributed to this conversation by attending to how power operates and is implicated in the production of knowledge. He notes the important ways in which youth resist silencing mechanisms by producing their own modes of expression through which to resist dominant narrative and tell their own stories.

To counteract the externally imposed curriculum, bell hooks, Paulo Freire, and Henry Giroux advocate the creation of spaces where students may cross from margin to center in their journey toward self-actualization. Through critical pedagogy, students shift from viewing themselves as objects to subjects, and learn to speak out or talk back from the margins. Inherent in the shift from object to subject, is the idea of reclaiming voice. As subjects, students have the right to define their own reality, claim their own identifications, and name their histories. As bell hooks notes in *Teaching to Transgress*, when individuals or communities are spoken for and about, their own voices are defined by those with power to speak and name. Silence, however, does not always operate through the lack of speech. Building on the work of W. E. B. Du Bois, curriculum scholars interrogate the ways in which social location constrains the ability to speak, even when students are vocal. Within institutional contexts, marginalized students engage a form of



double talk through which they adopt the dominant language and values of society inside the classroom. This is in contrast with voices that are filled with everyday experiences and linguistic codes outside the classroom.

Curriculum work on marginalized voices also explores the importance of honoring voice in all methodological, ethical, and process-related decisions. Hence, scholarly works on voice all share a strong commitment to honoring the voices of research participants, as well as interrogating the researcher's location of privilege as researcher and authority figure. Feminist researchers explore the use of ground-up approaches to neutralize power between researcher and subject in order to honor both the integrity and authority of participants' voices. Just as scholars deconstruct dichotomies between subject-object in their research, researchers must strive for a language that breaks down binaries between objective knowledge and the subjective stories and experiences of the people they wish to represent through their work.

Educational and research practices must continue to promote what bell hooks defines as engaged pedagogy, a critical pedagogical approach that seeks to counter White supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism. Curriculum scholars continue to examine the way in which students and teachers experience silencing within schools. More recent work on excluded and marginalized voices include writings on sexuality, White working-class male identities, the culture of power in classrooms, the experiences of African American teachers and students, heterosexism and homophobia in the schools, and critiques on global capitalism and new imperialism.

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*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Feminist Theories; Freire, Paulo; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Reproduction Theory; Voice

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## EXPERIENCED CURRICULUM

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The experienced curriculum refers to how the child responds to, engages with, or learns from the events, people, materials, and social or emotional environment of the classroom. The concept of experienced curriculum is not synonymous with either child-centered curriculum or teacher-centered curriculum. Consideration of the experienced curriculum as a measure for student learning requires that the holistic, experienced meaning that classroom participation has for children is determined and then evaluated against the significance of that experience in terms of its educational value.

The experienced curriculum may be influenced by, but is not necessarily aligned with, the planned or intended curriculum as designed by the teacher or imposed by other external forces. It differs from other levels of curriculum (including mandated, formal, and operational) because it focuses on the students' actual learning and is not assessed by an objective or standardized test score. The experienced curriculum is affected not only by the planned curriculum, but is also greatly impacted by the physical surroundings of the classroom, the interpersonal behaviors of the other students, the teacher, and so on. It constitutes the child's holistic response to classroom events during any given teaching episode. What the child experiences emerges from his or her personal and academic background, personality, disposition, needs, purposes, and intellectual capability in relationship to what is available within the event.

The experienced curriculum can be difficult to observe. Just watching a child may or may not tell the observer what learning is occurring within the mind as a result of the teaching. Further, asking children what they learned is fraught with

difficulty because their responses may not reveal the actual depth or accuracy of all they learned. Planning for or controlling what students experience during the teaching and learning periods of the day is even more challenging. No matter how carefully constructed the curriculum is, it is the children who interpret the curriculum and the content they are engaging in. Furthermore, classrooms are interactive spaces where multiple learners with a variety of backgrounds and interests simultaneously engage in the planned experiences. Thus, in spite of all preparations the teacher makes to adhere to curriculum mandates, the learners have control over interpreting the inputs they receive.

Attention to the experienced curriculum as a measure of learning allows educators to account for the emotional and social as well as the intellectual growth of the child. Awareness of students' experiences within a curriculum provides educators insight into those occasions when students' engagement and satisfaction with subject matter or classroom learning activities converges or diverges from the intended learning curriculum. The concept of the experienced curriculum, as a measure of life in classrooms, draws educators' attention to how and what children are learning. It asks that educators consider the child's experience rather than scores on achievement tests as the most important indicator of the quality of classroom instruction.

In exploring the roots of the experienced curriculum concept, John Dewey's thinking about the value and centrality of the child's experience in the learning process is visible. Joseph Schwab's practical and curricular commonplaces—teacher, student, content, and cultural milieu—are also evident. Most prominent is John Goodlad's model of curriculum inquiry. In this model he begins with society's identification of what knowledge is of worth, moves through national, state, and local mandates for educational goals and objectives, to teachers' instructional objectives and classroom plans. Juxtaposed against more formal representations of curriculum, Goodlad calls attention to the child's experience with that curriculum as the most vital indicator of its success. An ongoing concern with using the experienced curriculum as a measure of student learning continues to be how to adequately and accurately uncover and evaluate

all that the child learns within and beyond the intended curriculum.

*Lynnette Erickson and Stefinee Pinnegar*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Dewey, John; Intended Curriculum; *Life in Classrooms*; Teacher-Centered Curriculum; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## EXPERIENTIALISM

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Experientialist curriculum theory and practice is a category, tendency, or school of thought in curriculum studies. The position asserts that curriculum should consist of learning experiences, not merely academic content or behavioral skills. For learning experiences to be internalized, a learner must relate them through careful reflection to previous experiences in life and aspirations for the future. The experientialist line of curriculum studies originated at the beginning of the 20th century, though its roots can be traced from John Dewey to Francis Parker and earlier to Johann Friedrich Herbart, Friedrich Froebel, Leo Tolstoy, Johann Pestalozzi, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, humanist, and humanist educators of the Renaissance, who revived the work of Quintilian and others.

Experientialists are associated with traditions of progressive education and the emphasis that John Dewey placed on learning from experience. Interests, perceived needs, and concerns of learners are seen as legitimate starting points for education. Teachers, thus, need to be aware of

student histories, contexts, and autobiographies and they need to involve students in decision making so they can learn to self-educate, becoming their own curriculum directors. Surface interests, when pushed to the deeper levels, reveal shared or common human interests. For example, these might include birth and death, justice and equity, love and hate, peace and war, how to live together, anxiety and depression, humor and joy, and more. The experientialist position is not content-free as some critics contend. Rather, the disciplines and informal areas of study are tapped by students to enhance reflection and to make their pursuit of interests more robust. The theory holds that expansive understandings will evolve as students deepen and broaden their interests as facilitated by good teaching. Moreover, experientialists advise that interests pursued lead on to other interests, in and out of school, and evolve for a lifetime.

Many different educators are considered as contributors to the experientialist line of thought. Early in the 20th century, Dewey and his progressive followers, such as Harold Rugg, Ann Shumaker, William H. Kilpatrick, Caroline Pratt, and L. Thomas Hopkins, are key examples. Rugg and Shumaker are known for the term child-centered school, Kilpatrick for the project method, Pratt for emphasizing that teachers should learn from the children they teach, and Hopkins for emphasizing integrated curriculum that led to democratic forms of interaction to enhance the emerging self. The Eight Year Study of the 1930s and early 1940s offered insight into school practices that actualized the potential of such ideas. In this landmark study, both students and educators learned from experience of their experimentation. Origins of both integrated curriculum and core curriculum can be found in reports and interpretations of The Eight Year Study. Such experientialist practices criticized the organizing center of curriculum as knowledge presented in an encyclopedic manner. Alternatively, the student became the organizing center. For Hopkins, fostering or facilitating the emerging self became the hub around which all learning experiences turned, and for Harold Albery, the core of studies was social problems that directly affect student lives and the seed of concern for both personal and democratic growth—in search of a better life. One can turn to

work by James Beane on integrated curriculum in middle schools for contemporary versions of core and integrated curriculum.

Dewey had argued, based on his renowned Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, that learning in school should imitate the best learning in life, and in 1938, he tried to forestall a growing split between advocates of experientialist child study and experientialist attempts to reconstruct society to be based on fundamentally different assumptions about social and economic life. In *Experience and Education*, published in 1938, he tried to show that knowledge, social needs, and individual needs could all be integrated if we thought about it more deeply. At the same time, philosopher of education Boyd H. Bode also argued for proponents of social reconstruction and child study to realize common purposes through democracy as a way of life, urging experientialists not to become divorced at the crossroad of child study and social reconstruction. Nevertheless, the social context of the time and disputes among educators prevailed, resulting in a dearth of experientialist practice until the 1960s.

In the 1960s, counterculture educators, such as A. S. Neill, Sylvia Ashton Warner, Jonathan Kozol, Herbert Kohl, George Dennison, James Herndon, John Holt, and others reported on practices of reaching student needs through interests, thus, tying education to life experience.

The reconceptualization of curriculum thought that emerged in the 1970s through work of James B. Macdonald, Dwayne Huebner, Maxine Greene, Ted T. Aoki, and others drew upon not only the pragmatist tradition of progressive education in Dewey and others, but through existentialism and phenomenology and issued in a new source of experientialism. Captured in the term, *currere*, the active verb form of the noun, *curriculum*, educators and students alike were encouraged by William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet to engage their present moment by reconstituting their past experience through reflection in anticipation of possibilities for alternative futures.

Critics of an experientialist approach hold that student interests and concerns are not valid indicators of needs, because students are too immature to know what is in their best interest. Moreover, some contend that experientialist

education does not provide adequate coverage of the realms of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that experts know are needed in life. Experientialists counter by arguing that students who are autocratically prepared will never learn the goals of self-education and democratic participation.

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*See also* Albery, Harold; Child-Centered Curriculum; Core Curriculum; Currere; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Dewey, John; *Democracy and Education*; Eight Year Study, The; Experienced Curriculum; Informal Curriculum; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs

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## FAMILY AND CONSUMER SCIENCES CURRICULUM

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Through the years, the central focus of the family and consumer sciences profession (previously known as home economics) has changed from skills needed to operate an efficient home to knowledge required to become a professional in a specialized field. The home economics and family and consumer sciences curriculum evolved from training for work in the home to the study of the family and its internal and external relationships. Curriculum planners used current job market demand to develop curriculum in career-oriented specializations.

The formal home economics movement (later known as the field of family and consumer sciences) began in the mid-19th century as an ideal curriculum for women's study. It included the practical application of art and science to skills needed to properly maintain a home. Women taught the subject in a variety of venues such as women's clubs and schools at all levels. It carried such names as domestic science, domestic art, and domestic economy. Then, from 1899 to 1909, participants at the 10 Lake Placid Conferences established the field and developed cohesive curriculum for home economics. The field of home economics with integrated, focused curriculum designed to imbue arts and sciences into homemaking grew rapidly through the middle 20th century. Federal legislation and funding influenced the curriculum development of homemaking

programs in secondary schools and cooperative extension programs in adult education. In the second half of the 20th century, as more women began to demand careers outside the home, the traditional home economics curriculum lost relevancy, forcing home economics curriculum leaders to change from integrated to more specialized, vocational-prone programs. One manifestation of the upheaval is the 1993 changing of the name of the field from home economics to family and consumer sciences. The history of the home economics and family and consumer sciences curriculum is relevant to the field of curriculum studies because classic curriculum dilemmas and changes emerged over the course of the 100-year history of home economics and family and consumer sciences.

The number of women working full-time increased steadily in the second half of the 20th century. This phenomenon caused a profound effect on the family including changes in dietary habits, child raising, and family patterns. As the family evolved, home economics and family and consumer sciences experienced difficulty keeping its mission central. Throughout the 1960s, professionals in the field of home economics struggled with the conflicting focus of preparing homemakers and career women, and college curricula reflected this conflict. Women traditionally had chosen either a career or marriage, but few women selected both options. The curriculum reflected society's ambivalence about women's domestic and career roles through the continued offering of a general major for young women who intended to become full-time homemakers along with the

development of management courses that encouraged women to plan their time so that they could perform both roles well. However, some curriculum planners began to recognize that the time had come to develop programs for students who wanted a career in a specific profession rather than as a homemaker.

By the end of the 1960s and 1970s, more and more home economics graduates sought lifelong careers outside the home, and higher education curricula became increasingly specialized. Home economics moved farther away from its original vision as an integrative field. The profession continued to respond to market demands by developing curricula that would educate graduates for the jobs available. The focus shifted away from the development of skills needed to manage a home and toward the development of knowledge and skills needed for a career in a specialized field. Relentlessly, curricula transformed from general to specific.

Colleges and universities offered specialized programs in areas that had once been part of the integrated whole of the home economics curriculum. The clothing and textiles areas became fashion merchandising, fashion design, and textiles degrees. The home management areas became hotel and institutional management, financial management, consumer studies, and housing. Interior designers developed highly specialized curriculum with strict accreditation standards. Food and nutrition evolved into the dietetics field with an accompanying certification called the registered dietitian. Child and family relations curricula evolved into a variety of programs including early childhood education, family therapy, and social work. Many of these specialized programs now have their own professional organizations and accreditations. Others have aligned with their base disciplines rather than family and consumer sciences.

By the end of the 20th century, most colleges and universities had ceased offering either a common set of courses for their majors or the general home economics degree. The traditional home economics curriculum as developed for women who would become homemakers in the beginning of the century no longer is in existence.

The first decade of the 21st century has brought even more specialization to curricula in colleges and universities and secondary schools. In addition,

unprecedented accountability permeates all levels of education. Family and consumer sciences curriculum planners at the university level continue to develop curriculum based on market trends as secondary schools work to meet the requirements of the Perkins federal legislation. Extension agents continue to determine the needs of local communities and plan programs within the expertise of the Cooperative Extension Service.

By 1993, the field had been renamed family and consumer sciences, but higher education had already undergone a frenzy of curriculum and name changes. The former home economics academic units in U.S. colleges and universities were named human ecology, family sciences, human environmental sciences, family and consumer sciences, or other designations. No unifying curriculum could be considered typical of most historically home economics academic units. The cohesive, integrated field of home economics from 1960 no longer existed. However, professionals in the field recognize that while the historical focus of home economics and family and consumer sciences may no longer be relevant, the diverse and integrated needs of families, individuals, and communities remain. Experts in all the specialized areas of family and consumer sciences continue to work in service careers and as volunteers to improve the lives of the people around them. In this way home, economics and family and consumer sciences thrives through the diverse curriculum and the careers of the myriad professionals practicing today.

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*See also* Family and Consumer Sciences Curriculum, History of; Technical Education Curriculum; Technical Education Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum, History of

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## FAMILY AND CONSUMER SCIENCES CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The curriculum of family and consumer sciences (home economics) symbolized the field's unifying focus and in higher educational institutions reflected the changing conception of home economics and family and consumer sciences throughout the 20th century. The concepts taught in traditional home economics and family and consumer sciences curricula embodied the prevailing notion of essential knowledge in the field. These ideas developed into courses in the following subject areas: family relations and child development, textiles and clothing, housing and interior design, home management and consumer economics, foods and nutrition, and home economics foundations and professional development. These subject areas formed the organizational center of home economics and developed into the curriculum. However, the integrated curriculum has given way to a more specialized curriculum as home economics and family and consumer sciences have moved into the 21st century.

The 19th century society began to allow access for women to public college education, and home economics evolved as a curriculum especially designed for them. Young women learned the science of planning homes that could be built with sanitary and safety features. Home decoration and clothing design utilized art principles. Scientific discoveries helped to build knowledge in cooking, cleaning, and laundry. The 10 Lake Placid Conferences (1899–1908), hosted by Melvil and Annie Dewey, founded the field of home economics. These conferences formally recognized curricula that had been taught to young women in varying forms since colonial times and established the study of these curricula in higher, secondary, and adult education. The education of women in the 18th and 19th centuries in the United States included home taught needle arts and social skills. In the late 19th century, Ellen Swallow Richards,

the founder of home economics, wanted to develop a new field of study that utilized science to improve the environment of the home. A chemist, she developed sanitary standards for home cleanliness using chemistry, biology, and physics. She advanced her goal of practical application of science to home economics through her leadership in the Lake Placid Conferences.

The Lake Placid Conference participants formalized home economics as a discipline and determined knowledge and skills needed by homemakers and those who would teach them. Even in the early years of these conferences, leaders articulated two worldviews about how the curriculum should be conceptualized. Should the home economics curriculum reflect an empirical, positivistic, or an interpretative field of study? These two modes of thought, empirical versus interpretative, profoundly influenced curriculum development early in the 20th century; however, most home economics curriculum developed in the direction of the empirical science group. Therefore, early curriculum emphasized skill orientation and developed empirically, working within society rather than attempting to change society.

### Curriculum in the Early Years

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many colleges and universities founded baccalaureate programs in home economics. Early curricula focused on the skills needed to improve the home environment. Required courses included sanitation, hygiene, laundry, and home building for proper ventilation, heating, and plumbing. Curriculum planners considered the concepts taught in these courses as essential to the health and well-being of family members. The homemaker also produced many goods and services, and the curriculum emphasized skills needed to make clothing, food, linens, and decorative accessories. Each school conceptualized the essential knowledge differently and required diverse subjects such as floriculture, entertainment, hand sewing, and millinery. Model courses from these years seem archaic today. For example, many schools offered a household sanitation course that included instruction for building a home with proper sanitation through plumbing, ventilation, heating, and lighting. Students also learned how to keep an existing home clean and sanitary in this

course. Necessity created this early interest in sanitation because several deadly diseases thrived in impure water. Scientists had only recently discovered the dangers of mixing untreated sewage and drinking water sources. New scientific knowledge resulted in better planning and placement of out-houses so sewage would drain away from drinking water sources. In addition, the skills taught in the home economics curriculum helped the homemaker to become more efficient in her massive workload.

Many colleges and universities required home nursing as a part of this applied science curriculum. In the early years of home economics, sick family members stayed at home to be treated. Doctors called at the home to diagnose the illness and to give treatment instructions to the care giver, usually the homemaker. Therefore, the early home economics curriculum included home nursing concepts. As medicine and hospitals became more effective, these home nursing concepts grew less necessary and disappeared from the home economics curriculum.

Students learned skills that represented the artistic orientation of the curriculum including hand sewing, embroidery, knitting, crocheting, weaving, and other fancy hand work. Earlier programs utilized primarily hand sewing instruction for the curriculum. The embroidery and art courses included mastering many advanced handwork skills such as French eyelets, initials, and feather stitching. Some early programs required a separate course in millinery, the art of making hats. The textiles courses at some schools emphasized the artistic home production of fabric. Textiles course planners later dropped the artistic components and emphasized the chemical composition of fibers and their characteristics as well as an industrial understanding of the construction of fabrics. Weaving and fabric design moved out of most home economics units.

Other artistic courses included clothing design and dressmaking. As commercially made clothing became readily available, hand sewing courses disappeared. Remaining courses prepared students to construct their own clothing using commercial patterns and sewing machines. Laundry claimed a large part of the woman's work week, and washing had to be done by hand, a task made more difficult by voluminous and heavy clothing. Washing machines helped with the work; however, the labor remained intense. The laundry course encompassed laundry equipment,

chemicals, starches, stain removal, and handling of various fiber types. As time passed, however, academic institutions eliminated these skill courses in favor of theoretical curricula.

In housing and interior design, faculty taught design principles so that students could apply them to home decoration and clothing production. A typical course in theory of design included design elements and principles and color analysis. Students used these design principles to plan and select home decor.

Most institutions' early curricula did not require courses in family relations or child development. Curriculum leaders gradually added them in the 1920s after the psychology discipline gained recognition. Several courses prominent in the earliest curricula disappeared as the central concepts solidified in the early decades of the 20th century.

In the early 20th century, society expected women to labor in the home, and home economics programs provided an education aimed at developing efficient homemakers. Curricula presented a single set of courses for the baccalaureate degree in home economics. Women utilized their education for one of two vocations: homemaking or teaching other women homemaking skills. The historical curriculum in home economics reveals leaders' notion that all majors should have a breadth of knowledge in the field's subject areas. The traditional curriculum assumed that all home economists embraced the common mission of improving home living and therefore should master a broad base of knowledge about the home. The development of curriculum in home economics and family and consumer sciences echoes themes in development of curricula in other fields and institutions. The dichotomy of integration and specialization framed the issues that emerged as home economics continually searched for the combination of courses and concepts that best focused the field.

In response to the difficult economic times of the Great Depression years of the 1930s, colleges and universities developed courses in management of scarce resources. During this era, home economists began to divide academic subjects into five categories:

1. child development and family relationships;
2. housing, equipment, and home management;
3. family economics and consumer education;



4. foods and nutrition; and
5. clothing and textiles.

The curriculum of the 1940s reflected society's needs during World War II and recovery. Because many women worked in traditionally male jobs, the need for child care temporarily became necessary resulting in an increased interest in studying child development and family relationships. Home economists served the war effort by developing food conservation programs, nutrition classes, child care centers, and industrial feeding programs. Research in textiles, clothing, nutrition, and foods increased as home economists helped to determine better ways to clothe and feed the troops.

The family began to change after World War II, again shifting the mission of the profession of home economics. During the war, women worked in large numbers to assist in the war effort. Immediately after World War II, the family had irrevocably changed, but most families attempted to return to prewar lifestyles. Women made room for veterans in the workplace by returning to full-time homemaking. However, by the 1960s, increasing numbers of women returned to the labor market.

College curriculum in home economics reflected society's ambivalence toward the dual role of homemaker and full-time worker. Most colleges and universities continued to offer the general home economics undergraduate major designed to train women to be homemakers. However, as women continued to seek careers outside the home, the need for more specialized majors developed.

### Curriculum in Mid-20th Century

By midcentury, leaders developed a fairly standardized home economics curriculum that dominated the field, reflecting certainty that this constituted essential knowledge for entry-level professional home economists. Institutions required students to study a balanced curriculum with a sampling of courses from the artistic and scientific areas of the field. These courses carried over from the early years when the domestic science and domestic art areas combined to form home economics. The basic art course, usually taught by interior design faculty, emphasized an appreciation for art elements and principles as they applied to design in the home environment. Art, sewing skill,

clothing selection, and consumer concepts combined to form the typical clothing and textiles curriculum. An often required beginning clothing construction course typically included selection of commercial dress patterns and development of skills needed to sew a garment.

The basic courses in foods and nutrition included concepts in preparation of food and in the relationship of eating nutritious food and good health. Home management courses included wise use of money and resources such as time and energy, such as balancing both career and homemaking. In family resource management, students studied home management philosophy, work simplification, planning for family financial security, and general management of all the family's resources. Family finance courses included concepts in banking, credit, and insurance. Household equipment involved the selection, use, and care of large equipment and small appliances and the understanding of the energy sources of gas and electricity.

Home management residences simulated a traditional home environment and integrated skills and essential knowledge learned in the home economics program. This capstone course required students to live together in a residence under faculty supervision. They operated a house by planning meals and parties, shopping, cleaning, and laundering. Some schools even arranged for the home management residents to care for an infant. This course emphasized integrated skills that had been associated with traditional expectations of full-time homemakers in the first half of the century. As homemakers' roles changed, the need for the course diminished. By 1990, most home management residences had been closed and the course eliminated.

The area of child development and family relationships contributed courses to the curriculum. Marriage and family relationships courses contributed the knowledge about courtship, marriage, and the family through the life cycle. The course in child development typically studied the growth of the young child to age 6 and was a requirement in the general home economics baccalaureate degree.

### Adult Education

Cooperative Extension Agents, affiliated with land-grant universities, consistently developed and delivered the majority of the home economics

adult education through the 20th century. Land-grant universities are institutions of higher education established in each state as a result of the Federal Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. These federal programs gave land to the states for use in funding the institutions. The land-grant colleges and universities provided a practical education in agriculture, home economics, military tactics, and mechanical arts to members of the working class. Later legislation established experiment stations to conduct research on improving agriculture. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 brought federal funding to land-grant universities to distribute their research to rural families. The funds established the Cooperative Extension Service, a virtual army of agents from departments of agriculture and home economics to teach the adults and youth of a rural community new knowledge about farming and homemaking. These agents lived and worked in the communities they served giving trusted advice on a variety of issues. The agents also developed 4-H programs in which youth learned skills, researched, and competed in areas emphasized by the Cooperative Extension Service.

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the Home Economics Cooperative Extension Service taught adults and youth basic skills such as cooking, sewing, entertaining, meal planning, and canning. In the second half of the century and into the first decade of the 21st century, rural families decreased dramatically, and the cooperative extension service curriculum shifted to serve the needs of the changing population demographics. As the constituent needs changed and more urban persons required assistance, county agents selected projects based on needs of the communities they served. Curriculum has evolved to consist of subjects such as food, nutrition, teen pregnancy, child development, financial literacy, and safe handling of food.

### Secondary Education

The Smith-Hughes Vocational Act of 1917 pledged federal funds to public school homemaking programs. This vocational act defined homemaking as an unpaid vocation, and for many years, the secondary education homemaking programs received special funding as a separate line item within the vocational budget. This level of funding allowed

for funds to go directly to homemaking programs at the local level with no state reallocation of the money. The Smith-Hughes and Smith-Lever federal programs helped to solidify the college curriculum in home economics because a baccalaureate degree was a requirement for employment as a public school teacher or extension agent. At the high school level, homemaking teachers taught a curriculum that closely reflected their college curriculum; however, to continue receiving vocational funding, the curriculum followed the mandates of the federal Smith-Hughes Act. The students learned in an experiential curriculum in which they prepared long-term projects in and out of the classroom. Another large part of the experiential curriculum was the vocational youth organizations, the Future Homemakers of America and New Homemakers of America (African American youth organization). These two organizations merged in 1965, becoming the Future Homemakers of America. In 1999, the organization changed again to Future Community and Career Leaders of America, reflecting a continuing trend toward job preparation in the high school curriculum.

Each renewal of the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent vocational acts brought new mandates for vocational homemaking programs. In the second half of the 20th century, the federal vocational mandates began to recommend and then insist that the home economics and family and consumer sciences programs train students more for careers and less for homemaking. This trend reflected the changes in society and the need for everyone to develop job skills.

As the first decade of the 21st century comes to an end, the new career and technical education act is the Carl Perkins Act. In home economics and family and consumer sciences, the curriculum interprets the act by emphasizing career paths and outcomes. The programs continue the trend toward career development and away from homemaking. Many state curricula utilize the national Family and Consumer Sciences Standards developed in 1998.

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*See also* Family and Consumer Sciences Curriculum; Technical Education Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum, History of

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## FEMINIST THEORIES

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Feminist theories are multiple, hybrid, complex, and changing. There is no one homogeneous, unified feminism or feminist theory. And although it is impossible to illuminate all aspects and variations of feminist theories in this entry, even when narrowed to the field of curriculum studies, it is possible to say that feminist theories are conflicting as well as intertwined, in response to one another as well as to particular social and cultural contexts and historical moments. They are part of, and yet critique from diverse theoretical orientations, the broader feminist political movement that seeks to rectify sexist discrimination and inequalities. Further, in their many variants, they do center and simultaneously problematize conceptions of the categories woman and gender identity, for example, and the various situations, embodiments, contexts, and institutions that frame diverse lived realities.

Together, feminist theories represent wildly divergent theoretical orientations, methodological, and analytic approaches and often incompatible

approaches to the category gender and the social, psychological, and historical systems within which sexual identity becomes meaningful. Feminist theories often self-identify as representative of certain ideological positions, theoretical orientations, and disciplinary boundaries. And yet, given contemporary and rapidly changing contexts of globalization, theories simultaneously are destabilized through intertextuality, interdisciplinarity, and efforts to understand implications of race, ethnicity, nationality, class, sexuality, colonialism, and imperialism, for example, as intertwined with gender and as fluid and changing categories and forces that organize social and symbolic systems.

One typical way of attempting to grasp as well as to consider the now vast research and literature as well as widely varying theoretical orientations of feminist curriculum scholars, teachers, and activists is to align various work within the chronological groupings neatly identified as first, second, and third wave feminisms. Many other ways of identifying and grouping feminist theories are possible, of course, and even nomenclature attached to historically organized distinctions varies. Further, no matter how one attempts to organize and group prominent feminist theories, within each attempt are countless examples of widely differing epistemological and ontological assumptions and framings.

Within curriculum studies, however, it is prudent to adopt this chronological schema, given that feminist theories and studies that first appeared in the U.S. field during the 1970s are most congruent with characteristics assigned to second wave feminist theories and practices. Into the 21st century, a wide variety of feminist theories have proliferated in curriculum studies worldwide and yet may still be identified as loosely aligned with overall assumptions and characteristics of major feminist theories generated within the second and third waves, especially.

### First and Second Wave Feminisms

First wave feminism, labeled retroactively as such in the 1970s, refers to pioneers of the women's movement and that phase of feminist activity during the 19th and early 20th century in the United Kingdom and the United States. It focused on

officially mandated inequalities, primarily on gaining women's right to vote, the right to own property, economic independence, and the right to work for a reasonable salary. Both first and second wave feminisms largely were confined to White, middle- and upper-middle class Western, mainly northern hemispherical women, an issue that was taken up within second and third wave feminisms from a variety of theoretical as well as subject-position orientations and concerns.

The second wave of the women's movement in the United States generally refers to a period of feminist activity and theorizing that began during the early 1960s and lasted into the 1980s. Second wave feminism addressed a wide range of issues, including sexual harassment, equal pay, access to education and jobs, official legal inequalities, sexuality, family, the workplace, and perhaps most controversially, reproductive rights. These foci led to general consensus on the need to establish theories of social causation, which most agreed lay at the level of social structure; to establish a feminist epistemology; and to examine the relationships between theory and practice and among experience, subjectivity, and theory. In fact, many second wave feminist theories assumed that a specific cause of women's oppression could be specified. Theories focused on a patriarchal system of inheritance, male control of women's fertility and reproductive rights, and capitalism's need for a docile labor force.

Both first and second wave feminisms were crafted through what often is generically called liberal feminism, whose theories assumed a notion of the universalized category, woman. Assumptions about that category and the focus on political struggles for rights, equity, and emancipation from patriarchy (within this general framing, also a universalized category) most often have been grounded in Enlightenment narratives of a unitary, fully conscious self, individual agency, and a general theory of oppression and liberation.

### *Feminist Curriculum Theorizing*

Given these assumptions that characterized a range of theories within the second wave, much feminist work in curriculum studies during the 1970s and 1980s centered on projects of reclamation and critique, including theorizing ideologies

of domesticity, the feminization of teaching, women teachers' conceptions of themselves and their roles in educating and education, women's inequality in educational access, and histories of women's contributions in a curriculum field that was, from its inception, male dominated and situated within technical-rational assumptions about teaching and learning. Further, different theoretical orientations enabled feminist curriculum theorizing to range across a number of issues and emphases within the context of curriculum studies and research, writ large.

For example, some feminist curriculum scholars theorized from psychoanalytic, phenomenological, and critical theory perspectives, analyzing the pervasive impact of patriarchy on the social construction of teaching and the emergence of the feminization of teaching. Some drew on women's experiences of caring, as well as of reproduction and nurturance, and theorized these experiences as potentially positive sites of power and creativity that could influence their curricular and teaching practices. Others examined, from autobiographical perspectives, their constructions of themselves as women teachers in relation to dominant gender relations and curricular constructions.

### *Psychoanalytic Theories*

In the mid and late 1970s, feminist theories were strongly influenced by psychoanalytic models of sexuality and subjectivity, models that in turn were influenced by Sigmund Freud's and Jacques Lacan's work. A few curriculum theorists introduced into the field of curriculum studies in the 1970s the psychoanalytic work of Lacan to examine how teachers' and students' psycho-social identities are constructed in schools and in educational discourses and how these identities affect teaching and learning. Unlike Freud, Lacan removes the question of sexual identity from the realm of biology to place it in the field of signification—that is, the child is not born a subject who then acquires appropriate social characteristics. Rather, the child becomes a subject through social intervention, through entry into what Lacan terms the symbolic and thus to language.

Moving out of the work of Lacan and Freud, some feminist curriculum theorists used object relations theory, especially as represented by



feminist psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow, a theory that turned the traditional psychoanalysis from the son and father relationship to a psychology of the relation to the mother in children of both sexes, a reading not as directly tied to the idea of cultural gender as Freudian thought. Other curricular feminists working during the second wave were influenced by the work of French feminists Luce Irigaray, Helene Cixous, and Julia Kristeva. These feminists, differently drawing from Lacanian theories of language and subjectivity as well as aspects of poststructuralist theory, reject the notion of the unified subject as a remnant of patriarchal ideology.

### *Phenomenology and Hermeneutics*

Drawing on phenomenology as a philosophy of experience, some feminist curriculum theorists focused on examining and describing their own structures of experiences as teachers, writers, researchers. Some aligned with Edmund Husserl's concentration on suspending the natural attitude of everyday knowing—to bracket the external object-world—in order to focus their attention on what is immanent in consciousness itself without presupposing anything about its origins or supports.

Some curriculum feminists found Martin Heidegger to be helpful in their work examining their underlying assumptions and expectations as women teachers and curriculum theorists in that he argued that inherent in understanding is a forestructure of beliefs and assumptions that guide interpretations. Heidegger and his student, Hans-Georg Gadamer, also provided hermeneutics with its central innovation in the 20th century—that is, they argued that hermeneutics no longer could concern itself only with understanding and interpretation of written texts or speech. Rather, they argued, drawing on Heidegger's ontological emphasis, that instead of attempting to understand something, the focus should be on understanding as the way of being-in-the-world as the primary way humans exist prior to any cognition or intellectual activity. Gadamer extends this thinking by focusing on what is already occurring when individuals encounter documents from the past, including written records of memories and experiences, something many feminists have focused on in terms of claiming their own herstories.

### *Critical Theories and Materialist Feminisms*

Versions of Marxist feminism built on the Enlightenment tradition, but stressed the importance of ideology and the centrality of class struggle to cultural analyses and social change. In curriculum studies, those who identified as materialist feminists and those who worked within the Frankfurt School of critical theory, which turned away from the traditional paths of Marxism and toward modes of theoretical and empirical social analyses of modern culture, argued for critiques of the gendered character of class and race relations under multinational capitalism. Material feminist theories suggest that formations of gender, including sexuality and the body, are inflected by political, social, and economic structures. Further, in what is generally known as radical feminism, some feminist curriculum theorizing focused on women's emancipation as requiring a distancing from a male-dominated society in its entirety. Although such separatist politics that also argued for the removal of global patriarchal power structures were not shared among all who identify as radical feminists, the goal of radical feminist theories included critical examinations of representations of patriarchal power and dominance in subject-matter texts as well as constructions and enactments of curriculum and pedagogy.

### *Transitions Into Feminist Theories of the 1990s and Into the 21st Century*

This sweeping and brief overview of feminist theories framed by second wave feminist concerns and foci can only gesture toward the range and depth of the work produced in curriculum studies during the 1970s and 1980s. Theorizing concepts such as oppression and patriarchy and the influence of those on conceptions and materializations of curriculum as well as of the feminized roles that positioned women as less than—as other—that dominated in the managerial and technical-rational origins of the field were crucial contributions in advancing feminist curriculum theories.

However, with the prominent political impact in the late 1980s of critiques by women of color, self-identified lesbians, and women from underdeveloped nations of racist, ethnocentric, and heterosexual assumptions of a largely Western, White, middle-class feminism, feminist curriculum theorizing began

to shift from a first and second wave general focus on issues of equality and a universalized notion of woman to issues, constructions, and the politics of difference.

### Third Wave Feminisms

Although apparent in some feminist curriculum theorizing during the late 1970s and through the 1980s, feminist curriculum theories from the 1990s to the present have been complicated dramatically by the work of those who have situated themselves at the intersections of feminisms with a number of antifoundational movements, including poststructuralist, postcolonial, and transnational feminisms. It is important to note that the concept of *post* common to some of these perspectives and discourses in no way indicates that oppressive and imperialist relations have been overcome. Rather, antifoundational theories attend to a new range of temporal, political, social, and cultural relations even as they challenge hegemonic assumptions held by second wave epistemologies that patriarchal and imperialist oppression was a universally experienced oppression, for example.

In antifoundational framings of feminisms and their contradictions, an overall goal is not a depoliticization of feminisms through a total insistence on removal of all essentialized identity categories, such as woman. Rather, the turn toward antifoundational philosophies and critiques is more a shift in conceptual and theoretical agendas that mean to address the demands of what are self-identified as marginalized, colonized, and diasporic cultures. Central to such a turn, sometimes referred to as the postmodern turn, are constructions of identity, subjectivity, and difference within feminist theoretical debates, as are foci on narrative, local, fragmented, ambivalent, and irreducible contradictions and instabilities in all conceptions and productions of human knowledge and identities.

#### *Poststructuralist, Postcolonial, and Transnational Influences*

Although well beyond the bounds of this overview of feminist theories that are infused with poststructuralist, postcolonial, and transnational perspectives, several general themes and trends in contemporary feminist curriculum theories can be

noted. Threading through the following brief examples, which highlight poststructuralist perspectives, are influences of postcolonial and transnational feminisms that call into question any assumptions that there is a pure or totally essential form of subaltern or transnational consciousness, the truth of which can be retrieved independently of the determinations of (neo)colonial forms of knowledge production as well as dominant discursive practices. Such work especially encourages scrupulous vigilance toward the terms of engagement with non-Western others and undermines foundational models of identity, which might in fact encourage reverse ethnocentrism. Such work also resists any representations of feminist theories and research as able to assimilate national (local) discourses, practices, and representations into an imperial global archive.

#### *Autobiographical Inquiries*

By focusing on poststructuralist theories that argue for a decentered notion of the subject, feminist curriculum theorists have worked to infuse autobiographical theories and approaches, for example, with research that disrupts the Western humanist idea of a single subjectivity, which at any moment is fixed, complete, and thus able to be totally represented. Instead, poststructuralist feminist curriculum theorists and researchers have shifted their emphases as regards what constructs perceptions, thoughts, emotions, memories, and actions to linguistic and discursive contexts, which socially and culturally create forms and possible expressions of subjectivity limited in time and space. These feminists work to demonstrate how language is not an expression of subjectivity, but rather constitutes subjectivity. Subjectivity, then, is more a process than a structure—something that is unstable, contradictory, and that depends, in its constant reconstitutions, on discourses that are available. Thus, depending on language, on (im)possible forms of representation, and discursive contexts, different forms of subjectivity are constituted.

Many curricular feminist autobiographical inquiries thus theorize identity, embodiment, experience, agency, and memory as constitutive processes of autobiographical subjectivity. Briefly, then, instead of concentrating on remembering or

tracing relationality and “fixed versions of identity as foundational and transparent components of autobiographical theorizing, for example, feminist poststructuralists focus on ways in which fluidities of memories and constructions of identities and interconnections with others are constantly in movement through time and across political, discursive, and geographic spaces. Autobiographical work must take on the task of disrupting any identity category that is positioned as assigned or assumed, and instead focus on implications of any identity construction as being a site of openness and thus able to be resignified in subversive and normatively disruptive ways.

### *Antifoundational Forms of Curriculum Research*

Issues of constructions of subjectivity and identity are closely related to issues and questions of possibilities of a feminist epistemology within feminist theoretical analyses and forms of research. Feminist standpoint theorists, for example, in the 1990s, modified their claims that only women and women’s experiences can generate feminist knowledge by making problematic the concepts of experience and oppression.

Current antifoundational feminist curriculum researchers have moved into troublings of research in terms of who may be counted as a knower and as a representer of others and in terms of self-knowledge. Exploring crucial aspects of the crisis in representation, rather than positioning themselves as able to produce unmediated accounts of research participants’ or their own narratives, or full chronicling of events as observed, feminist poststructuralist researchers draw attention to the politics and discursive constructions of knowing and of being known as they (impossibly) attempt to tell others and their own stories. Such research highlights, at the minimum, the paradoxes of being placed and placing selves in positions of speaking for, with, and of others from partial, situated, and densely invested positions.

Further, such feminist antifoundational research practices shift research inquiries from attempting to discern what something or someone means, to investigations of how meanings change, how they have become established as normative or have been dismissed, and how such interrogations can yield information about how power is constituted

and operates in particular contexts and local situations.

### **Feminist Theories as Always in the Making**

Multiple and vast extensions of feminist theories now are visible in all aspects of curriculum studies and inquiries, including queer theories, cultural, masculinist, gender, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, indigenous, and critical race theory studies, for example. In addition, feminist theories continue to influence aesthetic, ecological, psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, postcolonial, and transnational inquiries, to name a few currently circulating curriculum discourses. The above review only touched upon myriad issues, problematics, and theoretical framings of feminist theories, writ large.

Given that feminist theories must now respond to current worldly circumstances, including influences of global flows and mobilities on any constructions or inquiries into self and other, they also must be regarded as always on the move, always in the making, never settling into one fixed or untranslatable representation or analysis. Rather, the generative possibilities of feminist theories reside in their commitments to the necessary labor of constructing, across and with/in differences, a concept of what it means to be human that can encompass groups with very diverse ideas, contexts, and local situations. Such commitments add immeasurably to the scope and depth of curriculum studies and research.

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*See also* Critical Race Feminism; Gender Research; Identity Politics; Lesbian Research; Queer Theory; Postcolonial Theory; Poststructuralist Research; Sexuality Research; Subaltern Curriculum Studies

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## FORMAL CURRICULUM

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The formal curriculum is designed as a framework for instructional planning that outlines broad goals and strategies to reach them. The foundations of the formal curriculum are based on publicly valued intellectual, social, cultural, political, and economic funds of knowledge. Knowledge, skills, and understandings that have educational value to the individual and society are included. Often a school district's formal curriculum is based on the state's curriculum frameworks. Learner-centered goals rather than teaching-centered goals are the hallmark of 21st-century curriculum. Typically, this curriculum comprises high expectations to challenge the students and be competitive with the international educational community. The formal curriculum is readily available in written documents and/or displayed on Web sites. It may also be referred to as the planned curriculum, written curriculum, or the official curriculum.

Formal curriculum generally starts with a philosophy or set of broad-based goals. It then organizes the knowledge needed to meet these goals into a scope and sequence that defines the breadth of the curriculum and the order. After the curriculum is taught, student learning of the curriculum is assessed.

Formal curriculum may be designed by the teachers in a district utilizing the state standards for the discipline, their past experience in teaching the discipline, and consultation with a discipline expert. Formal curriculum may also be developed by curriculum specialists in the district or purchased commercially and then customized by teachers or district curriculum specialists. Whether designed by teachers or curriculum specialists each curriculum is somewhat unique, based on characteristics of these individuals.

Although there are numerous types of curriculum, the formal curriculum differs from the taught or instructional curriculum and the assessed or tested curriculum in several ways. The taught curriculum is decided on by the teacher either individually or in small team groups and is based largely on the learned curriculum as evidenced by how the students respond to what has been taught. The formal curriculum often is much broader in scope than time allows for the teacher to teach; hence, the taught curriculum becomes a subset of the formal curriculum. High-stakes tests are based on standards and the formal curriculum. Key points in the formal curriculum are chosen for test items, resulting in the tested curriculum, another subset of the formal curriculum. Students balance the formal curriculum against extracurricular activities at the high school level. Students need both mastery of the formal curriculum displayed as grades, test scores, and so on and involvement in extracurricular activities for college matriculation. Finally, the formal curriculum differs from the hidden curriculum in that the formal curriculum is publicly displayed, affirmed, taught to, and tested, while the hidden curriculum is never written and is primarily based on what is not taught.

The content of the curriculum is determined by the curriculum standards and by the philosophical viewpoint of the designers. Traditionalists organize curriculum by discipline and view knowledge as objective. Constructivists see knowledge as dynamic and ever changing as it is constructed by the student. They would tend to organize curriculum by broad-based themes and build in flexibility. Due to the current trend of high-stakes tests that label schools and districts as acceptable or in need of improvement, the traditional viewpoint of curriculum has become the formal curriculum in most



U.S. schools. If knowledge is not objective, then high-stakes tests lose their foundation.

The formal curriculum is not static or value free. States have been known to change the formal curriculum in an attempt to align the formal curriculum with the taught and tested curriculum. This alignment has been deemed necessary in order to improve student test scores on state-mandated tests. Values may be included within the formal curriculum as overt objectives such as “The learner will appreciate narrative poetry.” Or values may be inferred from what is included and excluded from the formal curriculum. Sociologists may view the formal curriculum as a purveyor of the dominant culture and vital to instilling the habits of good citizenship however those are defined.

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*See also* Curriculum Auditing; Curriculum Design; Curriculum Development; Hidden Curriculum; Informal Curriculum; Tested Curriculum

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## FOUCAULDIAN THOUGHT

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Foucauldian thought in curriculum studies attends to the idea that human understanding is shaped by the systems of ideas available during a particular historical period. Central to his work, Michel Foucault offers critiques of representations of the human subject as (a) possessing a consciousness that is transparent to itself, or (b) possessing the ability to observe and evaluate historical and contemporary events from outside systems of thought characteristic of a period. The phrase has taken on contemporary significance for enabling curriculum scholars to develop theories of resistance and trouble Enlightenment notions of reason and logic. More recent, Foucauldian thought has been helpful for studying issues of control and freedom as they relate to government policy on educational research and officially sanctioned perspectives on

teaching and learning. The following explores three registers of Foucauldian thought that have been influential within curriculum studies.

With his articulation of archeology, Foucault offered curriculum studies a compelling method of discourse analysis. More specifically, Foucault provides scholars with an alternate understanding of historical truth. He eschews a progressive, singular, and linear narrative of history in the search for a more expansive and disjunctive approach to historical understanding that attends to infinite microstories, each with unique relationships on multiple levels with the contingencies of their past and future. Of key importance within Foucauldian thought, each of these microstories has a tangible existence in historical and contemporary texts, which can be analyzed. Within curriculum studies, Foucault’s discourse analysis challenged the possibility of a total or complete history of curriculum concepts—that is, it challenged a conception of curriculum history where it is possible to capture an essential or universal essence of prior periods. Instead, what Foucauldian thought has provided curriculum studies is a method for the study of general, but not universal, history, one where within textual analysis no continuities can be assumed. For curriculum studies, as an interdisciplinary field, Foucault’s archeology has had major ramifications. Curriculum scholars might no longer posit similar histories within each of the subdomains of the field; rather, the emphasis is more on heterogeneous forms of relationships. Similarly, with the emphasis on discourse and documents there is less attention toward the decisions and actions of curriculum figures than to the movement of material. Moreover, with the rejection of large-scale theories about teaching and learning, Foucauldian thought sparked attention to breaks, ruptures, and shifts in the limits of curriculum thought rather than toward continuities.

In addition to archeology, Foucault’s concept of biopower has been influential within the curriculum field. For Foucault, biopower contrasts with premodern modes of power, which are based in the threat of death from a rule making authority. In modern societies where authority must be grounded in reason, biopower focuses upon protecting life through the regulation of the body instead of employing intimidation or threats to secure acquiescence. Transferring the concept to

the scene of curriculum studies, education scholars have employed biopower to study the regulatory force of government by way of education, as well as the use of state power to promote well-being and health within different populations through inculcating certain habits and customs. Most important, as Foucault developed the concept, his notion of power is neutral in contrast to negative conceptions that had come before it, ones where force was used to thwart activity or thought. Therefore, when curriculum scholars extend Foucault's explication of biopower, which is placed in the service of maximizing life, they examine its productive capacities. They also attend to its dark side, one that becomes possible because within its logic a broad range of practices might be justified. These actions include the eradication of bodies of knowledge and populations of people because they are deemed a threat toward the life of a nation or humanity as a whole.

Finally, Foucault's focus upon processes of subjectification has been taken up repeatedly within the curriculum field. In contrast to theories that focus on voice and self-awareness, curriculum scholars have employed Foucauldian thought to highlight the ways in which the ability to speak is bounded by the discourses through which human subjectivities are constructed—that is, while the subjects of education might choose different discourses and attempt different tactics for making meaning, these choices are never the product of selves that can stand outside of history, culture, and language. Because subjects are positioned inside all three, curriculum scholars who employ Foucauldian thought focus upon the ways in which the researcher and researched alike are unfree to the extent that the statements they make are mediated by institutionally shaped linguistic customs that are never completely their own. This understanding does not mean that curriculum scholars employing Foucauldian thought assume that there is no space for resistance and freedom. On the contrary, although positions out of which to think and speak are shaped by the discourses that temporally and ontologically come before human subjects, the variety of those discourses produces both hegemonic and counterhegemonic positions that human subjects might come to occupy.

Foucauldian thought has in the past and will continue in the future to play a paramount role in

curriculum studies. Foucault unsettled many educators with his assertion that humans were neither fully independent nor fully rational subjects with capacities to exist beyond the forces of history. Instead, he portrayed human subjects as formations of the language and ideas available within the moments where lives take place. This does not mean Foucauldian thought should be interpreted as pessimistic. What is most useful in Foucault includes his analysis of the contested character of domination, his commitment to human freedom, and his assertion that power is not just repressive, but also productive. Most importantly, Foucauldian thought has provided at least three important lenses for examining educational issues.

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*See also* Deleuzeian Thought; Derridan Thought; Neo-Marxist Research; Postmodernism; Resistance Theory

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## FRAMES OF MIND

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In 1983, Howard Gardner, a Harvard University professor, authored *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences* and introduced his theory of multiple intelligence (also called MI theory) by initially identifying seven types of intelligence: linguistic intelligence, musical intelligence, logical-mathematical intelligence, spatial intelligence, bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, interpersonal intelligence, and intrapersonal intelligence. In 1999, he noted three additional intelligences—naturalist, spiritual, and existential intelligence.

Gardner's theory of multiple intelligence challenged traditional beliefs that intelligence is one

single construct, thus providing educators new ways of thinking about curriculum content and delivery as related to the intelligences. Curriculum based on the MI theory allows educators to promote students' success by focusing on students' unique intelligences and by developing those less prominent.

The nine intelligences in MI theory that can be incorporated into the curriculum as specific instructional strategies are as follows:

1. *Linguistic intelligence* involves the ability to effectively learn and use both spoken and written language to accomplish specific goals, including the ability to follow the rules of grammar, retain and recall the information, use language to express oneself rhetorically or poetically, and to communicate appropriately.

2. *Musical intelligence* refers to competence in the performance, composition, and appreciation of music and involves the capacity to sense, recognize, and compose musical pitches, tones, and rhythms.

3. *Logical-mathematical intelligence* encompasses the capacity to calculate accurately, reason deductively, and analyze problems logically, abstractly, and scientifically. Engineers, scientists, economists, accountants, lawyers, and detectives are among those who have high logical-mathematical intelligence.

4. *Spatial intelligence* relates to the recognition, use, and manipulation of patterns in small and large spaces. Artists, architects, sculptors, sailors, photographers, interior decorators, and strategic planners display spatial intelligence.

5. *Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence* consists of the capacities to control the motions of one's body or parts of the body and to manipulate objects in highly skilled ways. It is the ability to skillfully coordinate mental activity with physical motion. Athletes, dancers, performers, instrumentalists, and surgeons show highly evolved bodily-kinesthetic intelligence.

6. *Interpersonal intelligence* entails the capacities to understand the intentions, motivations, and desires of other people and to interact effectively with

others. Political and religious leaders, social workers, teachers, psychologists, and therapists may have such intelligence.

7. *Intrapersonal intelligence* involves the ability to understand oneself, including one's own emotions, desires, and fears and to be able to make effective use of this information to regulate one's own life. Some psychologists, therapists, counselors, and novelists may foreground the talent.

8. *Naturalist intelligence* involves the keen awareness of how to recognize, classify, and distinguish diverse plants, minerals, and/or animals in natural surroundings. Naturalist intelligence may include the ability to recognize artifacts in different cultures and historical periods.

9. *Existential intelligence* is the ability to locate oneself with respect to existential features of the human condition, the significance of life, the meaning of death, the ultimate fate of the physical and the psychological worlds, and experiences such as love of people or immersion in art.

According to Gardner, individuals generally possess more than one of the nine intelligences. He emphasized the importance of a varied or personalized curriculum aligned with learning strategies addressing multiple intelligences in order to enhance and develop students' particular intelligences. Acknowledging and addressing students' intelligences can motivate success. In addition, recognizing the intelligence types of each student and being aware of the different learning strategies related to the intelligences can aid teachers and counselors in developing curriculum to assist students in (a) setting personal goals, (b) identifying their own learning potential, and (c) developing personal curiosity and creativity. Considering the MI theory, teachers are able to develop and deliver curriculum aimed at assisting students to attain their full potential.

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See also Excellence; Frameworks in Curriculum Development; Individualized Education—Curriculum Programs; Learning Theories

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## FRAMEWORKS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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A curriculum framework is a subject-specific document that presents parameters to assist in the development of a curriculum and identifies learning outcomes for what schoolchildren are expected to know and be able to do as they relate to the knowledge and skills of a particular discipline. It provides direction to local districts and schools as they develop their curricula.

A framework is not a curriculum guide nor is it designed to be used as an instrument for the delivery of instruction. It can be used as a major resource for the development of regional or schools' curricula, instruction, and performance assessments and for professional development. Standards of achievement for subject areas are generally included in curriculum frameworks. Thus, curriculum frameworks provide the basis for teaching, learning, and assessing in a particular subject area or course. They also provide a framework for further development and implementation in areas such as student evaluation, staff development, and learning resources. They are developed to initiate discussions concerning curriculum integration within and across classrooms. Each subject-specific curriculum framework mainly includes an overview of student learning outcomes for each grade.

There are numerous approaches to frameworks for curriculum development. From a technical perspective, frameworks that identify procedures to develop curriculum include Ralph Tyler's Tyler Rationale, Hilda Taba's seven steps, Decker Walker's naturalistic model, Elliot Eisner's artistic approach, and Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe's backward design as just a few commonly mentioned models.

These approaches simply provide teachers, researchers, curriculum specialists, policy makers, and school administrators with methods of studying and researching fundamental questions of curriculum development and research.

Tyler's model, nevertheless, may be the most widely recognized. Tyler proposes four basic frameworks for curriculum development, including purpose(s) of the school, educational experiences related to purposes, organization of experiences, and evaluation of purposes. Following Tyler, Taba developed a more complex model that elaborates Tyler's four principles and expands them to seven components: rationale, aims, content selection, content organization, learning experience selection, learning experience organization, and evaluation. The frameworks of curriculum design, as outlined by Tyler and Taba, propose that the curriculum development effort should be guided by information gained from industry, the students, educators, and society as a whole.

Curriculum frameworks give teachers a common starting point for what students should learn about the subject covered. The frameworks offer a basic structure for how and what to teach in education programs. They describe the components with which each program and teacher can design a curriculum that is relevant to the needs of a particular group of learners. They suggest examples of hands-on, real-world activities and classroom performance assessments.

The development of curriculum frameworks includes the revision of subject matters, evaluation of course content, and the development of new programs and courses that more closely reflect individual and societal needs and contemporary workforce requirements. The performance standards included within a curriculum framework aim to help ensure ease in a student's transition to another grade in his or her program.

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*See also* Curriculum Development; Hidden Curriculum; National Curriculum; Tyler Rationale, The

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## FREEDOM SCHOOLS

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The original Freedom Schools were organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Beginning in 1961, SNCC worked to get Black Mississippians registered to vote, but they faced overwhelming opposition from state and local authorities. Mississippi was the most segregated state in the nation, and many people believed that the state would never change as long as it remained isolated from the rest of the United States.

To focus the nation's attention on Mississippi, SNCC organized Freedom Summer in 1964. Hundreds of volunteer college students, White and Black, came to Mississippi from all over the country. Many of these volunteers served as teachers in Freedom Schools, which were a major part of the summer program. SNCC activists established the Freedom Schools because they believed in the power of education to change people and to transform communities. The main goal of education according to the Freedom School model was to encourage students to question the system of oppression that kept them poor and isolated and to enable folks to think for themselves so that they could change their own lives.

The original "Prospectus for a Summer Freedom School Program," written by Charlie Cobb in 1963, claimed that while the Black children of Mississippi were deprived of many things, the fundamental injury was a complete absence of academic freedom with students forced to live in an environment geared to squashing intellectual curiosity and different thinking. Cobb concluded that if the movement wanted to break the power structure of the Old South, it must be concerned with creating counterinstitutions to stand in opposition to and one day even replace the old, unjust, decadent ones that made up the existing power structure.

SNCC organizers argued that all education is political, that there is no such thing as a neutral education. Education stands for something and against something else. SNCC was educating for the uprooting of an oppressive system, and they said so explicitly.

The Freedom School curriculum included an academic component as well as arts, recreation, and cultural activities, but the core was what they called the citizenship curriculum, a sustained inquiry into politics and society. In the published version, the academic part takes 2 pages, the citizenship section 25 pages.

The citizenship curriculum is a question-asking, problem-posing affair: (a) Why are we (teachers, students) in Freedom Schools? (b) What is the freedom movement? and (c) What alternatives does the freedom movement offer us?

These were called the basic set of questions, followed by a secondary set: (a) What does the majority culture have that we want? (b) What does the majority culture have that we do not want? and (c) What do we have that we want to keep? Note the use of *we* in this context—this is consciously intended to build a sense of solidarity, a need for systemic change, and to oppose the notion that individual achievement and private accumulation are by themselves worthy goals.

The 1964 Freedom School curriculum was based on dialogue—teachers listened, asked questions, assumed that their students were the real experts on their own lives: Why? What's the problem? What's the evidence? How do you know? Is that fair or right? What are you going to do about it? It was a pedagogy of lived experience with the goal of allowing people to collectively question and then challenge their life circumstances and situations.

The problems we face today are unique in some ways, but perhaps we can learn from the stance of the movement as it encouraged students (including community members) to come together to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to examine the world—social, political, cultural, historical, and even economic dimensions—to name those aspects in need of repair, and to mobilize to act on behalf of what their newfound knowledge required.

*William C. Ayers*

See also *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown I* Decision; *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown II* Decision; Critical Race Theory; Social Justice

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## FREIRE, PAULO

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Paulo Freire (1921–1997) reconstructed what it meant to be an educator and through his work helped to establish new forms of research and practices in the field of curriculum studies. Freire convincingly argued that educators cannot be viewed as technicians, functionaries carrying out the instructions of others. Teachers in the Freirean sense are learned scholars, community researchers, moral agents, philosophers, cultural workers, and political insurgents. Freire maintained that teaching was a political act and that educators should embrace this dimension of their work and should position social, cultural, economic, political, and philosophical critiques of dominant power at the heart of the curriculum. His notion of critical praxis, characterized as informed action, demanded curricular and instructional strategies that produced not only better learning climates, but also a better society. Called the inaugural philosopher of critical pedagogy, Freire's writings have redefined and refocused our basic beliefs of the purposes of education.

Freire was born in the north of Brazil in 1921. He learned about poverty and oppression through the lives of the impoverished peasants around whom he lived. As a lawyer, a teacher, the education minister

of São Paulo, and a scholar, he constructed a devotion to work that would improve the lives of these marginalized people. Freire became one of the most well-known educators in the world by the 1970s. His work with the Brazilian poor was viewed as dangerous and subversive by wealthy citizens and the Brazilian military. When the military overthrew the reform government of the country in April of 1964, progressive activities were shut down and Freire was jailed for his insurgent teaching. After serving a 70-day jail term, Freire was deported. He continued his pedagogical work in Chile and later under the auspices of the World Council of Churches throughout the world.

To help students develop wider conceptual lenses to view their lives and social situation, Freire developed what he called codifications—pictures and photographs as part of a research process directed at the students' social, cultural, political, and economic environment. The pictures in this codification process depicted problems and contradictions in the lived worlds of students. Freire induced the students to step back from these pictures, to think about what they told them about their lives. What are the unseen forces and structures that are at work in these images, covertly shaping what is going on in the areas they depict? In this context, students began to see their lives and the hardships they suffered in a new way. They began to understand that the way things presently operated was not the only option available. The possibility for positive change embedded in this understanding is the key to Freire's educational success. Students were motivated to gain literacy in order to take part in changing both their own lives and the society. The process of learning was inseparable from individual empowerment and social change. They could not achieve the goals they sought without knowing how to read and write. Because the dominant classes did not want students from the peasant class to succeed with their academic studies, Freire's students knew that they had to excel in their studies to overcome the oppressors.

Such experiences helped Freire understand the ways that schooling was often used by dominant interests to validate their own privilege while certifying the inferiority of students marginalized by social and economic factors. Understanding schools

as impediments to the education of the poor, Freire sought numerous ways for students to intervene in this dehumanizing process. Freire referred to this process of intervention as liberatory action. Liberation in the Freirean articulation requires more than a shift of consciousness or an inward change. Freire argued that liberation takes place in the action of human beings operating in the world to overcome oppression. There is nothing easy about this process, he warned his readers. Liberation never completely ends, as oppression continuously mutates and morphs into unprecedented forms in new epochs. Freirean liberation is a social dynamic that involves working with and engaging other people in a power-conscious process.

Social change in the context of liberation and emancipation, according to Freire, is possible. Because the world has been constructed by human beings, it can be reconstructed by human beings. Nothing human made is intractable, and because this is so, hope exists. In this domain of hope, Freire brought the belief to his students that in the framework of this historical hope we can learn together in the here and now.

One of the most important dimensions of Freire's pedagogy involved the cultivation of a critical consciousness. Liberation cannot be attained until students and teachers address the nature of a naïve consciousness and the maneuvers involved in moving from a naïve to a critical consciousness. To make this move, individuals need to understand reality as a process rather than as a static entity. In this process-oriented mode, teachers and students begin to understand historically how what is came to be. Teachers and students can begin to imagine ways that release the future from the dictates of the past. They develop a consciousness that imagines a future that refuses to be normalized and well behaved. For the naïve thinker, education involves molding oneself and others to this normalized past. For the critically conscious thinker, education involves engaging in the continuous improvement and transformation of self and reality.

The oppressed, Freire frequently wrote, have been so inundated by the ideologies of their oppressors that they have come to see the world and themselves through the oppressors' eyes. Exposure to oppression often opens the eyes of the oppressed to its nature, but it can also distort one's self-perceptions

and interpersonal interactions. In such a context critical consciousness is elusive because the oppressed are blinded to the myths of dominant power—the ones that oppress them and keep them in their place. Essentializing myths about groups of people must be confronted. Such confrontation and the insights that emerge in the process constitute what Freire labels conscientization—the act of coming to critical consciousness. In this movement from naïveté to criticality, individuals grasp the social, political, economic, and cultural contradictions that subvert learning. Teachers and students with a critical consciousness conceptually pull back from their lived reality to gain new vantage points. They return to the complex processes of living critically and engaging the world in the ways such a consciousness requires.

All teachers should respect the experiences of the oppressed—but they should never take them simply as they are. Freire asked how ideology and other forms of power shaped the identity and experiences of the oppressed. Identity is always in process, it is never finalized, and it should not be treated as something beyond the possibility of change. Freire makes a pedagogical argument that has often been missed by many. Understanding the student's being and experiences opens up the possibility for the teacher to initiate dialogues designed to synthesize his or her systematized knowing with the minimally systematized knowing of the learner.

Freire argues that the teacher presents the student with knowledge that may change the learner's identity. Freire emphasizes the directive status of the teacher. He contends that the authority of the teacher is based on the knowledge and insight brought to class. Freirean authority exists not simply because she or he is the teacher, but because of what she or he has to offer the students. In this pedagogical context, Freire injects his concept of literacy. The ability to use the printed word is essential to Freire's effort to reshape the world. As students become literate, they are empowered to change themselves and to take action in the world. As they read the word and the world, students read their reality and write their lives. Such reading by itself, Freire warned, is of little use if not accompanied by transformative action for justice and equality. Today, one can find Freire literacy programs

around the world. Freire positioned literacy as a way of life where one used one's reading and writing skills as tools to care for other people. This critical notion of literacy as a way of life and the larger concept of education as a political act must not be lost in efforts to implement Freire's work.

Some teachers attempt to depoliticize his work in ways that make it simply an amalgam of student-directed classroom projects. Other teachers have emphasized the political dimensions, but have ignored the rigorous scholarly work that he proposed. These latter efforts have resulted in a social activism devoid of analytic and theoretical sophistication. Academic work that cultivates the intellect and demands sophisticated analysis is deemed irrelevant in these anti-intellectual articulations of Freire's ideas. The struggle to implement a Freirean critical pedagogy should never seek some form of purity of Freirean intent. Freire insisted that we critique him and improve upon his ideas. Living up to many of his pedagogical principles without sanctifying and canonizing him and his work is a conceptual tightrope that we must walk. Few have embodied the impassioned spirit as intensely as Freire did in his pedagogy.

Shirley R. Steinberg

*See also* Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy

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## FREUDIAN THOUGHT

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The concept of education—its dangers and promises and its illusions and revelations—is elaborated throughout Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) great

corpus of 24 volumes on studies of psychoanalysis. Known in English as *The Standard Edition* (1886–1940), Freud's clinical and theoretical writing represents the human through its lifelong controversies in learning to live: as vacillating between the demands of fantasy and reality; as an internally divided, erotic, finite creature; as unconsciously affected by its infantile history of helplessness and dependency; as an amalgam and expression of group psychology and its conflicted, intersubjective design; and as suffering from both meaning and its absence or loss. Given the conflicted nature of the human, Freudian thought focuses on the limitations of cognition with the translation of the dynamic unconscious into speech, desire, and perception. The psychoanalytic curriculum study of education, then, refers to our emotional attitudes toward knowledge and our own otherness.

*The Standard Edition* contains Freud's clinical case studies; theory and technique papers; general lectures; commentary on war, trauma, emotional suffering, and death; analysis of dreams, art, literature, and the imagination; writings on sexuality, the family, and the drive to know; and speculations on the formative structures of Eros (the drive of unity) and Thanatos (the drive of destruction) in sexuality and mass psychology. These volumes are the curriculum of psychoanalysis and serve the psychoanalyst's didactic education. The work of Anna Freud (1885–1982), along with her students, Erik Erikson and Peter Blos, the British School of Object Relations led by Melanie Klein (1882–1960), and the work of Bruno Bettelheim in reading and affects, for example, have influenced the progressive curriculum of teacher education, educational psychology, and the design of literacy education. All of these theorists consider learning as a problem of imagination, creativity, freedom, symbolization, and the capacity to tolerate their intrinsic frustrations.

Freudian thought represents the mind through its psychological agencies, a metapsychology of the unconscious (the id), the ego (the I), and the super-ego (the super I). The dynamics, or movement, of psyche and soma are described and treated as emerging from early caregiving, as experiences of reality and fantasy, and as composing wishes, anxieties, and defenses. This approach gives to curriculum studies the following questions: What



holds together and what breaks apart the emotional, social, cultural, and political world of the learner? What is the role of the other in self-constitution? What happens to knowledge if the human is considered as conflicted, as creative in its dream world, as organized through the pleasure and unpleasure principles, and as affected by unconscious forces he or she knows nothing about? What role does the past play as it is transferred to present relations of authority and knowledge? What is the relation between sexuality and thinking? And what becomes of the afterlife of unresolved conflict in relation to how we attach to or dissociate from ideas, other people, and modes of self-perception and presentation?

At least five affective dimensions of curriculum studies can be identified with Freudian thought: conflicts with the child's sexual theories and gendered development; scenes of the child's and teacher's theories of reality, history, and fantasy; problems of education as a moral force; tensions in sublimating instinctual aggression and the pleasure principle; and contradictions education gives to psychoanalytic thought. In each dimension, Freudian thought proposes the qualities of education as an asymmetrical human relation made from love and hate, as creating psychical consequences beyond the conscious and willful efforts and intentions of everyone involved, and as experience with the uncertainty of meaning.

In its attempt to instill enlightenment, the curriculum of education gambles with individual and institutional neurosis, fear of failure, and traumatic repetitions. A Freudian analysis of curriculum studies interprets anxiety and defense through fantasies of knowledge, breakdowns of meaning, and modes of address in self-other relations. It highlights the emotional scenery of affective experiences such as compliance, discontinuity, resistance, and freedom. It is curious about what education feels like. With the Freudian idea of ego defenses and resistance to knowledge, a curriculum study is understood through its own breakdown and repair. Freudian thought proposes a significant paradox: There can be no learning without conflict and difference, and yet both incur anxiety. Too much anxiety will attack the capacity to think; not enough anxiety will stop the desire to think. What links Freudian thought to curriculum studies is its method for creating a

new understanding of the centrality and uses of conflict in learning.

*Deborah P. Britzman*

*See also* Eight Year Study, The; Psychoanalytic Theory; Summerhill

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## FUNDAMENTAL CURRICULUM QUESTIONS, THE 26TH NSSE YEARBOOK

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The 26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE), *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, has taken on legendary dimensions for the field of curriculum studies. Although folklore states that the field of curriculum began in the United States 1918 with the publication of the first U.S. book (by Franklin Bobbitt) with the title curriculum, the NSSE yearbook committee was brought together to conceive some semblance of theoretical constructs for curriculum development and in so doing, to establish a distinct academic field. This it did by presenting a historical review and a description and evaluation of contemporary practices; the yearbook authors then forged a statement of foundational principles for curriculum reconstruction. Published in two parts (at 685 pages in total), Part I, *Curriculum-Making: Past and Present*, sought to describe and critically synthesize curriculum making, past and present. Part II, *The Foundations of Curriculum-Making*, presented a joint platform for curriculum construction and the reconstruction of the school curriculum. The original

Committee on Curriculum-Making was composed of 12 leading professors of education with 20 associated contributors who were school administrators and teachers. Part I, actually released in 1926, was published for discussion at the NSSE's 1927 Dallas meeting. Harold Rugg, who served as the general coordinator of the yearbook committee, viewed the group as attempting to establish a fundamental orientation in curriculum construction from many divergent and ideologically contrasting perspectives.

The 26th NSSE yearbook is best known in curriculum studies for the second portion of the publication, Part II, which contains a composite 18-page statement, *The Foundations of Curriculum Making*, with 58 individual planks composed by the committee of 12 authors: William C. Bagley, Bobbitt, Frederick G. Bonser, W. W. Charters, George S. Counts, Stuart A. Curtis, Ernest Horn, Charles H. Judd, Frederick J. Kelly, William H. Kilpatrick, Rugg, and George Works. These statements arise in response to a series of questions posed by the group. Rugg expressed concern that the publication of a general statement could cause the reader to accept the principles blindly when in fact the committee members wished to portray their hard thinking about the issues and problems of curriculum construction. Thus, the subsequent chapters in Part II are interpretations and rejoinders either as supplementary statements or as critiques to specific aspects of the platform. If any occasion in the history of education could be identified as an effort to forge unity and to synthesize a conception of curriculum, Part II of the yearbook, released in 1930, would have been that moment. Yet reflecting in 1947 about the 26th NSSE yearbook, Rugg maintained that the most important achievement and most lasting influence of *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, what he called the beginning of the new day, represented the committee's society-centered emphasis for curriculum making that, he maintained, was the launching of educational foundations.

The Committee on Curriculum-Making, in Part II, *The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, posed 17 fundamental questions:

1. What period of life does schooling primarily contemplate as its end?
2. How can the curriculum prepare for effective participation in adult life?
3. Are curriculum makers of the schools obliged to formulate a point of view concerning the merits or deficiencies of U.S. civilization?
4. Should the school be regarded as a conscious agency for social improvement?
5. How shall the content of the curriculum be conceived and stated?
6. What is the place and function of subject matter in the educative process?
7. What portion of education should be classified as general, and what portion as specialized or vocational or purely optional?
8. Is the curriculum to be made in advance?
9. To what extent is the organization of the subject matter a matter of pupil thinking and construction or planning by the professional curriculum maker as a result of experimentation?
10. From the point of view of the educator, when has learning taken place?
11. To what extent should traits be learned in their natural setting?
12. To what degree should the curriculum provide for individual differences?
13. What should be the form and organization of the curriculum?
14. What, if any, use shall be made of the spontaneous interests of children?
15. For the determination of what types of materials should the curriculum maker analyze the activities in which adults actually engage?
16. How far shall methods of learning be standardized?
17. What are the administrative questions of curriculum making?

In an effort to display the timeless quality of this publication as well as to underscore its profound ability to generate thoughtful conversation and insight, the editor of the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* invited two curriculum scholars to address each of these questions from a contemporary perspective. These entries

appear in the encyclopedia's appendix: Fundamental Curriculum Questions.

Craig Kridel

See also Rugg, Harold

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## FUNDAMENTALS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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First published in 1950 and then revised in 1957, the synoptic curriculum text, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*, by B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores set the standard for synoptic texts of the 1950s. The conceptualization provided by these authors influenced scholarship on curriculum development for the 1950s, the 1960s, and well into the 1970s. It was influenced by earlier texts by Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, Henry Harap, L. Thomas Hopkins, and Alice Miel and especially by synoptic texts by Hollis Caswell and Doak Campbell, Harold Alberty, and Florence Stratemeyer (and colleagues). It influenced synoptic texts for at least four decades by many authors, including J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander, Hilda Taba, Daniel and Laurel Tanner, Elliot W. Eisner, and William H. Schubert. In addition, it elaborated greatly on the highly influential, succinct, empirical-analytic framework outlined by Ralph W. Tyler.

Growing from a breadth and depth of involvement in social foundations of education, Smith, Stanley, and Shores christened the first section of their treatise as social diagnosis as a salient prerequisite body of knowledge for curriculum development. This body included understanding meanings and structures of culture and cultural change. Derived from roots in the philosophy of John

Dewey, they showed that meaningful curriculum development must be situated in community change. Although this involved a grassroots perspective, they also argued that curriculum development must be seen simultaneously in terms of large-scale societal values. Thus, curriculum development was held to be a social process needing extensive social perspective.

The second and third sections of *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* related closely to the analytic framework of principles of curriculum and instruction that Tyler devised in 1949: purposes, selection of content or learning experiences, and organization. In doing so, they analyzed principles for the validation of objectives (i.e., social adequacy, human needs, democratic ideals, consistency and noncontradiction, and behavioristic interpretation). These were treated as criteria for the selection of values. They expanded the use of criteria and principles to subject matter selection and differentiated carefully among four procedures of determining selection: judgmental, experiential, analytical, and consensual. Principles, criteria, and procedures were carried into considerations of sequence and course placement, as well as allotment and distribution of instructional time. Four major patterns of curriculum that vied for supremacy in the 1950s, as well as before and after, were elaborated in terms of chief characteristics, problems, practices, and criticisms: the subject curriculum, the activity curriculum, and the core curriculum.

Part 4 introduced a new consideration seldom treated in curriculum development before, except by Miel in the late 1940s and early 1950s: human relations. Under this topic such subtopics as educational engineering, curriculum change, and action research were introduced systematically. Much was built upon change theory of field psychologist Kurt Lewin and his method of considering gatekeepers vis-à-vis change and the use of force field analysis to deal with supportive and resistive forces in a situation to be changed. Substantial emphasis in this process was devoted to personnel, school-community relations, faculty morale, and their place in selecting, initiating, and sustaining change.

The final section of the book, Part 5, dealt with theoretical curriculum issues: sources of authority; the relative importance of individual and social

dimensions in considering educational objectives; the social, citizenship, or reconstructive functions of curriculum; sociological and nonsociological (e.g., religion, rationality, preservation or reconstruction of the social order) theories as criteria of content emphasis; and issues concerning the teaching of social problems in view of participatory democracy, perpetuation of social heritage, and reconstruction relative to controversial issues.

*Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* was thus an exemplary and comprehensive treatment of curriculum development that expanded and contextualized topics and principles streamlined in the Tyler Rationale. The emphasis on theoretical perspective, alternative criteria, and cultural context broadened and deepened understanding needed for curriculum development and opened windows that eventually enabled the move to

emphasis on understanding in the later realm of curriculum studies.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Curriculum Development; Smith, B. Othanel; Synoptic Textbooks; Tyler Rationale, The

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## GAY RESEARCH

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Gay research is a broad umbrella term within curriculum studies for multiple approaches to the study of sexuality issues. The term has its origins in the realm of psychology, particularly the psychology of sexual identity and practice. Researchers of the history of sexuality have illustrated, for example, that prior to the 20th century both heterosexual and homosexual desire were considered aberrant; only sex for procreation was acceptable. By the 1930s and 1940s, contemporary definitions for both sexual orientations came into existence, with heterosexual desire reaching the status of normal and homosexual desire taking on its current contested mode. By the late 1940s, Alfred Kinsey, sexologist, both complicated and reaffirmed this sexual binary, developing a rating scale with six degrees of heterosexual-homosexual behavior and emotion. His research was groundbreaking for suggesting that most individuals possessed an interplay of both heterosexuality and homosexuality. Yet he also affirmed sexual orientation as divided between the two. By the 1970s, Fritz Klein, also a sexologist, attempted to expand upon Kinsey's work by way of a grid that incorporated seven variable components of sexual orientation and three different points in time (past, present, and ideal). Whereas Kinsey raised to the surface that an individual can hold both heterosexual and homosexual tendencies at the same time, Klein asserted that sexual orientation is made up of a myriad of factors, from emotional

and social preferences to lifestyle and self-identification, and that these variables can be different at different times.

Both Kinsey and Klein stressed that the division between homosexuality and heterosexuality is a product of culture and society, not nature. Their concern was that the naturalization of the social and historical division between gay and straight has had the larger effect of denigrating the former and elevating the latter. Even with their efforts, between the 1890s and 1960s, the terms homosexual and heterosexual made their way from the realm of psychology to mainstream culture, overtime making possible the construction of the sexually normal and abnormal citizen and the heterosexual majority and homosexual minority. The repercussions, researchers of gay and lesbian issues point out, has been the imposition of narrower possibilities for gender and sexual identity among citizens within modern societies. Therefore, the terms homosexual and heterosexual, or gay and straight, constructed new sex-differentiated ideals for inappropriate and appropriate desires, ones that were taken up and remade within the two communities in unique and often unforeseen ways, enabling and constraining forms of affection and identification.

Researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies have worked out of this history to study sexuality and gender in relation to issues of teaching and learning. The remainder of this entry is focused upon how gay research has been taken up in ways that are unique to the field. These areas include curriculum development, agency among

gays and lesbians, externally imposed forms of marginalization and neglect, issues of discourse and language, policy concerns, and narratives of experiences in educational settings.

### Curriculum Development

Researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies have been concerned with curriculum development. The rationale for incorporating gay and lesbian content within the curriculum has to do with attempts to decrease homophobic attitudes among students and prepare them to enter a sex and gender diverse world.

The most common curriculum development focuses upon influential gay and lesbian persons throughout history. The content highlights the positive contributions gay and lesbian people have made to various communities, from actors and artists to civil rights leaders and medical researchers. The aim of researchers of gay and lesbian issues is to study how challenges to representations of gays and lesbians as burdens to society change beliefs and attitudes among students.

Other curricula focus upon civil rights history and the struggle for social justice. In comparison to a focus on individual contributions, this curriculum content explores the efforts of social collectives to uphold equality for gays and lesbians, the most commonly referenced in the United States being the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City. The researcher of gay and lesbian issues studies how efforts at social equity impact students' understanding of democracy and history and their sense of apathy toward gay and lesbian people.

A third common perspective within curriculum development involves the reconceptualization of history. The focus is upon hidden events and perspectives not typically explored in conventional history curricula. These curricula offer evidence that historical figures commonly represented as heterosexual were in fact bisexual or gay or lesbian or that despite dominant representations gay and lesbian people existed throughout history. Researchers of gay and lesbian issues might study the extent to which revisionist histories unsettle students' conventional understandings of history, open them to alternate or hidden knowledge, and engender forms of critical consciousness or awareness.

### Agency Among Gays and Lesbians

Beyond curriculum development, researchers of gay and lesbian issues also study agency. In educational settings, gay and lesbian people have had their histories erased and affective interests denied, disparaged, and reduced to sex acts. Accordingly, they experience harassment and discrimination at a much higher rate than those who identify as heterosexual. Their precarious positions have been used as evidence of the inability of gay and lesbian people to perform to the heterosexual ideal, one that includes the replication of traditional gender roles, relationship and family patterns, and status positions within society.

Instead of highlighting the conditions that shaped both heterosexual and gay and lesbian lives, those who are unaware of the cultural facets of gay and lesbian research often subjugate same gender loving people and their concordant knowledge—that is, they construct gender and sexuality differences as the result of pathologies assumed to be innate to gay and lesbian peoples and not because people positioned as different in time and space experience increased harassment and discrimination. Accordingly, rather than focus upon gay and lesbian people as deficient or as lacking, researchers of gay and lesbian issues within curriculum studies focused on agency have examined how same gender loving people persevere in spite of culturally oppressive practices. This research has focused upon gay and lesbian experiences with developing supportive and nurturing relationships in environments that range from tolerant to hostile. It has also attended to the efforts of gay and lesbian people to craft both formal and informal collectives through which to self-identify and enact broader change, such as the gay-straight alliances that have been formed at public schools across the United States. Finally, this research has attended to educational programming and outreach efforts by gay and lesbian people, along with their allies, to teach about sexuality and identity issues, discrimination against gay and lesbian people, and lived histories coming to terms with one's own same gender attractions. Most importantly, agency within research on gay and lesbian issues has worked as a counterforce to research that positions gay and lesbian people as merely victims and stereotyping that occurs in the absence of alternate knowledge.

### Externally Imposed Oppression

On the opposing side of agency, researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies also study victimization or externally imposed oppression. They note that being perceived as a gay or lesbian brings with it a higher probability that one will become the target of violence, from verbal assault to vandalism or arson. They also study gay and lesbian identity development, including the age at which adolescents typically reveal their sexual orientation to others, the ways in which they cope with oppressive systems and people, and how experiences with being gay or lesbian compare across generations. Given the focus on oppression, this research attends to factors that negatively affect gays' and lesbians' development, particularly their self-esteem and positive identity so that they might be addressed. Anticipating social conflicts or fearing victimization, researchers of gay and lesbian issues note that same gender loving students often hide their sexual orientation or lead a double life rather than confront peer, family, and social situations that are threatening. Research on oppression suggests fear of being discovered can lead to denial of one's sexual orientation and inhibit healthy identity development. The resulting alienation puts gay and lesbian youth at risk for engaging in acts that are injurious to themselves, including risky sexual activities, and makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and harassment. Researchers who focus on studying distinctive life stresses due to externally imposed oppression have the goal of developing effective interventions for improving the lives of gays and lesbians.

### Discourse and Language Issues

Researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies have also engaged in discourse analysis. This research challenges the commonsense notion that an idea is had prior to language and then finds expression through it. Researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies focused on discourse analysis find problems with the belief that language is a neutral vehicle of expression outside the values, beliefs, and attitudes of a given society. Instead, discourse analysis assumes that language shapes the realm of possible thought and can be studied for its assumptions regarding sexuality and gender—that is, it can be studied to expose not only

dominant and subjugated relations within a given community at a particular point in time, but also what knowledge is considered essential or worthy and what is considered not worth knowing.

Researchers of gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies who engage in discourse analysis examine the language used in various educational settings. These researchers have studied the discourse that surrounds prom in various communities for its heterosexist assumptions and also for how it has been challenged and contested.

Discourse analysis has also been used to examine the ways in which language erases the lives of gay and lesbian people through reductive, stereotypical representations and the failure to offer images of same gender loving people in nontypical locations, such as the rural South. Most important for research on gay and lesbian issues within curriculum studies, discourse analysis brings to the surface questions over how language reproduces the centrality of dominant groups around gender and sexuality and how language can be used to resist these dominant knowledge forms that result in oppression.

### Policy Concerns

For curriculum studies researchers exploring gay and lesbian issues from a macroperspective, policy is a key area of interest. These researchers commonly employ a systems perspective and share in a desire to better understand how procedures and processes shape the way gender and sexuality are given meaning in various educational settings. Such studies might investigate the ways sexuality and gender are regulated by way of educational standards and curriculum requirements, as well as by school sanctioned extracurricular activities. They might also examine the relationship between policy changes and improvements in school climate for gay and lesbian students or quite the opposite, the ways policy has deterred gay and lesbian students from reporting harassment and discrimination to school officials.

Equally revealing, researchers of gay and lesbian issues interested in policy issues focus upon two interlocking challenges. One set of policy studies is directed at interventions that help protect gay and lesbians from acts of intolerance. The other set of policy studies is directed toward

interventions that help educate heterosexually identified people about sexuality and identity. Research suggests this group must learn more about the diversity of sexual orientations, as evidenced in the work of Kinsey and Klein, and the vast differences in the ways that sexuality develops in humans. Regardless of the focus, curriculum studies researchers working from a systems perspective are interested in how policy can improve the life experiences of gay and lesbian people.

### Narratives

Possibly at the other end of the spectrum from the broad-range perspectives of policy researchers are those researchers that focus upon autobiography and narrative. These researchers commonly employ testimony and life history methodologies and hold a shared belief that storytelling and narrative studies are the most important sites for understanding how gender and sexuality are experiences and given meaning in various educational settings. Whereas policy studies examine how best to represent needs within guidelines for practice, those who focus on autobiography and narrative are more interested in self-understanding and reflection; they question the notion that policy can adequately represent the needs of another and instead focus on rich description and personal knowledge.

In relation to gender and sexuality issues, curriculum studies researchers assume that democratization of one's own mind is required prior to social reconstruction. These researchers might inquire into stories of coming out, first loves, or being openly gay or lesbian within various settings. Not concerned with replication or extending knowledge unchanged beyond its context, these scholars believe that autobiography and narrative can have a profound impact on how its readers view the world. In other words, for these researchers, storytelling can profoundly impact one's own knowing so that the world is viewed and understood differently. In this way, life history and testimony by gay and lesbian individuals can impact gay and lesbian and straight identified students and educators alike. Far from representation of others, curriculum studies researchers who engage in narrative and autobiography in their study of gay and lesbian issues focus upon authenticating lived experiences alongside the

shared experiences of learning about the lives of others.

### Future Directions

This entry is by no means exhaustive; there are other perspectives on gay research that are not included here. Researchers on gay and lesbian issues in curriculum studies have worked from foundations in psychology to challenge reductive representations of sexuality within contemporary society. Much like Kinsey, curriculum studies scholars have been concerned with the narrow ways sexuality has been imagined and its effects on those whose sexual identity is viewed as peripheral. Accordingly, they have conducted research that acts as a counterforce to knowledge that portrays gay and lesbian people as merely aberrant or abnormal, illustrating the complicated nature of sexual orientations and identity issues.

Unique to the field, curriculum studies researchers have taken up the study of sexuality issues in a myriad of areas that include curriculum development, agency among gays and lesbians, externally imposed forms of marginalization and neglect, issues of discourse and language, policy concerns, and narratives of experiences in educational settings. In the future it is imaginable that in each of these areas of research will be both extended and complicated. It remains to be seen whether curriculum studies will have the capacity to move more complex images of sexuality into the public sphere in ways that impact mainstream perceptions or whether they will find themselves following in the footsteps of Kinsey and Klein—that is, whether they will find themselves working to complicate gender and sexuality only to find that mainstream perspectives narrow or remain unchanged.

*Erik Malewski*

*See also* Butlerian Thought; Diversity; Feminist Theories; Gender Research; Marginalization; Queer Theory; Sexuality Research; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## GENDER RESEARCH

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To understand what is taught and learned in schools, curriculum researchers must explore understandings of masculinity and femininity because they are interwoven with formal school subjects, sports and clubs, and discipline and authority. Gender has always been a dimension of schooling with some differentiation, and often segregation, of females and males common worldwide. Popular beliefs attribute differences between males and females to biology, but bodily processes are objects of social practice. Research has documented the mutability, socially constructedness, and historical specificity of what counts as male and female and as masculine and feminine. Schools are invoked in current assessments of gains toward and unfulfilled hopes of gender equality. Schools are now understood as places that produce gendered beings and understandings rather than just responding to preexisting differences in girls and boys. Masculinities and femininities are produced in schools in complex interactions with other accented differences, such as race/ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, disability or ability, and language. Almost every aspect of schooling has been linked to gender: single-sex and coeducational practices, academics, sports, romance, and sexuality. Although gendered assumptions continue to be challenged and revised, their commonsense quality (we can see anatomical and behavioral differences between boys and girls!) makes them comfortable and comforting. And when we presume sharp differences between males and females, we are likely to see such distinctions. The durability of marked gender differences can be traced to their intertextual character—that is, the fact that narratives, language, emotions, and morality about

gender differences operate across many popular culture, political, economic, legal, religious, and family arenas of life. And many people, including researchers and educators, have investments in maintaining intelligible masculinities and femininities, which exhibit coherence among (biological) sex, gender, sexual practices, and desires.

### Theories

Gender researchers begin from different theories, outlooks, and assumptions that influence how gender is understood and studied, as well as how plans for change are made. Social constructionism is the most popular theoretical stance; in general, social constructionists theorize that there is an interaction between individual traits (biology, dispositions, and family upbringing, for example) and broader social norms and prevailing ideas of masculinity and femininity. There are more and less radical versions of social constructionism; more conservative versions hold that dominant masculinities and femininities will be quite similar in different historical and cultural contexts. More radical perspectives claim that gender arrangements vary enormously and inevitably across time and place and that there is, in fact, a coconstruction of the biological and the social. Coconstructionists argue, for example, that men's higher testosterone levels follow from social dominance as much as they precede it.

All social constructionists utilize some, however limited, conception of biological nature or essence. Alternatively, Judith Butler theorizes gender as performativity—stylized practices repeated over and over so they begin to appear to be a person's nature—and refuses any essentialism. This theoretical stance understands gender as produced through repetitive discourses and actions, which are grounded in the assumptions of heterosexuality. Performativity links sexuality and gender, while multicultural feminists have theorized intersections of gender and race, gender and class, and gender and nation.

The concept of assemblage has begun to make inroads on intersectionality as a way to critically theorize and study the ways race, class, culture, sexuality, and so on impact gender. Assemblage offers a more active, coming-into-being approach to these simultaneous processes. Intersectionality

fixes identities by emphasizing naming, representation, and meaning, while assemblage focuses on movements and privileges feeling, tactility, and information. In societies regulated by what Michel Foucault termed disciplinary norms, assemblages are critical conceptual tools to acknowledge and comprehend power in more fluid, textured, erratic, and unruly trajectories in order to become beyond what is known.

### Schools as Gendered Institutions

Schools invariably have a gendered character to their formal and informal operations. Schools' gendered character is visible when taken-for-granted aspects of schools are scrutinized, such as the division of labor (e.g., the ubiquity of male administrators and coaches and female English teachers), symbolic representations (e.g., sports achievements receive more attention and status than academic successes), normative concepts (e.g., correct student behavior, academic rigor, or a "good" teacher), and the subjective identities of teachers, students, and administrators (e.g., what range of identities and interests are recognized and valued). Therefore, thinking about gender and curriculum requires thinking about school effects at several levels.

For example, substantial research has focused on the gendered subjectivities of staff and students in coeducational and single-sex settings. Schools do not produce a simple dichotomization of males and females, but students, teachers, and administrators are characterized by multiple masculinities and femininities. There may be various well-defined sporting masculinities, techno-masculinities, eco-masculinities, and academic masculinities, as seen in the film *The History Boys*, which portrays a range of masculinities among teachers and students in a British prep school. Most U.S. high schools have identifiable student groups, each of which is likely to be connected to a particular style of masculinity and femininity: the athletes, the brains, the artsy crowd, the nerds, and the outsiders. Researchers claim that every school has a hegemonic masculinity, and males who embody the recognizable gender style have power over other boys and over girls. Similarly, schools will have a preeminent style of femininity with a higher status. Heterosexuality is also explicitly linked with higher

status identities; boys and girls who are attractive and successful with the opposite sex are inevitably popular and powerful. The lowest status students are generally those perceived to violate the compulsory heterosexuality of schools, for example, gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual students, and young people with disabilities and those perceived as asexual can be included. Schools have been documented as hostile places for students who do not conform to the powerful dictates of hegemonic masculinity and compulsory heterosexuality.

Research on four arenas of school life—academics, sports, romance and sexuality, and media—provide detailed portraits of gender and schooling.

### Academics

Prior to 1972 and the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments, which made gender discrimination in publicly funded U.S. school programs illegal, only 18% of U.S. women, compared to 26% of all men, had completed 4 or more years of college. Twenty-five years later, women made up the majority of students in U.S. colleges and universities in addition to making up the majority of recipients of master's degrees. In the first 25 years of Title IX, women's percentage of medical degrees increased from 9 to 38, and dental degrees increased from 1 to 38. Women's proportion of law degrees grew even faster, from 7% to 43%. These dramatic changes demonstrated a considerable move toward educational equity. Nevertheless, despite such improvements, ideas about male and female intellectual differences persist.

Narratives that boys and girls learn differently; have distinctive intellectual strengths, capacities, and interests; and have distinctive emotional processes remain entrenched in and out of schools. Specifically, men are believed to be more intelligent, evidenced by more male geniuses, and believed to have greater spatial and mathematical capacities. This research has been thoroughly critiqued by biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling, who demonstrated that the sex-differences findings are grounded on myths and researchers' preexisting beliefs about girls and boys' essential differences. Such research on learning and intellectual differences is flawed by its failure to utilize double-blind studies to control for researchers' expectations of differences between females and males. Competing

research findings claim greater variability in capacities among girls and among boys; however, the belief in and visibility of marked differences between males and females persists.

Global characterizations of chilly classrooms for girls and emotionally unsupportive teachers for boys have given way to more nuanced research conclusions, for example, that in some microenvironments, girls and boys have equality and in other contexts, males dominate. Research continues to document that teachers give boys more attention and more airtime in classrooms, and the actions, experiences, and perspectives of White men still dominate textbooks and curricular guides. In science, English, and social studies, boy-centered topics rule. Nevertheless, studies regularly find that teachers believe their teaching is free of gender, race, or ethnicity bias. This belief is part of the paradox of gender research—dynamics that are hypervisible to some commentators remain invisible to others. This paradox of research findings points to the ideological character of gender and gender research—that each person’s prediscursive assumptions and interpretations are significant and that gender research in curriculum is always political because it is linked with policies, practices, and budget allocations.

### *Sports*

One dramatic change wrought by Title IX was in girls’ participation in interscholastic sports: in 1971 girls were 7.5% of high school athletes, and 25 years later, they were 39%. This represented an eightfold increase, although girls’ sports often lag in prestige and fans. Nevertheless, taking to the field and court has been an important development and yardstick of gender equality, even though scholars debate what lessons are gained through competitive athletics. Despite women’s greater access to and achievement in sports, the production of high status masculinity is also still firmly grounded in sports, both of which are linked to sports’ international status and lucrateness.

Although sports have demonstrated a growth in opportunities for women, athletes now also challenge a simple, dichotomous gender categorization. The 2008 Beijing Olympics had a gender determination lab to test female athletes suspected of being male, using physical appearance and

blood samples to test hormones, genes, and chromosomes. In the past 40 years, dozens of female athletes have tested “positive” for maleness because many women have the Y chromosome. Transsexuals, who are allowed in Olympic competitions, likewise present an unintelligible gender identity. Because gender is more multifaceted and more elusive than the standard male–female dichotomy, a blood test will not capture the fluidity of gendered subjectivities.

### *Romance and Sexuality*

Research offers vivid portraits of schools as sites of (hetero)sexuality production. Some researchers refer to schools as heterosexualizing institutions, and studies demonstrate how romance and sexuality permeate literacy, corridors, bathrooms, and annual school rituals such as assemblies and dances. Elaborate prom activities and spending begin to approximate wedding planning and certainly eclipse academics. Even in elementary schools, pupils identify girlfriends and boyfriends and steadily move into flirting, going steady, and other trappings of heterosexuality. Sex education curriculum morphs into management of heterosexual romances. Much of this infusion of sexuality and romance in schools arrives via mass popular culture and advertising (see the following section).

Against this sexualizing tide, schools try to sanitize classrooms and remove bodies and sexuality from the formal curriculum. Although sexuality issues remain important in political, legal, and economic realms, talk of sexuality remains rare and discomfiting in formal school realms.

### *Mediated Mass Culture*

Although mass culture is not a structured part of schooling per se, mass cultural images and narratives saturate schools. Mass culture generates images and interpretations of masculinity and femininity that flow chaotically into school life and are reworked by the pupils through everyday conversation, ethnic tensions on the playground, sexual adventures, and so on. *South Park* and *The Simpsons*, for example, simultaneously invent new language styles, portray current social debates, and offer ironic interpretations of school and community lives.

The strong emotional and temporal involvements of young people in computer gaming and online social networking provoke unanswered questions about what youth learn and create in growing up vis-à-vis computers. Films, television, games, and the Internet offer commonsense and transgressive images and narratives of gendered subjectivities (in and out of school) and are productive sites for discussing, challenging, and perhaps, remaking gender.

### Curricular Interventions

Schools are prime places to interrogate and change conventional gender relations. However, changes move in various directions, and three distinct kinds of goals inform curricular innovations.

One goal is to provide girls and women with opportunities equal to those of boys and men. This standard for gender equality would aim to produce equal numbers of females and males with athletic scholarships, medical degrees, plumbing licenses, and congressional seats, for example. This set of aims is associated with liberal feminism and socialist or materialist feminists.

A second set of goals promotes the perspectives and ideas associated with femininity and female-centered associations. This aim supports the study of female philosophers, novelists, and thinkers, collaborative leadership styles, personal growth networks, and other traditionally female arenas of knowledge. This set of aims is most strongly associated with cultural feminism. This second approach has also been appropriated to promote men's reembracing of traditional masculinity emphasizing Christianity and family patriarchy.

A third approach aims to deconstruct male-female dichotomies, destabilize the assumed essences of masculinity and femininity, and muddy oppositional representations and epistemologies. This set of aims is affiliated with feminist poststructuralism and aims to display the arbitrary and partial character of gender typologies.

Once gender relations are understood as malleable, a rational process of improvement can be identified and implemented. This section reviews some educational initiatives to change unequal aspects of conventional masculinity and femininity.

A range of program enrichments has been directed toward girls. One attempt to address the

omissions in textbooks is to add special courses and units of study on women's history and literature. March is U.S. Women's History Month, and schools offer special educational events that often dovetail with February's Black History focus. Science and math teachers often supplement the textbooks with attention to women scientists and mathematicians. Computer courses have developed more social and girl-friendly projects. There has been a broad attempt to utilize feminine dialogic styles and collaboration in classrooms.

Along with supplementary knowledge in various subject areas, girls, especially from historically underresourced communities, have been offered programs intended to raise their self-esteem, develop goals and dreams, and provide support to achieve those goals. A range of nongovernmental organizations—Girl Scouts, Boys & Girls Clubs, International Rescue Committee—offer such programs, which combine high interest activities (dancing, poetry writing, tutoring) with emotional and psychological supports.

Criticisms of such additive approaches point out that girls and women are not homogeneous and that to identify certain styles of learning and topics as feminine is part of the problem. Furthermore, the piecemeal approach leaves conventional curricula and their narratives, assumptions, and dynamics unchallenged.

Reports of boys' underachievement in reading has produced a common refrain: What about the boys? These concerns have supported the galloping interest in single-sex educational programs. Teaching the boys about gender inequality and feminisms has made some progress, mostly at the postsecondary level. The association of boys with violence has received the strongest attention in U.S. schools, driven by the media coverage of school shootings. However, systematic approaches to violent masculinity are rare; it is more common to identify specific boys with problems than to see dominant masculinities as producing ongoing issues. Religion, genetics, and politics all support seeing males as naturally strong, with violence as a necessary partner.

Articulate, and often explosive, homophobia remains part of the hegemonic masculinity in schools. Attempts to assess and recognize violent masculinity are hamstrung by homophobia and tacit fears that if boys are not violent, they will



become homosexuals. Gay remains a prevalent and withering epithet in U.S. schools. Schools, teachers, and parents desire strong boys, and programs that aim to instill excessive cooperation, sensitivity, or other feminine-linked traits, are suspect. Such unspoken gender dynamics lead to more programmatic focus on girls because finding men to lead programs on male violence also remains difficult.

### Future

In UNICEF posters, microlending policies, and advertising campaigns for investment services, girls and women represent the future, the leading edge, and untapped potential. Although the United States has led the world in women's college degrees, it is at the bottom of 30 developed countries in women's leadership in electoral politics. Such disparate statistics signal the continuing paradox of gender inequality and change; that while reform is amenable to plans and campaigns, reaching and maintaining gender equality remains elusive. Reassembling gender relations needs to be reinvented and reinterpreted by each generation on its own historical terms. Gender-based violence, heterosexist narratives and discourses, and economic scarcity haunt the lives of women and girls around the world. Even when females symbolize the future, the present and its resources remain in others' hands.

Nancy Lesko

*See also* Gay Research; Intertextuality; Queer Theory; Sexuality Research; Transgender Research

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## GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH

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Genealogical research is a critical and postmodern approach to historical inquiry. In curriculum studies, the term *genealogy* is sometimes used to mean the same thing as history. At the same time, genealogical research also has a technical meaning that is derived from Friedrich Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morality* (*Zur Genealogie der Moral*) and from Michel Foucault's "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." In this more specific definition, genealogical research resembles archaeological research, but genealogy adds to archaeology an analytical focus on subjectivity. Genealogical research contributes to curriculum studies an approach to creative inquiry that is poised to critique an array of modern and structural assumptions about history and subjectivity.

Genealogical research differs from traditional history across five dimensions: It is cross-sectional, local, nonlinear, critical, and focused on subjectivity.

### Cross-Sectional Rather Than Longitudinal

Conventional or mainstream histories typically focus their analyses on continuities and on changes across time; however, genealogical research resembles archaeology, which focuses on a single stratum

or cross section. With an analytical focus on the relationships among various entities in a single time period, genealogical research does not concern itself with several of the persistent debates in traditional historiography. For example, genealogical research does not engage in the search for origins, claims of historical causality, questions of periodization, fallacies such as presentism, or meta-physical motors of history.

Some curriculum history has been written from the standpoint of the history of ideas, providing various accounts of changing relationships among language arts, mathematics, and science. Genealogical research, in contrast, historicizes subjects and objects by situating them in relation to other things that are happening at the same time. The archeological study then provided a basis for identifying a historically specific way of thinking that affords a critical genealogical perspective on the extent and limits of how it is possible to imagine being human.

### Local Rather Than General

Genealogical research strives to avoid grand narratives of history. Instead, genealogical research focuses on the local, the particular, and the unique. In curriculum studies, a genealogical focus on the local tends to promote a pluralist version of social justice and political relationships. This local focus of genealogical research has implications for theories of knowledge including progress, cycles, pendulums, dialectics, eschatology, destiny, and rational evolution. Epistemologically, genealogy's focus on the local tends to find value in small-scale and case-based studies rather than in large-scale or experimental research designs that aspire to generalize their findings beyond the site of their study.

### Multidimensional Rather Than Teleological or Linear

Traditional histories are often written as if there were an assumed purpose or endpoint of history (such as the advancement of science, the improvement of civilization, or the realization of eschatology). Furthermore, a traditional approach to history is likely to posit that time proceeds from past to future in one direction that resembles a number line. Eschewing linearity, genealogical research often challenges assumptions of both

continuity (emphasizing how much things stay the same) and discontinuity (emphasizing how much things change) in traditional historical accounts. An epigram of continuous history is as follows: Every day in every way I am getting better and better. An epigram of discontinuous history is as follows: It is not possible to step twice into the same river. Genealogical research generally adopts a critical attitude to both continuity and discontinuity. Genealogical research is more likely to suggest that historical events can be shaped by a multiplicity of influences, and history is always shaped within a historically specific perspective.

### Critical Rather Than Objective

Genealogical research does not seek to provide us with the way to understand the flow of things in history; instead, it proceeds from the premise that all histories are partial, selective, and shaped by lenses of the present. If we understand ideology as a politically biased way of seeing things, then genealogy assumes that all historical research (including genealogy) is inevitably ideological. In other words, genealogical research takes it for granted that perspectivalism is inevitable and makes no pretense to be objective.

### Subjectivity Rather Than Agency

Genealogical research generally engages the following research question: What kinds of possibilities have been created by historical relations for imagining what it means to be human? Relations typically included in genealogical research are power, language, epistemology, aesthetics, religion, economics, politics, law, schooling, and science. In his genealogical research, Michel Foucault offered a four-part framework by which to analyze the subject:

1. Substance (*substance éthique*): What part of myself am I supposed to work on? What part of me is supposed to change: My actions? My thoughts? My attitude? My self-concept?
2. Mode (*mode d'assujettissement*): For what reason should this change happen? What is the rationale or invitation for working on the self: To fulfill my duty? To live up to my potential?

To deserve a place in heaven? To enjoy my life on earth?

3. Regimen (*pratique de soi*): What am I supposed to do to change myself? Am I expected to control my appetites? Break free of rules? Be a leader? Be a follower? Discover who I am? Invent a new persona?
4. Telos (*téléologie*): What kind of person am I aiming to be? What is the ultimate goal of this work on myself? To become my own master? To be free of restraints? To become all knowing? To become one with the universe? To be normal?

These four dimensions frame a genealogical approach to critical curriculum studies.

Lynn Fendler

*See also Curriculum Inquiry*; Foucauldian Thought; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research

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## GENERAL EDUCATION

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General education is a popular concept from the field of curriculum studies that holds commonly accepted connotations, but no uniform definition. Different from the terms *core curriculum* and *liberal education*, general education at both the secondary and postsecondary level has come to represent an organizational structure of curriculum

design rather than a concept with specific ideological or content-specified meaning. General education is typically viewed as a component of the student's course of study, along with specialized education, and does not imply a fusion or integrated configuration of knowledge or a focus on fields of arts and sciences. In its most basic form, the general education component represents that fundamental knowledge that is assumed to be known by all students. From this root conception, general education has focused on common learnings as core knowledge, skills, experiences, traits of mind, realms of meaning, and modes of inquiry, as well as what has been interpreted and/or redefined as being nearly synonymous with experience-based, integrated curriculum and liberal education. General education curricula are typically developed at the postsecondary level and then translated—articulated—into secondary school curriculum.

Designing the general education component addresses one of the most fundamental curricular issues—what knowledge is of most worth—and causes administrators, teachers, and students to attend to matters of curricular breadth in relation to depth. Another fundamental curricular issue inherent in general education design pertains to curricular balance—namely, will the general education content provide experiences, knowledge, traits, and/or skills that cross the full range of an organized area of study? Attending to these design issues has led to four basic types of general education programs: (1) General education within separate subjects represents the most traditional type and consists of an array of courses fulfilling program requirements. This type of general education is often dismissed as patchwork education or as cafeteria-style general education. (2) General education as core curriculum focuses upon knowledge and establishes broad, overarching configurations of content from a few general education-oriented courses. (3) General education as learning traits views content as a venue to foster a series of specified traits and abilities that emerge from general education experiences and courses. (4) General education as modes or realms of inquiry is a more abstract conception of general education as engendering essential meanings and methods to learn and understand knowledge and experiences.

The origins of general education in the United States stem from curricular programs at Columbia

University, University of Chicago, and Harvard University. At Columbia University in the 1920s, John Erskine's honors colloquium (serving as the guide to the St. John's Great Books program), the Contemporary Civilization courses, and the Humanities A and B courses led to one of the most comprehensive and sophisticated conceptions of general education with a well-developed balance of breadth versus depth and the introduction of a sense of program rather than the mere rearrangement of courses. The University of Chicago's New Plan of the 1930s is viewed as one of the best developed bureaucratic organizations with an innovative articulation between secondary and postsecondary schooling. General education at Harvard University was defined in the publication *General Education in a Free Society* (also known as The Redbook), published in 1945. Among its many refinements to the developing conception of general education, the Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society conceived of the Harvard program in terms of utility and the role of the general education program in the furthering of democracy. In fact, the Harvard Redbook served to influence greatly secondary school administrators to develop balanced, disciplinary-oriented general education programs rather than to develop the then emerging core curriculum programs.

Daniel Bell's curriculum design efforts at Columbia University, described in *The Reforming of General Education*, published in 1966, introduced modes of inquiry as a method to provide conceptual unity for the course of study. This strand within the general education tradition was expanded with the release of the 1978 Harvard Core Curriculum and the alignment of traits of mind with specific course offerings. Contemporary use of the term at the secondary school level has become primarily one of fulfilling degree requirements. General education, while using the term *core*, is seen as a way to identify common knowledge for standardized testing. General education as part of overall curriculum design is dormant, for now.

Craig Kridel

See also Core Curriculum; *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Redbook); Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## *GENERAL EDUCATION IN A FREE SOCIETY* (HARVARD REDBOOK)

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The 1945 publication *General Education in a Free Society*, called the Redbook for its hardcover color, was one of the more significant mid-20th-century publications in the field of curriculum studies. Reconfirming the importance of general education in the secondary and postsecondary school curriculum and substantiating the role of academic disciplines as a way to construct a high school general education program, the Redbook provided schools and colleges throughout the United States with a clear justification for curriculum design and development. This rationale proved of great importance immediately following World War II when the purposes of secondary education and the tenets of democracy were being questioned. *General Education in a Free Society* represented a humanist tradition (ala Herbert Kliebard's groupings) and a response to and critique of the work of social meliorists and social reconstructionists. The Redbook committee, faculty members at Harvard University, saw the significance of "the search for unity" as a way to offer new opportunities for a dramatically expanding secondary and postsecondary school population. *General Education in a Free Society* would define the basic academic subjects in what became a traditional high school curriculum for the second half of the 20th century.

Although many education publications throughout the 20th century have generated national attention at the time of their release, few caused a press scandal as was the case with *General Education in a Free Society*. The *Louisville Courier-Journal*



violated the press release date by more than 2 weeks, causing *The New York Times* to release a story on its front page; other papers throughout the country also proceeded to violate the release date and presented the story as breaking news. As has always been the case, when Harvard University speaks, the country listens. In this instance, the country was ready to listen before Harvard was ready to speak.

The Harvard Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society appointed in January 1943 by Harvard President James Conant and meeting weekly throughout a 2-year period, proposed specific curricular changes for the Harvard undergraduate program. These included (a) requiring three (newly developed) general survey courses to be required of all undergraduates: Great Texts of Literature to represent the humanities, Western Thought and Institutions to introduce the social sciences, and The Principles of Physical Science/Biological Science to present the natural sciences; (b) requiring three other courses from a larger group of existing departmental course offerings; and (c) adapting a basic English and writing course and limiting enrollment of the tutorials. The Harvard Redbook would popularize required survey courses at the college level that sought to integrate the separate subjects into broad fields of natural science, social sciences, and the humanities. The significance of the Redbook, however, stems more from its philosophical treatment of general education than from its curricular recommendations for the students of Harvard University. The purpose seemed not primarily to reform the curriculum at Harvard, but instead, for President Conant and Harvard faculty to articulate a philosophical foundation for U.S. education.

The term *general education* was defined as a portion of a student's education that fostered a sense of responsibility as a human being and a citizen. Past notions of liberal education for an elite were placed aside to focus on education for all—general education in a free society—where knowledge became the venue to develop traits of mind, those being effective thinking, clear communication, ability to make relevant judgments, and the clarification of values. An important phrase was developed by the committee to define goals for schools and society: to give scope to ability and raise the average. Conceived as a struggle between

Jeffersonianism and Jacksonianism, the Harvard Committee sought to reconcile general education and specialized education with a grounding in democracy and social transformation and an effort to design a curricular structure for breadth of knowledge with academic excellence.

In many respects, the Harvard Redbook exerted greater influence on the high school curriculum than postsecondary education. The Harvard Committee maintained that general education should represent one half of a high school student's education and should consist of eight (Carnegie) units consisting of a minimum of three in English, three in science and mathematics, and two in the social studies. As the Progressive Education Association's Eight Year Study was attempting to portray the college success of those students who attended integrated (non-Carnegie Unit based) secondary school programs, the Harvard Redbook was recommending that high school educators continue their separate subjects, Carnegie Unit curricular structure.

One surprising aspect of the Redbook's recommendations for Harvard's general education program pertains to the source of its curriculum recommendations and lack of protest from Harvard students. Most postsecondary curriculum reform that calls for a change, or in this case increased requirements, typically elicits protests from students. Surprisingly, these protests did not occur. Student newspaper articles from 1945 (*Harvard Service News*) maintained that the Harvard Committee used as its starting point the 1939, 1940, and 1942 Student Council reports and that these statements anticipated the general education proposals. In essence, the students had already suggested additional course requirements throughout the preceding 6 years.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Eight Year Study; General Education; Humanist Tradition

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## GEOGRAPHY EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Geography literally means the study of the earth. As a discipline, it is the study of spaces and places and a way of envisioning events in spatial terms. Geography is predominantly used as a tool for understanding people and places in the world. As described in the history, geography education primarily relies on maps and a set of themes to help students learn about places. These tools offer students a picture of a world they cannot travel. This common approach is criticized for being too descriptive, simplistic, and deterministic, a criticism that also underlies other theoretical shifts in curriculum studies. As with critical theory writ large, critics purport that understanding places must attend to how and why the descriptors of those people and places arose. This entry draws largely from critical geographers as a means of examining the new directions and possibilities for geography education. It is organized around the definitions of space and place and how these terms shift the inquiries in geography education. This inquiry into space and place is important as these appear throughout curriculum studies.

### Distinguishing Space From Place

*Space* and *place* are terms that flow well together, so well that they are often used interchangeably. But these terms are not interchangeable, and their distinction is core to geography. Geography is the study of the spatial or how things are located spatially on their own and in relation to one another. Geography is also the study of places or the meaning of space. These terms need fleshing out in order to understand their full potential in the discipline and as used in curriculum studies.

Space is most appropriately linked with location, whether a physical or conceptual location. Traditionally, geography has been aligned with the study of physical locations. Maps are a common means of

depicting these spaces. They provide a spatial representation of spaces too large to comprehend or too physically distant to visit. Maps reflect distance between and within locations, highlight the boundaries around and between locations, and reveal landscapes. Advocates for geography education are attentive to the need for a locational understanding of the world. People should know the location of allies or enemies, spatially understand the relationships between boundaries, or understand why, based on climate and landforms, certain places are isolated or connected with other places.

Space is also a broad term in curriculum studies. It is used in various theoretical and methodological frameworks to refer to intellectual or conceptual locations and their origins. Theorists may refer to the space where ideas come together to develop a thesis or theory. They may refer to the space of research meaning not the space where research is conducted, but the space around the research. What is referenced here is a set of values or concepts that organize approaches to research and knowledge. Geographers call this abstract space. These conceptual or intellectual spaces are used to give meaning to places. But consider the researcher bound to producing a certain kind of space or environment for research. Perhaps he or she seeks to create a dialogic space where there is engagement of multiple or marginalized voices. He or she is seeking a conceptual space of equality and uses this space to affect how he or she conducts his or her research regardless of the physical location in which it is conducted. People across disciplines are also attentive to the space of text and how text is laid out on a page. Like the traditional maps of geography, these spatial representations are designed to connote a certain meaning to the reader. In many academic fields, researchers are attentive to what is communicated in all spaces available. There is an effort not merely to study physical location, but to inquire into the presentation of intellectual and conceptual spaces that produce ideas and incite people to act in particular ways.

Place is most commonly distinguished from space because places acquire meaning through human interaction with or in that location. Place is the lived space people encounter on a regular and daily basis. Although space refers to the location, place is studied in an effort to understand the meaning of that location—both the meaning given to and

that taken from that location. Places are human constructions. A space has a physical landscape, but how people respond to and act in that landscape produces the difference between space and place. For example, two different stores in a chain of coffee shops may appear quite similar as spaces—familiar layout, colors, and textures—but how people interact in each site (maybe determined by the kind of people drawn to each or its accessibility) changes the meaning of each place. Their different clientele and different environments mean that these two spaces are unique places. The meaning of each coffee shop is contingent upon the people and their interactions with the shop itself and one another. While one site might be a quiet shop where people sit for a while to study, a similar coffee shop at a busy intersection may be a place where people stop in for a quick cup of coffee and conversation. Scaling this up to a city or country, these entities are also places not because of the landscape, but because of the unique narrative that describe the people therein. Although many geography classes reduce the study of people to a set of cultural universals, collectively these narratives offer a larger understanding of this place. India is not only the set of features about the country, but also the meaning given by the people therein. It is also important to recognize that there is variation within spaces, giving complex meaning to these places.

A concept deeply rooted in the study of place is identity. Because the meaning of place is contingent upon the individuals therein, who these people are and how they perform in those spaces is critical to its meaning. People hold many identities and make decisions about what identity to use in a given situation. Those decisions involve a number of factors including why one enters a place, what one expects in that place, the meaning of the place they enter, and people they interact with. How and why people use particular identities with or in a place affects the meaning of that place. In addition, the identities people hold are affected by their interactions with/in various places. As people come to identify with or against various places, they are engaging and changing their identities.

### Making Sense of Place

Making sense of place is a central geographic skill. Much of geography education relies on the notion

that places have collective meanings. It is then presumed that the people within that place act to uphold that meaning. This sense of place often has historical roots and evolves in a given location over time. The particular sense may be affected by economic, political, cultural, or social conditions that mark areas. Many small towns in the United States have a relatively contained identity. Local rules (or lack thereof) and cultures support and maintain this meaning. In one area, people feel safe and choose not to lock their cars or houses, a practice unheard of in other areas. People also uphold this sense of place by participating in local fairs, markets, festivals, and rites that perform a certain meaning. The coming together of people to practice these actions publically upholds the meaning of that place both internally and externally. Although locations have a sense of place, categories of places are often ascribed particular meanings. Using the term *urban* to denote a city provides a collective imaginary of this location. Geographic categories, which are largely unquestioned, provide a lot of information because of collective connotations of terms and places. The prevalence of sense of place or collective narrative of place in geography education is partially a tool of practicality. With so many places to learn about, it is far easier to pursue an accepted, simple, and clear narrative about places. But it is also a tool that arises because the focus of geography is usually on learning about places rather than on understanding how and why those places exist as they do.

Critical geographers assert that in addition to learning the sense of place, there needs to be inquiry into how, for whom, and why that sense of place exists. Places have many users, and given individual attributes, it is unlikely that all people think about places in the same manner. Even when people act publicly to uphold a particular meaning, they might have counternarratives about that place. Recognizing that a place is complicated by the multitude of meanings individuals hold of that place, it is important to query the dominant sense of place that is the crux of what is studied in classrooms, the media, and other sources of geographic information. The dominant narratives typically exist for a reason, and claiming them makes a statement about inclusion and exclusion in a place. Upholding the small town narrative in the previous section may discourage some people from choosing

to enter that space if their identities do not align. Everyday actions are guided by external meanings people carry into a place. Before people enter a church, grocery store, or restaurant, they already have a set of expectations about how to act and what can be done within.

Feminist, Marxist, and postcolonial geographers examine the political, economic, and social systems that create and necessitate senses of place. Marxist geographers study the distribution of capital and the way in which this has forced development. The desire for cheaper places of production and new markets has influenced the meaning of many locations as consumer and producer areas. Feminist geographers are attentive to the ways in which places acquire feminine and masculine tones. Their questions seek to understand how gender norms and expectations are written into and regulated through divisions of space (the public vs. private realm), gendered places (Mother Earth), and the organization of a space (how a meeting room is arranged). Postcolonial geographers examine colonial geographies and maps to deconstruct the othering process of colonized areas and the ways in which this is perpetuated or discontinued in the postcolonial era. Each framework is interested in the meaning of places and how they exist not merely within, but because places interact with other places.

### Geography's Place in the Social Studies

Geography education is increasingly attentive to the changing meanings of place because of the increased global interaction and communication between seemingly distant places. As a stand-alone course, particularly in elementary and middle school, geography is organized as a regional study of the world. Many states differentiate between the eastern and western hemispheres in courses to allow a more in-depth study of different regions. The western hemisphere typically includes North America, South America, Central America, and Europe—all locations deemed relatively close to the United States spatially and culturally. The rest of the world is relegated to the eastern hemisphere, an area relationally distinct and distant. The very division of east and west provides particular markers and ways of understanding the places that are described and studied in these classrooms. As

much as this in-depth study of both human and physical geography provides a vision of untouchable peoples and places, this presentation of place fails to ask critical questions about those meanings and their origins.

Geography also struggles to receive its own billing. In high schools, geography is commonly embedded within global studies or world history and sometimes U.S. history. The placement of geography within global studies and world history is reflective of geography as the discipline that helps students understand the world outside the United States, but it also reduces geography predominantly to the study of the physical environment that shapes global interactions and historical patterns. Global studies often carries some foundational geographic concepts, but the focus on place relays particular ways of thinking about places through modern global themes like the environment, conflict, population, and so on. Although some critics are concerned that geography is watered down when integrated into global studies or history, the link of geography within the other social studies disciplines should not be overlooked. History, civic engagement, and economic systems all happen within and to places. They typically have a spatial arrangement. The study of these other disciplines is augmented when place and space are considered, but only if the concept of place is actually studied. Understanding how a sense of place arises requires the study of historical, political, and economic patterns. The events studied in history affect and are affected by the meanings of places. The way in which citizens enact their civic rights and responsibilities affects the political meaning and description of a place. The distribution of economic systems has spatial implications and arises from particular spatial patterns. Each of these is a reminder that while geography education needs to retain its own disciplinary frameworks, geography is also a way of helping to understand and advocate for the importance of the study of the other social studies disciplines.

Maps remain the most common tool in any geography setting to get information to students. Increasingly, geographers and teachers are attentive to the stories told by maps. As human representations, maps (their boundaries, shape, patterns, content, labels, etc.) are designed to depict a



particular story told by certain individuals or groups. New work with mapping poses questions about the maps themselves rather than merely asking whether students can identify a location or use a scale or key. It proposes that questions arise about how lines came to be drawn, why, and what those mean for the people in those locations. Although the locations are often taken for granted in understanding a place, how people understand those borders and how they transform their lives remains an important question. As the field of geography education responds to globalization and the emergence of transcendent boundaries, there is a plethora of reasons and manners in which to inquire into and about boundaries, maps, and their meanings.

*Sandra J. Schmidt*

*See also* Geography Education Curriculum, History of; Global Education; Identity Politics; Postcolonial Theory; Social Studies Education

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## GEOGRAPHY EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The discipline of geography has neither a linear development nor a clear location in the academic world. Geography has long struggled with whether it is a science or a social science. The struggle partially reflects the uncertainty of human behavior

in trying to make objective and predictable claims about the relationship between people and their physical environment. The struggle results in distinctions between human and physical geography and in questions about their unity. These struggles alongside various theoretical claims mean that the discipline is fragmented, but carries on. As the parent of geography education, geography's struggles are reflected in the history of geography education. A challenging aspect of describing the history of geography education is that it is not always a distinct subject. Geography has often been disguised within the social studies. This ebb and flow of geography education and critiques of its imperial intentions organize this entry.

### Geography's Place in Schools

Geography was a core subject in Greek and Roman education. As such, geography was part of the classical education in the United States' earliest schools. When public education fully emerged in the 20th century, the discipline of geography was largely focused on physical geography. Thus, the modern origins of geography in public schools focused on the physical landscapes, climate, boundaries, and so on. Although understanding physical environments requires problem-solving skills, as a subject physical geography is largely a rote study of places and features on maps. The discipline does not presume that students are cartographers; it prepares them to be consumers. They are taught to memorize and synthesize the data represented on maps. The human component of geography was not unnoted; it simply became subsumed within another field called social studies. Through the 1960s, geography was in a tug-of-war as to whether the social component should be incorporated into geography or into social studies. It most often remained in the social studies.

The first real challenge to geography's integration with social studies arose in the 1960s when the High School Geography Project attempted to develop new geography that attended to solving geographic problems more akin to the discipline of geography. But the lack of experience on the part of teachers and policy makers doomed geography to stay the course. In the late 1980s, following dismal reports about students' geographic

knowledge, the National Council for the Social Studies and the Geography Education Standards Project created standards that demanded students know more than just where places are located on maps. Both set of standards contain central themes—location, region, human characteristics, physical characteristics, movement of people and ideas, and human–environment interaction. These themes provide a rigorous method for students to learn the attributes of a region and thus the countries in that region and a way of categorizing information so that students can compare people and places and make predictions about people living in various environments. These projects also seek to use geography as a tool for developing a spatial understanding of students’ surroundings. There is recognition that students make mental maps and that geography education should explore these maps in addition to cartographic maps. For all the efforts to make changes to the discipline, tests continue to show dismal results, and educators question the value of geography as a course. There are proposals in many states today that would remove geography as a distinct discipline and place it within history.

### An Imperial Origin

The history of geography education shows that it gets more attention in times of national crisis (such as in war) because there is a desire to create a national collective. In these eras, geography serves the purpose of heralding the United States and its (European) allies while simultaneously justifying the contestation toward the Other with whom it is at war. From its beginnings, geography used maps to teach students about new places they heard about in newspapers and political speeches. European colonization, two world wars, and the ensuing League of Nations and United Nations presented a host of unfamiliar places to students. It was important that they learned the boundaries of the changing world and the important details that brought a nation or region into the global portrait. This purpose—teaching students about people and places they hear about, but may never see—has continued to underlie geography education. Although at one time geography education emphasized individual countries or continents, today the discipline borrows from geography and divides the world

into regions or realms. Regional studies grouped places according to physical proximity and sets of cultural, historical, political, or economic characteristics. What emerged are regions that cross continents such as the Middle East or regions that divide continents such as Asia into more manageable areas of inquiry.

The history of learning about the Other concerns geography education critics. They claim that the emphasis produces a divide between “us” and “them.” The unknown or Other is exotic and far away spatially and culturally. The othering process makes this true regardless of similarity or physical distance. They argue that the rise of geography to support nationalism occurs as a means of justifying the self and vilifying the Other. During World War II and the cold war, dictators and socialist economies were portrayed as aggressive and oppressive in relation to the developed, democratic societies who opposed them. The portrayal of one place provides justifications for the actions of another and enables the perpetuation of imperial practices. It is this history of geography education and its role in national identity that leads critics to claim it is a tool of imperialism. Although cadres of geography educators have written about the need to be more attentive to the political, economic, and social systems that are used to define and categorize people, these means of inquiry are rarely drawn upon by policy makers and curriculum writers who define what should be taught, regardless of what individual teachers might teach. The field is currently at risk. It must make a case for why geography matters and why it is useful for students. Such defenses usually call up conservative rather than radical responses.

*Sandra J. Schmidt*

*See also* Geography Education Curriculum; Global Education; Identity Politics; Postcolonial Theory; Social Studies Education

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## GIFTED AND TALENTED EDUCATION

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Gifted and talented education takes many forms. Students labeled as gifted and talented are often served through the following practices and curricular options:

- *Enrichment:* Students remain in general education classes, but receive extra material to challenge them. These can be modified assignments or the opportunity to participate in special programs such as Odyssey of the Mind, science fairs, and extra course offerings.
- *Curricular Compacting:* Regular school material is compacted by skipping repeated exercises and by testing to determine what the student already knows and does not need to do again.
- *Acceleration:* Students are advanced to higher-level classes that are covering more advanced material. This advancement may take the form of skipping grades or of completing the normal curriculum in a shorter period of time.
- *Segregated Gifted Pull-Out Programs:* Students spend part of their time in the regular class and part of their time in a gifted class. These may be half-day, full-day, or for several hours a week.
- *Full-Time Separate Gifted Classes or Schools:* Students are removed from general education and served in classes or schools specifically designated as gifted or talented.

### Arguing For and Against Gifted Education

Those who argue in support of specialized course and school offerings for students identified as gifted claim that the educational needs of such students cannot be met within the mainstream of general education and that, almost by definition, the regular classroom cannot be the appropriate educational placement for gifted students. They often claim that gifted children should learn in the company of others similarly designated, citing the social isolation and stigma sometimes experienced by those who are performing at a higher level than peers. Proponents of gifted education further argue that it is an equity issue—that schools provide for students who are below average intellectually and academically through special education programs

and thus, it is only fair that gifted students be entitled to similar specialized services. They argue that gifted students are often neglected in schools and represent an important national resource.

Critics of gifted education, including Mara Sapon-Shevin and Alfie Kohn, argue that gifted education programs provide enriched curricular and instructional opportunities to students based on limited and partial measures of intelligence and that giftedness as a general characteristic is, in many ways, a social construct. Sapon-Shevin has argued that gifted education programs are fundamentally elitist and meritocratic and tend to provide enrichment to students who are often (not always) already advantaged or privileged based on their race, socioeconomic status, and family background. Gifted programs are also used to stem White flight in mixed race communities by providing a special program for gifted students that resegregates them within the context of public education. Jeannie Oakes argues that gifted programs are simply another form of tracking, but are not subject to the critiques of tracking because they are theoretically based on some measurable characteristic—that is, intelligence. Kohn has written about the ways in which parents insist on educational opportunities for their child that are superior to those provided for other children, becoming single-minded advocates and ignoring broader issues of equity and social justice.

### Issues in the Field of Gifted and Talented Education

#### *Who Is Gifted?*

Because entry into gifted programs is often based on standardized testing, issues of cultural bias and differential experiences often result in gifted programs that are White, middle class, and serve those who are already advantaged within the educational system and society. Conceptualizing intelligence along a single continuum narrows who is included, denies multiple intelligences, and results in a globalizing label.

#### *Who Gets What and How Is This Determined?*

Assumptions about which children can benefit from particular enriched activities can result in a highly differential curriculum that denies the

majority of children opportunities to experience authentic, multimodality, interactive, and collaborative experiences. In one classroom, those labeled as gifted built gingerbread houses using metric measurement while the nongifted completed worksheets. Opportunities to participate in science fairs, drama, music and art projects, field trips, and interactions with guest speakers are often limited to those in the gifted program while there is evidence that all students benefit from those activities and may have fewer opportunities for exposure to these options based on their socioeconomic, familial, and cultural identities. Some gifted advocates such as Joseph Renzulli have tried to mitigate these problems by describing gifted behavior rather than gifted children and by offering different kinds of enrichment to a broader group of children.

### *What Are the Effects of Gifted Programs on School Culture and Educational Programming?*

Designating students, classrooms, teachers, teaching materials, and teaching strategies for the gifted limits schools' ability and willingness to see students as individuals, to support differentiated curricula in the regular classroom, and to pay close attention to creating a social climate in which all children are valued and safe from exclusion and marginalization.

*Mara Ellen Sapon-Shevin*

*See also* Critical Theory Research; Equity; Heterogeneous-Homogeneous Grouping; Meritocracy

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## **GLOBAL EDUCATION**

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Global education has been gaining increasing prominence in K–12 and higher education policy

and curriculum in response to a world in which our geopolitical, environmental, and economic fates are increasingly interconnected. It focuses on knowledge of global issues, on understanding the world through interrelated systems, and on multiple perspectives and cultures. Young people learn about global issues from the cultural curriculum of television, movies, newspapers, and magazines; from social and religious groups, friends, and family; from their work environments and schools; and from a range of explicit formal curriculum in school. The related but distinct fields of social studies, science, literature, environmental education, multicultural education, critical theory, peace education, education for human rights, and development education all include theorists and organizations who call for globally focused curricula. Global education can both globalize a single curriculum subject area and it can also serve as an interdisciplinary integrated curriculum synthesizing elements of various curriculum subject areas such as history, economics, geography, the arts and literature, and science. To add further complexity, corporations, pundits, politicians, and nongovernmental organizations also weigh in on the question of what a global education should entail. Thus, global education includes a wide range of approaches and theoretical understandings of the political, educational, moral, imaginative, technical, and economic issues at stake.

Curriculum studies not only explores the complexity of global education as a field that can be understood through global issues, systems, and cultures, but also much more broadly explores the conceptions of knowledge, culture, power, and citizenship in use in various global education curriculum discourses—the different imaginaries that can be found in curriculum. Further, global curriculum is understood to include not just theories and the explicit and formal curriculum, but also the implicit messages of the hidden and null curriculum and the broadly available cultural curriculum.

Global education in this current era of urgency and contentment includes diverse curricula that can be categorized into at least seven general types. Most typical are approaches that do not question unequal global power relations but explore culture as a monolithic and even as a



commodity or a tool. These include disciplinary global education, pluralistic global education, and neoliberal global education. In contrast, liberal cosmopolitan global education, environmental global education, critical global education, and peace-oriented global education all offer critiques of global power and transnational capitalism and more exploratory and poststructural ideas about culture. As is detailed below, these approaches have very different origins and some distinctive aims (see Table 1), and they developed with different justifications and core concepts as is detailed below.

### Disciplinary Global Education

Disciplinary global education is the most commonly practiced and can manifest in a number of

typical courses, such as world history, geography, international relations, and beyond social studies, in earth science, and world literature and language courses. Disciplinary thinking, or learning to use the analytical tools of a geographer, historian, or political scientist, for example, is the intent of such courses. Proponents of disciplinary education typically assert that they have no civic agenda; they are just teaching knowledge and skills. In disciplinary education, the broad aim is to transmit knowledge and culture, and this includes unreflective factual teaching about the power status quo. When any subject learning is deemed apolitical, it means instead that the politics are acritical and unexplored and are assumed to be normal.

**Table 1** Types of Global Education Curriculum

<i>Type and Related Movements</i>	<i>Curricular Rationale and Goal</i>	<i>View of Diversity</i>
Monocultural (English Only, Traditional National History)	Solidifies national identity, unity, and power. Enhances feeling for the nation.	Defense against diversity.
Pluralistic (Human Relations, Multiculturalism)	Global understanding as a means to improve life for everyone or maintain and enhance power or capital.	Explores diversity for personal and mutual advantage.
Neoliberal (Business Education)	Global understanding as a means to enhance power or capital.	Explores diversity for economic and geopolitical advantage.
Environmental (Ecofeminism, Ecology, Place-Based Education)	Human rights and global diversity are not as important as sustainability, but indigenous cultures that protect the environment should be studied and protected.	Explores diversity to understand cultures and promote sustainability.
Liberal (Critical Thinking, Human Rights Education)	Maximizes global liberty and justice. Diversity can be managed by negotiating and balancing the rights of individuals and groups through deliberative process.	Manages diversity through rational deliberation and law.
Critical (Critical Theory, Critical Race Theory, Postcolonialism)	Critiques structures and systems of global oppression and uneven power relations and develops resistance and transformative potential.	Critiques the ways diversity is created, exacerbated, or denied by oppressors.
Peace-Oriented (Conflict Resolution, Nonviolence Education, Psychoanalytic Education)	Develops the ability to respond to both personal and global issues with nonviolence, love, and compassion and to resolve anger, fear, and conflict to bring peace and justice.	Diversity will cause problems until we each learn to confront our deep human fears about difference and suffering and foster our deepest compassions.

### Pluralistic Global Education

Pluralistic global educators focus on cultural universals more than cultural difference and on an optimism about cross-cultural understanding, open-mindedness, and the ability to have knowledge and appreciation for other peoples' points of view. Every democracy, even the more culturally homogeneous, engages in a process of myth making and homogenizing to create a new national identity, and thus new nations and nations faced with internal divisions or external threats usually promote monocultural curriculum. Pluralism, however, is the most common approach to diversity in established democracies. Pluralists do not deny or defend against culture differences; instead, they see diversity as inevitable and as something to understand and learn from—even as a resource that can enhance the individual and the dominant culture. In this type of global curriculum, the general sentiment is that we can all get along if we learn about each other, and thus this approach focuses on creating solidarity and similarity out of difference and ignores institutional racism, unfair trade, global inequalities of wealth, colonialism, and sexism. Students are to appreciate the beliefs, traditions, and values of different cultural groups, and lessons celebrate diversity. Such an education situates learning about people as a form of commodity, though not in its economic sense, but rather as a tool such that learning about others is principally based on enhancing oneself. The global students can enjoy the food, music, art, textiles, and consumer goods of many places.

### Liberal Cosmopolitan Global Education

Liberal cosmopolitan global education, in contrast, is rooted in the notion that all global citizens are of equal human rights and equal moral standing, but all global beliefs, cultures, and practices can be and should be critically debated. In the liberal view, cultures are not to be consumed or tolerated in curriculum, but are something very much different. The purpose of classical liberalism is not to maintain any view or affirm any culture. Any potential cultural value or option is to be explored. Advocating a pluralistic appreciation for multiple perspectives denies or underestimates the discomfort of real difference. For example, how can a person simultaneously value something such as

equality for women and appreciate a nation that legislates that women are intrinsically inferior? Should we educate that this sort of national diversity is an asset? What would it mean to tolerate this? By embracing the Other, pluralistic theories of global education highlight and consider difference, especially third world difference, yet avoid the politics of non-Western marginalization and the discomfort connected with encountering intractable difference by discovering and celebrating otherness relatively uncritically. In liberal cosmopolitan approaches, diversity brings inevitable difficult issues of difference, which can best be understood and even possibly mediated through public discussion and politics, with critical analysis and rationalist, legalistic discourse. All forms of difference are to be explored, debated, and negotiated. Global issues and diversity exist on an equal power plane for all to address and explore.

### Neoliberal Global Education

Neoliberal global education aims not at exploring global diversity within an ethos of equal human rights, but aims to understand global issues and people in order to maximize advantage. It is directed at mostly private interests and is primarily concerned with better preparing the workforce and consumers through learning about the world. This approach to curriculum tells us that the world is globalizing and that we need to learn about it to succeed; neoliberal global education is problem based, and the problem is maintaining power in a globalizing world. Corporate citizens who are able to move and work easily from place to place in a global world can maximize income and power. Global issues and diversity are something to master for the sake of geopolitical and economic advantage. One studies the Other to be able to teach them or work with them or market to them.

### Critical Global Education

Critical global education aims to overturn the unequal power relations that neoliberal global education aims to maintain. Further, critical global educators believe that the disciplinary, pluralistic, and liberal approaches to global education do not explore the starting grounds on which cross-cultural exploration occurs, but instead assume a

neutrality and equality that cannot be reconciled with the realities of either national or global prejudices or with economic inequalities. In this approach, inequality of power and privilege are central to exploring global issues, systems, and cultures, particularly the colonial past and the neocolonial present in which the powerful use economic, political, and cultural means to perpetuate hegemony. Critical perspectives explore by what social and economic processes global people, cultures, spaces, and places are constructed and how these constructions can be explored within discourses and practices tied to various positions of power. As Marx proclaimed, and as others from Paulo Freire to Michel Foucault to Frankfurt school theorists reiterated, domination fosters resistance; critical global education aims to empower students to help create a more just world.

Critical global education is not typically rooted in personal understandings of power and culture but instead is often directed toward an amorphous massive disembodied thing, called global society or transnational capitalism, to which it can be difficult to respond. Students tend to read about global heroes and the global oppressed in general. Personal connections are not easily made. Critical work is most often described as conducted by heroes, by the likes of Che Guevara and Ghandi. Critical global education theory and pedagogy have been critiqued as rationalistic, positivistic, masculine, and rooted in a utopian, revolutionary metanarrative. Global issues and diversity are something to master for the sake of the liberation of the oppressed. As critics have suggested, the relationship to the Other is that one is to liberate, a relationship that is condescending.

### **Environmental Global Education**

Environmental global education is also concerned with power and with global economic systems, but aims not at liberation, justice, and human rights, but at creating global responsibility directed toward sustainable societies. The first-order value is not democratic values or global human rights, but global sustainability. Although critical approaches focus on large-scale processes, environmental global education often emphasizes local placed-based issues and commitments to preserving ecology through technical as well as political means.

Students are encouraged to learn about their local environments, specifically how human development has shaped the landscape, what resources are employed, and the various effects of consumption patterns. Environmental education is closely tied to the goals of sustainable development, or the means by which societies can meet current needs while preserving the capacity of the environment to meet the needs of future generations. Critics argue that revitalizing attention to local places runs counter to a fully global orientation, and environmental education tends to side-step difficult questions about culture and identity. The primary allegiance is planetary rather than humanistic, so issues of culture are less important except to the extent that different cultures value the environment differently. Indeed, some advocates of a radical environmental education argue that democracy has become largely a technology of capital that has and is destroying valuable indigenous knowledge bases. Others have claimed that such claims are premised on a romantic sense of indigenous cultures that fails to explore the problematic dimensions of power and status within these communities.

### **Peace-Oriented Global Education**

Peace education, unlike all of the above approaches, focuses on developing the ability to respond to both personal and global issues with nonviolence, love, and compassion and to resolve anger, fear, and conflict to bring peace and justice to global people and events. UNICEF describes peace education as a process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values needed to bring about behavior change that will enable children, youth, and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an interpersonal, intergroup, national, or international level. Peace education draws from nonviolent social change movements, especially from Buddhist and Quaker traditions, and also draws on psychology and psychoanalysis. Global peace educators recognize suffering, fear, and anger as fundamental characteristics of the human condition that can be improved through compassionate practices and forms of conflict resolution. The intention of this type of global education is

inner transformation and liberation from fear and anger because only people who have confronted the inevitable dark side of human nature and have learned to be open to love and see one another as connected by our common humanity can transform society into a place of peace. Global peace educators teach that conscious and subconscious attitudes and feelings support structural injustice and overt violence, and thus it is these and not the logic of our idea or the structure of intuitions that we must focus on most closely.

### Global Education as Citizenship Education

Neoliberal, vocational, and private visions will inevitably be expressed in schools. In public schools or in a college that focuses on liberal as well as vocational education, such visions should be reflected upon through broader democratic public values. Four types of global education—liberal, environmental, critical, and peace oriented—are civic and democratic in their orientation because they highlight respect for human rights, the reverence and recognition of places and ecology of the environment, awareness of inequality, and a call for social justice, yet these types often remain in the null or absent curriculum. The possibility for a more just world rests on the educated imagination. Globalization has brought forth something new in human history, and curricularists struggle to bring forth a fundamentally new education that is equal to it.

*Elizabeth E. Heilman*

*See also* Civic Education Curriculum; Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Discipline-Based Curriculum; Ecological Theory; Ecopedagogy; Formal Curriculum; Freire, Paulo; Geography Education Curriculum; Hegemony; Hidden Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum Theory; Null Curriculum; Postcolonial Theory; Psychoanalytic Theory; Social Justice; Social Studies Education

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## GOALS 2000

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In 1989, a coalition of state governors from all 50 states and President George H. W. Bush proposed an educational reform program they named Goals 2000 as a solution to the failing state of U.S. public schools and the nation-at-risk image plaguing the country. The program set national educational goals for U.S. students that were to be achieved by the year 2000. As a result, Goals 2000, the Educate America Act (P.L. 103-227), was developed and later signed into law by President Bill Clinton, Bush's successor, on March 31, 1994. It provided funding to schools to help all students reach high levels of achievement and their full potential through systemic reform. This emphasis on achievement result was embodied in changes in curriculum, instruction, professional development, accountability, and assessment. Curriculum was to be aligned with performance standards. The act established a framework to create academic standards, assess student learning, and support students who needed help to meet the standards.

Goals 2000 consisted of eight national goals. The goals included that by the year 2000 all children in the United States would start school ready



to learn and that the high school graduation rate would increase to at least 90%. It also codified goals concerning academic and occupational skills achievement, U.S. global leadership in math and the sciences, adult literacy, drug- and violence-free schools, professional development for teachers, and family involvement in the academic, social, and emotional development of their children. The goals were intended to make Americans competitive in a global economy and able to develop into responsible citizens. The goals were to do this by holding all students to high standards. Focused content standards were to guide local curriculum development. The underlying philosophy was that if students were not challenged to fulfill their potential, they never would.

Through Goals 2000, the government provided the goals; however, states and communities were given the power to determine how they would reach them and to create aggressive plans that could potentially be funded in whole or in part by the federal government. Colleagues were encouraged to work together toward the goals. States submitted applications for funding. Applications outlined how the states planned to improve their schools and curriculum. Congress appropriated \$105 million for Goals 2000 in 1994.

Initially, the goals seemed unobjectionable. However, serious pitfalls soon began to reveal themselves. For example, although presented as a voluntary program in which states did not have to participate, nonparticipation meant states passed up substantial federal funding. Hidden mandates required that states submit proposals for funding and plans for improvement, be penalized if they failed to comply with their proposed plans, and form partnerships with schools, universities, and businesses. Conservatives and homeschoolers criticized Goals 2000 for putting public schools in the position of monitoring various services for children.

In 1999, the National Education Goals Panel reported that although the nation had not yet completely satisfied any of the eight goals set by Goals 2000, some progress had been made. For example, advancement was made in preparing preschoolers for school entry. It was evident that more children were entering school physically healthier than previously, and they were better prepared for kindergarten as a result of effective literacy experiences in

preschool and in the children's homes. Furthermore, progress was evident in student achievements through advanced proficiencies in elementary and middle school math and reading.

However, progress toward two of the goals actually regressed. The percentage of public school teachers certified to teach their main subject dropped, meaning students were being taught by less qualified teachers than previously. Also, a substantial increase in the use of illegal drugs occurred.

In November 1999, the House of Representatives refused to reauthorize Goals 2000 based mainly on persistent opposition from families of home-schooled children. Funding was ended; however, several titles of the law still remained in effect. The complete withdrawal of authorization for Goals 2000 came with the passing of President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act (H. R. 1), which zero-funded the Goals 2000 program.

*Cynthia A. Lassonde*

*See also* Equity; High-Stakes Testing; Homeschooling; *Nation at Risk, A*; No Child Left Behind; Outcome-Based Education; Systemic Reform

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## GOODLAD, JOHN I.

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John I. Goodlad (1920– ) is a leading educational researcher whose work has had a major impact on school reform, professional development, and curriculum studies. His studies have illuminated many components of education—from teacher training programs, to school administration, to classroom

interactions—that affect curriculum implementation. Goodlad’s primary object of inquiry has been the site where the curricular rubber hits the road—the school. His 30 books and hundreds of articles describe the arc of a long, varied, and deep engagement with the scene of schooling, or as he has put it a, “Romance with schools.”

One could say that Goodlad’s career mirrors the evolution of the institution to which it was devoted. Beginning as a teacher in a one-room schoolhouse, he went on to become a leading figure in the effort to understand and improve the modern school (i.e., postagrarian, comprehensive), whose conventions quickly became so familiar as to be invisible. What grasp we now have of these commonplaces is thanks in large part to the remarkable career of Goodlad. He not only participated in the Conant report—which had a major effect on the secondary school curriculum—but also spearheaded the “Study of Schooling,” among the most ambitious onsite studies of U.S. schools ever conducted.

Goodlad was born and raised in British Columbia. He left Canada for graduate study at the University of Chicago and as it turned out, an academic career in the United States. After completing his doctorate under the supervision of Ralph Tyler, Goodlad held a series of positions in teacher education, eventually becoming the head of Emory University’s Division of Teacher Education. He then moved to University of California, Los Angeles, where he served as University Professor, the director of the lab school, and dean of the Graduate School of Education. Later, at the University of Washington, he founded the Center for Educational Renewal.

Goodlad has produced one influential work after another, from *The Nongraded Elementary School* that significantly challenged prevailing conceptions of school organization, to *Educational Renewal: Better Teachers, Better Schools* that proposed a route to educational reform based on whole-school emergent energy and commitment to improvement. None, however, has been more important than his pathbreaking *A Place Called School*. Named American Educational Research Association’s Outstanding Book for 1985, this work is still today one of the most referenced accounts of the cultures and practices in schools across the United States. The monumental “Study of Schooling” on which this book was based

included thousands of students, parents, teachers, and administrators from a broad cross-section of schools and blended qualitative with quantitative approaches. Goodlad’s findings include, for example, that classrooms are loose-knit rather than tight-knit groups and that vocational and academic tracks for high school students are often mutually exclusive. Through this and other studies, Goodlad has contributed to curriculum studies a considerable amount of data about the functions and cultures of schools.

Goodlad has also been a leading thinker on school renewal, a term he prefers over the more common reform. To Goodlad, reform signals mandates imposed from outside, detached from the complexities of schools and the realities of implementation. Renewal focuses less on particular changes—such as involving teachers more in policy decisions or adopting specific curricula—than on the ongoing ability to change. Renewal is therefore devoted to creating a culture of change within the school, one that originates with, and is accompanied by, commitment from those involved.

Goodlad’s reconceptualization of the school as an environment that itself must learn and adapt is paralleled by his arguments that teaching is a profession demanding continuous learning and reflection. Treating teaching as a mechanical or servile occupation may facilitate short-term school reform, but it undercuts the capacity for renewal. For teachers to be leaders in school renewal requires changes in the way teachers are prepared and schools are staffed. For example, teacher preparation should include prolonged initiations to the layered contexts in schools and guidance in how to negotiate school culture. If teachers are to have energy and vision for renewal, they must be supported to lift their gaze beyond their immediate tasks and classroom walls to engage the school as a whole. Further, schools should include a cadre of teachers with advanced training who can oversee more students, work with learning disabilities, and mentor junior teachers.

Closely related to this is Goodlad’s call for school–university partnerships featuring centers of pedagogy bringing together practicing teachers, preservice teachers, and faculty and students in the arts and sciences. Such partnerships would bring into focus important, but underaddressed educational concerns enriching professional preparation and development.

Goodlad's contribution includes not only insights into the separate components of curriculum and instruction, teacher preparation, and development, but also his insight into the school as a total entity. The school, Goodlad insisted, is not a collection of isolated phenomena—principal, classroom, budget, and so on—but an integrated whole. What Goodlad's work has revealed is for all of the many structural similarities, each school also has a distinctive culture that greatly shapes teaching and learning.

Goodlad has also contributed to debates over moral and civic education, with such coedited works as *The Moral Dimensions of Teaching* and *Developing Democratic Character in the Young*. Goodlad currently directs the Institute for Educational Inquiry, an independent, non-profit corporation based in Seattle, Washington, working to help schools apply his principles of educational renewal.

When it comes to the nature and prospects of curriculum, instruction, and schooling, few names carry the weight of Goodlad, an authority earned through a lifetime of dedication to understanding the resilient and durable place called school.

*Chris Higgins and Ben Blair*

*See also* Commonplaces; Mixed Methods Research; *Place Called School, A*; Systemic Reform; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development; Teacher Empowerment; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## GRAMMAR OF SCHOOLING

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The grammar of schooling is that assemblage of pedagogical routines and principles that students, teachers, and education researchers tend to agree

constitute the process of school-based instruction. Major books and articles on school change and teacher education published over the past decade or two suggest that those practices and structures associated with real school are so firmly entrenched in the imagination and habits of school personnel and parents alike that altering them results in only transient change—or substantive change that is so gradual it is barely noticed.

At once both elusive and a commonplace, the grammar of schooling (also termed *real school*) includes the routines and the physical arrangements of instructional time and space—or at least those common in North American elementary and secondary schools. The term itself is most closely associated with historian David Tyack, who often wrote of it in the early 1990s. In adapting the word *grammar* from the study of language, Tyack described the persistence of such structures as the age-graded, self-contained classroom led by a single teacher and the division of academic knowledge into a half-dozen subjects, all of which are taught in blocks of 20 to 50 minutes dependent upon the students' age (that block scheduling—or periods of an hour or more—is relatively uncommon serves largely to support Tyack's point).

Practicing teachers might add other unchanging aspects of classrooms, such as seating charts, the balance between teacher talk and student discussion, and reliance upon textbooks and publisher-provided materials. Though blackboards have yielded to whiteboards (and occasionally electronic projection systems), maps still pull down in front of them, alphabets and inspirational thoughts line classroom walls, alternating with student projects and travel posters. Whether or not cooperative learning has been instituted in schools, the physical arrangement of desks in classrooms did change markedly from the beginning to the end of the 20th century. In today's schools, group learning is encouraged by the clustering of student desks; whether this has been accompanied by an appropriate amount of interactive instruction is likely in the eye of the beholder.

In writing about the grammar of schooling, Tyack analyzed major efforts to alter the structures and practices of real school, a term he used. Some efforts, such as the age-graded classroom and the Carnegie Unit had been established a century before, and may have become commonplaces

because they were instituted at a time the basic structure of the U.S. public school was still plastic. Other efforts at systemic change, such as those advocated by John Dewey and others in the early decades of the 20th century—practices such as team teaching, sustained efforts to connect learning inside the school with daily life outside it, theme-based curricula driven by student interests, and individualized assessments, for example—did not become common aspects of real school. Is it because the culture of the school and power relationships within the education establishment are counterproductive, as Seymour Sarason would have it? Or is it because the plethora of tried, but not sustained innovations—multigrade pods and flexible scheduling, for example—simply are not as instructionally efficacious as the graded classroom and the Carnegie Unit? Alternatively, have these innovations not been successful chiefly because they require more intellectual energy than teachers have available?

Tyack's arguments suggest that those innovations enabling schools to better serve their democratic purpose have been adopted and sustained. Other innovations, such as the vouchers, charter schools, and rigid standards-based assessments prominent in the first decade of the 21st century—largely driven by a political agenda at odds with the democratic purpose of school—may not be, and in great part because they seem discordant with the public's perception of what real school is all about.

*Connie Goddard*

*See also* Block Scheduling; Carnegie Units; Commonplaces; Curriculum Design; Dewey, John; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Systemic Reform

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## GRAMSCIAN THOUGHT

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Antonio Gramsci's (1891–1937) posthumously published prison notebooks launched him as a definitive figure in educational theory and philosophy. In terms of education, though, he is perhaps best known for the development of cultural hegemony. Marxist theorists such as Vladimir Lenin had developed notions of political hegemony, meaning that dominant society maintains control over the working classes through direct force, and had thus called for revolution of the working class. Gramsci, however, believed that direct force was not the only way in which hierarchical systems were created and maintained. Rather, his concept of cultural hegemony asked that society move beyond this notion of rule through direct force and examine how knowledge or ideologies are used to maintain control as well. He asked that people examine the ways in which hegemonic institutions such as schools, churches, the family, labor unions, the press, and so forth all work to present and maintain dominant ideologies as the norm. It was then through normalization, Gramsci argued, that working-class people came to accept these ideologies as common sense. Control, then, could be both direct and ideological. It is important to note, however, that ideological control was not an abstract concept, but was actualized through the lived experiences of the people.

For Gramsci, cultural hegemony was the explanation as to why the socialist revolution had yet to occur, and this theory was also his means of proposing the future of socialism. Indeed, Gramsci argued that hegemony was connected to education, and if the proletariats were to break down dominant ideologies and values, then they would have to look toward education. Education would be the means through which the working class would liberate itself by examining and deconstructing dominant culture and developing or redefining its own culture. As the educational system functioned during Gramsci's era, each new generation of working-class



students was pushed into the same working-class occupations as its parents. In turn, this also meant that the working class consistently lacked the political and social capital of the privileged. In reference to curriculum, Gramsci argued that these educational forms of control were obvious in what schools chose to emphasize as suitable in terms of content and pedagogy. Cultural hegemony was obvious in school relationships in which cultures were valued and in the access to and distribution of knowledge. The educational system valued dominant culture and devalued anything else. As a result, education would have to change to help the working class lift itself out of its current situation through social, cultural, and political enlightenment and power. Reconceiving education should be one of the main goals, Gramsci thought, of the workers' movement.

Gramsci gave people a framework for understanding dominant control both during his time and today. In particular, he moved beyond traditional Marxist theories by expanding notions that control was maintained through direct force. He examined social and ideological forms of control and thus provided society with a means of deconstructing dominant ideologies and moving toward social, political, and economic change, particularly in the school system.

In many ways, Gramsci was ahead of his time. His theories called for education for the working class and thus acted as forerunners to the philosophies of popular educators such as Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon. In "Socialism and Culture" in 1916, for example, Gramsci compared man to a receptacle ready to be filled with facts, and thus, he highlights the problem that Freire later coins banking education, an issue that many believe still plagues education today. Gramsci believed that education could lead to liberation from one's current social condition. Like Freire, then, he saw education as freedom; Gramsci perceived gaps between theory and practice and between academia and the people, and he worked to bridge these gaps through popular education. He also fought against hierarchical reproductions in schools through early forms of sorting and tracking and argued for education for women. In these ways, he was a man before his time, a man dedicated to democratic education.

*Sheri C. Hardee*

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Cultural Production/Reproduction; Equity; Freire, Paulo; Hegemony; Reproduction Theory

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## GREENE, MAXINE

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Positioning herself as an existential-phenomenological educational philosopher throughout her illustrious academic career, Maxine Greene writes, speaks, and teaches about conceptions of freedom, moral choices, and the creation of public spaces that enact possibilities for constructions of just and humane educational communities. Within any contextualization of such communities, Greene argues that engagements with the arts are imperative in the quest for wide-awakeness and that social imagination allows a breaking with the taken-for-granted, a setting aside of familiar definitions and distinctions, a becoming conscious of and responding to diversities of perspectives and identities.

Greene does not situate herself within the field of curriculum studies, per se. However, her vivid and compelling rationale and exemplifications in her own intellectual work of the reasons for doing philosophy influenced and framed efforts to theorize reasons for the field's need to turn away from a technical-rational conception of curriculum and its studies and toward efforts to understand the nature of educational experiences in all their psycho-social dimensions. Greene's own versions of doing philosophy were based in the humanities and incorporated analyses of literature and the arts as means of enacting her visions for education as constant processes of engaging, questioning, choosing,

and becoming. During the reconceptualization of the U.S. curriculum field during the 1970s and early and mid-1980s as well in current iterations of her work, Greene's constant drive to do philosophy bolstered and continues to support curriculum theorizing as necessarily including philosophical and theoretical analyses as integral components of the intellectual advancement of the curriculum studies field, writ large.

Greene, born in Brooklyn, New York, earned her doctorate in education from New York University in 1955 and then taught at New York University, Montclair State College, and Brooklyn College. In 1965, she joined the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University, the only female among the bastion of male philosophy of education colleagues. She currently holds the William F. Russell Professor in the Foundations of Education (emerita) at Teachers College. In 2004, the Teachers College Trustees created the Maxine Greene Chair for Distinguished Contributions to Education.

Among her outstanding and numerous awards and honors, her election to the office of President of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) indicated the high esteem in which her colleagues within the whole diverse field of educational research held her. Indeed, for a predominately social science and quantitative research oriented membership to endorse her AERA presidency is of special note. Greene also was elected president of the Philosophy of Education Society, the American Educational Studies Association, and the Middle Atlantic States Philosophy of Education Society.

Greene also has been awarded the Medal of Honor from Teachers College and Barnard College, Educator of the Year Award from Phi Delta Kappa, the Scholarly Achievement Award from Barnard College, and AERA's Lifetime Achievement Award; and she received a Fulbright fellowship to New Zealand.

As Philosopher-in-Residence of the Lincoln Center Institute for the Arts in Education (LCI) since 1976, Greene conducts workshops, especially in literature as art, lectures at LCI's summer sessions, and her intellectual work has inspired the creation of a small high school, the High School of Arts, Imagination and Inquiry in association with LCI and New Visions for Public Schools. She founded the Maxine Greene Foundation for Social Imagination, the Arts, and Education in 2003.

Greene, widely acclaimed as one of the preeminent educational philosophers in the history of the education field, writ large, continues to write and speak in a distinctive and literary voice that offers the keen and poetic sensibilities of a novelist, the astute questions, critiques, and insights of a philosopher and historian, and the soul of an activist who works tirelessly for change and betterment in the project she calls education. That project—conceived in terms of Jean-Paul Sartre's notion of freedom as individuals having to constantly make choices, and indeed not being able to avoid making choices—requires that teachers and students engage in activities of meaning making, dialogue, and reflective understanding not only of school-sanctioned knowledge generically known as the curriculum, but also of the texts of their social realities.

The projectness of education, fueled most compellingly by imaginative encounters with the arts, thus requires intentional, cooperative, and never ending engagement, and takes place and shape within particular, diverse, cultural and social contexts as well as historical moments.

### Freedom and Choice

Greene argues that any attempts to attend mindfully to one's own life, to make sense of actual lived educative situations, to make choices, always will be enacted in response to individual as well as social and cultural texts—the curricula of social realities, if one will—that often are unpredictable, unrepeatable, and filled with multiplicity and difference.

Throughout her work, Greene emphasizes that whenever individuals make choices with values and preferences in mind, they are engaging in moral choices that are framed by norms and rules of a particular society, personal histories, and integrated customs functioning within a specific social/cultural context. Choices are free only when made by people who are aware of options, who recognize that more than one possible action exists in any one particular moment and context. The challenge is to strive in every moment to be wide awake, even in the face of conflicting and fluctuating views of the good and the right. Influenced by John Dewey, in particular, Greene argues that intelligent and diligent inquiry into the worth or goodness of a particular educative action or version of curriculum, for example, is crucial to the

value of a final choice or decision. Freedom, then, does not mean absence of responsibility. Individuals can be free only when they accept responsibility for not only their own, but also others' experiences of the world.

In the educational world, Greene's work points to individuals' conceptions of and encounters with various versions of what counts as worthwhile knowledge—typically encapsulated as the curriculum—as of primary importance. Curriculum developers—at particular historical moments and contexts, teachers, and even students have accepted this as an educative responsibility—as well as designers, theorists, researchers, evaluators must approach, question, and accept responsibility for all aspects of creating, theorizing, and engaging in particular knowledge constructions.

### The Arts, Imagination, and Aesthetics in Education

The arts, for Greene, provide a means by which students, still in the relatively sheltered atmosphere of a classroom or arts setting, can prepare for a bombardment of choices, interpretations, and complex dimensions that will confront them as they move into larger, maturing attempts to make sense of their own and others' lives. The place of the arts in education is twofold: Possibilities are offered through engagement with works of art that might enable teachers and students to grapple with the changing meanings of human realities and time in ways that mere description cannot, and experiences with the arts offer possibilities for self-confrontation, for increasing awareness of the multiplicities of self and other, and for making individuals more visible to themselves.

Drawing on works of imaginative literature, in particular, but also staging encounters with classical as well as avant-garde forms of dance, music, visual arts, popular culture, and multimedia, Greene partakes in both performance and the doing of philosophy in relation to the study of aesthetics and the arts and their crucial relationships to education. In so doing, she reminds curriculum studies participants that engagement with works of art can move people to critical awareness, to a sense of moral agency and to a conscious engagement with the world, and is central to any construction or version of curriculum.

### Coda

Greene, still actively teaching, lecturing, and publishing into her 90s, lives her passion for and commitment to keeping alive the sense of possibility, the constant challenge to both interrogate and illuminate interior and exterior moral journeys of the self in relation to others, and the willingness to risk—without any guarantees. She lives these through her activism as well as through her immense contributions to and leadership within education. Greene stands as a premier contributor to curriculum thought and action in the world, and her commitment to doing philosophy continues to inspire generations of curriculum studies scholars and practitioners.

Janet L. Miller

See also Aesthetic Theory; Curriculum as Public Spaces; Dewey, John; Phenomenological Research; Social Justice; *Teacher as Stranger*; Wide-Awakeness

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## GROUNDING THEORY RESEARCH

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Grounded theory research is the observation of a naturalistic setting and the development of images and ideas—concepts, hypotheses, and theories from these observations and data. This form of research serves to guide or provide a theoretical foundation for much qualitative research in the

field of curriculum studies. The observations may include talking to individuals, including interviews, and collecting documents. Several methodological differences from traditional, positivistic, and quantitative approaches to inquiry are important. Usually the researcher is more interested in the front end of research—creating ideas rather than testing or verifying ideas. The data typically are qualitative in contrast to more quantitative data gathered in laboratory experiments or with questionnaires. Within social science, this approach was initially accented and labeled by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. In contrast to this simplicity, the more complex version of grounded theory is Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz's 2007 *Handbook of Grounded Theory* containing 600 pages with three dozen authors. The authors, many from United Kingdom and other countries besides the United States, often were trained by, or associated with, Glaser or Strauss. They are mostly sociologists and social psychologists in various universities and professional settings, but rarely in professional education or curriculum.

Considerable research involving grounded theory in curriculum studies, the field of education, and closely related fields appeared before the label was invented or before it was widely known or recognized. For example, the grounded theory tradition was formed by natural historian Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* whose 1859 work during his voyage on Her Majesty's ship *Beagle* underlies the structure of most general biology texts as well as the organization of the educational exhibits of the Museum of Natural History. Social workers Fritz Redl and David Wineman's 1953 publication, *The Aggressive Child*, represented grounded theory work with children at Pioneer House and developed concepts and theories for residential treatment centers is fundamental to social work curriculum. Other examples of ground theory work include Carl Rogers's *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, a book based on counseling interviews that developed the theory of nondirective counseling and altered counseling programs across the country, and Donald Schon's *The Reflective Practitioner*, a publication that changed the paradigm strategies of curriculum and instruction of

practitioners in many fields. The grounded theory research of Louis Smith and William Geoffrey in *The Complexity of an Urban Classroom* developed narratives and models of classroom activities and teacher–pupil interactions and contributed to the teaching of educational psychology and principles of teaching. Finally, geometry teacher Harold Fawcett's *The Nature of Proof*, although an educational experiment that occurred within the auspices of the Progressive Education Association's Eight Year Study, involved secondary school pupils developing a grounded theory of geometry.

In the 1930s, Fawcett taught a high school geometry class in which the pupils discovered the importance of the concepts of definitions and assumptions. During the year, they worked from problems and exercises where they arrived at terms and concepts defined by pupils. A major point of Fawcett's geometry class was his intention to have students think about nonmathematical arguments, the classical issues of transfer of training. High school students were developing grounded concepts, hypotheses, and theories of geometry and the usefulness of these ideas in other complex human situations and thought.

Smith and Geoffrey's 1968 publication, *The Complexity of an Urban Classroom*, is subtitled *An Analysis Toward a General Theory of Teaching*, and details from their educational perspective show the procedures they used in generating grounded theory. Their collaboration involved Smith as outside observer and Geoffrey as classroom teacher. They talked to each other daily before school at a coffee shop in what became a never ending interview of each other. Smith took field notes from his seat at the back of the classroom and talked to pupils in between lessons, at lunchtime, and on the playground. Besides accounts of lessons and teacher–pupil conversations, the notes contained what they called interpretive asides. Without quite realizing it at the time, these were initial reaches for concepts and hypotheses of what was occurring. Smith talked with teachers at a midmorning recess coffee break in Geoffrey's classroom where they had set up a coffee bar. They each had a tape recorder for observations and interpretations recorded going to and from the school and later at home. In effect they were developing curriculum for teacher education classes. This project



represented a form of grounded theory several years before Glaser and Strauss published their seminal work.

The history of grounded theory vies with the paradigmatic effects of researchers in positivistic, interpretive, critical, feminist, and racial/ethnic traditions. Differences exist in the more concrete grounded theory procedures of sampling, data collection, coding, category development, memo writing, and relation to subjects/participants. In brief, excitement and creative possibilities exist everywhere in grounded theory practices and results. The area keeps growing and changing.

*Louis M. Smith*

*See also* Qualitative Research

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## HABERMASIAN THOUGHT

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Jürgen Habermas (1929– ) dedicated his energies to reestablishing reason as the driving force behind both democracy and communication. In *Knowledge and Human Interests*, appearing in the United States in 1971, Habermas claimed that all knowledge is constituted in human interests, and he named three such interests: control, interpretation, and emancipation. The interest in control, he said, is dominated by positivism and governs science and technology. The interest in interpretation governs hermeneutics and human interaction, and interest in emancipation, Habermas said, would govern a psychological and social science dedicated to promoting the liberty of individuals in particular and society in general. Habermasian thought provided a theoretical base for North American curriculum theorists to critique the organizational structures of education and to analyze and then develop alternative conceptions to lessen the hegemonic control of public knowledge and educational programming.

Habermas's scheme was highly evocative and moved James Macdonald, one of the leading curriculum theorists of the 1970s and a founding figure in the reconceptualist movement, to recognize three models of curriculum development: the linear expert model, the circular consensus model, and the dialogical model. The linear expert model is a highly centralized and positivistic curriculum development model based on the authority of subject matter specialists. The circular consensus

model, on the other hand, is highly localized and depends upon the notion that curriculum functions best when the teachers are the main curriculum makers, consulting from time to time with curriculum experts. For the dialogical model, Macdonald referred to the work of Paulo Freire, whose literacy campaigns were grounded in the political interests of the learners as they engaged in dialogue with each other and the literacy workers. Macdonald's work has had significant influence on some members of the reconceptualists.

Habermas was born in Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1929, and became one of the most important philosophers and social theorists of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Growing up in Nazi Germany, and coming into adulthood in the post-war period, Habermas, a member of the Frankfurt School, became committed to a philosophical and social-theoretic understanding of deliberative democracy and communicative rationality, both of which had been denied him growing up under national socialism.

One of the problems with Habermas's theory is that he assumes all science is positivistic and primarily interested in control, an assumption that is true of some science, but not all. For example, when Jane Goodall lived among chimpanzees and observed them naturalistically, her inquiry was not so tightly controlled. Further, one is hard put to discern precisely what specific kinds of knowledge are constituted by the interest in emancipation. Yet the force of Habermas's insight in *Knowledge and Human Interests* remains relevant to curriculum studies, for it clearly points to the problematic domination of

the positivistic linear expert model in curriculum practice. Moreover, it demonstrates a way to resist such domination by affirming the value of knowledge generated by interpretation, conversation, and commonsense practical knowledge.

The domination that Habermas opposes is neither capitalism nor communism; it is the contemporary positivistic mind-set that the only knowledge of value is scientific-technological. For this reason, Habermas, in the 1970s, turned to the study of the practical language of everyday life. In conversations, he noted, people sometimes act strategically, pursuing their own private interests. At other times they act communicatively, pursuing understanding or consensus. This kind of conversation gets raised in Habermas's terminology to discourse when partners in a conversation provide reasons for claims they make. These reasons are not limited to representations of facts, but may be based upon the rightness of reasoning among partners or on moral correctness, aesthetic value, personal sincerity, or on other considerations. In this sense, Habermas's discourse theory can be compared to the work of informal logicians, such as Stephen Toulmin, who find reasonableness, as distinct from logical rationality, a significant source of practical knowledge.

Curricula that engage students in retrieving, critiquing, rethinking, and reconceptualizing the traditions that have formed our civilization would be consistent with Habermas's philosophy. Such curricula would engage students in conversing about what and whose interests are being served by claims made in the texts they study. Habermas would consider this kind of rational dialogue a necessary condition for the deliberative democracy he advocates.

*Timothy Leonard*

*See also* Freire, Paulo; Macdonald, James;  
Postmodernism; Reconceptualization

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## *HANDBOOK OF RESEARCH ON CURRICULUM, THE*

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*The Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (1992), edited by Philip Jackson, was a project of the American Educational Research Association. This handbook and its successor *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction* (2008) are the principle resources for comprehensive research reviews of curriculum studies. This volume has 1088 pages, 34 chapters, 52 authors, a nine-member editorial advisory board, and a name index of approximately 5000 entries. The handbook's purpose was to give conceptual and methodological definition to curriculum studies while also reviewing past achievements. It is organized into four parts:

Part 1: Conceptual and Methodological Perspectives

Part 2: How the Curriculum Is Shaped

Part 3: The Curriculum as a Shaping Force

Part 4: Topics and Issues Within Curriculum Categories

To establish commonality among chapters with widely different content, authors were instructed to consider four matters:

1. to provide a historical perspective on the topic,
2. to provide the best scholarly and empirical knowledge on the topic,
3. to provide a comprehensive bibliography on the topic, and
4. to provide ideas on future research directions for the topic.

Though none of the chapters are organized according to these directions, each is found in the chapters. The second, third, and fourth guidelines are thoroughly achieved in Parts 1, 2, and 3. Because each curriculum subject matter area has its own professional associations and journals, the chapters in Part 4 provide limited bibliographies compared to what is available in each area. The strength in these chapters lies in the second and fourth guidelines by providing an overview of



knowledge and future directions. The first guideline, on historical perspective, is treated differently from chapter to chapter. For those chapters where an historical perspective was developed, the chapters remain one of the best historical sources for the topic, for example, in Chapter 5, “Curriculum Evaluation and Assessment”; Chapter 10, “Conceptions of Knowledge”; and Chapter 14, “Teacher as Curriculum Maker.”

The five chapters of Part 1 deal with conceptions of curriculum and curriculum specialists, the scientific tradition, the humanistic tradition, methodological issues, and curriculum evaluation and assessment. At one time, curriculum studies had an atheoretical reputation expressed in teaching and curriculum development methodology studies. A significant feature of the handbook is the theoretical scope that characterizes Part 1. Part 1 helped legitimize the diversity of conceptual curriculum thought and helped shape the direction of the field.

Parts 2 and 3 are organized by two broad purposes of education: transmission of society’s knowledge and values *and* transformation of society’s knowledge and values. However, individual chapters do not answer well to the contextualizing questions: How is curriculum shaped by society? And how is society shaped by curriculum? The importance of those two parts is that the range of topics discussed broadens the field of curriculum studies beyond general curriculum and curriculum theory.

Part 4 is on curriculum subject matter. Ten subject matter areas are represented: writing and reading, literature and the English language arts, mathematics, science and technology, social studies, foreign language curriculum, vocational education, art education, physical education, and the extra curriculum. These chapters reflect a school-based conception of curriculum organized by school subject matters. This organization has the advantage of providing insights into what the schools do, but has the disadvantage of obscuring critical alternatives to existing curriculum structures. The section does not deal with the traditional school curriculum questions of time assigned to a subject, balance among the subjects, and sequence throughout the age-grade years. The chapters focus on school subject matter rather than on disciplinary subject matter and in varying degrees give historical background for each subject. This perspective

distinguishes the chapters from teaching method reviews of the subjects.

Jackson’s overview chapter, “Conceptions of Curriculum and Curriculum Specialists,” gives a historical and conceptual summary of the field. He discusses emerging theoretical directions and reviews the debates on their relevance to the field. The chapter raises issues, problems, and potential worth reading even now. This handbook and Jackson’s essay were primary points of reference for *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*.

F. Michael Connelly

See also *SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction, The*

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## HEALTH EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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The school health education curriculum guides classroom instruction in Grades K–12 on topics such as nutrition; prevention of tobacco, alcohol, and drug use; and stress and conflict management. Certified health educators develop age-appropriate and sequential lessons emphasizing personal and social responsibility to enhance youth and family health. There is a growing body of research examining effective content of health instruction, pedagogy, and assessment of student outcomes.

#### Coordinated School Health Program

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) identified six priority areas to improve adolescent health: poor eating habits, physical inactivity, tobacco use, behaviors that result in intentional or unintentional injuries, abuse of alcohol and other drugs, and sexual behaviors that result in

unintended consequences. The CDC promotes adoption of a coordinated school health program (CSHP), an integrated, sequential, and age-appropriate health and physical education curricula within a healthy school environment. Additional components include school nutrition services, counseling and social services, student health services, school-site health promotion for faculty and staff, and family and community involvement. Full implementation of a CSHP in U.S. school systems will address the six priority areas. There is room for improvement, as true CSHPs have not been implemented in a majority of U.S. schools. More common are several components of a CSHP, for example, health and physical education, health screenings, and individual guidance. Annual school improvement plans may contain goals to enhance student health.

Although health education and physical education are complementary disciplines, each has a distinct purpose. Physical educators teach knowledge and skills for lifelong physical activity, regardless of ability level. Quality health education provides opportunities for students to acquire health knowledge, develop attitudes, learn behaviors, and practice skills. Student outcomes include improved physical, mental, social, and emotional health. In addition, students contribute to health of family and peers through school and community service projects, for instance, recycling aluminum, plastic, and paper. Both health and physical education are essential components of the CSHP and will enhance development of productive and healthy adults.

### Who Should Teach Health Education?

Insufficient training in health education curriculum studies and the lack of quality informational resources are obstacles to overcome. The CDC reported in 2006 that most states (94.1%) provided health education staff with the opportunity to receive some form of a certification, licensure, or endorsement to teach health education. However, less than half of school districts require health education teachers to be certified, licensed, or endorsed in the discipline of health education.

In addition, a school district or system coordinator should oversee curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation, as well as organize professional development for teachers. Unfortunately,

the CDC found that less than one fourth of states require each district to appoint a coordinator or supervisor of health education.

State education agencies issue credentials in the form of teaching certificates or licensure for health education teachers. These agencies are also responsible for establishing health curriculum guidelines for classroom instruction. National and state professional organizations are engaged in the process of reviewing and revising discipline-specific certification standards. The National Council on Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) accredits schools, colleges, and departments of education. The American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance and its member organization, the American Association for Health Education, oversee the NCATE health education accreditation process.

Individual health education teachers may seek the Certified Health Education Specialist credential awarded by the National Commission on Health Education Credentialing Inc. The credentialing process recognizes high-quality professional preparation and continuing education programs within the discipline.

The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards added a voluntary certificate in health and early adolescence through young adulthood beginning in 2007 to recognize exemplary health education teaching. Eleven standards guide teachers to improve student achievement. Standards may be grouped into three tasks (preparing, advancing, and supporting student learning). Preparing for student learning includes knowledge of students, health subject matter, promoting skills-based learning, and curricular choices. Advancing student learning includes effective approaches to health instruction, implementing high expectations for all learners, assessing outcomes, and ensuring equity, fairness, and diversity. Supporting student learning includes collaborating with families and the community, advocating for the discipline, and professional growth.

### Moving From Individual to Collective Concerns

The emphasis of the second edition of the *National Health Education Standards* published in 2007 is development of health-literate citizens. Health literacy is defined as the ability to obtain, interpret,

and apply health information, and access and utilize health services to enhance personal health. As of 2006, 75% of states mandated school districts or schools to implement national or state health education standards. Many states use the national standards to develop a local curriculum framework or guidelines.

Educators use performance indicators within the national standards to guide health lessons for students in Grades PreK through 12. The aim is to enhance personal, family, and social health through acquisition of general and specific health knowledge, health-promoting attitudes, and health skills. For instance, students in Grades 6 through 8 will exhibit the ability to refuse risky behaviors and negotiate healthy actions. High school students will work together to enhance personal, family, and community health.

Educators facilitate student-led health advocacy projects, such as a teen antismoking or responsible driving campaign. There are many opportunities to collaborate with local nonprofit agencies and health organizations for cooperative instruction, for instance, Hoops for Heart and Jump Rope for Heart sponsored by the American Heart Association. Proceeds of these national campaigns fund school equipment and facilities for physical education in schools.

Health education teachers use a variety of methods for health instruction. According to the CDC, the most popular methods are group discussion, cooperative group activities, audiovisual materials, role playing or simulations, and visual, performing or language arts. For instance, the teacher may distribute a selection of solar reactive pony beads and silk cord or jute for students to craft bracelets. Demonstrate how the colors of beads become brighter when exposed to sunlight. Apply sunscreen to one bracelet to emphasize how beads do not change color when protected. This activity is useful to teach the performance indicator for Grades 3 through 5; students will explain the connection between healthy behaviors and personal health.

### **Progression From Didactic Instruction to Teaching Health Skills**

Three levels of factors contribute to selecting healthy behaviors: predisposing, reinforcing, and enabling factors. These factors are compatible

with Benjamin Bloom's three domains of educational activities—that is, cognitive or knowledge, affective or attitude, and psychomotor or skills—and form the basis in the *National Health Education Standards*.

Predisposing factors include health-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Examples include perceptions of personal responsibility to prevent unplanned pregnancy and the belief that adequate sleep is a healthful daily activity. National Health Education Standard 1 emphasizes concepts that promote health and prevent disease. One performance indicator for Grades 6 through 8 is to study the probability of injury or illness if involved in unhealthy behaviors.

Reinforcing factors include positive and negative feedback received from family, friends, and others following a health behavior. Examples include encouragement from a teacher or peer to choose healthy foods in the cafeteria and pressure from peers to try a cigarette or an illicit drug. National Health Education Standard 8 emphasizes the importance to advocate for personal, family, and community health. One performance indicator for Grades 9 through 12 is to persuade others to make positive health choices.

Enabling factors include supportive policies and rules of groups, organizations, and institutions that promote opportunities for healthy actions. Examples include permitting student athletes to wear sunglasses and hats during afternoon practice as an exception to the school dress code and installation of a shade structure above an outdoor playground. Health Education Standard 2 focuses on the analysis of family, peers, culture, media, technology, and other influences on health behaviors. One performance indicator for Grades PreK through 2 is to recognize how the family guides personal health practices and behaviors.

The CSHP includes planned focus on all three levels of factors, for instance, including parents, older students, health professionals, and other partners on a school wellness committee as required in U.S. Senate Bill 2558 (which was never passed into law). The purpose of this bill, also known as the HeLP America Act, was to reorient the Nation's health care system toward prevention, wellness, and self-care. Title I—Healthier Kids and Schools mandates establishment of wellness committees and policies within local schools that receive federal

funds for child nutrition programs. Nutrition education is an expectation.

Several states, regions, and school systems across the United States implemented consortia or collaborative action teams to improve school health programs. Consortia members are parents, teachers, business and industry professionals, government officials, university faculty, and health service providers who establish and achieve goals. These goals include studying the current health curriculum, advocating for healthier policies, applying for funding for health programs, and providing school staff continuing education opportunities related to health education.

### Characteristics of an Effective Health Education Curriculum

The CDC identified characteristics of effective health education curricula in 2008, including (a) provide information, learning strategies, teaching methods, and materials that are age and developmentally appropriate; (b) focus on specific health goals and related behavioral outcomes; (c) emphasize behavioral theory and research base that is evidence of effectiveness; (d) stress individual values and group norms that support healthy actions; (e) focus on increasing perceived risk of harm for unhealthy behaviors and reinforcing protective factors; (f) address social pressures and influences on decision making; (g) build personal and social competence and self-efficacy by teaching health skills and providing practice opportunities; (h) provide functional health knowledge that is basic, accurate, and directly contributes to health-promoting decisions and behaviors; (i) personalize information to engage students; and (j) incorporate learning strategies, teaching methods, and materials that are culturally inclusive.

Bettina Lankard Brown concluded that experiences such as service learning are often required for secondary and college students. Service learning is an educational technique that enhances learning by combining community service, academics, and civic duties. Service learning is compatible with general and discipline-specific educational standards. The national education goals for the year 2000 emphasized preparing students for responsible citizenship. These goals include providing a disciplined learning environment with campuses

that are free of drugs, violence, firearms, and alcohol and involving students in community service activities.

CDC's Health Education Curriculum Analysis Tool (HECAT) is a free resource to guide health curriculum selection and development. Teachers, curriculum coordinators, and wellness team members may assess the existing curriculum and plan improvements to promote healthy behaviors among students. The HECAT is compatible with a CSHP and the *National Health Education Standards* for schools.

### Examples of Using Health Curricula to Reduce Childhood Health Threats

Numerous examples of innovative health curricula implemented in school and community settings for primary prevention of disease and illness have been published. Two studies illustrate promising results from a comprehensive approach. Ardis L. Olson and colleagues developed a sun protection program, *SunSafe in the Middle School Years*, guided by Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory and Ronald Rogers's protection motivation theory. The randomized controlled trial was conducted in 10 northeast communities. Adults and student peers served as role models who actively promoted sun protection practices. Sun teams within schools educated groups of teens about sun safety and led students in peer-led activities promoting healthy actions. Teachers, school staff, coaches, and parents modeled sun protection behaviors. Project staff observed 1,927 students in Grades 6 through 8 annually to assess health behavior changes, including percentage of body surface protected from the sun by clothing, sun-screen, or shade. Results revealed significantly greater body surface protection among adolescents in intervention communities as compared to controls.

Researchers evaluated *Safer Choices*, a multifaceted, theory-based HIV, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and pregnancy prevention program to determine whether unprotected sexual intercourse decreased among senior high school students. The program was implemented in 20 large urban school systems in California and Texas; schools were randomly assigned as treatments or controls.



Researchers examined changes in student sexual risk taking, school climate supporting HIV/STD and pregnancy prevention education, and psychosocial variables, such as knowledge about reproductive health, as a result of the randomized study. Students who received the educational program were significantly less likely to engage in unprotected intercourse and more likely to use a condom at 19 months. Knowledge of HIV and STDs, perceived ability to abstain or use condoms, peer support for condom use, and parent communication were significantly greater among *Safer Choices* students at 19 months. Behavioral effects related to the primary goal persisted at 31 months. Student assignments requiring parent interviews about HIV-STD and pregnancy prevention, newsletters, and adult learning activities fostered parent-child communication.

Health curricula implemented in classrooms with extension activities to engage parents and community agencies enable students to assume responsibility for personal health and wellness. Students learn through direct experience and collective action to become self-advocates. Qualified health teachers facilitate students' inquiry and decision-making skills, thus attaining the goal of developing health-literate citizens.

*Brian F. Geiger, Jason S. Fulmore,  
and Karen A. Werner*

*See also* Discipline-Based Curriculum; Health Education Curriculum, History of

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## HEALTH EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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Health education curricula have evolved from a limited focus on personal hygiene and prevention of communicable diseases to voluntary adoption of healthy habits to enhance quality and quantity of life. State and local government authorities establish minimum guidelines for age-appropriate and sequential health content for PreK through secondary grades. Health curriculum content areas include a focus on the health of the individual across the life span, family, peers, and society. Topics include consumer health, sexuality, mental and emotional health, injury prevention and safety, nutrition, disease prevention and management, and substance use and abuse.

### Health Education Curriculum Development

Critics of health education prior to the 20th century noted that most educators were poorly prepared and delivered insufficient content despite a large number of available texts. Beginning in the 19th century, professional organizations (National Education Association; Black American Teachers Association; American Public Health Association; American Association of School Physicians, later known as the American School Health Association; and others) advocated for professional preparation of teachers, workers' rights, and improving welfare of U.S. families. Improving the welfare of families included teaching students about health and identifying health problems. The American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education promoted necessity of conducting physical examination of children and including health instruction in school curricula.

Thomas Denison Wood was an advocate, philosopher, and scientist who designed one of the first preparation programs for health and physical educators at Teachers College of Columbia University. The National Education Association and American Medical Association formed the Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education chaired by Wood. The committee's work included enhancing health and welfare of children attending rural schools and promoting quality preparation programs for health teachers across the country through published guidelines.

The Committee on Wartime Problems of Childhood documented family poverty, child malnutrition, communicable disease, and premature death, leading to the formation of the Child Health Organization (CHO), a new national agency. The CHO launched a nationwide campaign to improve the health standards of U.S. children with L. Emmett Holt, a noted pediatrician and author, as its champion. Campaign messages encouraged school administrators and teachers to increase the focus on health in the curriculum and stimulate active participation by students.

A White House Conference on Child Welfare convened in 1919 by President Woodrow Wilson prompted development of national standards for health curricula. Conference outcomes were recommendations for a compulsory course to teach child hygiene in public schools and enhanced child health screening and treatment of vision, hearing problems, and communicable diseases, estimated by Wood to affect as many as three fourths of U.S. school children. Health essentials to be taught to children and their parents included adequate nutrition, importance of sleep, suitable clothing, exercise for physical development, sex hygiene, and reproduction.

Health education achieved peak interest among educators, scientists, and school administrators by mid-20th century. The American Physical Education Association, later known as the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, recommended changes in related terminology, moving away from medical inspection, and hygiene and health supervision, with a new emphasis on developing personal health habits for a lifetime. This recommendation was a distinction between the role of the teacher and the school

physician. School health curricula included basic facts and concepts about personal and social health, a stimulating learning environment, and guided student activities to practice healthful behaviors taught by trained educators. There was a new emphasis on using social and behavioral science to measure changes in health knowledge and habits as a result of classroom pedagogy.

A recent major development in U.S. health curricula was the release of the *National Health Education Standards: Achieving Excellence* issued by The Joint Committee on National Health Education Standards in 1995. The second edition was published by the American Association for Health Education in 2007. Both documents provide guidelines for what students should know and be able to demonstrate and are useful to develop health lessons and assess instructional outcomes. The central concept is building health literacy or the ability to access health information and services and apply these to improve personal, family, and community health.

The eight national standards for instruction emphasize active application of knowledge for healthy decision making in Grades PreK through 12: (1) comprehend concepts related to health promotion and disease prevention to enhance health; (2) analyze the influence of family, peers, culture, media, technology, and other factors on health behaviors; (3) demonstrate the ability to access valid information and products and services to enhance health; (4) demonstrate the ability to use interpersonal communication skills to enhance health and avoid or reduce health risks; (5) demonstrate the ability to use decision-making skills to enhance health; (6) demonstrate the ability to use goal-setting skills to enhance health; (7) demonstrate the ability to practice health-enhancing behaviors and avoid or reduce health risks; and (8) demonstrate the ability to advocate for personal, family, and community health.

### Curriculum Studies of Health Instruction

In the past, candidates for teacher certification completed few courses with content about pedagogy for health education. It was assumed that all teachers needed a basic understanding of health and the human body. Today, states certify health

and physical education teachers as separate disciplines. Health curriculum studies examine effectiveness of informational content, promotion of healthy attitudes, and skill-building activities to yield health-literate citizens. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) provide funding and technical assistance to states to conduct surveillance of six critical behaviors that compromise the health of children and adolescents and modify unhealthy habits through planned programs. The six critical behaviors include alcohol and drug use, injury and violence, tobacco use, nutrition, physical activity, and sexual risk behaviors. According to the CDC, these behaviors are usually established during childhood, persist into adulthood, are interrelated, and are preventable. In addition to causing serious health problems, these behaviors also contribute to the educational and social problems that confront the nation, including failure to complete high school, unemployment, and crime. There is a growing body of research examining how health behavior theory guides instruction within and outside of the classroom.

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*See also* Elementary School Curriculum; Discipline-Based Curriculum; Health Education Curriculum; Secondary School Curriculum

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## HEGEMONY

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Hegemony in its original sense denoted the domination of one nation over another. However, its more complex and more common meaning is associated with the work of Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. His concept of cultural hegemony speaks to how one social group maintains domination over another social group. In the field of curriculum studies, hegemony in this sense has been used to explore and explain the role of various curricula in ensuring the domination of White, middle-class, heterosexual, and male worldviews.

In trying to figure out why the workers' revolution predicted by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had not occurred, Gramsci proposed the concept of cultural hegemony to explain how—in a diverse society—one social group maintains domination over another social group. Key to Gramsci's theory is the idea that domination is maintained not simply by force (i.e., military might), but primarily through power, or the ability of the dominant group to persuade the subordinate group to adopt its values, beliefs, and ideas. In other words, the dominant group must use ideological persuasion to gain the consent of the subordinate group. In an advanced capitalist society, the primary ways in which the values, beliefs, and ideas of the dominant group are circulated and reinforced are through mass media and schooling. Because it is so widely and so readily circulated, the dominant ideology is assumed to be neutral and thus has a powerful impact on shaping everyday common sense. Hegemony is thus achieved when the majority of the subordinates accept the dominant ideology as the way things are and as such think and act in ways that are consistent with the status quo.

In educational studies, the concept of hegemony has been central to critical analyses that—despite the rhetoric around equal educational opportunity—argue that schools actually work to reproduce society's existing power relations. At the same time, there has been much critique and elaboration on the critical role of ideology and how it is that the masses come to accept and/or reject the values, beliefs, and ideas of the dominant social group. The assumption that the masses are simply duped into accepting the ideology of the dominant social group or class has been challenged by a

number of more sophisticated analyses that look at—for instance—student resistance as a way of rejecting the dominant ideological perspectives communicated via the official school curriculum, the ways in which the dominant social group connects its ideological agenda to the lived experiences of people as a way to redirect popular will in their favor, and the idea that hegemonic order as well as social change depend on a combination of reproductive and democratizing forces and that schooling is central in relaying—despite their contradictions—both scripts.

In the field of curriculum studies, considerations of hegemony hinge on the idea that the knowledge conveyed through various curricula is not neutral or disinterested; it raises questions of what knowledge gets included, how that knowledge is transmitted, and whose interests are being served by such knowledge. Efforts to understand curriculum as one of the primary apparatuses through which ideological consensus is worked on via schooling has provoked a proliferation of meanings for the concept of curriculum, including official curriculum, hidden curriculum, null curriculum, curriculum as difference, lived curriculum, and informal curriculum, among others. Scholarly endeavors in the field also speak of hegemony in more than capitalist class terms; there is also significant focus on the impact of race, gender, and sexuality on the power relations that work toward and/or against the current hegemonic order. In addition, there has been a growing body of work where curriculum studies intersects with cultural studies to consider the role of mass media and popular culture in maintaining and/or disrupting the current hegemonic order.

A solid understanding of hegemony begs the question of how a hegemonic stronghold can be disrupted. In an advanced capitalist society, the principal way to work toward counterhegemony is for counterhegemons to use propaganda and other forms of ideological persuasion to convince the masses to share their critiques of the current order, which can then be overthrown either through violence or democratic processes. A number of endeavors in the curriculum field posit education—not necessarily schooling—as key to working toward counterhegemony or dismantling the current configuration of power relations in society. Critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy,

critical race pedagogy, queer pedagogy, and liberatory pedagogy are but a few of the critical discourses raising awareness about and thus challenging the various hegemonic relations reinforced through current curriculum politics and practices.

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*See also* Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Hidden Curriculum; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Official Curriculum; Official Knowledge

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## HERMENEUTIC INQUIRY

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The English word *hermeneutics* is derived from the ancient Greek *hermeneutike*, meaning interpretation. First used by Plato (427–347 BCE) in the *Politicus*, it was usually linked with another word, *mantike*, meaning divination. These words were linked because an act of interpretation was regarded as necessary for translating divine messages from oracles and omens. Insofar as such messages were usually mysterious, they required intermediary interpretation to be rendered understandable. The basic assumption, then, of all hermeneutic endeavor is that there is always a difference between what is said (the surface phenomenon of language) and what is meant (the fuller range of possible meanings contained within the surface phenomenon). Because all educational practices, including curriculum, are mediated through language, they are subject to interpretation.

But what does it mean to interpret? This entry examines how that question has been answered historically in the Western tradition, from the classical age through to the contemporary situation.



Hermeneutics always stands in tension, often conflict, with the desire to secure and fix meaning once and for all. The aim of hermeneutics, however, is never simply to spin one interpretation after another in an endless play of possibilities. Instead, the purpose is to lift that burdensomeness of events, texts, and sayings that pertains when the original question that called them into being has been forgotten, rendering present practices as alienating and estranging. Contemporary hermeneutics operates largely in the shadow of German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) who suggested that creative interpretation begins with a query: What is the question for which this (event, text, saying) is the answer? Recovering the originating question in turn enables a reconsideration of whether conventional responses to it are currently relevant. The purpose is never to dismiss convention, or orthodoxy, but to ask for their capacity to sustain things in the present in such a way that allows human life to go on, creatively. The Greek god from which the word *hermeneutike* received its character was Hermes, known for eternal youthfulness. Therefore, hermeneutics is particularly relevant to education and curriculum studies through its capacity to protect the conditions for young people being able to live and learn in an atmosphere of creative vitality.

### Hermeneutics in the Classical Age

Before the advent of writing, the age of orality, words were always connectable to a speaker. This connection enabled the meaning of speech acts to be relatively transparent, as hearers could deduce meaning from body language, tone, and commonly shared expressions. Hermeneutics, as a formal investigation of how meaning arises in communication, essentially became necessary only with the advent of writing because writing removed the requirement of a speaker being present for thoughts and ideas to be conveyed. But as Plato argued in the *Phaedrus*, writing is responsible for a kind of double alienation, which he called its peril. The peril of writing is twofold. In removing the requirement of the original speaker, words rendered as texts are easily subject to interpretations that the original speaker never intended. Furthermore, in removing words from their spoken context, those (mis)interpretations can often

take bizarre and ridiculous form, in turn making the original speaker look, quite unjustly, bizarre and ridiculous. The wise interpreter, said Plato, must have the ability to return written words back to the spirit of their original occasion through understanding their context and what he called their soul in the original speaker. This ability inevitably involves a kind of dialogue between the present and the past, but it also implies there is a certain indeterminateness of meaning in all language. Not only does written language inevitably contain a supplement of meaning lying beyond the restrictions of the text, but also a speaker is incapable of expressing the fullness of what can be thought. According to the Greek understanding of language, behind, beneath, and over any graphic or phonetic expression is that which wishes to be thought, an excess of meaning inhabiting every written or spoken word that it is the interpreter's job to better, though never fully, understand.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) was also interested in hermeneutics, but it is worth noting that the biggest difference between Aristotle and Plato had to do with the capacity or incapacity of language to contain the fullness of meaning, and the nonresolution between their two views continues to haunt the Western tradition even to the present day. This conflict is evident in arguments between science and religion, for example, or in conflicts between standard views of language and vernacular or creolized usages and the question of which should have relative authority in the public realm. Aristotle always seems to have assumed that nothing is ever lost in the transmission from soul to speech to writing—that writing simply marks the intentions of a speaker and makes them available for everyone. Such an assumption undergirds the propositional logics of science and analytical philosophy that rely on predicative statements such as “S is P,” or “this” means “that,” as if all identities and distinctions were clear and self-evident. It can readily be seen how such assumptions feed into logics of power and control. If meaning can be fixed through the signs of language, then all knowledge itself becomes fixable (made static) once and for all. Curriculum becomes simply a kind of fixed cultural deposit, and teaching is nothing but an act of transmission. For Plato, such assumptions are unsustainable.

### Hermeneutics in the Early Modern Period

The first historian of hermeneutics, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), argued that the formalization of hermeneutics as a discipline did not begin until the 16th century with the Protestant Reformation. The rallying call of reformer Martin Luther was that the interpretive authority of the Christian church, and of Christian faith itself, lies in scripture alone, *sola scriptura*, rather than in Roman Catholic tradition and its Episcopal offices. This call brought forth the following question: What then is the nature of authority in interpretation itself? A series of treatises appeared attempting to answer the question, the first being Matthias Flacius Illyricus's *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* in 1567. The primary requisite to authoritative interpretation, said Flacius, is grammatical, linguistic knowledge. This focus on the importance of understanding language—how it functions, its lexical and grammatical origins and operations, and so on—has remained a primary requirement of hermeneutic inquiry right to the present day and has been emphasized by all philosophers of hermeneutics since Flacius. A good etymological dictionary, for example, is an essential tool for all hermeneutic work.

The Protestant Reformation marked the beginning of the end of the unitary worldview of a Christendom controlled by the Catholic Church. Fragmentation became the new reality, evident not just in religion, but also politics and philosophy. By the 18th century, the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in *Critique of Pure Reason* declared the end of metaphysics, or the possibility of philosophically constructing an explanation of how the world actually is. We cannot gain access to the world in itself, said Kant, because the things we know are already interpreted and schematized by our prior experience of them. An objective apprehension of the world is impossible. All we can do, therefore, is examine the manner of our reasoning itself, how in fact we produce the world through our interpretations of it. Since Kant, Western philosophy has been doomed to interpretation, as some scholars have put it. Kant's contemporary, Friedrich Jacobi (1743–1819), coined the term *nihilism* to describe the condition of human life being nothing but an endless round of interpretation, nothing but hermeneutics, with no anchor in objective truth of any kind. Instead of

nihilism, Jacobi proposed *fideism*—all our actions presuppose a sustaining power in the universe that must be trusted implicitly for life to go on at all.

The death of metaphysics—that is, of certainty concerning any claims we might make about the world, produced a crisis in the Western tradition that has not been put to rest to this day. Like the good Lutheran he was, the progenitor of modern hermeneutics Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1843) took Jacobi's fideism (we live by faith not by reason) and imbued it with feeling or sentiment. Understanding one another, and the world, is largely a matter of empathy, rather than reason.

Actually, Schleiermacher distinguished between two forms of interpretation, or understanding—loose and strict. Loose or relaxed understanding is what happens all the time. Whether we are reading a book, talking with friends or students, or watching a movie, most of the time we feel we understand what is going on. Based on a kind of mutual feeling, interpretation in this sense is a natural process that can simply be taken for granted. The real issue arises when we are confronted with something we do not understand, as, say, in the case of engaging a work of genius that cannot be understood through any interpretive frames currently available. Or perhaps we experience trauma, such as a soldier who has studied war, but on the battlefield finds him- or herself faced with realities that are literally unspeakable—that is, no words in the available lexicon are adequate to describe them. Hence, it is precisely misunderstanding and incomprehension that make interpretation necessary. This necessity identifies Schleiermacher's sense of strict hermeneutics, the need for a way of creatively engaging that which one does not understand. Premised on the universality of misunderstanding, Schleiermacher's hermeneutics proposed a necessary dialectic or dialogical relationship between what one understands and what one does not. In a way, this relationship echoes Plato; it also foreshadows the later 20th-century hermeneutics of Gadamer.

Schleiermacher was preoccupied with developing a method for interpretation (*kunstlehre*), a project that he eventually abandoned. But one contribution from that effort was the insistence that interpretation is a creative act—that is, understanding the truth of a strange or difficult situation requires an act of imagination to see possible

meanings, rather than just expecting meaning to reveal itself, by itself, and then simply reported by a researcher. Again, echoing Kant, the truth of something cannot be known fully in itself; it requires a creative leap of understanding that can then be folded back dialogically into the formation of new comprehension.

### Hermeneutics in the Contemporary Era

The desire for a specific method for hermeneutics was taken up later by Dilthey, who was the first to make a distinction between the natural sciences and what he called the human sciences. Nature we explain, said Dilthey, but humans we must understand (*verstehen*). Under the influence of the new phenomenological investigations of Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), Dilthey described understanding as a category of life that is at work when we are able to show how texts, artifacts, works of art, and so on are expressions of lived experience. To understand a novel, to interpret it correctly, requires showing how it reveals experience as lived. Good interpretation shows the connection between experience and expression.

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) is arguably the most important (Western) philosopher of the 20th century. In the tradition of arguing against metaphysics, Heidegger proposed that all attempts to secure the meaning of life through method were not just impossible, but positively delusional. They represented the human refusal to accept the infinite and limitless character of being (*dasein*). Indeed, metaphysics and its handmaid, method, are nothing but a fearful flight from mortality. Because we are afraid of the infinity of being, we try to secure ourselves through interpretations we hope can be drawn ever tighter. The worst form of this is traceable right back to Aristotle's propositional logic  $S$  is  $P$ ; this subject has this predicate. If  $A$  happens,  $B$  will always follow. It is a linear theory of causality that Heidegger explicitly rejected because there is always more to be said about a situation than can be contained in any proposition. Take for example the simple proposition, something a student might say regarding a curricular work: "This text is difficult." Standing alone, the meaning seems obvious. Hermeneutically, however, a whole range of possible meanings is present. Who is the speaker, a Grade 4 pupil or a

postdoctoral fellow? Maybe the proposition comes from a postdoctoral fellow doing research on a child's writing. Or maybe the speaker is an international student struggling with a class reading in English, not his or her mother tongue, an interpretation that opens up the whole issue of internationalization in education today. What makes the text difficult? Is it because of content, format, or font? Does the difficulty arise because of a pedagogical failure on the instructor's part, not having made clear what a reader might expect from the text or how it fits into the broader themes of the course of which it is a part? The point is, the simple proposition cannot be held to a single meaning, but is always, already loaded with possible meanings, each of which also spins off into other ranges of possible meanings. This uncertainty is not a problem, as might be made under a charge of relativism; it simply describes the irreducible quality of human life and experience, its reflection of the infinity of being. For Heidegger, hermeneutics involves hearing the *Logos*, or word that has been lost or suppressed by metaphysical philosophy.

It has been noted by many that virtually all of Western philosophy since Kant has been obsessed with the determination to overcome metaphysics, not just the figures mentioned here so far, but also Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. The one major philosopher who has refused this determination is Gadamer, a student of Heidegger. Gadamer argued that because metaphysics itself operates as a language, it too can be hermeneutically interpreted, but never overcome. What is important is to understand how metaphysics is locatable as a tradition in the West that attempts to solve particular kinds of problems. This inspired Gadamer to formulate his famous "logic of question and answer" noted earlier.

Gadamer's suggestion that all knowledge arises in the context of tradition may be his most important contribution to hermeneutics, and it has two major implications. The first is that all understanding takes place within a horizon of past, present, and future. Whatever meets me as new arrives on my consciousness that has already been formed by my past. My mind and being are never *tabulae rasae*, but instead are the very means by which anything new can be registered as such at all. In a way, I always, already am a tradition, and this is not

something to be overthrown because my tradition (my prejudice, Gadamer called it) provides the means by which any new thing, event, circumstance can even be seen as such. Whether my comprehension of what is new is accurate, however, is not something I can judge for myself. It requires a conversation with the (new) stranger in front of me so that together we might come to a common understanding of each other. It is interesting to note that one of Gadamer's doctoral students, Helmut Kohl, became Chancellor of Germany in 1982. In his work to bring an end to the cold war, to organize the reunification of East and West Germany, and draw plans for the new European Union, one can see the Gadamerian principles of hermeneutic dialogue at work and the envisioning of a new politic based on mutual recognition and understanding.

A second implication of Gadamer's hermeneutics is that it is impossible to live outside tradition. There is no pure place in which to start a totally new life because one always carries what went before into the present, which works into the future. The challenge lies in dealing with one's old life in a new way. This view set Gadamer at odds with neo-Marxist philosophers such as Habermas (1929– ) and any who would posit a radically revolutionary view of social reform, a vision of a future disconnected from the past. It is also the point on which interesting debates are currently going on between hermeneutics and the deconstructionism of Derrida (1930–2007) articulated by John Caputo (1940– ) under the name radical hermeneutics. How does the ambiguity of life relate to the weight of tradition? That question is too large to be entertained in this entry.

It may be noted that in the academy, hermeneutics has been of particular interest to international graduate students who have come from places of strong tradition. In hermeneutics, they find a way for discerning openings in their own traditions that in turn enables creative dialogue with other traditions. In this sense, hermeneutics holds promise for a new conversation among the world's people regarding our shared future. Curricularly, there can never just be my tradition, only my-tradition-in-relation-to-others. In underscoring curriculum as a relational phenomenon, hermeneutics implicitly places ethical concern at its center.

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*See also* Curriculum Theory; International Perspectives; Neo-Marxist Research; Pedagogy; Phenomenological Research

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## HERRICK, VIRGIL

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Virgil Herrick's (1906–1963) importance to the history of curriculum studies rests largely upon his role as a transitional figure in the field's mid-20th century reconceptualization from one in which scholars' main responsibility was curriculum development to one in which scholars strove to understand curriculum through multiple strands of curriculum theorizing. The most visible demonstrations of his role as a key figure in this transformation of the field are his sponsorship, with Ralph Tyler, of the 1947 University of Chicago Curriculum Theory Conference and his mentorship of James Macdonald and Dwayne Huebner, two major scholars who, among others, are credited with inspiring the reconceptualization.

Some curriculum historians proclaim the 1947 conference as the very birthplace of curriculum theorizing. Others disagree, based in part on Herrick and Tyler's own statement in the conference proceedings that little progress in curriculum



theorizing had been made in the 20 years prior to the Chicago gathering. Most scholars, however, recognize the conference as a benchmark at the very least because it was the first effort to consider curriculum theory as theory. Having convened the conference for the purpose of identifying the major problems of curriculum theory, Herrick and Tyler confessed in the published proceedings to a sense of disappointment at the lack of recent progress in that area. However, pointing to the lack as a great opportunity for fruitful contribution to the field, they went on to identify several problems that did, indeed, eventually generate prolific scholarship and in some instances, curriculum controversies. The problem areas they highlighted in the proceedings, *Toward Improved Curriculum Theory*, included needs for (a) helping teachers make decisions in regard to balancing the well-being of individual children, the demands of society, and the academic demands of subject matter; (b) honestly recognizing and critiquing the role of values in curriculum work; (c) collaborating at all levels in the identification of critical issues and their underlying generalizations, as well as identification of what those levels are; and (d) addressing problems on a broad front through multidisciplinary teams that included a curriculumist to synthesize and communicate the related research studies.

Although both Herrick's and Tyler's scholarship naturally manifests traits of an era that venerated science and progress, their separate bodies of work reflect dissimilar emphases that explain the different legacies each left in the field. For example, Tyler's contribution to the 1947 conference—"The Organization of Learning Experiences"—explicated one of the four steps of his well-known rationale. Although Tyler does not appear to have intended for the rationale to have been used in a technocratic fashion, its value-neutral veneer and its emphasis on objectives and evaluation made it highly compatible with the emerging demands for a more scientific and increasingly subject-centered curriculum. The works of major scholars who began their career under his direction, such as Louis Raths, John Goodlad, Benjamin Bloom, and Lee Cronbach, manifest Tyler's affinity for clear purposes that serve as a basis for evaluation.

Herrick's contribution to the 1947 conference—"The Concept of Curriculum Design"—also incorporated discussion of objectives, organization,

subject matter, and evaluation. However, he strongly emphasized the need for analysis of curriculum designs and decisions through examination of their underlying value assumptions. Beginning their professional careers as students with Herrick at the University of Wisconsin, Macdonald and Huebner went on to develop this concern for value assumptions into some of the earliest efforts to understand curriculum as political text. In addition, one of Herrick's major interests—the analysis of classroom episodes as a method for testing the generative potential for various theoretical frameworks—can be seen as a prelude to Macdonald and Huebner's own work in creating new categories for curriculum thought.

In 1965, 2 years after his mentor's death, Macdonald coedited a collection of Herrick's essays as evidence of the newly emerging field of curriculum theory as an area of inquiry. Illustrating Herrick's contributions to alternative curriculum conceptualizations, the essays included a critique of the growing hegemony of subject matter as the primary referent for curriculum design and development. In one of these, "Organizing Centers," Herrick's sophisticated discussion of the central concept explored a variety of organizational schemes that might provide enhanced meaningfulness, continuity across the curriculum, and provision for individual differences. In another, "Directives for Curriculum Planning," he cautioned that there is more than one base upon which curriculum structures can be built and argued that a preoccupation with subject matter could become a barrier to imagining future possibilities. Furthermore, based on his conviction that analysis of teaching operations was central to building sound theory and practice, he correctly predicted the early demise of any reform effort that disregarded the particular teaching situation, as did the post-*Sputnik* structure-of-the-disciplines movement.

A prolific scholar on a wide range of topics related to both curriculum theory and practice, Herrick received his PhD in 1936 from the University of Wisconsin and served on the faculties of Syracuse University (1938–1940), the University of Chicago (1940–1948), and the University of Wisconsin (1948–1963). In addition to speaking and consulting nationally, he served as president of

the American Educational Research Association from 1957 to 1958.

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*See also* Curriculum Theory; Macdonald, James; Reconceptualization; Tyler, Ralph W.; University of Wisconsin Collective of Curriculum Professors

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## HETEROGENEOUS-HOMOGENEOUS GROUPING

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Ability grouping, and its close relative, tracking, has been of concern in education for many years and the subject of more research studies than almost any other educational practice. *Heterogeneous grouping* refers to grouping arrangements in which whole classes of students are grouped so that they vary according to achievement or inferred ability or to within-class groupings that place students in similarly diverse groups to learn together. This grouping practice is associated with efforts to ensure high academic standards for all students and to allow all students the benefits of access to high-level instructional practices. Homogeneous grouping involves creating groups in which all members are considered to be the same in some way or at the same learning or achievement level. Grouping practices have effects on achievement, self-esteem, understanding of diversity, and other cognitive and social outcomes.

Those who promote homogeneous grouping for instruction (including many teachers and parents)

argue that it is easier to target instruction when students are grouped by ability. Gifted education and special education are both examples of attempts to group students homogeneously in ways that have major implications for the instruction to which they are exposed and the expectations of those who teach them.

Heterogeneous groups are sometimes discussed only in terms of differences in learning levels or performance, but groups can be heterogeneous in many ways, including differences in race, gender, language, religion, social skills, sexual orientation, and so on. The arguments in favor of heterogeneous grouping include the following:

1. The world is increasingly diverse (heterogeneous), and it is only through working with others who are different or who are perceived as different that students will learn to work cooperatively and without prejudice with a wide range of other people.
2. Heterogeneous groups lend themselves to natural peer support and peer tutoring, thereby increasing the number of teachers in the classroom and significantly altering peer relationships.
3. Heterogeneous grouping can significantly minimize the stigma associated with being in the "low" group, including the risks of self-fulfilling prophecy and subsequent diminution of learning opportunities.
4. The intended gains for students in ability groups often fail to materialize, and formation of such groups often correlates with income, social class, and race, resulting in racially and class-segregated classes and instructional groups.

Heterogeneous grouping is closely related to concepts of detracking and has been used to minimize race-based segregation as well as to address the inclusion of students with disabilities in more typical school settings.

The use of heterogeneous groups is one of the key concepts within the field of cooperative learning in which a small heterogeneous group of students works toward a shared goal with task interdependence and individual accountability. Elizabeth Cohen's work on cooperative group work, however, made it clear that unless status issues are addressed specifically and directly, even

students who are in heterogeneous groups will quickly replicate societal patterns of domination and participation, privileging those from dominant gender and racial groups.

Reviews of research on ability grouping have yielded few results favorable to the practice. The effects of tracking are particularly negative for poor, minority, and limited English proficient students. Some research in this area has found that high achievers may gain from ability grouping at the expense of low achievers, but most studies indicate that, overall, the effects of ability grouping are negligible for students at all achievement levels. In 1989, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development recommended the elimination of all tracking (ability grouping) in schools serving early adolescents.

Many teachers continue to support ability grouping because of their concerns about management and a lack of preparation for teaching students with diverse learning needs, but many schools have begun to implement detracking measures. Implementation of strategies based on multiple intelligences (Howard Gardner's work, specifically) and differentiated instruction have made reliance on large group, one-size-fits-all instruction outdated, thus decreasing some of the arguments offered in support of homogeneous grouping. Instructional strategies that offer variations in how materials are presented, allow students to engage in different ways with learning activities, and use alternative forms of assessment make it increasingly possible for teachers to teach more heterogeneous groups in ways that are educationally sound and that minimize stigma and marginalization.

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*See also* Desegregation of Schools; Diversity Pedagogy; Equity; Meritocracy; Special Education Curriculum; Social Justice; Tracking

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## HIDDEN CURRICULUM

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The term *hidden curriculum* has been used in two quite different ways in curriculum studies. The more common and influential usage refers to student learning that is not described by curriculum planners or teachers as an explicit aim of instruction even though it results from deliberate practices and organizational structures. As coined in 1968 by Philip W. Jackson in *Life in Classrooms*, the term was intended to bring attention to elementary-school learning that results from students' experience of the conditions of classroom life. Jackson argued that a good part of student success depends on learning how to live in a crowd of other students, how to gain praise from the teacher, and how to respond to the authority of the teacher and the institution. This curriculum is hidden in the sense that it is not included in institutional statements of expected learning outcomes and may not even be perceived by the teacher as an intended outcome of instruction. For Jackson, the existence of the hidden curriculum provided insight into some of the causes of student success and failure in school. Inability to master the hidden curriculum would hinder a student more and lead to more serious consequences than inability to master the explicit, discipline-based curriculum. Although this usage of hidden curriculum first appeared in Jackson's work, the notion of incidental learning or undirected experiences had been discussed by John Dewey and Franklin Bobbitt (and others) decades earlier.

A second usage of hidden curriculum appeared in 1970 in Benson R. Snyder's *Hidden Curriculum*. Where Jackson had been concerned with student learning that teachers do not intend and may not even be aware of, Snyder was concerned with knowledge students ought to acquire, but do not, because it is not part of the official curriculum. This second usage of hidden curriculum continues to be discussed (e.g., in literature concerning the education of autistic children), and it is sometimes conflated with the first usage.

By the 1980s, as reconceptualism and critical theory contributed new perspectives on curriculum studies, the concept of the hidden curriculum became an explanatory mechanism for the reproduction of social inequality. In Jackson's portrayal

of school life, student responses to the hidden curriculum (adaptation to or rejection of the culture of school) were largely unintended by teachers and administrators, but the hidden curriculum soon came to be seen as a hidden agenda, a set of deliberate practices with intentional, and largely detrimental, outcomes. Scholars such as Jean Anyon, Michael Apple, and Henry Giroux saw the hidden curriculum as a tool deliberately used by dominant groups to maintain their social privilege. The supposed legitimacy of inequities based upon race and class could be implicitly taught to students through their experience of social life in the school and classroom, while official curriculum lessons about democracy and equality would be qualified or undercut by the structure and practices of schools.

Questions about whether (or how) students could resist the messages of the hidden curriculum were taken up by Apple and by Paul Willis, while Elizabeth Vallance argued that what was being called the hidden curriculum in the 1970s (the need to adopt personal traits consistent with the conditions of crowds, praise, and power) had been the official curriculum of 19th-century U.S. schools, which had explicitly sought to socialize students into the emerging industrial society. Society's acceptance of this dimension of "Americanization" made it unnecessary for the curriculum to be explicit in the 20th century.

Others, such as Catherine Cornbleth, asked whether there really is a hidden curriculum or what the term entails and argued that it is not clear what, if anything, students learn from the hidden curriculum. Despite these questions, the concept continues to be used to examine such disparate subjects as high-stakes testing, gender, children's literature, moral education, community service, and ethnic identity construction.

In 1992, commenting on debates about the nature and significance of the hidden curriculum, Jackson noted that the popularity of the concept, with its implication that schools could be seen as systematically affecting students in undesirable ways, demonstrated a major shift in 20th-century attitudes toward school curriculum.

*Robert Boostrom*

*See also* Experienced Curriculum; *Life in Classrooms*; Null Curriculum; Official Curriculum

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## HIGH-STAKES TESTING

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Often criticized in curriculum studies as fostering a myopic view of curriculum, high-stakes testing has become a pejorative term referring to the gambling nature inherent in test assessment methods of many standards-based learning programs. A number of these testing protocols use a single, annual, standardized test to determine a student's academic progress. Test results are often used to identify a learner's progress and to determine promotion to the next grade or retention at the current grade level. Tests administered in large urban areas take weeks to grade and disseminate back to schools. The delays force students to either attend summer school or to repeat the grade in the following year.

Standardized tests have grown to become the preferred assessment method for public school districts, and consequently, their presence impacts the curriculum choices for schools. Testing is used to satisfy the assessment requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). The NCLB act reauthorizes the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to distribute federal funds to the nation's public school districts. NCLB also includes accountability provisions with consequences impacting entire school districts. Failure to meet benchmark goals can lead to reduced funding, reconstituted schools, relocated students, and fired teachers and administrative staff.

In some cases, tests measure students' progress only in the core subjects of mathematics and language arts, ignoring development in other learning areas. This limitedness may have the unintended



consequence of restructuring a school's priorities in curriculum planning. Some schools bypass non-test subjects such as art, music, physical education, and social sciences to spend funds and time on tested subjects. Still others claim the current use of tests has strayed from the original intent of measurement.

### The Measurement Movement

Testing advanced in U.S. education at the beginning of the 21st century as educators strove for more rational structure in learning while meeting the need to assess progressive pedagogy. Influenced by the work of European psychologists Wilhelm Wundt, Frances Galton, Alfred Binet, and Theodore Simon, Americans began to institute scientific methods in learning and to experiment with intelligence tests. As the popularity of testing grew through the measurement efforts of E. L. Thorndike and the social efficiency curriculum of J. Franklin Bobbitt, education moved closer to instituting standardized curriculum and assessment policies through the 1930s and 1940s.

In time, growing criticism of a lack of structure in education goals led to calls for reform. The cold war of the 1950s and 1960s brought increasing funds and influence to the scientific community to improve education. Their influence led curriculum developers to include more structured development and assessment methods in their planning. The last half of the 20th century has seen the further inculcation of test-driven curricula in the nation's public schools even as questions arise concerning the efficacy, validity, and fairness of standardized testing.

### The Arguments For and Against Testing

Proponents argue that testing is beneficial in identifying low-performing schools and targeting students in need of additional help. Others add that testing offers educators the ability to isolate problems in comprehension and in processing information. Some studies suggest that test-based accountability has a positive effect on student learning. Some critics question the fairness of tests when the factors key to success on high-stakes tests (better funding, smaller classes, less teacher turnover, more public PreK) are missing from neighborhoods of

low-income, urban schools. Other critics argue that a test-centered curriculum, rather than measuring knowledge, assesses only what test makers decide is important. A high-stakes, one-shot, annual snapshot of a student's progress cannot effectively measure overall performance as well as a series of smaller, content-based tests.

Some educators argue that test-based assessments are less informative than portfolios, artifactual evidence, interviews, and other student-based assessments. Some observers of testing state that tests ignore minority perspectives while creating and defining the standards that are the basis for the interpretations and truths taught as official knowledge, marginalizing those minorities.

Understanding the need for assessment in a progressive education process, many have called for standards to guide policy makers in crafting effective and fair standards to oversee testing conditions. *The Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* were developed through the joint efforts of the National Council on Measurement in Education, the American Psychological Association, and the American Educational Research Association to outline principles for testing that are fair to students, minimally invasive of the teaching environment, and meaningful in the assessment of student progress and learner needs. The features embodied in the standards are as follows:

- Decisions affecting learning paths of students, such as retention, tracking, or graduation, should not be based on a single test, but should include all relevant, valid information.
- Test results deciding promotion or graduation should address only the skills that students have had an opportunity to learn. Tests determining grade promotion or high school graduation should offer multiple opportunities to pass, if needed.
- Clear descriptions of the intended uses of test results should be made known.
- Testers are responsible for negative consequences for racial and ethnic minorities.
- Special accommodations for students with disabilities and students with limited English must be made.

High-stakes testing continues to generate debate in colleges, universities, and among education

policy makers and practitioners. Test makers are working to improve on the validity and timeliness of their product, but questions remain on the impact of testing on education and the efficacy of test assessments. Time and further study will reveal the impact and consequences of testing programs on educational progress and cognitive development.

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See also Curriculum Evaluation; Intelligence Tests; No Child Left Behind

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## HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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Historical research has enriched the study of many areas in the field of education, including curriculum studies. At least since late in the 19th century, historical work has illuminated the study of the curriculum in elementary and secondary schools and to a lesser extent in higher education. Early pioneers in the field, such as Robert Quick, looked back to the Renaissance as the age that rediscovered the classics and, thereby, defined the parameters of the school curriculum and the issues that would be engaged in attempts to change it. Quick’s work details the educational thinkers who critiqued, and defended, the classics from the time of the Renaissance to the late 19th century when he was writing. His represented an intellectual history approach to the study of the curriculum—that is, he studied the ideas of those who wrote about studies in schools.

Much of the development of the curriculum in the 20th-century United States has been in a direction away from studies of the classics, thereby highlighting one of the profound issues in the history of the U.S. school curriculum, the relationship of classical studies in secondary schools, or basic intellectual studies in elementary schools, to alternative approaches known variously as child-centered or some other non or anticlassical approach, which can collectively be referred to as progressive education. It is the tension between the classics and various alternatives to the classics that has been the subject, directly or indirectly, of much historical research in curriculum studies and that will be the major focus of the rest of this entry.

### Secondary School Curriculum

Historians have made the secondary school curriculum a subject of study much more often than the elementary school curriculum, and thus most of this entry is devoted to secondary education. The U.S. high school emerged as a near mass institution in the early 20th century. The shape of the curriculum in the high school has been the subject of vigorous debate, at least since the 1890s. In that decade, the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association prescribed four versions of academic studies that it saw as appropriate for high school students. The versions differed in the amount of classical language study prescribed, ranging from near majority in one to almost missing in another, with middling amounts in the other two. The importance of the Committee of Ten was not specifically in its stance on classical studies, however. Rather, it committed the high school curriculum to various versions of academic study, with greater or lesser emphasis on history, the sciences, and other subjects in addition to the classics in its four alternatives.

Two decades after the Committee of Ten, enrollment in the high school had grown significantly, including segments of the population in its student body that heretofore had not stayed in school past the elementary years. To reach these students, curriculum makers and school administrators developed a social efficiency approach to the high school that stressed vocational subjects, testing, and ability grouping of students to decide who would take what subject, as well as extra academic experiences

to extend the impact of the institution. The ideas of the social efficiency educators were profiled in the first of two volumes on the history of the U.S. high school written by Edward A. Krug. He showed how social efficiency led to an approach to the high school curriculum that privileged vocational studies and other useful studies such as home economics and business education. Krug also showed how addressing extra academic concerns such as student play, vocational readiness, and adjustment to a new industrial society were major concerns of the social efficiency educators. The single document of the social efficiency movement was the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, produced by a leading committee of educators and published by the National Education Association near the end of World War I.

Krug continued his intensive study of the high school and its curriculum in a second volume on the high school in the 1920s and 1930s. In this volume, he showed an evolution of social efficiency into a variety of other approaches to secondary schooling, all of which were animated by a conviction that solely academic work was not sufficient to reach all the students who were enrolling in the high school. He also paid careful attention to the ideas of champions of more traditional approaches to the high school, as they confronted the critiques of their colleagues devoted to curricular change. Vocational education became especially important as an alternative to academic studies in the post-World War I period, buoyed by federal legislation authored by Southerners such as Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia that supported vocational studies in the schools. The identification of the sponsors of vocational education legislation with employers, in the South and elsewhere, threatened to taint vocational education as the tool of employers to produce a workforce rather than as a vehicle by which working-class students, and others new to the high school, might use it for social mobility or acknowledgment of the honor of the work done by their parents and to which they might look forward.

Curriculum historian Herbert Kliebard has dealt sensitively with the contours of vocational education in an attempt to locate its proper place in the educational landscape of the 20th century. His nuanced analysis contradicts simplistic analyses of vocational education that demonize it as a

tool of capitalist manipulation or an agency of working-class liberation. The relationship between vocational and liberal studies was productively discussed in a number of his works by the eminent educational philosopher, John Dewey. Arthur Wirth produced a sensitive historical study of Dewey's debates with vocational and social efficiency educators that effectively places the debates in a context within which the actions of all actors was evaluated. Wirth's affinity for Dewey comes through in this analysis, as it does in Kliebard's works, but in these cases, Dewey is appreciated but not deified, analyzed but not sanctified.

Kliebard is arguably the leading practitioner of historical research in curriculum studies in the last quarter century. He has published numerous volumes in which he outlines a variety of approaches to the school curriculum in 20th-century education. Although he certainly discusses more than classical and anticlassical emphases in various school curricula, it is also the case that his work can best be seen as an expansion and complication of the classical-anticlassical dichotomy rather than a rejection of it.

Turning now to the topic of progressive education as a curricular phenomenon in schools, the presence of Dewey as a founder, if not a director, of progressive curricula must be acknowledged. What also must be acknowledged, however, is Dewey's critique of progressive approaches and programs that abandoned subject matter for the sake of alternatives that catered to immediate student interest. Dewey claimed to occupy a middle ground between traditionalists and progressives, one that acknowledged the primacy of both student interest and subject matter. The proper marriage of these two emphases, for Dewey, came in the productive encounter of students whose interest was piqued by subject matter that furthered those interests, both of which came from the efforts of skilled teachers committed to genuine student learning.

Of course, historical research into curriculum has involved more than looking at Dewey. Recent works have focused on the serious innovations sponsored by progressive educators in the 1930s and 1940s such as those grouped under the rubric of the Eight Year Study. Most recently, Craig Kridel and Robert Bullough have provided a comprehensive and sensitive analysis of the Eight Year

Study. Their work has shown how the innovative schools that participated in the Eight Year Study embodied creative approaches to curriculum innovation. They also have shown how the efforts of these schools were subject to friendly, but rigorous evaluation by scholars led by Ralph Tyler, then of the Ohio State University and later of the University of Chicago. Tyler became a giant in the field of curriculum studies through his Eight Year Study work and his other work on curriculum development and evaluation.

Shortly after the Eight Year Study ended, really almost contemporaneous with it, a less rigorous version of curriculum innovation was proffered in the work of life adjustment educators such as Charles Prosser. Life adjustment advocated an approach to education, especially high school education, that if it did not abandon academic study, made it secondary in significance to nonacademic tasks seen as necessary to reach the clear majority of students who were attending the high school. Prosser divided the high school population into a small portion of students who could profit from academic study, another small portion who could flourish in vocational studies, and the substantial majority that represented neither of these orientations and needed lessons in various life activities and orientations as the major outcome of their time in school.

Not surprisingly, life adjustment received a scathing critique from academics in U.S. colleges and universities who saw it as a waste of time and a markedly inferior alternative to rigorous academic study in secondary schools. These academic critics found a fertile audience in many strata of U.S. public opinion, and they enthusiastically offered their own academic curricular alternatives for high school courses, particularly though not exclusively in science and mathematics. Their efforts to develop high school courses in physics, mathematics, and the other sciences were quickly echoed in nonscience fields, and the entire movement to have school studies dependent on, if not designed by, academics was given momentum in a psychological study produced by Jerome Bruner, a noted Harvard psychologist. Bruner argued that any subject could be studied intellectually in schools in a way analogous to that which it was approached by scholars in higher education.

A classic analysis of the U.S. high school by retired Harvard president James Bryant Conant in 1958 managed to support both academic and vocational alternatives to academics through its advocacy of the comprehensive high school. Seeing this institution as dominant in small cities, Conant tried to indicate how its curricular diversity might be incorporated in other settings. He was particularly impressed with how the comprehensive high school allowed both academic education and preparation for work to take place, without separating the two groups of students from each other completely. Conant, who participated in the preparation of the progressive landmark treatment of high schools at the end of World War II, *Education for All American Youth*, also was influenced by his own academic background as a chemist and was conversant with the scientists who embarked on serious reform of high school science courses, as well as with other academic critics of progressive approaches to the high school such as the noted historian Arthur Bestor. Rigorous analysis of Conant's ideas, as well as his enormous influence in U.S. educational policy and practice, awaits a contemporary historian bold enough to attempt that task.

The critique of academic education by life adjustment educators and the academic reaction to it have been echoed in many recent histories of various aspects of the curriculum. Most of these historians have excoriated life adjustment as well as other nontraditional approaches to the school curriculum and defended academic studies as the major, if not the only, focus of the school curriculum. Diane Ravitch has produced several works in this vein, and her antiprogressive argument has been echoed, actually improved upon, in works such as the book on high school course taking by David Angus and Jeffrey Mirel.

Progressivism and antiprogressivism have not been the only focus of historians of the curriculum. Some, such as Barry Franklin, have looked at the genesis of special education in the early 20th century and its evolution to the point in contemporary education that it occupies an enormous place in the school curriculum. Franklin and others have shown how special education has attempted to fulfill student needs at the same time that it has been boosted by the bureaucratic orientations of school systems and the democratic purpose, and bureaucratic reach, of federal legislation.



### College and University Curriculum

The final task in this entry is to turn to a brief look at historical work on the college and university curriculum. One comprehensive volume on the topic produced by the noted historian of U.S. higher education Frederick Rudolph chronicled the rise and fall of the classics in the college curriculum and the various studies that have superseded the classics. Notable institutionally in this saga is the rise of the land grant colleges in the middle and late 19th century and the development of various kinds of professional education subsequently. Although education for the traditional professional troika of clergy, law, and medicine took place alongside of classical university studies, education for newer professions such as engineering, social work, education, and many others has placed the professional curriculum directly in competition with, if not in direct conflict with, the classics and the various academic studies grouped under the label of liberal arts or liberal education that have succeeded the classics.

In the midst of these developments, college and university curriculum has been the arena for great debates over the content of general education, the first 2 years of undergraduate study, and what to do with these years and these studies in a time of increasing intellectual specialization and curricular diversification. The variety of curriculum experiments that have been undertaken to revitalize liberal and general education, particularly in the 20th century, have provided historians and other analysts of college and university curricula with ample examples of how to maintain, improve, or replace liberal studies with other approaches that simultaneously meet the needs of student interest and the requirements of intellectual acuity in a changing society.

### Future Research

Thus we return to the ideas that have animated the historical study of school curricula. The intellectual rigor of classical studies and the academic alterations that they have undergone stand on one end of a curricular continuum. On the other end stand the vocational, professional, and other non-academic studies that appeal intuitively to most students at any level of education and to many of those who study curriculum. It is perhaps overly optimistic to conclude that future historical research in curriculum studies might add creatively to both

the analysis and advocacy of both of these curricular strands. More important, perhaps, will be the studies that creatively look at the combinations of the two approaches that have been productive. These will represent the historical embodiment of Dewey's intellectual insight that the best education, in schools as well as in colleges and universities, is properly attentive both to academic interests and to utilitarian concerns such as student interest and societal improvement.

Wayne J. Urban

*See also* *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*; Committee of Ten of the National Education Association; Dewey, John; Kliebard, Herbert M.; *Life Adjustment Curriculum*; *Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*

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## HOLISTIC CURRICULUM

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Holistic curriculum is a description of educational practices intended to cultivate fully developed human beings by attending to their physical, emotional, psychological, moral, and spiritual growth. Cultivation of personal meaning and fulfillment, love for lifelong learning, and connection to others and the natural world are among educators' aims in the holistic curricular tradition.

Holism, in this curricular orientation, means both oneness and interrelatedness. Advocates of this curriculum disavow common dualisms—such

as mind–body, logic–intuition, art–science, or group–individual. They also reject the fragmentation, standardization, and competition of modern society and schooling so that individuals can develop without experiencing systems that limit or stifle their growth and potentials. Moreover, holism entails recognizing the interconnectedness of the universe, including all of life and nature.

Educators began to refer to the term *holistic curriculum* in the late 1970s, and this designation became established with Ron Miller’s publication of the *Holistic Education Review* in 1988 and John P. Miller’s book, *The Holistic Curriculum*, published in the same year. Nonetheless, the intellectual foundation of holistic curriculum has been attributed to the Platonic ideal of a well-balanced education of intellectual, physical, and spiritual development and to 19th-century and early 20th-century child-centered theorists and educators including Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel, Francis Parker, and A. S. Neill. More contemporary influences on holistic curriculum are the open school movement of the 1960s and 1970s and works by Richard Jones, *Fantasy and Feeling in Education*, and Joseph Chilton Pearce, *The Magical Child*. Montessori and Waldorf schools are viewed as both antecedent and contemporary models of holistic curriculum. In addition, other curricular models—experiential, whole person, self-directed, peace, global, and ecological—feature parallels to holistic curriculum.

Although holistic curricular practices vary, for instance, to the extent of emphasis on practical learning, creativity, and spirituality, all enactments share essential commonalities. Three interrelated themes characterize holistic curriculum: the need to cherish and nourish children’s natural goodness; creation of an integrated, thematic, and well-rounded curriculum to create individuals’ full and balanced development; and encouragement of connection to communities and the natural world to instill a desire for nonviolence and peace.

Descriptions of holistic curriculum emphasize love and respect for children and their developmental processes. As follows, holistic educators trust learners’ interests, ideas, emotions, and experiences to be principal influences on curriculum. Child development itself is seen as the process of unfolding—to reveal the inner nature of each child and to encourage children’s natural curiosity, passion for

learning, and sense of wonder and spirituality. In delineating the role of teachers, emphasis is on nurturance rather than on control and on guidance rather than on anarchy.

A goal of holistic educators is to create a balanced curriculum that fosters integration of individuals’ personalities with respect for seemingly contrasting elements of human nature such as the feminine and masculine, intellectual and emotional, or physical and spiritual. In particular, holistic curriculum centers on physical development through kinesthetic learning, movement, and rhythm; it also centers on creativity and expanded consciousness through storytelling, meditation, and visualization activities. So, too, holistic educators believe that well-rounded development emphasizes awakening spirituality by enhancing intuition, metaphoric thought, and appreciation of the mysteries of existence.

Finally, holistic curriculum focuses on helping learners to feel reverence and wonder for life and nature as well as to experience and appreciate their connections to each other in the classroom, community, and global community. Moreover, this curricular orientation’s ecological perspective fosters teaching about the dynamic and spiritual interrelation between humans and the natural world. As part of holistic curriculum, for example, children may participate in service learning, sustainable school projects, international school partnerships, activities to visualize the meaning and feeling of peace, studies of spirituality within world religions, and projects to learn about how individuals and nations resolve conflicts peacefully. For the holistic curriculum, educators create ongoing experiences to help children to feel and understand caring, connectedness, and mutuality with the aim of appreciating democracy and equality through engagement in nonauthoritarian, equal relationships.

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*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Global Education; Modernism; Montessori Curriculum; Paradigms; Postmodernism; Waldorf Schools Curriculum

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## HOME INDEPENDENT STUDY PROGRAMS

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Home independent study programs take many forms, but they generally refer to curricula and assessments that have been prepared for self-guided study outside the traditional school environment. The primary reasons a family would choose a home independent study program are as a supplement to a traditional education program, as a support for a homebound student, or as part of a homeschool curriculum. Home independent study programs are different from homeschooling in that a homeschool curriculum may include an independent study program, but also refers to the full range of instructor-guided and experiential learning that happens outside of a traditional school setting.

As technology changes, the delivery systems for home study programs have evolved, but even as Web-based programs grow in popularity, there are still many independent study options that are based on earlier correspondence school models. The majority of research on home study in the field of curriculum studies has been concerned with tracking the quality of home study programs compared to traditional schooling. New scholarship in curriculum studies has also emerged that analyzes the innovation and effectiveness of technologies that home independent study programs have introduced.

The most common supplement to traditional schooling comes in the form of dual credit independent study programs offered by colleges. Through dual credit programs, colleges offer coursework that students can use to fulfill both high school and college credit. Dual credit traditionally is offered in the high school or college classroom, but in home-based, independent study,

dual credit courses are a growing phenomenon. Colleges have long been involved in offering high school independent coursework in the Midwest where the distance between urban centers made distance education a more attractive option. The University of Nebraska, for example, has been running some form of college-prep independent study program since 1929.

Currently, home study programs can be found covering the whole range of standard curricular offerings. Both public and private programs are available, and many work directly with accreditation agencies and state school systems to ensure that credits will be transferable to a traditional school environment. Virtual schools have also been founded as charter schools in several states, delivering their curriculum through a blend of online faculty-facilitated instruction and independent learning. Initially, virtual school programs were designed exclusively for high school students, but now Web-based learning programs can be found that cover the full spectrum of K–12 education. The Pennsylvania Virtual Charter School, for example, is a K–12 cyber school that uses a blend of synchronous and asynchronous delivery methods. Public charters that offer virtual or independent learning programs are compliant with the same state assessment measures as other public schools.

Private, for-profit home study programs are not compelled to align their curriculum with state assessment standards. However, those privately run virtual schools that offer a full academic curriculum often seek accreditation and must register with the state as a private school in accordance with the same laws that govern the running of brick-and-mortar private schools. Comprehensive private virtual schools are relatively rare though, and it is far more common to find private education companies packaging specific independent study programs rather than full school options. Often, private independent study programs are designed as supplemental curriculum for a homeschool program. However, private home study programs, like their public counterparts, run the full gamut of curricular offerings and grade levels.

A prominent feature of the private independent study market is a curricular focus on fundamentalist Christian-based curriculum. Roughly a third of homeschooling parents cite a preference for control over the religious and moral education of their

children as the top reason for choosing to provide a home-based education. Curriculum areas that are often at the center of religious-based controversy in the traditional school setting are widely available for home study. For example, there are a wide range of private companies that offer home independent study materials that cover biology from a creationist or intelligent design perspective. Private curricular supplements to homeschool education are not regulated directly. However, each state has the right to regulate homeschool efforts either through curricular mandates or assessment programs.

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*See also* Curriculum Evaluation; Homeschooling; Individualized Education—Curriculum Programs; Standards, Curricular; Unschooling

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## HOMESCHOOLING

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Homeschooling is the practice of providing education to youth outside of publicly and privately funded educational institutions. Practiced by a minority of Americans, homeschooling was once the traditional method for educating youth before the national initiative to establish tax-supported public schools began in the 1820s. Compulsory attendance laws in the 19th and 20th centuries rendered homeschooling illegal in most states until the 1980s. During the last three decades, various groups have worked to expand parents' rights to homeschool their children and by 1993,

ensure its legal status nationwide. Homeschooling inspires citizens' curiosity and skepticism for many reasons: Public schooling is such conventional practice that its dismissal seems suspect; governmental oversight of homeschooling varies drastically from state to state; and parents are generally neither trained nor credentialed educators. However, these concerns matter little to homeschoolers critical of overcrowded schools, overworked teachers, or secular curriculum. Historically, groups instrumental to the homeschooling movement have included religious fundamentalists seeking religious-based education and members of the counterculture seeking liberating and flexible curriculum. In recent years, others have advocated homeschooling to serve children with diverse abilities, to provide individualized attention, and to ensure safe learning conditions. Indeed, advocates suggest the choice, innovation, and individualized attention homeschooling offers exemplify the true ideals of educational freedom foundational to democratic education. The movement's varied curriculum reflects these diverse philosophies.

### Growth of Homeschooling

Widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of public schooling has fueled the growth of homeschooling since the 1960s. Two groups with strikingly different ideologies and curricular visions have been instrumental to its growth: members of the counterculture and religious fundamentalists. Although these categories do not represent the full diversity of homeschoolers' philosophies, they provide a general guide for understanding significant arguments shaping the movement. The first group of homeschooling advocates was critical of the bureaucratic and authoritarian character of public schools. John Holt, a humanist educator, argued that such environments damaged children's natural love of learning. Holt drew from the spirit of educational and social reform prominent in the 1960s and 1970s to advocate for more humane ways of educating children. He envisioned an unschooling approach with unstructured curriculum in which children followed their own interests and learned at their own pace. Some scholars today refer to this group of homeschoolers as pedagogues.



The second group of homeschooling advocates was similarly critical of public schools' educational methods and of their secular content. Pioneer Christian homeschoolers Raymond and Dorothy Moore considered young children too fragile to attend school. They recommended delaying children's entry into formal schools until they were physically and developmentally ready (between ages 8 and 12). The Moores believed parents were children's natural authorities and thus superior teachers to any the public schools could provide. In this view, parents' instinctual knowledge of their own children and the intimate and protective character of the family unit provide ideal learning conditions. Scholars sometimes refer to homeschoolers in this group as ideologues today.

Many homeschoolers share a common conviction that the homogenizing curriculum of contemporary public schools simply cannot accommodate each child's profound individuality and unique gifts. Whereas public school teachers must negotiate 20 or 30 students at a time, home educators teach only a few children in a comforting family environment. To homeschoolers, such individual attention is a foundational strength of their unconventional educational choice. Some prefer the term *home education* to differentiate their learning activities from conventional bureaucratic schooling.

### Homeschool Curriculum

Homeschoolers use varied approaches to tailor curriculum to children's needs, abilities, and learning styles. Those who value Holt's educational philosophies (the unschooling approach) believe rigid timetables can stifle children's natural inclinations and favor creative and experiential learning that children generally lead and direct. In this view, learning looks very much like living. The living curriculum of a typical school day may include a trip to the library, imaginative play, reading aloud, gardening, playing board games with siblings, researching materials used in an art or construction project, caring for the family pet, or learning measurements through cooking. Under a parent's watchful eye, any activity can become a vehicle for learning math, grammar, or science. In a related approach Charlotte Mason developed, parents might provide 1 hour a day of structured

academic instruction and then spend the remainder of the day sketching in nature, learning poetry, and most importantly, fostering children's natural love of learning. Parents who support child-directed methods typically perceive television and video games as potentially corrosive to children's development and encourage more interactive and imaginative pursuits. In this view, inclination is a powerful teacher, and students may choose to read one book all day if they want to.

Other homeschooling curriculum is parent-directed and structured. Parents serve as role models for and protectors of their children and orient their children's curriculum to their family's values. Such priorities may include religious beliefs, cultural or family heritage, or community activism. Rather than allowing children to follow random inclinations or mingle with worrisome peers who might lead them astray, parents tend to adapt the discipline and structure of public school classrooms to their family setting. A typical day may include Bible reading, chores, and guided textbook lessons. The Moore's contemporary curriculum suggests integrating study with community service and manual work. Many who use parent-centered approaches designate a particular time for formal instruction and favor traditional curriculum such as distance learning courses, textbooks, and scripted computer programs offered by Christian or secular providers. Some supplement vendor curriculum with writing lessons, athletics, atlases, piano lessons, and a variety of activities to learn social skills. In this approach, parental rather than child or governmental authority provides the foundation for learning.

The resources available for assisting parents in their educational roles are a vital aspect of homeschooling curriculum. Homeschooling families in the United States are overwhelmingly two-parent families with one parent, usually the mother, remaining out of the labor force to provide home education. The significant responsibility of serving as both parent and educator for young children necessitates support. Many families join national homeschooling organizations to help balance parental responsibilities with writing curriculum, developing lesson plans, and identifying materials. Resources for home educators abound, including teaching guides, sample lesson plans, grading rubrics, newsletters, seminars, college preparatory

guides, Internet chat sites, teacher-assistance hotlines, log sheets for recording classroom hours, scripted responses homeschoolers can deliver to skeptics, and practical tips for teaching children of differing ages and abilities. Also available are guides for serving teens, special needs students, and gifted students.

Home educators utilize varied methods to accomplish their learning objectives: the Internet, scripted computer software programs, music, religious texts, documentaries, support groups, experiential learning, extracurricular activities, and library books. Computer approaches are common tools parents use to individualize learning. Children use online resources to complete lessons at their own pace. The Trivium approach teaches the fundamental principles of any subject of study using a curriculum of three subjects: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. The Unit Study approach involves comprehensive study of one particular topic for weeks or months at a time. Curriculum might include art, drama, cooking, and museum trips centered on that particular theme. Other families use traditional correspondence programs with structured curriculum, step-by-step instructions, and instruments to test knowledge. Some correspondence programs document student progress. Report cards, transcripts, and diplomas provide tangible evidence of progress for state requirements or college entrance.

Christian publishing houses offer a wealth of curricular options that seamlessly integrate Biblical and academic lessons for children of toddler to teen age. Health lessons may direct students how to keep their bodies pure and free of contaminating substances. Science curriculum may describe creationism and dismiss evolutionary theory. Math lessons may include a tithing budget. Some texts provide structured lessons in character education. Others orient academic subjects around religious themes to link diverse bits of information into a coherent structure.

### Criticisms of Homeschooling

Despite the academic success and popularity of many homeschooling efforts, strident critiques of homeschooling persist. Indeed, some see homeschoolers' rejection of public schools as part of a larger trend toward privatization and as a selfish

affront to democratic principles in which public interests are sacrificed for individual interests. In this view, "my child's education" is considered a more important entity than "our children's education." Another criticism is that homeschooling is regulated too erratically from state to state to ensure that children receive a rigorous education or learn the skills necessary for effective citizenship. Although some states require home educators to hold teaching credentials, use state-approved curriculum, or follow compulsory attendance laws, other states do not require any evidence that children are meeting minimal educational standards, or in fact, attending school at all. In this view, limited accountability required of homeschoolers runs counter to the government's investment in creating an educated citizenry and responsibility to provide all children equal educational opportunities.

Another criticism emerges from the assumption that any parent can step into a teaching role effectively. This do-it-yourself approach distresses educators who have spent years training to teach and developing expertise in their respective fields. Indeed, teaching geometry, history, literature, and the periodic elements might challenge any individual. Others suggest that homeschooling does not provide sufficient opportunities for diverse social interaction or for the arts. What a parent envisions as ideal curriculum may in fact limit their children to narrow perspectives and experiences that do not reflect the wider social world. Although this may be a goal of some homeschoolers, critics argue that children benefit from exposure to diverse ideas that multiple teachers and peer interaction provide in public schools. Some fear that in the guise of protecting children and celebrating educational choice, such education may limit children's experiences and erode support for public education.

*Lucy E. Bailey*

*See also* Alternative Schools; Child-Centered Curriculum; Holistic Curriculum; Home Independent Study Programs; School Choice; Unschooling

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## HOMEWORK

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Homework is defined as the tasks assigned by school teachers to be carried out by the students during nonschool hours. Homework is usually given to enhance learning by practicing or enforcing skills. Some homework assignments aim to prepare students for future lessons. Occasionally, homework is used as a punishment of students. However, the use of homework as a curricular and instructional tool is not without debate. The homework debate has a direct impact on the curriculum because teachers and curriculum specialists have to determine the role homework plays in students' learning. As a result, they have to consider the nature and amount of homework they can include in the curriculum.

### The Homework Debate

Many parents today complain that teachers assign too much homework to their children. Such practice, some argue, results in high stress for students and their parents, infringement on the family social time, sleep deprivation, and early burnout for students. Some attribute the increased homework load to the pressure for schools to improve their students' scores under No Child Left Behind Act mandates.

Proponents of homework argue that most studies prove positive effects for homework. Educators argue that when homework was graded and feedback was provided, homework has positive effects on students' learning. Harris Cooper maintained that homework has positive impact on students' learning, but the impact varies for different grade levels. He reasoned that homework should be

decided based on the students' developmental needs and home circumstances.

Cooper, James Lindsay, Barbara Nye, and Scott Greathouse conducted an extensive series of studies on the effects of homework. The results of their studies can be summarized as follows: There were no significant effects for homework on grades or test scores. They found negative effects for the amount of homework on test scores for young students and no significant effects for older students.

Opponents of homework argue that teachers are assigning more homework to deflect criticism for inability of schools to prepare their graduates to compete in a global society. Teachers, on the other hand, argue that U.S. students spend less time on homework compared to their counterparts in Europe and Asia.

Some educators argue that excessive homework was one of the contributing factors to high school dropout. They argued that teachers cannot ensure that students are doing their homework. They argued that high school students are challenged to participate in a variety of activities to compile an impressive college application, and homework adds an undue stress on these students. Some schools around the country, concerned about students' burnout, established guidelines to limit the time students spend on homework each night.

### Teachers

Homework can elevate the Mathew's effect: Parents from low socioeconomic and educational background can provide little support to their children at home, while parents from high socioeconomic and educational background are more able to provide support to their children at home. This practice can directly contribute to increasing the gap between the poor and rich children. Therefore, it has been suggested that teachers recognize the existence and effects of the Mathew's effect.

It has also been suggested that teachers need to move away from the habit of assigning homework because it is expected of them, and they need to rethink homework assignments in terms of objectives and quality. Alfie Kohn contended that if teachers would consider these issues, the quality of students' learning will improve. He recommended that teachers design homework assignments that

are suitable for the home environment. These assignments should be tasks that students cannot perform at school, involve the parents, and can be considered family activities. Teachers should encourage students to read leisurely at home without making demands on them to read certain books or prove that they read them to help motivate students to read. In addition, students should be given a choice in their homework assignment.

### Curriculum Design

Many curriculum scholars believe that the role of homework in students' learning should be part of curriculum design. To many, it is an issue that should be researched and debated in the colleges of education to better train teachers to construct, grade, and give feedback to students on their homework for it to be effective. By developing homework assignments that are varied in nature, curriculum specialists can address students' different learning styles and home environments.

*Marcia L. Lamkin and Amany Saleh*

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Curriculum Development; Equity; No Child Left Behind

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## HORACE'S COMPROMISE

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A highpoint in U.S. concern over education, the 1980s was a decade awash in reports lamenting the fundamental unpreparedness of the schools for new global economic challenges. 1984 saw the publication of a rather different, if equally

fundamental, rethinking of schooling: Theodore (Ted) Sizer's *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School*. The first fruit of the 5-year, collaborative Study of High Schools, *Horace's Compromise* signaled a new era in curriculum studies and school reform. Sizer vividly illustrated how the cart of school structure had gotten in front of the horse of curriculum and pedagogy, reminding us to begin with the essential questions: What needs to be learned, and how can we support teachers and students to do this work?

Sizer introduces his critique of the high school through composite portraits of teachers and students. Horace Smith is a 28-year veteran English teacher whose inescapable compromise points to the inadequacies of high schools. Daily, Horace juggles five classes, 120 students, responsibilities as faculty advisor for the drama department, and a second job to make ends meet. Horace, like the U.S. high school, is stretched too thin, and this leads to compromises in the most crucial areas of his teaching. He has too many students to give detailed feedback on writing assignments: He is lucky if he can devote 5 minutes per paper. He has no time for thorough class preparation, let alone deep study: He must settle for a meager 10 minutes per lesson.

As Sizer shows, high school teachers find themselves in the paradoxical position of being too overburdened and underpaid to realize the fundamental aims of teaching and learning while simultaneously being held responsible for the problems of the system that weakens their agency.

In his portraits of students, Sizer captures both the vulnerability and the potency of adolescence. We meet Will, a preppy and somewhat insecure senior, and Louella, a 15-year-old former prostitute and new student at an inner-city, Catholic high school. We see students like them shuffled from class to class—bells ringing every 50 minutes—passive recipients of an incoherent curriculum. Sizer reminds us that after school these same young people will come alive in bustling worlds of social interaction and self-driven activity. Sizer wants to see this initiative present in the classroom.

Such portraits bring the problems of the U.S. educational system down to a human scale. And this is no mere writerly device. Returning to the human dimensions of teaching and learning is the heart of Sizer's plea for curricular reform. Public



education has become a massive bureaucracy, which loses sight of the essentials of teaching and learning and the people who drive the process.

Sizer's return to essentials begins with a look at the classic instructional triangle of student, teacher, and subject matter. He emphasizes the active role of the student in learning, denying that a teacher can give an education. The teacher is thus recast from information dispenser to coach. Because student motivation is so crucial to the educational process, Sizer boldly asserts that compulsory education should cease when students have exhibited proficiency in literacy, numeracy, and civic understanding. Once these essential skills have been mastered, high school should be viewed as an opportunity, not an obligation.

Sizer's overarching curricular principal is less is more: less content coverage and more meaningful instruction in core areas. Following Mortimer Adler, Sizer calls for a pedagogy of questioning to develop student's powers of understanding and coaching to cultivate thinking and communication skills. Didactic methods geared toward knowledge acquisition would still have their place, but Sizer's progressive model prioritizes how students think over what they think.

In Sizer's vision, education is people driven, not system driven and schools refocus on the essentials: giving teachers the resources to devote themselves fully to the craft of teaching and helping students become confident and purposeful learners. Sizer founded the Coalition of Essential Schools to put his ideas into practice. *Horace's Compromise* was followed by two sequels: *Horace's School* and *Horace's Hope*.

Chris Higgins, Jane Blanken-Webb,  
and Adrienne Pickett

See also Alternative Schools; Block Scheduling; Coalition of Essential Schools; Comprehensive High School; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Secondary School Curriculum; Teacher Empowerment

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## HOW TO MAKE A CURRICULUM

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John Franklin Bobbitt's *How to Make a Curriculum*, published in 1924, was a targeted sequel to Bobbitt's groundbreaking and highly popular book *The Curriculum*, which appeared in 1918. *How to Make a Curriculum* focuses on Bobbitt's detailed process of curriculum making, whereas *The Curriculum* addresses the much larger subject of curriculum itself. In *The Curriculum*, Bobbitt was making his initial case for his philosophy of curriculum. In *How to Make a Curriculum*, on the other hand, Bobbitt assumes that his view had taken root and then proceeds to explain how to make curriculum in detail.

Bobbitt wrote *How to Make a Curriculum* to provide specific guidance to schools and school districts that were facing the problem of needing to revise their curriculum during the mid to late 1920s. The United States was changing rapidly due to pressures such as industrialization and immigration, and many people began to believe that the U.S. public school curriculum had become outdated. Bobbitt provided school administrators and teachers with a process they could use to revise their curriculum to match the new age. In this respect, Bobbitt intended for the book to be deeply practical in the sense that he wanted it to provide specific guidance, rooted in the new social sciences, about how school practitioners could develop their curriculum most effectively.

Making sense of *How to Make a Curriculum* begins with recognizing how Bobbitt viewed the purpose of education. To Bobbitt, education exists to prepare young people for the various activities they will perform as adults. Life is about activities, and schools should prepare young people to perform them. At first glance, this purpose seems narrow, but to Bobbitt it is quite expansive. Bobbitt's goal was to make society more efficient by training people for the roles they will play as adults, be they construction workers or lawyers or teachers. Bobbitt explains the process of activity analysis, which he created to show public school workers what they should do to revise their curriculum. He

explains how practitioners should analyze adult activities and then use the results of this analysis to establish educational objectives.

Bobbitt acknowledges that any curriculum revision project must begin by looking at the adult activities in a particular community, but he also conducted research to capture adult activities across the country. This research led him to break down all human activities into 10 categories: (1) social intercommunication, (2) physical efficiency, (3) efficient citizenship, (4) social relationships, (5) leisure, (6) mental efficiency, (7) religion, (8) parental responsibilities, (9) unspecialized practical activities (such as taking care of the house), and (10) occupational activities. Bobbitt argues that all human activities can be classified within these 10 categories. He then breaks down each of these areas into highly specific skills that all students should develop, a list that came to a total of 821. Bobbitt defined productive citizens as people who were effective at performing all 821 skills, which by definition could be observed and measured.

In later chapters, Bobbitt takes his 821 objectives and categorizes them based on the various subject matter fields. He shows, for example, how the objectives that he lists under effective citizenship can be fostered in social studies classes and how the goals included in his leisure category should be developed in courses on literature. All of the subject matter fields must be tied to the original 821 objectives that Bobbitt asserts are the foundation for schooling.

*How to Make a Curriculum* met the need that it was meant to serve in the 1920s. Public school practitioners needed to revise their curriculum, and Bobbitt provided them with a book that told them how to do it. The influence of the book should be recognized as both positive and negative. Bobbitt understood the challenges that school administrators faced, and he provided them with a method they could use to change with the times. He also makes the point that curriculum should serve societies in a way that is broader than personal culture or the particular interests of students. At the same time, however, Bobbitt's view of curriculum making has been criticized for the way in which it tracks students into narrow societal roles, as opposed to broadening their opportunities. In addition, Bobbitt's view of human nature, which he does not discuss at length, is at odds with the

U.S. view of equality. For example, Bobbitt maintained that knowledge of a second language was appropriate for those with great ability and not necessary for the general public. He also believed a broad vision of humanity was possible for only those students of high intelligence. In making arguments such as these, Bobbitt helped to redefine "democratic curriculum" to mean the opposite of giving all students the same high-quality curriculum. Instead, he redefined democratic curriculum to mean giving each student what he or she needs to fill his or her economic role in society. Debates surrounding the merits of this vision remain highly contested today.

*J. Wesley Null*

*See also* Activity Analysis; *Curriculum, The*

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## HUMAN ECOLOGY CURRICULUM

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Scholars in the field of curriculum studies investigate and support a variety of interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary approaches to education. Human ecology is an interdisciplinary field of study and research that encompasses a variety of disciplines from the ecological sciences to the arts, humanities, and social sciences. The term can refer to virtually all aspects of human experience and the interrelationships within and between human communities and natural and human-constructed environments. The human ecology curriculum covers a broad range of issues including the human impact on the environment, how environmental conditions shape the human experience, environmental problems and some of their solutions, and environmental art and design. Human ecology programs and courses of study are mostly housed in institutions of higher education at the undergraduate, master's, and doctoral levels, and studies lead to certificates,

options, specializations, or degrees. In K–12 education, ideas from human ecology are sometimes embedded in family and consumer science courses, but there is no concerted, nationwide effort in the United States to institute programs in human ecology in public schools.

In the United States, the academic field of human ecology is indebted to a number of early scholars. Harlan Barrows (1877–1960) was a historical geographer and chair of the department of geography at the University of Chicago from 1919 to 1942. He was influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932), a historian who explored the connections between culture, history, and the environment, especially around issues of westward expansion, and Ellen Churchill Semple (1863–1932), an early proponent of the idea that geography influences, even to some extent determines human society. In the early 1920s, Barrows shifted his focus from the effort to scientifically determine geographic influences on human society to a broader emphasis on human ecology, which laid the foundations for the current interdisciplinary field. His presidential address to the Association of American Geographers in 1922, “Geography as Human Ecology,” remains one of the most frequently cited historical works in the field. Following Barrows, R. D. McKenzie used the term in a paper titled “The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community,” in a 1925 book. Although human ecology in its inception was considered a subdiscipline of sociology, it is now also associated with anthropology, psychology, political science, or the ecological sciences, among other disciplines, depending on the school of thought, institution, or country.

Human ecology as a field of study also has roots in home economics or domestic science, itself an interdisciplinary area of study that emerged in tandem with the Cooperative Extension Service, administered by the land grant institutions. The institutional history of the field can be illustrated by the development and evolution of a representative program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The department of home economics began at Madison in 1903; became the School of Home Economics in 1951, within the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences; and in 1973, became an independent unit first named the School of Home Economics, then the School of Family

Resources and Consumer Sciences, and finally, the School of Human Ecology. These shifts represent increasing awareness of the interconnectedness of human activity and the environment as well as the global impact of local, domestic decision making and practices.

Contemporary academic journals dedicated to the topic of human ecology include the *Human Ecology Review*, the semiannual journal of the Society for Human Ecology (SHE), which began in 1993, and *Human Ecology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, which began publication in 1972. Published studies in human ecology are international and historical in scope, and research in the field encompasses a vast array of topics, including but not limited to population issues, hunting, land use, technology, animal rights, environmental racism, the impact of toxic chemicals, civic participation, health and health systems, climate change, environmental activism, gardens, urban environments, architecture, fire ecology, and a host of theoretical and methodological issues.

Related to human ecology, the field of social ecology has a more explicit focus on the social and political dimensions of human interactions. The School of Social Ecology at the University of California, Irvine, for example, is an interdisciplinary program that focuses on research and instruction in the social, behavioral, legal, environmental, and health sciences. A more explicitly radical-political approach to social ecology was developed by Murray Bookchin, a left-libertarian social theorist (1921–2006) who wrote more than 2 dozen books encompassing history, politics, ecology, philosophy, urban planning, and economics in which the detailed principles and practices of social ecology as a social movement are worked out. Bookchin believed that the roots of the multifaceted ecological crisis lie in the hierarchical organization of power under the economic system of capitalism. He asserts that ecological problems cannot be solved without attention to social relations and proposes an egalitarian, radically democratic, decentralized society based on communitarian values.

The curricula of human ecology and social ecology, despite their diverse theories, content, and emphases, share a number of characteristics. First, there is a recognition that the complex problems of modern society, whether defined as environmental problems, political problems, or social problems,

are interrelated and cannot be compartmentalized. Therefore, they must be studied in an interdisciplinary, holistic way. Studies in these areas lend themselves to problem-based, individualized, student-designed projects—progressive approaches to student learning that have been developed, studied, and explicated in the historical and contemporary field of curriculum scholarship. In many programs, students spend substantial time in the field working as interns with organizations or carrying out ethnographic studies. Human ecology curriculum is as complex as life itself, demanding of the students that they cross intellectual boundaries, bring ideas from widely divergent fields and multiple perspectives together, and work to generate fresh combinations of concepts and new knowledge that is capable of solving the many pressing social and environmental problems in the world today.

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*See also* Ecopedagogy; Ecological Theory; Family and Consumer Sciences Curriculum; Health Education Curriculum

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## HUMANIST TRADITION

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The humanist tradition within curriculum studies emphasizes literature, foreign languages, reason, and the complete development of human excellence, or virtue. In the United States, a humanistic approach to curriculum dominated K–12 schooling, as well as higher education, well into the late 20th century. Humanities subjects such as Greek, Latin, philosophy, and theology served as the

foundation for U.S. curriculum until the rise of the physical sciences and later the social sciences in the 1880s and 1890s.

Humanists raise eternal questions that have been discussed since the beginning of time: What is human nature? What is reason? What should I do? What is the purpose of Man? And why are we here? For answers to these questions, humanist scholars look to models of scholarship that have proven their worth over time, whether they be works of literature, philosophy, or theology. Humanists also search for defining principles and methods that hold together all fields of human inquiry. As F. C. S. Schiller (1907) puts it, humanists search for a method that is universally applicable to ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics, and theology as well as to a theory of knowledge. To humanists, older texts are almost always superior to new texts primarily because they have stood the test of time and as a result, remain relevant to each passing generation. Humanists stress that a good curriculum, one fit for human beings, must introduce students to classic works from philosophers, poets, and literary scholars such as Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Virgil, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and C. S. Lewis. Because classic texts were written in various languages, humanists emphasize that, if these texts are to be understood, students should read them in their original languages. As a result, the humanist tradition encourages the study of numerous foreign languages, especially Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. In addition, humanists believe that the rigor required to learn a foreign language teaches students discipline, opens their minds to new and different cultures, and trains their God-given ability to reason. Humanist scholars, for example, Harvard University literature professor Irving Babbitt and British poet Matthew Arnold, promote virtues such as excellence and honor while often de-emphasizing equality and democracy.

Until the late 20th century, the justification for humanities subjects within the curriculum could be found in the psychological theory of formal discipline. Adherents to formal discipline believed that studying humanistic subjects like philosophy and Greek trained students' ability to reason. They also believed that this ability to reason transferred automatically to all areas of life. For example, humanists believed that the power of reason that students



developed while conjugating Latin verbs automatically helped them when they were running a business or planning a vacation later in life. The new empirical science of psychology in the early 20th century, however, claimed to undercut the theory of formal discipline. These studies, produced by Edward L. Thorndike and Robert S. Woodworth, led to the dismantling of humanities-based curriculum in K–12 schools and in universities.

Another major blow to the humanist tradition within curriculum studies came with the secularization of private universities. During the early to mid-19th century, the religious mission of many private universities required that all students read and discuss texts that were central to the Christian faith. Once these universities secularized, few if any central texts were required reading of all students. As a result, the humanist tradition began to take a backseat to the physical sciences, the social sciences, and other professional fields such as business and engineering. The humanist tradition has not yet recovered from these two major developments more than a century ago.

*J. Wesley Null*

*See also* Social Efficiency Tradition

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## HYBRIDITY

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Biologically, hybridity refers to the crossing of genes, but this term is a metaphorical trope describing the postcolonial position by referring to the merging of two socially, culturally, economically, or politically separate spheres or the blending of elements, characteristics, or traits from two different cultures. In relation to education, then, hybridity

has come to be seen as a possibility for deconstructing dominant curricula and pedagogy and moving toward a socially just system of education.

Brian Stross, a theorizer of hybridity, notes that humans are categorizing animals. People tend to classify everything into distinct boxes with nonporous borders. What happens with this type of classifying is that categories are established as pure and unchangeable. In addition, classifications are hierarchically arranged, with some categories established as dominant and others as inferior. In this way, categories tend to be created in terms of binaries such as good–bad, white–black, male–female, heterosexual–homosexual, and so on. In each of these categories, one is established as more powerful, more pure than its counterpart.

Purity, however, is a falsity, and the development of categories is not an innate desire in humans, but one that is socially constructed. Nonetheless, the notion of purity can be established by the dominant group because of its power. Often the characteristics of the dominant group are normalized or naturalized and thus come to be accepted as universal. By continually categorizing and creating borders, the dominant group establishes a façade that appears pure, impenetrable, and static. These borders, however, are not impenetrable, and identity in these categories is not static. The dominant group constantly works to police borders to ensure that categories do not mix. This control can be seen to occur in schools, for example, with structures such as tracking and sorting where students from nondominant groups are marginalized, pushed into lower tracks, or sorted for jobs in a lower socioeconomic sector. In terms of curriculum, too, dominant cultures and ways of being have been presented as part of the accepted curriculum while subordinated groups have been ignored in textbooks and classroom content.

The hybrid, though, is a threat to the dominant group. Culturally speaking, hybridity refers to what happens with colonization or when dominant groups forced nondominant peoples to assimilate to dominant cultures. This metaphor applies to modern society as well. The hybrid, then, is someone who represents a mix of cultures and is expected to assimilate to dominant culture at the same time that he or she is never fully accepted into this culture. The hybrid is in a liminal state,

then, and might not feel a sense of belonging to either culture. As a result, hybridity can result in feelings of double consciousness, as first described by W. E. B. Du Bois.

At the same time, however, hybridity opens up the possibility for change. Gloria Anzaldúa and Homi K. Bhabha argue that the creation of third spaces or borderlands where individuals and groups examine hybridity can help people understand how dominant society works to maintain power and can allow a space for the deconstruction of dominant ideologies. It is in this space in between these constructed categories and borders that people can look at historical, social, and cultural constructions of identity. It is also the place where people can begin to realize identity as something porous and unfixed rather than as static, essential, or pure. Also, it is in this space that people can deconstruct dominant society and understand that it is not monolithic. Hybridity can result in the creation of an in-between space to breakdown hierarchical dichotomies.

Scholars such as Henry A. Giroux have argued that the development of third spaces and borderlands is something that needs to happen in schools, which are a microcosm of the larger society. Giroux, for instance, argues for a pedagogy of difference through which classrooms can examine identity and the creation and maintenance of dominant ways of being. Many postcolonialists and feminists have argued that classrooms should provide space for the examination of dominant and nondominant-hybrid identities and space for previously silenced hybrid voices to emerge.

One problem with hybridity, however, is that it fails to move beyond dichotomies in its very theoretical underpinning. Identities are not necessarily comprised of one or two cultures, but are comprised from multiple and varied elements. In addition,

some have argued that hybridity tends to be too celebratory. As Anzaldúa reminds us, though, hybridity can be a painful position, and the journey through the borderlands to conscientization is often tense and difficult. In addition, this is a journey that cannot be made by hybrids alone. After all, deconstructing dominant ideologies is a huge task, an impossible burden for the hybrid. Those from the dominant group must participate in these discussions as well and need to examine their own identities at the same time. Moreover, scholars and practitioners have to be careful that hybridity does not reinforce power relations and have to examine resistance to hybridization.

*Sheri C. Hardee*

*See also* Border Crossing; Colonization Theory; Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Cultural Identities; Cultural Production/Reproduction; Du Bois, W. E. B.; Gramscian Thought; Identity Politics; Performativity; Postcolonial Theory; Postmodernism

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## IDENTITY POLITICS

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Identity politics within curriculum studies finds at its root the link between one's individual history and cultural experiences and the course of study, or curriculum, at hand. In short, identity politics in curriculum studies brings together oneself with the curriculum. Scholars of identity politics ask questions about whose identity is being taught in the curriculum, whose is not, and why?

Emerging as a significant field of inquiry and in response to the political tensions and historical events of the 1960s, the field of identity politics within curriculum studies was birthed during an era when the majority population, and its traditional dominance over politics, started to be questioned, especially in terms of civil rights. In the 1960s, in short, curriculum studies scholars began to draw attention to the idea that civil rights was a political issue influenced by one's identity, and as it turned out, they reasoned, those who held political power made curriculum decisions. As a result, whoever held political power also held power over the curriculum. Those in political power used their power—knowingly or unknowingly—to have their identity represented in the curriculum. And in reverse, those who did not hold political power—minority and cultural groups of all kinds—held no power to influence the curriculum. Their identities were not represented in the curriculum.

Yet curriculum studies scholars continued to note, despite any minority or cultural group's absence from the curriculum, a message about

their identity, and their power was still being communicated. The message was simple: What matters is represented in the curriculum, and what does not matter is not represented in the curriculum. Since their identities were represented, those who held political power supposedly matter. Since their identities were not represented, those who did not hold political power supposedly did not matter, or so the message communicated. Minority groups, in essence, found themselves underrepresented in the curriculum and their voices (or identities) silenced.

Over the years, as scholars of identity politics began to emerge from all types of minority groups, the political implications of these curriculum messages were exposed. Scholars pointed out that if the field of curriculum studies allowed any one, dominant majority to control (or have power over) the curriculum, then students would receive—because of what the curriculum taught them—only that majority's view of what mattered. Traditionally, the dominant group to have political power over the curriculum, and have their identity represented, was a White, male, heterosexual view.

Under this premise, curriculum studies scholars and civil rights activists began to question the legitimacy of who held the power to make curriculum decisions. They asked the following questions: Who holds the power? Who does not hold the power? Who is represented, and who is not? What are the political implications of having or not having representation in the curriculum? What messages are being sent as a result of having or not having political power in the curriculum? In answering these questions, identity politics

scholars have found that the curriculum should represent all people, not just the majority. Students would benefit from hearing from a diversity of identities and their political leanings, they argued. So scholars of curriculum studies set out to create a different future for students, a future that would embolden educators to make curriculum decisions that attempted to place value on all people and on all voices.

Over the years, curriculum studies then focused on research that considered diverse identity groups. This goal of this research was to expose each identity group's political view and how that view was or was not reflected in the curriculum being taught. If that identity group's political view was not represented in the curriculum, suggestions for how to include that group were offered.

Since the 1960s, then, the social mainstream's reliance on a White, male, heterosexual point of view changed. Curriculum decisions were made diverse identities and diverse political beliefs. Students started to learn about a diverse range of individual identities and why each mattered. Students also started to become more aware of how different identity groups had their own political viewpoints, which were related to their histories and cultural backgrounds.

The underlying goal of identity politics in curriculum studies is to question how socially just or unjust the curriculum may be. And rather than accept a dominant group's hold on the curriculum, scholars of identity politics feel that the curriculum should be questioned and should be socially dynamic and multidimensional, representing as many different identities and their political beliefs as possible. When the curriculum is able to represent various identities, it will then have a more positive, all-inclusive message that benefits all students.

*Katie Monnin*

*See also* Hidden Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum; Null Curriculum

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## *IDEOLOGY AND CURRICULUM*

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Michael Apple's *Ideology and Curriculum* is a foundational text in the new sociology of education and in curriculum studies more broadly. In particular, Apple's *Ideology and Curriculum* interrogates the connections between economic and social reproduction and everyday school life and curricular knowledge. Although considering a range of oppressions, *Ideology and Curriculum* focuses largely on the reproduction of economic inequality. In this regard, Apple's book was one of the earliest and most prominent examples of neo-Marxist curriculum theory in the United States, largely setting the stage for a generation of scholars interrogating the links between social reproduction and the curriculum.

Perhaps the most lasting and enduring contribution of *Ideology and Curriculum* has to do with the interrogation of curricular knowledge. As Apple made clear, curricular knowledge does not stand outside of existing power structures and relationships. That such knowledge typically appears neutral or disinterested only underscores its particular force and power. Drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams, Apple highlights the ways in which ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition work to produce certain forms of legitimate knowledge in school settings. By ideology, Apple refers to the ways distinct political agendas and ideas are linked together to create broader and more cohesive explanatory mechanisms. In *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple focused on the ideological press for new forms of standardized management and control in school life. These ideological forms saturate everyday life in schools, including through the proliferation of legitimate forms of knowledge.

Such ideologies work to maintain what Apple (drawing on Gramsci) called hegemony. As opposed to more coercive forms of social control, hegemony works to legitimate existing forms of power through



the production of common sense. In *Ideology and Curriculum*, Apple discusses the role of the curricula in maintaining existing, hegemonic social relations. For example, he discusses the ways social conflict is elided from existing school life in favor of more seamless narratives of social cohesion. Here, as well, a seemingly neutral scientific curriculum is favored over and above one that engages in social and economic conflicts, including those around social class. For Apple, structural economic inequality is naturalized, made to seem immutable—just the way things are. School knowledge is a key site where this common sense is produced.

School knowledge is also a product of what Apple calls (following Williams) selective tradition. That is to say, the school curriculum reflects only certain kinds of knowledge and not others. When one sees the curricula as selective, Apple demonstrates, one sees it as the product of invested actors, situated in particular social, cultural, and economic contexts. Knowledge does not simply fall from the sky. As Apple argues, when one sees the curricula as selective, one must explore the political implications of knowledge selection and transmission. In years to come, Apple would extend this focus on the so-called official curriculum to explore the range of ways in which the curricula work to benefit certain groups and interests and to marginalize others.

*Ideology and Curriculum* highlighted the ways school life is saturated by hegemonic forces. Although the focus was largely on the curricula, he also stressed the ways teachers, researchers, and other educative agents worked to normalize this technical approach to school life. In particular, he looked at the proliferation of particular, remedializing categories and labels and how the field of education sorts young people by and through categories and labels such as slow learners, under-achievers, and so on. These categories and labels are deployed in the service of technical rationality—used to sort young people by so-called ability to seemingly maximize the school's resources most efficiently. As Apple argues, these categories and labels work as part of a self-perpetuating cycle, perpetrating inequality in the service of seemingly neutral, clinical, or remedializing ends.

This focus on ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition would mark Apple's approach to the field of curriculum studies—one that looked to

explore the connections between the organization and selection of school knowledge and broader social structures. In many respects, Apple offered the U.S. field a more sociological approach to the curricula. Although this approach was the focus of others in the so-called new sociology of education, including Geoff Whitty and Michael Young, these scholars worked primarily out of the United Kingdom and focused largely on social class. Apple was one of the first to bring these concerns to the United States. In focusing on school knowledge as a site of hegemonic control, Apple helped set the stage for a generation of critical pedagogues in the United States—that is, he helped open up a space for educators to contest power through rearticulating everyday school knowledge and practices.

*Ideology and Curriculum* is currently in its third edition. It is part of what Apple calls a trilogy of books, including *Education and Power* and *Teachers and Texts*. Other notable books among his many include *Official Knowledge* and *Educating the "Right" Way*. A retrospective collection, *Ideology, Curriculum, and the New Sociology of Education: Revisiting the Work of Michael Apple*, edited by Lois Weis, Cameron McCarthy, and Greg Dimitriadis, was published in 2006.

Greg Dimitriadis

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Gramscian Thought; Neo-Marxist Research

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## IMMIGRANT AND MINORITY STUDENTS' EXPERIENCE OF CURRICULUM

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The world is becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual. The United Nations Educational,

Scientific, and Cultural Organization reported that more than 6,800 languages including 114 sign languages were in use in 228 countries in 2000. Approximately 185 million people worldwide live outside their countries of birth, up from 80 million three decades ago. The foreign-born population in 2004 represented 23.6% in Australia, 18.8% in New Zealand, 18.0% in Canada, 12.8% in the United States, 12.2% in Sweden, 10.6% in the Netherlands, and 7.8% in Norway. Immigrants, migrants, and their children bring language, cultural, and ethnic diversity to countries, societies, communities, schools, and classrooms.

Immigrant and migrant students strive to learn to speak, to read, and to write in new languages while their families struggle with political suppression, cultural insecurity, and poverty. The linguistic heritage, cultural knowledge, and experience these students, other minority students of color, and their families bring to schools, however, are often ignored or overlooked. Their academic, physical, emotional, and social development challenges associated with economic insecurity or poverty are exacerbated by language barriers, displacement, alienation, exclusion, acculturation processes, and limited access to equal opportunities to learn or to live. The cultural and linguistic diversity and complexity are the curricula immigrant and minority students experience inside and outside schools. To cultivate curricula of creative diversity and harmonious plurality for immigrant and minority students and all other students to reach their highest potential emerges as one of the urgent challenges facing 21st-century curriculum workers.

### Research on Immigrant and Minority Students

Research on immigrant and minority students of color can be found in empirical research, reflective essays, and books on demographics research, immigration patterns and policies, acculturation and enculturation, voluntary and involuntary immigrants, bilingual education, multicultural literacy, and race, gender, and class issues. This work, however, contributes to a theoretical understanding of the sociopolitical and cultural context of education of immigrant and minority students of color. Although there is a wide array of literature on immigrant and minority students of color,

there is less literature focused on their school experiences. There is a need for more research examining ways in which schooling shapes cultural and ethnic identity and a sense of belonging in schools and communities; ways in which achieving academic success is a challenge for these students as they balance affiliation to home cultures and participation in schools and communities; and ways in which academic performance is challenged by differences in expectations, behaviors, and practices between school educators and families of immigrant and minority students.

There is a large body of research literature on the experience of African American students inside and outside schools; a growing body of literature addressing the experiences of Hispanic students, including Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Chicanos, and Latinos/as; and research on Aboriginal, Native American, and Inuit students. There is a developing literature on school experiences of Asian students; some highlight diversity between different Asian groups and within group differences. Research on the experience in schools and communities of specific Asian groups such as Cambodian, Hmong, and Vietnamese is growing. Research on the experience of other groups, however, such as Khmer and Tibetans, is relatively sparse.

Much of the research examining the experiences of minority students in North American schools suggests that we may learn more about the complex ways in which identities are coconstructed and shaped in school contexts by acknowledging the ways in which influences may interact rather than dichotomizing perceptions about schooling and identity among immigrant and minority students. Nancy Smith-Hefner conducted a 30-month ethnographic study of female high school Khmer students and their refugee families in metropolitan Boston using interviews and informal conversations to explore cultural and social-historical influences contributing to the disproportionately high number of female Khmer students dropping out of school. Annette Hemmings, in an ethnographic study of Black student communities at two high schools using interviews and observations, examined the interaction of social class, gender, and other factors within the school communities and found that academically successful Black students adapted their behaviors and

attitudes, effectively altering their sense of identity, in an attempt to be accepted by groups they deemed worthy. Rosalie Rolon-Dow conducted interviews and extensive observations and shadowing of nine 7th-grade, female, second-generation Puerto Rican students from low-income homes and their teachers in their urban middle school as part of a 2-year ethnographic study. She explored how images created by and about the girls shaped their schooling experiences and academic success. Rolon-Dow argued that dichotomizing the sexuality of Puerto Rican female students against their intellectual development obscured the complex ways in which identities are coconstructed.

Despite this growing body of literature focused on ethnic groups, there remains much we do not know about the experience of immigrant students of particular racial and language groups in schools. Eugene E. Garcia stated that Hispanics are often presumed to be uniform across the ethnic group and that there is little appreciation for diversity among individuals within the group. For instance, existing stereotypical images of Puerto Rican girls, Black students, and Asian American students, though different in the academic expectations held of them, were as harmful in that expectations were established for students without taking into consideration personal strengths and weaknesses or diversity within the ethnic group.

Similarly, Stacey Lee found that stereotypical ideas about model-minority Asian students overshadowed differences within the ethnic group and subsequently hindered the ability of teachers to assist Asian students who did not fit the stereotypical image. Even students who performed well academically had their achievement and the effort exerted in order to achieve this success. Clara Park, Lin Goodman, and Lee have found that the absence of their experiences and perspectives in literature stands in stark contrast to their growing presence in schools and societies. Further, these students are perceived as having common experiences, backgrounds, aspirations, and stories. The ethnic and cultural diversity within Asian American ethnic and linguistic groups is often obscured and ignored in mainstream scholarship. Some of these groups are either excluded entirely from studies that focus on people of color or compared with European Americans and other minorities. Min

Zhou and James Gatewood have observed that some Asian American students may be double-marginalized—they do not fit in the mainstream, dominant discourse nor do they fit in marginalized minority discourse.

Theresa Ling Yeh, Don T. Nakanishi, and Tina Yamano Nishida indicate that misinterpretation of similar data has led to the stereotyping of Asian Americans as a group of high-achieving students who possess the skills and knowledge needed to succeed at all levels of education. This perception masks the extensive amount of time and effort expended and overshadows the learning needs of those with limited English and a lack of resources and support. Okhee Lee calls for a better understanding of strengths and limitations of Asian students in academic achievement and social and emotional adjustment. In addition, the model minority myth perpetrates resentment and hostility from members of the majority and other minority groups and has also contributed to crimes being committed against Asians.

### Language, Culture, Identity, and Power

Curriculum is a dynamic interplay between experiences of students, teachers, parents, administrators, policy makers, and other stakeholders; content knowledge and pedagogical premises and practices; and cultural, linguistic, sociopolitical, and geographical milieus. To understand this dynamic interplay of immigrant and minority students' experience of curriculum, we need to draw from multiple theories such as John Dewey's theory of experience, culture, and curriculum; Joseph Schwab's eclectic conception of curriculum; Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin's narrative conception of curriculum; William Schubert's autobiographical reflections and curriculum; William Schubert and William Ayers's teacher or student lore and curriculum; and Geneva Gay and Gloria Ladson-Billings's multicultural-critical multicultural perspectives of curriculum. Immigrant and minority students enter curriculum situations with experiences, cultures, and languages different than their own and encounter places as strange as new countries, communities, and schools.

Language, culture, identity, and power, which often lead to controversies in research, policy, and

practice, are the key terms to explore the diversity and complexity of education of immigrant and minority students' experience of curriculum. Key language issues center on English language learning and heritage language maintenance, English as a second language education and culturally incongruent curriculum, length of time to attain academic English proficiency, and English proficiency and academic achievement. Closely related to language issues are culture issues that include cultural discontinuity between homes, schools, and communities; cultural incompatibility in learning and teaching styles; and race, gender, and class.

Issues of language and culture are at the center of controversy over identity. Key identity issues recognize identity as complex, fluid, and changing over time and place; developed in relationship with peers, teachers, parents, and grandparents; shaped by ethnic groups to which immigrant students belong and societal perceptions of specific ethnic groups; and impacted by sociopolitical and cultural contexts. The term *power* overarches and permeates research on language, culture, and identity. Research on power issues includes the marginalization and disempowerment of minorities, racism, poverty, educational inequalities, and critical pedagogy.

Language, culture, identity, and power are closely interconnected in immigrant and minority students' experience of curriculum inside and outside schools. For instance, research indicates that heritage language maintenance and bilingual education support English language acquisition that helps develop self-esteem and contributes to school success. To learn English in order to be accepted by their English-speaking peers, North American-born children of immigrants in Sandra Kouritzin's study later regretted their limited ability to speak their heritage languages. Those who abandoned their heritage languages to overcome initial exclusion from North American peer groups due to their inability to speak English later felt excluded from their ethnic communities due to their inability to communicate in their heritage languages. Their English and heritage language proficiencies shaped their sense of identity and belonging in their ethnic communities and North American society.

Acknowledgment and inclusion of diverse cultures and languages in school contexts are central to promoting immigrant students' school success.

In a critical ethnographic study on the literacy development of immigrant children in her own classroom, Cristina Igoa found that the inclusion of home languages and cultures in classroom activities and lessons had positive effects on students' sense of belonging in their new U.S. classrooms and their sense of identity as members of a U.S. school community and an ethnic community. Igoa argues that cultural resources children of diverse backgrounds bring into classrooms contribute to their social and academic development rather than being detrimental to their academic success and adjustment to school life.

Lily Wong-Fillmore's work also addresses the detrimental effects of heritage language loss on families and ethnic minority communities when parents, who are not fluent in English, lose the ability to communicate with, guide, and teach their children. Wong-Fillmore examined the role of schools in contributing to the heritage language loss of children of immigrant and minority families. She found that some children in her study had teachers who advised parents to speak to them in English rather than in their home languages, even when parents were not proficient in English. She highlighted the important role of educators in preventing heritage language loss by supporting its maintenance. Jim Cummins strongly advocates for the inclusion of ethnic cultures and languages in the classroom. He argues that heritage language proficiency is a distinct advantage as knowledge of language structures and components in the heritage language may be transferred to enhance the acquisition of English. This phenomenon, referred to as the linguistic interdependence principle, provides evidence against practices of encouraging ethnic minorities to abandon heritage languages in favor of English only.

Other research demonstrates that immigrant and minority students are more likely to succeed in school settings when they are not alienated from their cultural values. The lack of acknowledgment for home cultures was also identified as contributing to the high dropout rate among Latino/a students in Virginia Zanger's study of the schooling experience of academically successful and unsuccessful Latino/a high school students. Martha Hertzberg, in her study of Mexican and Latino/a students, found that a nurturing school setting with culturally flexible teaching that validated



linguistic and cultural diversity contributed to the educational success of immigrant students.

Cummins emphasizes the role of language and culture at school and home in shaping immigrant students' identities. In his work, language, culture, identity, and power are intertwined. Immigrant and minority students felt that they did not have a sense of belonging when their heritage languages and cultures were not acknowledged in schools, more specifically, not incorporated in regular classroom activities. The academic success and subsequent career success of immigrant and minority students were jeopardized when the curriculum did not draw on the linguistic and cultural knowledge they brought to school. Incorporating immigrant students' linguistic and cultural knowledge in school curriculum creates an empowering school environment where immigrant students have a sense of belonging, feel proud of their heritage languages and cultures, and experience learning situations in which they are able to succeed. Language, culture, identity, and power, which are deeply embedded and interconnected in life, are the curricula immigrant and minority students experience in schools, families, and communities.

Immigrant and minority students encounter many challenges: unresponsive teachers who are ignorant about or disinterested in students' experience of language, culture, identity, and power; disempowering curricula that negate or as Angela Valenzuela stated, subtract their experience; identities derived from generalizations and stereotypes imposed by societies, schools, and peers; and disempowered or marginalized parents, as those portrayed in Chris Carger's work, in spite of their best intentions and strong desire for their children to succeed, due to incongruity between educational expectations in their home cultures and their new school cultures and difficulties in expressing knowledge due to differences in language, class, and education systems.

### A Curriculum of Shared Interests

Drawing from their research on immigrant and minority students' experience of curriculum, Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Elaine Chan have found that there is a demand for a curriculum of shared interests where all members of the school community and policy-making milieu

have common concerns. Families connect their concerns about the education of their children with those of the larger society. Schools share their interests in educating immigrant students with families and communities. Individuals have equal opportunities, as Dewey stated, to take and receive from others and to have free interchange of varying modes of life experience, and they are willing to adjust their interests to the interests of others in the larger society. In such a curriculum of shared interests, teachers recognize contributions of ethnically and linguistically diverse students and develop cultural and pedagogical competence to enrich the curriculum for all. Students are encouraged to value their cultural and linguistic heritages, respect and accept differences, critically examine their positions in local and global communities, and perceive themselves as agents of positive curriculum change. Policy makers and administrators learn the nuances of immigrant and minority students' experience of curriculum; value the knowledge held by teachers, students, parents, and other curriculum stakeholders; and incorporate this knowledge into policy-making. Families and communities share responsibility with schools and government organizations to create a school environment that is equitable, safe, caring, and inspiring. This milieu cultivates a curriculum of shared interests that commits to a high level of achievement, not just for immigrant and minority students, but for all. Such a milieu could be expanded to a global human condition that encourages inclusion and participation of all citizens; guarantees respect, innovation, interaction, cohesion, justice, and peace; and flourishes with cultural, linguistic, intellectual, and ecological diversity and complexity—the common heritage of humanity.

*Ming Fang He*

*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Identities; Cultural Literacies; Diversity; Diversity Pedagogy; Ethnicity Research; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Hybridity; Latino/a Research Issues; Multicultural Curriculum

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## INCLUSION

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Inclusion represents a philosophical and administrative-curricular practice that places students with special needs in the general educational setting of the school as opposed to placing students in a self-contained classroom. Two central questions in curriculum studies have long been associated with the concept of inclusion: For whom are we designing school curricula and toward what ends? The movement for inclusive schools, classrooms, and practices brings these questions into sharp relief. To understand the inclusive schools movement, it is helpful to first examine the long history of exclusion that characterizes much of the history of schooling. Schools and school curricula have often acted as what Joel Spring calls sorting machines, and nowhere is this more evident than in the exclusion of students with disabilities from formal public schooling or in the subsequent creation of segregated, self-contained special education schools and classrooms. In these special education classrooms, students with similar educational needs are grouped together and educated separately from their typically developing peers.

In the United States, special education was codified by Public Law 94-142 in 1975 and guaranteed every child with a disability access to a free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment. Thus, in the 1970s, schools were required to place children with disabilities in the mainstream of public education as long as the student could be successful in these general education settings. This frequently meant that students attended nonacademic subjects with their typically developing peers or were mainstreamed for subjects such as art and music. Not satisfied with either separate education or this partial access, parents and people with disabilities began to push for full inclusion of all students with disabilities into general education settings,

with special education supports and services provided in the general education setting.

However, the distinction between inclusive schooling and special education is less a question of delivery of services model and more a matter of paradigm and orientation—that is, self-contained special education is based on a medical model of disability that attempts to diagnose the student's underlying problem, produce the correct label for the person (such as learning disabled, autistic, developmentally disabled), and then make an individual plan to remediate the problems. Inclusive schooling, however, emerges from a social model of disability that asserts that the category of normal—as in free from difference—is suspect. Impairment is not denied (e.g., paralysis is real), but its complications stem mostly from socially constructed barriers and attitudes. Disability can give rise to particular subject positions that inform one's identity and perspective. Thus, disability is an aspect of a person's identity, not all encompassing, but one part along with race, ethnicity, class, gender, socioeconomic status, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, and countless other ways people are both different from and the same as one another.

In the United States, inclusive education emerged out of the separate bureaucratic structures of the special education system and has focused primarily on issues of access to the general curriculum (first in terms of physical proximity or placement in general education classrooms and subsequently in terms of meaningful participation in general education curriculum) for students with labeled disabilities. However, a broader, worldwide movement toward inclusive schooling has drawn upon both curriculum studies and disability studies frameworks to inform emerging understandings of inclusive education as necessarily involving active and deliberate transformation of schooling as a whole (in closer alignment with United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's usage of the term). In this broader context, inclusive education seeks to resist and redress the many ways in which students experience marginalization and exclusion in schools. Inclusive teaching and schooling work to actively resist and dismantle the many sociocultural, institutional, bureaucratic, and interpersonal ways in which students and their families experience marginalization and

exclusion in schools (e.g., on the basis of race, ethnicity, social class, dis/ability, gender, nationality, sexuality, language, religious [non]affiliation, etc.). This usage of the term inclusive education does not trace its discursive lineage directly from special education; rather, it emerges from a variety of broader policy and reform agendas, including a variety of traditions of anti-bias and democratic curricula.

*Celia Oyler and Alicia Broderick*

*See also* Eugenics; Marginalization; Special Education: Case Law; Special Education Curriculum; Special Education Curriculum, History of

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## INDIGENOUS LEARNER

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Indigenous learners are members of sovereign nations, speakers of heritage languages, and members of diverse cultural groups. Indigenous learners include Australian aborigines, New Zealand Māoris, American Indians, and Alaska Natives as well as members of nearly 5,000 different indigenous groups from around the world. The field of curriculum studies recognizes indigenous learners as culturally and politically situated members of sovereign nations and diverse culture groups. Curriculum studies explores the relationship between school programs and the society and culture in which the school is located. Although the majority of these nearly 6 million indigenous peoples retain languages, social customs, economies, and spiritual beliefs and although individual indigenous learners demonstrate preferred learning styles, there is no single adequate description

of the indigenous learner and no one way of describing classroom interactions with indigenous learners in terms of learning styles, cultural values, and teaching styles.

American Indians and Alaska Natives make up only 1% of the total U.S. population. They account for 50% of the different languages spoken in the United States. Although American Indian students enter kindergarten with significantly lower reading, mathematics, and general knowledge achievement scores than their mainstream peers, there is evidence that these indigenous learners learn best when they see their culture, language, and experience reflected in the curriculum. Native American children who learn their heritage language in the classroom learn English at about the same rate as their peers who are not enrolled in an indigenous language immersion program.

American Indians have a unique status as sovereign nations within a nation. The treaty rights guaranteed to American Indians in Article II of the U.S. Constitution are the foundation for federally operated schools that serve American Indian students. The majority of American Indian students, 624,000, attend public schools in urban settings or on Indian reservations. The Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) operates 184 schools on 63 reservations representing 238 tribes. The BIE is one of only two educational systems administered directly by the U.S. government and the only federal educational system in the continental United States. BIE schools include boarding schools, high schools, border town dormitories, reservation dormitories, and day schools. Indigenous learners also attend tribal contract or grant schools that are managed by a local school board in accordance with the 1988 Indian Self Determination Act and the Tribally Controlled Schools Act. They may also attend public schools that receive federal impact aid funds as well as state tax revenue funds. There are also 35 tribal colleges that serve adult learners on or near Indian reservations.

The history of formal education for the indigenous peoples of the Pacific—New Zealand, Australia, and Hawai'i—parallels the history of education of the American Indian. In New Zealand, the Native Schools Act of 1887 made English part of all government schools. In Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language was banned in public and private schools between 1886 and 1986. In Canada,

the Indian Education Act of 1876 began a policy of forced assimilation and separation from their families for indigenous learners. In the United States, in 1868, the Indian Peace Commission advocated the eradication of indigenous languages and the substitution of the English language. In each setting, efforts to revitalize the indigenous language come from an understanding of the history of formal education in colonial times as well as an understanding of the indigenous learner. Without this understanding of the history of education, indigenous learners are often faced with cultural replication models of schooling that lead to a false assumption that they must act White in order to achieve academic success.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights guarantees parents the right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. The rights of indigenous learners are further guaranteed by the 1992 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities that mandates that states protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, or religious and ethnic identity of minorities within their respective territories and that states encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.

In New Zealand, in the 1980s, the effort to reverse language shift began in the early childhood setting with the institution of the *kohanga reo* (language nests), a full immersion program for preschool indigenous learners. Today 14% of the Māori population speaks the Māori language well or very well. In 1983, Hawaiian educators founded the Punana Leo preschools that provided full-day, year-round Hawaiian-language preschools. In Canada, in the community of Cold Lake, Alberta, projects to reverse language shift include full immersion day care and full immersion Canadian Head Start programs. In the United States, Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Nation, which opened on July 27, 1966, was the first school to be governed by an all-Indian, locally elected school board. The Rough Rock school focused on community development as on a culturally relevant curriculum. Each of these exemplary programs—the Māori Immersion Program; the Hawaiian Immersion Program; the Cold Lake Alberta, Immersion Day Care; and the Rough Rock Demonstration School—meets the needs of

the indigenous learner through the recognition and use of the native language, a curriculum and pedagogy based on traditional culture, teaching strategies based on traditional ways of knowing, a strong native community participation in education, and an understanding of the political processes in the community.

Indigenous learners bring cultural and linguistic diversity to U.S. classrooms. The languages and cultures of American Indians and Alaska Natives are unique, and the history of the education of indigenous learners is a foundation for understanding U.S. history and for understanding the issues that limit academic achievement for all rural minority students.

The curriculum that meets the needs of indigenous learners includes hands-on learning, student choice, support from the indigenous language and culture, and an understanding of the contributions of American Indians to U.S. society. In the classroom, indigenous learners seek a balance between themselves and their communities. The indigenous learner often demonstrates learning styles that are holistic, visual, and cooperative. The indigenous learner learns by observing and by working as an apprentice to more proficient peers. A culturally responsive curriculum prepares indigenous learners for later academic success as well as for citizenship in local, tribal, and global communities.

Louise Lockard

*See also* Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Identities; Indigenous Research; Learning Theories; Multicultural Curriculum

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## INDIGENOUS RESEARCH

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Just as curriculum studies encompasses the curriculum as culturally and politically situated, indigenous research is grounded in the social-historical conditions of the indigenous community and in the positionality of the indigenous researcher as a member of the community. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes the work of the indigenous researcher in framing the research question in terms of indigenous politics and cultural action. Whose questions are posed? Whose interests does the research serve? Who will reflect on the significance of the research? Who will share the research? Indigenous research seeks to deconstruct the Eurocentric models of the past and to regain the critical consciousness of the cultural, historical, and linguistic roots of indigenous peoples. Indigenous research regains this critical consciousness through the teachings, stories, and actions of indigenous peoples in their schools and in their communities. The transformative knowledge gained from this fresh view of the curriculum supports quality education for native communities.

### Themes and Knowledge Systems

Indigenous research includes themes in education that are repeated across communities and across educational institutions. These themes include the history of indigenous schooling, the history of formal schooling including organizational structures in schools and governance of schools, school funding and funding for indigenous populations, language shift, language revitalization, curriculum and pedagogy in schools serving indigenous learners and demographic trends in schools serving indigenous learners, student academic achievement, retention, graduation rates and violence in schools, teacher preparation and teacher induction in indigenous communities, and factors the community that support school success.

Indigenous research includes the documentation and articulation of indigenous knowledge systems. This research is based on ethical rights of cultural and intellectual property and the oral tradition that is based on reciprocity, trust, and cultural and linguistic knowledge within the community. Beth Leonard discusses issues of the

ethical use of recordings of her native Deg Xinag language and issues of cultural rights when she questioned speakers of her ancestral language during her research. This articulation of this knowledge system is framed within the oral tradition, a tradition that is a way of sharing stories and sharing reciprocal relations of trust. Through the oral tradition, indigenous knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation. This oral tradition includes the knowledge of elders, knowledge of the environment, knowledge of traditional economies including food preparation, healing, and child rearing skills. Indigenous research strengthens the oral tradition and supports the efforts of indigenous peoples to record cultural and linguistic knowledge. The 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recognizes the rights of indigenous peoples to develop their intellectual property through traditional knowledge and cultural expression.

### Processes

#### *Narrative*

Indigenous research is undertaken through narrative inquiry. The researcher begins with an unstructured oral interview with a member of the indigenous community. The interview is transcribed, and the transcripts of the interview are given to participants. The transcripts are discussed and become a part of the ongoing record. The indigenous participant researcher builds a sense of the whole from this rich data source that focuses on concrete events in the stories of the participants. As a participant researcher, the indigenous researcher critiques outsider interpretations. The text of the interview challenges and moves the thinking of researcher and the participants beyond their understanding when the dialogue began. Indigenous narrative research explores the institutions of literacy and power in which indigenous teachers work and live. The researcher listens for the unique stories of how teachers learned to value their language and why they continue to teach it. Each teacher understands the history of indigenous language literacy in a different way; each teacher passes this understanding on to his or her students in a different way. These stories are invitations for all teachers to give voice to their histories and memories. An understanding of these beliefs about

how indigenous language will continue in future generations supports the autonomy of teachers and community members to reverse language shift.

### *Participatory*

Greg Cajete further describes indigenous research as participatory research. He writes of Paolo Freire's view of a participatory relationship with the natural, cultural, and historical reality of the community. The process of indigenous research calls for participants to create new meanings and to apply insights gained from their research to their lives. Through this process of indigenous research, teachers become agents of change in their schools and their communities as they understand their current condition and as they change these institutions from within.

### *Ways of Knowing*

Indigenous research includes the study of learning processes associated with indigenous ways of knowing as well as with the customs, language, and cultural values of the community. In Chinle, a community on the Navajo Nation in Arizona where there are no sidewalks or milepost markers, students measure the distance to school in terms of fenceposts or landmarks. Indigenous research includes the study of learning style preferences that may be visual or holistic. Indigenous research describes how the indigenous learner observes, then practices a new skill with the support of a more proficient mentor. Indigenous research includes the study of ethno-science, the theories and procedures for learning about the physical world that have evolved within cultures and that explain and predict natural phenomena. Indigenous research includes the study of ethnomathematics that explores the mathematical ideas that have evolved within cultures. For example, when students in Chinle who have learned traditional string games explore the concept of axial symmetry in geometry through reversing the steps in creating string figure, they demonstrate mathematical skills through their traditional cultural knowledge.

Indigenous research includes the process of developing and assessing educational strategies integrating indigenous and Western ways of knowing. These strategies include both classroom

interactions and groupings as well as teaching strategies; indigenous research explores how students connect prior knowledge to new academic knowledge, how students solve problems, and how students learn and retain new academic content knowledge. These strategies are observed and analyzed within the sociocultural context of the school, the family, and the indigenous community.

### **Results and Benefits**

Indigenous research helps members of the community reflect on their knowledge and on the worldview of the community. Indigenous research restores autonomy to the community and describes how knowledge is transmitted across generations. This research answers the questions: Whose knowledge is valued? What knowledge is taught? These questions describe the process of the creation of new transformative knowledge. This research begins with the personal and cultural knowledge of the community and with the research questions of the community. Ray Barnhardt and Oscar Kawagley call for an indigenous research agenda in which researchers respond to requests from the community and collaborate to solve problems. From this research, new transformative knowledge is constructed that can be shared in broader social political contexts. Barnhardt and Kawagley use the example of a story told by an Inupiak elder who described how his father taught him to hunt caribou with a bow and arrow by walking directly into the herd, then slowly imitating a giant bird that attracted the caribou to his waiting bow and arrow. The story illustrated the strong connection between the hunter and his prey; a connection that was no longer necessary when hunters used modern technology—for example, rifles. This story also illustrated the way the indigenous researcher approached the topic of the discussion of ways of privileging indigenous knowledge in the curriculum. This indigenous knowledge is based on a sense of place and on an oral tradition that values the master-apprentice model of teaching in authentic settings.

Indigenous research provides a fresh view of the process of knowledge construction. One example of this circular perspective is the Diné education philosophy. The Diné education philosophy is a transformative knowledge contraction process.

The first stage is thinking Nitsáhakees. At this stage the researcher begins with an awareness of the process of critical investigation. The direction of this stage is the east. The direction of the next stage in research is the south: Nahat'á (i.e., planning). At this stage the researcher identifies resources and sources for investigation. The third stage is the west: Líná (i.e., life). At this stage the researcher applies ideas and gains new information. The fourth stage is the north: Siíhasin (i.e., stability). At this stage the researcher evaluates and assesses his or her satisfaction with the research and prepares to formulate new research questions. This framework is used in research to connect personal and cultural knowledge, stories, experiences, and social interactions.

Indigenous research returns to the community as both the sociohistorical foundation for new research and new indigenous knowledge and as the audience for sharing this knowledge for purposes of social justice within the community. The researcher views the community from a fresh vantage point, from the perspective of those who hold knowledge. The researcher describes how this knowledge is transmitted in learning communities that include schools, clans, recreational organizations, agricultural units, or religious institutions. Marie Battiste proposes that indigenous research provides insights that transcend Eurocentric theory and that valorizes the resilience and self-reliance of indigenous schools and communities.

K. Tsianina Loawaima and Teresa L. McCarty describe the historical perspective of indigenous research as a contest among sovereignties: the right of a people to self-government, self-determination, and self-education. This historical research includes discussions of linguistic and cultural rights and social reproduction produced by an entrenched federal bureaucracy. Their research questions which aspects of Indian education are safe enough to be included in the curriculum and which are seen as in need of assimilation. Indigenous research in the history of education documents research on American Indian places of difference within the history of U.S. education. Rough Rock Demonstration School, which opened in 1966, was the first school to be governed by an all-Indian locally elected board. The school was regarded not just as a place for educating Indian children, but as the focus for development of the local community. At

Rough Rock there was an emphasis on community control of the school. In the classroom, students were exposed to a bilingual-bicultural curriculum. The curriculum was developed to instill in the students a sense of pride in being Indian and to show them that they could take the best of each way of life and combine them into something visible. In 1983, Rough Rock Demonstration School adopted a new bilingual-bicultural curriculum based on the an inquiry-based social studies curriculum that followed a spiraling sequence of culturally relevant topics beginning with the Navajo concept of *ke'e* (i.e., kinship). The Rough Rock Demonstration School thus provided a model for contract schools that were locally controlled and that became centers for the development and dissemination of Navajo language curriculum materials. Indigenous researchers explore this history to understand how schools can be repositioned as agents of change in the revitalization of indigenous languages and cultures. Indigenous research describes the forces of standardization in schools serving indigenous learners that stratify, segregate, and limit equality of opportunity in indigenous communities.

### Role of the Researcher and the Indigenous Community

The indigenous researcher has a responsibility to the community that includes a responsibility to return conclusions to the community and to synthesize these conclusions with ongoing curriculum and pedagogy to restructure the school to put this new transformative knowledge into practice. This knowledge is based on the premises that education is best when it reflects a sense of place, that education should be based on the philosophy and values of those being educated, and that indigenous research should reflect the perspective on education of the community. Robert Yazzie recounts his own experience of returning to the Navajo reservation to make changes based on his Eurocentric education. Yazzie found that his position of authority in the community where he sought transformation required that he relearn his language and return to the traditions of his community. Mary Hermes writes of returning to the Lac Coudre Ojibwe reservation to create a culture-based curriculum in a tribal school. Her research brought

together the perspectives of community members, her personal experiences and narratives as a teacher, and her experiences as a researcher and as a doctoral student around the research question of the meaning of school in her community. Hermes was a community member first and a researcher second. For Hermes, indigenous research became a recursive process situated within the classroom and the community. Jessica Ball demonstrates that a generative curriculum model supports the indigenous community and controls the teaching of young children within the school and the community. In Ball's research in First Nations communities in Canada, Cree teachers learned to use their voice as indigenous peoples, to evaluate Western ideas, and to create models to promote the cultural and linguistic identities of their children.

Graham Smith calls for indigenous research to adopt a transformative process for the protection and respect of indigenous knowledge. He calls for indigenous people to engage in naming the world in a way that claims responsibility for sites of possibility and change in indigenous communities. He calls for indigenous researchers to take action that meets the needs and aspirations of indigenous teachers and community members. He calls for indigenous researchers to reclaim their own lives through the process of participant research: to take control of their own destinies. Smith calls for indigenous researchers to resist an uncritical focus on Eurocentric positivistic science and to include the study of ethnohistory and ethnomathematics in the curriculum.

Indigenous research is not exploited, oppressed, or subordinate. Indigenous peoples may be in the numerical minority, yet their history and culture are resources that enrich all curriculum. Indigenous research must critique the romantic and the over-generalized and develop transformative outcomes for the indigenous communities in which research is conducted. Indigenous research is accountable to both the academy and to the indigenous community.

Indigenous communities must examine their own skepticism toward research and educational theory and continue to develop an interface between indigenous knowledge and practice in the classroom that serves indigenous learners. Indigenous research must work to transform the community. This research is based on indigenous values that

recognize the collective solidarity of family, clan, and culture. Indigenous research is based on values and practices that transform the relations of power and ideology within the institution of the school. Indigenous research is based on the values of social justice in indigenous communities.

Indigenous research is positioned within the local indigenous community and shares this local knowledge with other indigenous researchers in other communities as a process of researching back. This researching back, the critical consciousness of the cultural and historical roots of indigenous peoples as understood and expressed by them, is the foundation for the cultural emancipation of indigenous peoples.

Louise Lockard

See also Colonization Theory; Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy; Indigenous Learner; Narrative Research

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## INDIVIDUALIZED EDUCATION— CURRICULUM PROGRAMS

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Within the field of curriculum studies, individualized education programs has a meaning different from mainstream uses of the term *individualized education programs* (IEP). In the United States, an IEP is a specific written statement for every student with disabilities that is produced, reviewed, and consequently revised within under the purview of the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). However, because individuality and the importance of students-as-individuals are paramount American values, there are a multiplicity of connections between curriculum, programs, and the individuals who are their intended audience.

The individual needs of students is therefore a fairly wide and far-reaching category. Curricular programs designed in response to students' individualized educational needs lie at the heart of a central tension in curriculum studies: how to provide all students with an equal education while simultaneously tailoring curricular contexts to individual student's social, academic, and emotional needs. As such, these diverse and occasionally disparate perspectives can be examined as questions of curriculum differentiation: how do curricular programs respond to students' individualized educational needs?

On its surface, individualized education corresponds to singular person's educational needs. However, individual student's particular racial, gender, class, or other such attributes can become the focus of a particular local policy or pedagogical

practice. For example, in many large school districts where students speak a language other than English at home or in their communities, there are educational programs designed to assess individual student's current fluency in English and to measure their progress toward a native speaker's level of grade-appropriate fluency. The possibilities for an unintentional or intentional disabling of nonmainstream students by language is a well-traveled road represented by such strong scholarship as by Lisa Deplit and Joanne Kilgour-Dowdy, Shirley Brice Heath, and Katherine Au. Their works share an understanding of how sociocultural aspects of individuals such as language (or race, class, gender, sexual orientation) can be retooled as individual deficits.

Similarly, there is a body of literature that illustrates how the particularized attention given to individuals with perceived disabilities has a tendency toward self-fulfilling prophecy that reifies students' disabled status in the course of providing the individualized programs students require. Harlan Lane's discussion of schooling and deaf students in *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community* and Harve Varenne and Ray McDermott's presentation of how children acquire a learning disability in *Successful Failure: The Schools America Builds* are examples of such scholarship. Varenne and McDermott's argument that academic differences are recast as disability and disability is located not within the child, but outside of him or her in the educational definitions and systems that contextualize a child's schooling is particularly germane to this discussion.

Finally, there is yet another body of literature that addresses formalized curricular differentiation at the school and district level. In order to meet student's individualized educational needs, schools regularly offer different levels of academic content to the same-aged students. Work by scholars such as by Jeannie Oakes documents how difference as deficit can negatively impact the curriculum and pedagogy students receive in an effort to provide them with the academic content thought to suit their particular needs. While confirming these tendencies, Reba N. Page and Linda Valli have complicated this curricular conversation. Their work empirically documents how curricular differentiation can, but does not always

negatively impact students perceived to be less academically capable and how students who might be considered capable in one context are seen as less than adequate in another.

Individualized education lies at the heart of much of curriculum studies. As briefly documented in this entry, efforts to individualize education through various curricular programs can also serve to differentiate children, negatively impacting traditionally marginalized student populations including, but not exclusive to those who would receive IEPs under the IDEA.

*Walter S. Gershon*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs; Special Education Curriculum

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## INDOCTRINATION

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Indoctrination represents a classic dilemma in the field of curriculum studies and raises the issue of whether all acts of teaching impose content, perspective, or values. In essence, indoctrination refers to both a normative belief that teachers should impose good values on students and an empirical belief that schools do in fact impose values on students. The term, however, took on specific historical significance as an ideological stance for educators from the early-to-mid 20th century who maintained that schools should serve as a tool for the reconstruction of society and should engage in the indoctrination of students.

Concerns of indoctrination have more recently justified the importance of examining programs of study to ascertain the reproduction of knowledge, social control, and the hidden curriculum.

Viewed at the most fundamental level, the selection of content for any program of study may be seen implicitly or explicitly as a gesture of indoctrination in either a benevolent sense or as an act of oppression. Such perspectives have created a contested conception of the purposes and mission of education, curriculum design, and curriculum development. Indoctrination became an idiosyncratic professional term due to a 1932 Progressive Education Association (PEA) conference presentation by George S. Counts. In “Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive,” Counts challenged educators to use schools as a means to openly indoctrinate a positive social vision and to combat negative forces of society by indoctrinating students against indoctrination. This presentation along with two other speeches by Counts was published in 1932 under the title *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* ushering in a social reconstructionist perspective within the PEA. The topic became most problematic when designing progressive education curricula since educators questioned whether the teaching of democratic values represented a form of indoctrination. Yet to not endorse the fostering of democracy as a purpose of schooling indicated an inability to define an adequate social philosophy sufficient for guiding action and determining the curriculum.

Indoctrination took form of “the imposition controversy” when Boyd H. Bode and John Childs published an exchange of articles in the *Social Frontier* between 1935 and 1938. Childs (expanding Counts’s social reconstructionist position) called upon educators to develop curricula with distinct social ends. Bode maintained, however, if such social ends were predetermined and the schools became the means for their implementation, this was a form of dogmatism and authoritarianism, anathema to democracy. The spirit of free inquiry and democracy could not be embraced by schools if social ends had already been determined. Childs countered by acknowledging the fundamental biases inherent in all school settings and viewed education as implicitly and necessarily partisan. Values were already being imposed in the

educational system, Childs maintained, and teachers were irresponsible if they did not examine and then emphasize more appropriate values. Bode objected, asserting that any imposition of values represented an abomination to democracy; he asked educators to trust democracy by maintaining faith in the general sensibilities of the common person. Bode's position did not particularly satisfy the many social reconstructionists calling for societal reform, and the ultimate demise of the PEA has been attributed, in part, to differences arising from this issue.

Theodore Brameld later attempted to reconcile the imposition controversy as a component of an educational reconstructionist position. While objecting to indoctrination, he believed teachers should be willing to discuss ideology in the classroom. Only through open discourse and the critical examination of ideas could teachers hold beliefs that were also defensible. Brameld proposed the concept of defensible partiality, developed from a Minnesota curriculum project, where ends and means would be regularly critiqued in open discourse, and if able to withstand such criticism, then ideological positions could be openly advocated without rigidity or indoctrination. The discussion and critique of ideas became, for Brameld, a commonplace and mandatory activity of schooling in order to establish defensible partiality. Yet neither did defensible partiality resolve the dilemma, and educators continue to struggle with issues of indoctrination and the implicit and explicit imposition of content, perspective, and values in the curriculum.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also* Cultural Production/Reproduction; Hidden Curriculum; Reconstructionism; Social Reconstructionism

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## INFORMAL CURRICULUM

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There are multiple perspectives in the field of curriculum studies regarding definitions of curriculum. This variation is particularly the case when curriculum is qualified with a descriptor. In the case of the term *informal curriculum*, the usage also varies although most commonly it is contrasted to that of formal curriculum. The formal curriculum is the material and content explicitly taught in schools. This curriculum is inclusive of state guidelines and the accompanying material to be disseminated from a teacher to students in classrooms. The teaching associated with the formal curriculum is generally guided by scope and sequence that drive lesson planning. Often instruction for pupils in classrooms is based on what educational governing bodies in individual states have determined should be taught in individual grade levels. When curriculum falls outside of the prescriptive, planned teaching and learning of the formal curriculum, it can be considered part of the informal curriculum. Differing meanings of informal curriculum can be grouped into several categories: the unofficial learning occurring in schools, extracurricular activities happening in school settings, and curricula happening outside of school.

The tremendous amount of information learned in schools that does not occur through explicit instruction is a component of the informal curriculum. This learning is not planned or agreed upon by teachers or governing education bodies; it is perceived as unofficial. The informal curriculum in this context is not orchestrated because it focuses on the spaces that happen in between delivery or structure associated with the formal curriculum. This view of informal curriculum directly results from decisions made in determining the formal curriculum. For instance, different school subject areas given more time and provided with more resources informs without the explicit objective of doing so. The values associated with different types of learning can be viewed as an informal curriculum since those in schools gain understanding or draw meaning as a result. Further, the importance of specific content and the way the formal curriculum is taught becomes a dimension of informal curriculum. How teachers view students in respect to what is being taught, coupled with

teachers' ideological frameworks, become integral components of informal curriculum.

Although this curriculum is ungraded, students' school experiences are greatly affected by it. Lesson plans associated with formal curricula scope and sequence are absent in the informal curriculum. Class schedules, available resources, or inclusion-exclusion of viewpoints contribute to this unplanned learning. The informal curriculum includes ability grouping based on perceived aptitude since it places value on who should learn, what they should learn, and how they may be able to learn. Inevitably, school culture including expectations and roles of teachers, students, administrators, parents, and the community all are part of informal curriculum. For instance, are students allowed to use restrooms on their own? Do children march down hallways single file? Are some subjects favored over others by giving more time to them? Are some subjects not taught at all? Does testing drive content in the classrooms or is it based on student interests? These elements of the curriculum teach without the intentions scripted through formal instruction.

Because of the nature of learning outside of the formal curriculum, a related usage of informal curriculum is related to extracurricular activities. *Extracurricular* infers that the activities are not related to or are over and above the formal curriculum. Some informal curriculum activities are associated with voluntary time spent in schools including lunchtime, afterschool programs, team sports, and clubs. Many curriculum scholars contend these should not be seen as separate entities of formal curricula because they play important roles in what happens to students in school and the resultant learning that occurs.

Yet another viewpoint of informal curriculum has to do with the learning happening absent from the confines of school altogether. Transcending school structures, learning occurring in these spaces is also informal. Sometimes called the outside or out-of-school curriculum, this kind of learning occurs both regularly and irregularly throughout one's life. These learning experiences associated with the informal curriculum occur in neighborhoods, communities, and the family. In this sense, the curriculum incorporates what happens through popular culture, commercialized spaces, the Internet, museums, parks, peer groups,

social events, and civic engagement because resultant learning happens, albeit largely unrecognized in school settings.

Brian D. Schultz

*See also* Formal Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; Official Curriculum; Outside Curriculum

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## INSTITUTIONALIZED TEXT PERSPECTIVES

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Institutionalized text perspectives can be understood as an answer to the following question: What does institutionalized text mean and for whom do such meanings count? The answers to this question are highly dependent upon how one defines text. In curriculum studies, constructions of text in general and of institutionalized text in specific most often fall under two overarching categories. On one hand are those scholars such as Suzanne deCastell, Michael W. Apple, and Linda Christian-Smith whose work has focused on critical examinations of textbooks used by teachers and students in classrooms. On the other are scholars such as William F. Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman's *Understanding Curriculum*, a work that is organized according to how curriculum scholars read sociocultural interactions, tendencies, and implicit norms and values as text. However, whether institutionalized text is understood as (a) the textbooks that are written and approved by institutions or (b) the ways in which sociocultural precepts—race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and perceived ability, for example—can be critically examined in a fashion similar to a written text, the tendency in curriculum studies is the careful,



discerning examination of how, for whom, and to what possible ends such texts are constructed.

Although there are other possible constructions of institutionalization that fall under the umbrella of curriculum studies, use of the term institutionalized in the field of curriculum more often refers to the scholar's work that ascribes to the following characteristics. This work critically examines the role of schools in relation to society; the ways that dominant norms and values inform schools, classrooms, teachers, and students; how schools as institutions of the state promulgate these views; and the ideas and ideals of those in power of a given nation-state.

In light of the above understandings, this entry is organized into two overarching halves. The first half addresses institutionalized text perspectives as they relate to the written word, focusing on textbooks, their content, and usage. The second considers institutionalized text as the ways in which scholars have critically explored the relationships between school actors and the institutionalizing nature of schooling. Although institutionalism in curriculum studies most often refers to social reproduction, enforcement, and the legitimization of sociocultural norms and values, both sections address questions of text according to this perspective.

### Textbooks as Institutionalized Texts

The consideration of textbooks as institutionalized texts can be understood as a Venn diagram sharing concepts with at least two other entries in this encyclopedia: official knowledge and formal curriculum. This entry focuses on work that highlights the institutionalizing nature of textbooks. As with all aspects of curriculum, textbooks are inherently both academic and social. The knowledge presented in textbooks is not the content on a given topic, idea, or ideal, but one construction among myriad possibilities for expressing knowledge. In an academic year, there are limitations of time, a multitude of ideas surrounding a given concept or construct that need to be presented, and an equally large number of possible contexts that influence and are influenced by a particular concept or construct. That textbooks focus on a given set of knowledge in a particular order and fashion is both a theoretical and a practical necessity.

The ways in which textbooks are organized, the content they convey, and the kinds of teaching that their organization and content engender reflect not only what counts as knowledge in a given society, but also what information about students and their relationships to others is communicated. As embodiments of purposefully compiled state- and district-sanctioned knowledge to be delivered to students in schools, textbooks are literal incarnations of institutionalized (state, local governmental agencies, schools) texts.

Textbooks therefore serve as sociocultural curricular tools for passing on specific sets of knowledge to successive generations and as a means to socialize students to a given society or culture's norms and values. The concern that many curriculum scholars have with textbooks lies in the ways that explicit and often implicit messages textbooks contain have a history of reifying dominant sociocultural norms and values. This reproduction of particular understandings has a strong tendency to reproduce existing sociocultural stratifications. Generally speaking, the closer one is to a given society's norm—often expressed as a common-sense notion of what teachers, students, or curriculum look like and how they should function in a given context—the greater the likelihood that one will find that the knowledge in textbooks makes sense. Similarly, the closer one is to a dominant group's norms and values, the greater the likelihood students will see themselves represented in the content that their culture and society have deemed important enough to select for inclusion in such texts.

This curricular tendency is problematic in that it serves to remarginalize traditionally marginalized populations of society while reaffirming non-marginalized population's dominant status. In the context of the United States, this reaffirmation usually means that the farther one is from an implicit (or explicit) White, male, middle-class, English-speaking, able-bodied, Christian, heterosexual norm, the greater the chance that one's ways of knowing or being will be marginalized in textbooks. The silencing of voices, ideas, and ideals is a common theme in this literature. For example, preservice secondary teachers often can name five White male scientists yet have a great difficulty naming one female scientist other than Marie Curie and any non-White female scientist.

However, implicit sociocultural messages in textbooks are not problematic just because such messages can result in the silencing of knowledge or voices. Textbooks also contain many implicit messages about people's place in society according to a dominant paradigm. Representations of women in traditional women's roles of homemaker, mother, or caretaker with relatively little representation of women in other societal roles are but one example.

To clearly demonstrate that such messages are both present and intentional, I offer the following example of a curricular moment when implicit messages in textbooks are momentarily rendered explicit. This particular instance concerns a picture and caption in a 4th-grade social studies textbook published by a Western state that was utilized statewide. In its original printing, a caption that noted that Hispanic women often work in restaurants, hotels and motels, and housekeeping positions and that Mexican food in the state is popular. In an effort to allay public outcry over this caption, the state and publishers produced a sticker with a new caption to place over the existing offending caption that noted the positive effect Hispanics have had on the state and its economy. However, the picture above the caption of a woman in a restaurant with light skin, dark hair and eyes, wearing a server's outfit replete with a logo for a Mexican restaurant remained. While 4th graders across the state read the more positive, revised caption, they also receive state and publisher's original message about Hispanics' subservient place in society contained in the smiling picture of a Latina who looks quite happy in her literal role as server.

Thus, textbooks are institutionalized texts. Their use as curricular tools for the dissemination of knowledge includes not only their role in the reproduction and reification of dominant sociocultural norms and values, but also their location as incarnations of selected, codified, and officially sanctioned state, district, and school knowledge. However, the majority of conversations in curriculum studies about institutionalized text or the institutionalization of text pertains not to discussions of textbooks, but to how sociocultural norms, values, relationships, and knowledge in schools as institutions can be read as texts.

### Understanding Curriculum as Institutionalized Texts

In their seminal work *Understanding Curriculum*, Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman devote 131 pages of their textbook to "Understanding Curriculum as Institutionalized Text." This large chapter is subdivided into three overarching categories: curriculum development, curriculum and teachers, and curriculum and students, each of which is again categorized into between three and eight categories. Further complicating matters, Pinar and colleagues explicitly present the entire field of curriculum studies as a text and identify their volume as a synoptic text, a text that is designed to convey the complex conversation of the key ideas of a given field in an encyclopedia-like fashion.

Moreover, each chapter in their nearly 900-page textbook (excluding one of the most comprehensive reference lists ever compiled in the field of curriculum studies) is constructed as a text such as "Understanding Curriculum as Gender Text" or "Understanding Curriculum as Racial Text." Nearly all of these chapters also address the relationship between a given topic such as gender, race, or aesthetics and how schools function as institutions. Considered in toto, *Understanding Curriculum* suggests that the field of curriculum studies is in many ways often an examination, recapitulation, resistance, or rejection of schooling—how schools function as social institutions.

In addition to this longstanding tradition, there is also a history in curriculum studies of scholars whose work seeks to demonstrate the institutional nature of schooling. Such work tends to fall into one of two categories: scholars whose examinations of schools note the parallels between schools and other institutions and scholars who utilize previous analysis of other institutions to describe particular aspects of the daily life of schools. Peter Jackson's now-classic *Life in Classrooms* is an example of the former category. In it, he reminds the reader of the compulsory nature of schooling and its similarities to other institutions available to children, namely jails and mental institutions. Two other examples of such work are (1) George Willis's discussion of the ways that schooling reproduces social class so that working-class students become the next generation of factory workers in his

equally seminal work *Learning to Labour* and (2) Jean Anyon's depiction of how working-class students are given working-class skills while upper-class students are provided an education more geared toward managerial positions in her often-cited *Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work*.

Aspects of Douglas E. Foley's work *Learning Capitalist Culture: Deep in the Heart of Tejas* and Reba N. Page's *Lower Track Classrooms: A Curricular and Cultural Perspective* are two strong examples of the latter tendency in demonstrating the institutional nature of schools. In Foley's work, Foley borrows Burroway's construct of the making-out-games factory workers play on the factory floor to get out of the monotony of their daily work lives to describe the games students play to derail classroom lessons. Page utilizes the construct of the underlife—a term Turner coined to describe the safe places, spaces, and interactions of the incarcerated that occur outside of yet do not interrupt formal, routinized interactional patterns in asylums—to describe students' classroom interactions.

In addition, with the passing of Goals 2000 and especially after the discussion surrounding and approval of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in 2001, there has been a great deal of attention focused on how federal education policy impacts local curricular decisions and outcomes. Scholars such as Linda McNeil, Deborah Meier, and Angela Valenzuela have critically questioned the ways that NCLB negatively impacts all students in general and traditionally marginalized student populations in particular.

Schools are by their very nature institutional, schools and schooling are integral to curriculum conversations, and there is great depth and breadth of research in the field that relates to schools in ways that can be interpreted as institutionalized text perspectives. Textbooks and their uses are often included in discussions of institutionalized text in general, as is the case in Michael Apple's *Teachers and Text: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*. The following list portrays how the field of curriculum studies approaches textbooks and their uses, yet such accounts as this one are problematic in the ways that they essentialize and marginalize perspectives and remove important nuances.

- Human interactions can be read and critically examined as texts.
- Schools are not neutral sites of dissemination, but are institutional means of enculturation to particular sets of knowledge.
- The kinds of knowledge schools provide are structured in a way that privileges some students and marginalizes others.
- Students who are privileged are likely to be part of the dominant group, and their ways of knowing serve as an implicit norm against which all students are measured, categorizations that are often based on differences from a perceived norm that are read as deficits. Sources for the construction of difference as deficit are included in the recommended readings section.
- In the United States, that norm is White, male, middle class, heterosexual, English speaking, able bodied, and Christian; the fewer of these characteristics a student has, the greater the likelihood that the student's ways of knowing and being will be undervalued.
- Schools as institutions are complex; rather than an either-or construction where people can be reduced to mutually exclusive categories, institutionalized text perspectives of curriculum have a long tradition of documenting the inherent both-and complexity of human interactions and knowledge in schools.

### Final Thoughts

In the field of curriculum studies, there is a central tendency to examine schools and schooling as text. Because all knowledge is simultaneously academic, social, and socially constructed, the knowledge schools pass on to students is inherently biased, selective, and normalizing. This result does not mean that the academic and social content students learn is not useful or valuable. Rather, it is to enunciate that the intended and unintended ways schooling operates consistently serves to reify sociocultural constructions so that differences are often cast as deficits and other or different rarely refers to students who are White, male, middle class, heterosexual, Christian, English speaking, or perceived as able bodied or able minded.

There is also a final parting complication to the consideration of institutionalized text perspectives in the field of curriculum studies. The work

described in this entry and the very volume in which it sits are located doubly as text, first as textbooks and second as particular notions about curriculum that can be read as text. As this entry illustrates, not all textbooks serve to largely reify dominant norms and values, and all texts, including this one, should be open to critical examination from the field.

Walter S. Gershon

*See also* Formal Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum

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## INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGN

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Instructional design involves a range of processes created to control the learning environment. A number of theories and disciplines have influenced instructional design, particularly cognitive and behavioral psychology. Based on these premises, instructional designers control responses to instruction based upon the intentional design of the curriculum and pedagogy within a learning environment.

### History

Instructional design emerged within education as a response to the need for massive training needs during World War II. Following World War II, instructional design became a prominent force in business and industry training more so than in public education. Early instructional design was based upon B. F. Skinner's work, and training programs focused on observable behaviors. It was also influenced by the work of Ralph Tyler regarding instructional objectives to guide learning and by the work of Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy of intellectual behaviors. During the 1960s, Robert Gagne's work regarding task analysis also influenced the nature of instructional design. Elements of instructional design have been sustained over time—largely in the language of behavioral objectives. Design became more prominent in the 1980s as computer programs were designed as an alternative form of instruction. Instructional design has become more prominent since 2000 as universities and other programs have moved to more online learning.

### Theoretical Influences

Instructional design is largely influenced by four theoretical foundations. First, most models of instructional design are influenced by systems theory. Products of instructional design are most often presented in instructional systems that are part of larger systems, and they support an ongoing cycle of development that includes planning, implementing, assessing, and revising. Thus, the products involve an integrated systemic plan to solve an instructional problem.

Second, instructional design is also influenced by communication theory—particularly in recent iterations heavily influenced by online learning. Instructional design models address how messages are given and received and addresses how those instructional messages may be distorted by various forms of noise within the context. Accordingly, instructional design models often focus on the need to understand the learners' prior experiences when developing instructional products.

Third, learning theory has significantly influenced instructional design models. Two learning theories in particular have made their mark in instructional design: behaviorism and cognitive



learning theory. Behavioral learning theories focus on the environment and design learning according to observable behaviors. In contrast, cognitive learning theories focus on the learner and design learning as an active, cumulative, and complex event in which the learner constructs meaning.

Fourth, instructional design is influenced by instructional theory. As such, many instructional design models attempt to prescribe specific characteristics of instruction to achieve specific aims. Examples of how instructional theory has influenced instructional design include Bloom's model of mastery learning, Gagne's theory on conditions of learning, and Keller's ARCs model of motivation.

### Difference in Scale

Instructional design is implemented according to a variety of scales. For example, a team of designers may construct a packaged reform model that can be used with a range of grade levels to teach reading. This type of model may be very prescriptive, and assessment of students and the evaluation of the program may be focused upon the explicit fidelity at which teachers implement the program. Further, universities may use instructional design as a means to develop online programs. Although the outcomes of this scale of design are not as prescriptive as the packaged reform models, the programs often maintain some degree of prescriptive nature to support disciplinary standards and other possible accreditation expectations. On a smaller scale, individual teachers or a team of teachers engage in instructional design when they deliberately plan instructional units specifically designed for their classes. In the case of the smaller scale, the planning and implementation of the designed instruction is less focused on fidelity of implementation and provides opportunities for more flexibility and interpretation.

### Common Elements Within Instructional Design Theories

A number of instructional design models have been used over time, and although each may differ from the others in terms of focus, process, and psychological assumptions, most if not all include at least four key elements. First, most if not all

instructional design models involve some level of analysis. The degree of analysis and the object of study may differ among the models, but they nevertheless analyze the nature of the context, the subject matter, and/or the nature of the learner as a key element in their process.

Second, all instructional design models address organization in some way. Most models organize according to objectives and some level of scope and sequence. Depending upon how prescriptive the model or intended product is, the level of explicit organization will differ. The higher the degree of prescription, the higher the level of organization will be evident within the model.

Third, all instructional design models address delivery of instruction. The degree of prescriptive nature regarding delivery will differ according to the models. For example, Dick and Carey's model addresses learning in terms of specific conditions of learning and prescribe steps for instruction that include such actions as gaining attention, stimulating recall, giving feedback, and assessing performance. In contrast, the Gagne, Briggs, and Wager model addresses delivery in a more experimental manner. Their model provides opportunities for experimentation and innovation.

Finally, all instructional design models include means for evaluation. Most models include both formative and summative evaluations to judge not only the performance of those being instructed, but also the validity of the instructional design. Some models such as the ADDIE model (the analyze, design, develop, implement, and evaluate model) also evaluate the use of resources and determine the impact of instruction based upon those resources. In most instructional design models, evaluation is based upon standards and the objectives formed according to those standards.

*Donna Adair Breault*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## INSTRUCTION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

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Throughout the 20th century, educators used *teaching* and *instruction* interchangeably. Even in current literature, the distinctions are often unclear. In general terms, teaching tends to place the teacher's thinking and acting at the center of scholarly attention, whereas instruction focuses on the conditions of learning and the psychological proclivities of the learner as a resource for the teacher. Throughout the 20th century, the concept of instruction evolved within a systems approach to planning for curriculum content and teaching. Through the doctrine of behaviorism, instruction became associated with a production system for efficiency, social conditioning, and accountability. By mid-century, instruction became a technological outgrowth of scientific management and research, with emphasis not only on the teacher's actions and student achievement, but also on conditions that contribute to effective teaching and schooling. Today, instructional design is a prominent practice in education that is viewed as an efficient way to deliver certain types of training. Computer applications in education are rapidly advancing in the field of instructional design and are becoming a major influence in innovative ways of delivering instruction. As a result of the technological assumptions and imperatives for practice that are now associated with instruction, curriculum scholars have produced a body of criticism to challenge the dominant technological view that influences both teaching scholarship and instructional design.

### History of the Field of Instruction

Toward the end of the 19th century, there emerged early influences that signaled a field of instruction. The eminent German psychologist, Johann Friedrich Herbart, was the first educational writer to put an emphasis on instruction as a process that focused on the pupil's experience. This focus required the

teacher to attend to the child's previous knowledge and interest. With this psychology, the teacher was told to follow a systematic procedural guide known as the five formal steps of teaching and learning. The steps were articulated as follows: (1) preparation, bringing the pupil's previous learning experiences to his or her attention; (2) presentation, giving new information; (3) association, showing the relationship between the new and the old information; (4) generalization, making up rules or general principles that express the meaning of the lesson; and (5) application, giving the general principles meaning by using them in a practical way or by deriving specific examples. Many Americans went to Germany to study Herbart's ideas during the final decades of the 19th century. The American Herbartians formed a club that became the National Herbart Society. In a few years, the National Herbart Society's name was changed to the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Their reform movement was relatively short lived; however, their influence helped to undermine the dominant theory related to classical mental discipline (e.g., faculty psychology). Herbartianism functioned as a transitional theory toward child centeredness, and later, the theory of faculty psychology fell victim to a triumphant experimental science of psychology.

The turn of the 20th century brought scientific promises in experimentation and measurement that shaped psychological thinkers such as G. Stanley Hall of Johns Hopkins University, Charles Ridd of the University of Chicago, and Edward Thorndike of Columbia University. Thorndike, for instance, claimed that if something exists, it exists in a given amount and as such, is capable of being measured. He reflected the belief that scientific knowledge of stimulus-response behavioral patterns would enable educators to alter human behavior. He described education as a form of human engineering that would profit by measurements of human nature and achievement. From the work of Thorndike and other experimental psychologists emerged the push for a science of instruction and the beginnings of instruction as a production system.

### Instruction as a Production System

The origin of the notion of instruction as a production system can be traced to efforts during the

early decades of the 20th century to apply industrial scientific management to education. In later years, instruction as a production system was related to the doctrine of behaviorism, systems analysis, and accountability. By mid century, with focus on accountability, evaluation became a central practice in the field of instruction. Ralph W. Tyler, perhaps one of the most influential educators in evaluation, served on a number of bodies that influenced policy and set guidelines for the expenditure of government funds. His work helped to codify educational evaluation as it pertained to aligning measurement and testing with specific educational purposes. By this time, it was customary for scholars and practitioners to consider curriculum as a design problem. The well-known Tyler Rationale was articulated in *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* as the way to consolidate parameters for analysis of the internal components of curriculum construction—goals, implementation, and evaluation. Curriculum planners were guided to consider a curriculum program that consisted of purposes, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation. Program evaluation, then, was intended to determine the effective aspects of the program and to revise the areas that were not effective. In his book, Tyler described learning as taking place through the action of the student, not what the teacher does.

As program design became a common activity, instruction served as a technological outgrowth of scientific research. In 1963, the first *Handbook of Research on Teaching* summarized major breakthroughs, and in subsequent decades, handbooks and related volumes summarized research on teaching for scholars and practitioners. Although research focused primarily on the teacher's actions and student achievement, there was also a strong emphasis on conditions that contribute to effective teaching and effective schools as instrumental content for instruction. The intent was to build a massive body of empirical data on instructional content and process that would build a scientific basis for instruction.

Scholars such as Jerome Bruner began to call for a theory of instruction that could be refined constantly and would be used to explain, predict, and control instruction and teaching. His *Toward a Theory of Instruction* described a popular course of study that illustrated psychological theories

that Bruner posited would lead to a theory that could guide pedagogy. His theories of cognition were used to select and build a variety of materials about tool making, social organizations, and child rearing. The process was one of studying certain characteristics of people and using these characteristics to select aspects of the world of others that are brought into the school. Learning theory was used to determine sequence and the responsiveness of the fabricated environment. Motivational theory was used to construct the interfaces and information system.

Educational psychologists and instructional designers began to consider cognitive theory, not only as something that explains what happens in the head of the student, but also as a way of fabricating the scenes or settings within which education occurs. By considering psychological theories, whether learning theory, motivational theory, or cognitive theory, not as the psychologist does (i.e., as valid ways of explaining mental processes within students), but as powerful tools for designing educational environments, instruction would have a solid foundation. As such, psychological theories were seen as world building tools and as tools for understanding students.

Under the concept of instruction as a production system, curriculum was conceived as a separate process from instructional design, described as a structured series of learning outcomes. The planning process became curriculum development, and the results were used as input into the instructional system. Educational objectives became the dominant way in which learning outcomes were expressed and the evaluation aspect of instruction involved a comparison of actual learning outcomes with the intended learning outcomes. The teacher was conceived as one who plays a role in an instructional scenario. Thus, instruction, as a production system, became something that was delivered by a teacher or instructional designer. Today, this general view of instruction remains in various design models.

### Instructional Design and Technology

Instructional design, a major practice in the field of instruction, became significant during World War II when the U.S. War Department needed to train military personnel and employees rapidly in

war-related industries for complex responsibilities. Drawing from behavioral psychologists, the initiatives paralleled the efforts of curricularists and evaluators in education. Tasks were differentiated into subtasks, and each was treated as a separate objective or learning goal. Training was designed so that each learner could achieve mastery through repetition and feedback. Learners were rewarded for correct performance or were remediated if needed. Many of the concepts used in military training remain in current educational curriculum development and instructional design language (e.g., objectives, task analysis, instructional strategies, formative evaluation, etc.).

As instructional design became a significant practice in education, the concept of instructional technology was used to describe many of the aspects of a systems approach. Audio and visual instruction was seen as an efficient way to deliver certain types of training, which included highly structured manuals, instructional films, and standardized tests. During the latter part of the 20th century individualized instruction and learning became a goal in educational discourses. Educators advocated it as a way to accommodate to individual differences in learners. Programmed instruction using teaching machines gave way to programmed texts and other applications of behaviorism. As the individualized instruction movement declined, it was replaced by computer-based instruction, and with the advent of affordable personal computers, instructional design and technology have become major practices in education.

Today computer applications in education are rapidly advancing in the field of instruction. A list of five types of computer-based instructional programs gives a glimpse of the array of educative activities related to technology. They are as follows: tutorials, drill, simulations, games, and tests. The term electronic learning (or e-learning) is now coined to indicate a type of education where the medium of instruction is computer technology. E-learning is known as a planned teaching or learning experience that uses a wide range of technologies, primarily Internet or computer-based programs, to reach learners. In some instances, there is no face-to-face interaction with an instructor. In schools and colleges, e-learning is used to refer to a specific modality for attending a course or study program. Students may not necessarily attend

face-to-face instructors on campus, but may study exclusively online. Educators who design and/or deliver online materials and courses are expected to be highly skilled in instructional design, especially in a content area and computer and Internet use. In addition, they are expected to work well with the special needs of e-learners. Online courses are rapidly increasing in educational institutions.

### Criticisms

As a result of the technological assumptions and imperatives for practice that are associated with the concept *instruction*, many scholars in the field of curriculum studies prefer to use *teaching* rather than instruction and are troubled by the dominant view. William Schubert, for instance, suggests that teaching is a more comprehensive term that relates to the artistry of everyday intuition and decision making by those who have the experience to be connoisseurs of their craft. Herbert Kohl describes teaching as a craft or as a skilled know-how that is acquired more through apprentice-like involvement with mentors than by following rules derived from scientific research or technological models. Elliot Eisner identifies various senses in which teaching is an art. It can be performed with such skill and grace that it can be regarded as aesthetic. Like performance in painting or music, teaching involves the making of judgments based on the perceptions of qualities that unfold in the course of action. It is best carried on without the domination of prescriptions or routines because the teacher must be able to respond to the unpredictable. In addition, teaching involves the creation of ends in the process rather than prior to it through discrete prespecifications.

Michael Apple is critical of the number of control systems that are embodied in structures rather than people. Technical control, like that of instructional design, is one of these. Apple points to the integration of management systems, reductive behaviorally based instructional design, prespecified teaching competencies, and pre- and posttesting as examples of control being embedded in the education instruments of production. Instead of control appearing to flow from management to teacher, it is built into the more impersonal forms of instructional teaching materials. Technical control is encoded into the very basis of the curricular



form itself. Thus, the “teacher-proof” materials determine what is taught and how sequenced lessons decide the form and timing of assessment and establish the pace of teaching. Apple is especially concerned that these materials are often developed at great expense by entrepreneurs outside the school.

C. A. Bowers observes that, in effect, a 21st-century view of knowledge involves the personal computer as a powerful and legitimate tool of the teacher and students. However, insofar as computers embody the conceptual framework (and the ideology) of the experts who devise them, the technology itself can be viewed as reproducing a specific ideological orientation. Further, Bowers suggests that this ideology is based on fundamental misconceptions regarding the nature of the individual, the nature of knowing (including intelligence), and more specifically, how individual empowerment relates to social progress. More generally, he is concerned that the metaphor of an information age that he regards as the most recent expression of this ideological orientation, functions to hide the moral and spiritual character of the ecological and social crisis of the 21st century, a concern shared by other curriculum studies scholars.

Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner are troubled by the newer instructional technology and the growing trend toward standardized achievement testing that have given impetus to conceiving curriculum in terms of test results. With schools and teachers being evaluated according to student scores on standardized tests, there has been an increasing tendency for teachers to teach to the test. Hence, the test not only provides the quantitative data on the outcomes of instruction, but also exerts a powerful influence on instructional processes and very largely determines the curriculum. In effect, the curriculum is seen as the quantitatively measured outcomes of instruction. Such a conception of curriculum reduces the schooling process itself to a technological system of production.

Noreen Garman

*See also* Accountability; Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Computer-Assisted Instruction; Curriculum Development; Individualized Education—Curriculum Programs; Instructional Design; Learning Theories; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; *Preparing*

*Instructional Objectives; Standards, Curricular; Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook I: Cognitive Domain; Teacher-Proof Curriculum; Technology; Tyler, Ralph W; Tyler Rationale, The.*

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## INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS

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The concept of the integration of schools has influenced the field of curriculum studies by enhancing the understanding of how schools operate, providing an undergirding for multiculturalism, informing the study of tracking and ability grouping, and serving as a foundation for professional development for teachers working with diverse youth. The integration of schools refers to the process by which desegregated schools replace an ethnocentric curriculum with one that incorporates previously marginalized voices and perspectives. To prevent the conflation of these terms, integration is first distinguished from desegregation, and then theoretical perspectives of integration, curriculum, multiculturalism, and tracking are discussed.

### Integration Versus Desegregation

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that educational facilities

segregated on the basis of race were unequal and called for separate school systems to be terminated with all deliberate speed. The desegregation of elementary and secondary schools transformed the space within which students were legally permitted to attend school, signifying a change in the ecological conditions of schools. Although desegregation is a necessary prerequisite to remedy school segregation that was deemed illegal in *Brown*, it is insufficient to achieve integration.

Gordon Allport's intergroup contact theory is central to the idea of integration and has been shown to reduce prejudices between racial and ethnic groups. In addition to desegregation, Allport's theory suggests that the following four conditions are necessary to achieve integration and reduce intergroup prejudices:

1. equal status between all involved groups,
2. involved groups work toward a common goal,
3. cooperation is emphasized while competition is de-emphasized, and
4. adults and authority figures offer their full support.

The four conditions suggested by Allport's theory facilitate the reduction of prejudices between racial and ethnic groups. Integrated schools experience these four conditions in addition to desegregation, while desegregated schools simply permit members of different racial and ethnic groups to attend the same school.

### Integrated Curriculum and Multiculturalism

From a sociological perspective, curriculum traditionally has been viewed as a tool with which to socialize groups, particularly, to socialize the Other. Specifically, curricula have served to assimilate subordinate groups to the dominant group's norms, values, culture, and language. Integrated schools not only challenge ethnocentric curricula used to socialize the Other, but also incorporate the voices and alternate perspectives of previously marginalized groups. Following the same four conditions posited by Allport, an integrated curriculum views multiple perspectives equally, encourages cooperative learning, is oriented toward a common goal, and authority figures including parents, teachers,

principals, and upper-level administrators fully support the curriculum design.

Integrating multiple perspectives into the curriculum should not simply be additive or supplementary to the previously established curriculum. In higher education, this supplementary structure is seen in the addition of women's studies and ethnic studies, which do begin to give voice to those historically marginalized, but exist separately from mainstream course offerings and requirements. In elementary and secondary schooling, this phenomenon can occur when the curriculum includes culturally specific events or celebrations such as Black History Month without integrating the voices and perspectives of marginalized groups into the mainstream, everyday curriculum. In this sense, students are exposed to a superficial understanding of these perspectives, their importance is significantly reduced, and such curriculum designs perpetuate ethnocentrism. Much like desegregation is necessary but insufficient to create equitable educational opportunities, multiculturalism that is simply conceptualized but not carried out is insufficient as well. To this effect, multicultural curriculum that is improperly developed or implemented works against the integration of schools. Multicultural efforts should simultaneously challenge existing curriculums and the power structures they represent while offering alternative perspectives from what has traditionally been considered the norm. Integrated multicultural efforts are built into the curriculum and maintained in the course offerings, the design of specific courses, and in the course materials used.

Although desegregated schools feature tracking mechanisms that reassemble students along race, ethnic, class, culture, and social lines, integrated schools attempt to provide equitable learning opportunities regardless of one's ascriptive characteristics or status in society. The curriculum found in affluent, predominantly White schools is typically oriented toward preparing students for college, in contrast to less affluent, high-minority schools that typically offer a curriculum that is vocationally oriented.

### Future Considerations

As the United States is becoming increasingly diverse, differences between and within subgroups

of racial and ethnic categories are becoming increasingly apparent. Integrated schools will need to adapt to the changing demographics of the students they serve, as well as the nation as a whole, while also acknowledging that not all racial and ethnic groups are homogeneous. At the same time, the opportunities for integrated schools to exist may decrease, particularly given the high rates of de facto segregation and the legal parameters from within which student assignments are made, which collectively threaten the chances of integrated schools to exist. Although this definition has focused primarily on integration along racial and ethnic lines, it can also be expanded to include other groups that have historically been marginalized, such as by gender, culture, and class.

*Christopher M. Span and  
Casey E. George-Jackson*

*See also* *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown I*

Decision; *Brown v. Board of Education, Brown II* Decision; Desegregation of Schools; Diversity; *Equality of Educational Opportunity*; Equity; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Heterogeneous-Homogeneous Grouping; Marginalization; Multicultural Curriculum; Resegregation of Schools

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## INTELLIGENCE TESTS

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Intelligence testing is the process of measuring cognitive ability using standardized measures and scales. The use of intelligence testing for education purposes, including curriculum differentiation, is controversial. This entry discusses the history and criticisms of intelligence testing, along with the role of intelligence testing in curriculum differentiation.

### History

In 1905, Alfred Binet and his medical student, Theodore Simon, developed a diagnostic method for distinguishing abnormal from normal boys in his Sorbonne laboratory and the Perray-Vaucluse asylum. During the late 1910s, Henry Goddard translated the *Binet-Simon Scale* and administered it to his young Vineland Training School charges and about 2,000 children in local New Jersey schools. Goddard wanted all children to be examined, individual by individual, claiming that 2% of school students were feebleminded or mentally defective. Like Binet, he defined low-grade intelligence as arrested mental development with classifications of idiot, imbecile, and moron and recommended segregation into ungraded, special classes and surgical sterilization for these students. Over 25,000 copies of Goddard's translation were distributed across the United States by the time Lewis Terman's *Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale* was published in 1916. By 1920, the Bineting of individuals had slowed considerably as the *Army Alpha Scale* was transformed into the *National Intelligence Test*; the new group tests enabled a single psychologist to examine large masses of students simultaneously. Although Binet found intelligence to be variable, ranging in levels of comprehension, judgment, reasoning, and invention, this finding was contentious—for other psychologists intelligence meant mental adaptability to new problems and was fixed as a trait. Intelligence tests were the most utilized instrument in psychology through the 1920s; about 300 cities in the United States and Canada were using intelligence tests for ability grouping by 1930. Albeit with resistance, during the 1910s and 1920s, school access was granted to university researchers to measure students' literacies, physicians to inspect students' bodies, and psychologists to examine students' minds.

### Criticisms

Criticisms came from physicians and psychiatrists claiming that psychologists transgressed their jurisdiction into therapeutics. Populist groups countered that intelligence examinations were implicated in the medicalization of schools. University students sarcastically dismissed claims that intelligence tests provided views into the

inner workings of their heads. In the early 1920s, academics such as John Dewey critiqued the tests as inequalitarian, while journalists such as Grace Adams skewered the testers as pseudo-scientists. In the mid 1920s, fueled by notable reports, including Terman's *Measurement of Intelligence* (1916) and Carl Brigham's *Study of American Intelligence* (1923), African American intellectuals, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, exposed premises of eugenics and challenged the validity of IQ tests by identifying cultural biases, factoring economic conditions and educational opportunity into findings. By the end of the decade, students grew tired from the response burden, and administrators grew wary. In 1932, the National Education Association (NEA) announced that the tests were dethroned and in 1933 the U.S. Senate moved to regulate testing as a basis for classifying, grading, or segregating school students. The desegregation decision for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) relied on a social science statement reiterating the variabilities and contingencies of intelligence test results. However, intelligence testing only temporarily slowed or was superseded by achievement tests and the courts were reluctant to intervene in ability grouping practices, despite calls for moratoria by the Association of Black Psychologists and NEA in the 1960s and intense legal challenges in the 1970s and 1980s.

### Curriculum Differentiation

Indeed, few educational practices are more controversial than intelligence testing and the differentiation of curriculum. In the 1910s, scientific curriculum makers, such as Franklin Bobbitt, combined efforts with intelligence testers to differentiate and individualize courses of study. By the late 1920s, teachers' professional judgment was nearly fully displaced by psychological knowledge and tests; grouping, tracking, and differentiation decisions were increasingly made in administrative offices. Through the 1950s, the Winnetka plan and others provided models for adjusting curriculum to ability groups and individual differences or raising and lowering standards. To what degree does curriculum differentiated by content, pace, and quantity unequally distribute achievement and opportunity? In 1979, the Circuit Court decision for *Larry P. v. Wilson Riles* (1979) challenged the disproportionate number of African American

students classified in special classes, specifically arguing that San Francisco Unified School District's educable mentally retarded curriculum was a dead end, de-emphasized academic skills, and stigmatized children improperly classified. The findings and decision were similar for *People Who Care v. Rockford Board of Education* (1997) as *The Bell Curve* refueled controversy and the American Psychological Association issued a statement guarding against rampant politicization of intelligence testing findings and practices.

*Stephen Petrina and Paula Rusnak*

*See also Brown v. Board of Education, Brown I Decision; Educational Testing Service; Keeping Track; Special Education Curriculum; Tracking*

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## INTELLIGENT DESIGN

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*See* Creationism in Curriculum: Case Law

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## INTENDED CURRICULUM

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The intended curriculum is the overt curriculum that is acknowledged in policy statements as that which schools or other educational institutions or arrangements set out to accomplish. Sometimes the intended curriculum is contrasted with the hidden curriculum (that which is learned from the structural organization of the schooling institution and the society in which it is embedded), the taught curriculum (teachers' interpretations of the intentions set forth in policy or their intentional substitutions for that which is intended), the null



curriculum (that which is not emphasized), the tested curriculum, and the learned curriculum.

Normally, it is framed within a conceptualization derived from the writings of Ralph Tyler, known as the Tyler Rationale, which was originally developed as a set of principles to guide curriculum and instruction. These principles are based on selection from a combination of emphases: philosophical assumptions, psychological models of learning, perceived interests of learners and conceptions of their individual needs, sociopolitical and economic contexts and mandates, and conceptions from experts from the several disciplines of knowledge on the nature of subject matter to be learned.

Intended curriculum is often stated in general statements to allow for situational interpretation and adaptation, though sometimes it is given precise behavioral specification, and in less frequent instances, it is begun with a general sense of direction statement from which situational curriculum will evolve or provocative or imaginative materials that elicit expressive consequences.

Procedural criteria for developing intended curriculum policy statements include representation, clarity, feasibility, and defensibility. The ends of such inquiry emphasize one or more of the following: socialization, achievement, personal growth, and social change.

Intended content may, therefore, take the form of subject matter, specified learning activities, or learning experiences, and any of these may be analyzed by focusing on sources of derivation: societal needs, test of survival, structure of the disciplines, utility, publisher (of instructional materials or textbooks) decision, political pressure, learner interest, democratic values, among others.

Statements of intended curriculum often detail aspects of organization. For example, curriculum guides are often vertical (depicting topics across different subject matter pursued as the same time) and horizontal (depicting increased exposure to topics over the years). Regarding the latter, when the same topics are revisited with increased perspective, the phenomenon is referred to as the spiral curriculum, drawn from the work of Jerome Bruner in the 1960s.

Intended curriculum statements also provide other dimensions of scope (breadth beyond separate subject matters to include combined subjects,

projects or core curricula that draw upon diverse subjects, and integration of subjects to facilitate personal and social development). Similarly, sequence is often treated as broader than a yearly listing of topics; it might accept or critique presentation in textbooks or other instructional materials, educator preference, student preference, structure of the discipline and concomitant notions of prerequisite knowledge, hierarchies of learning (e.g., simple to complex, facts to concepts, principles, and values), developmental appropriateness according to different theories of human development.

Another dimension of intended curriculum is specification of learning environment, for example, departmentalization, self-contained classroom; nongraded classrooms, open classrooms, tutorials, computer-based instruction, community-based learning, and a range of other options in school or outside of school. Such environments may be analyzed relative to several dimensions: physical, material (instructional), interpersonal, institutional, and psychosocial.

A final dimension of statements of intended curriculum is evaluation. This relates to a vast or narrow range of evidence (e.g., through testing, observation, interviews, and products produced) about the extent to which intended purposes are met, the unintended consequences of the curricular process employed, and development of plans to revise the intended curriculum to more fully meet needs and interests of learners.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Curriculum Development; Curriculum Venues; Hidden Curriculum

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## INTERESTS OF STUDENTS AND THE CONCEPTION OF NEEDS

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Attending to the interests of students and the conception of needs proved to be one of the more important curricular design issues of the early-to-mid 20th century. In what became a progressive education emblem, the now forgotten phrase “attending to the interests of students” represented one of the fundamental principles of progressive education. More sophisticated definitions of progressive education added the phrase, “meeting the needs of students,” in what would historically prove to become a factor for determining the scope of the curriculum. Although designing curriculum to attend to the interests and needs of students may seem a commonsensical belief and simple concern, the topic proved highly controversial within the Progressive Education Association (PEA) and continues to prove problematic for designing any student-centered curriculum.

The importance of students’ interests and creative expression helped to form the PEA and to articulate a type of education separate from the institutional, factory-oriented conception of schooling. Focusing the curriculum on student interests was popularized in the 1918 article, “The Project Method,” by William H. Kilpatrick. Students’ interests could become the center of the curriculum; however, for Kilpatrick a hearty, purposeful act was a requirement for this curricular-instructional focus. Yet many educators were concerned that such a curriculum would lead to any interest becoming a legitimate part of the curriculum. Kilpatrick’s requirement of purposeful activity introduced a filter that ruled out what some educators would consider a childish whim of students with little educational purpose.

During the 1930s to 1940s, a number of PEA members turned their attention to the sociological and psychological determination of adolescent needs rather than student interests as a way to configure the curriculum. These developmental needs, based upon the emerging conception of adolescence, came to be seen as a balance of student interests. The concept of needs expanded to include personal and social needs and in many ways, received its most sophisticated treatment in the PEA’s Eight Year Study and the work of the Commission on the Secondary School. This group,

led by V. T. Thayer, issued a series of curriculum reports that configured the middle and secondary school curriculum around a framework of student needs: personal, immediate personal-social relationships, social-civic relationships, and economic relationships. These themes served to identify worthy interests and needs for selecting and organizing appropriate learning experiences. The Commission on the Secondary School, however, emphasized personal and social needs more than academic content in designing curriculum, proving disconcerting for some educators.

Although the PEA believed its recognition of personal and social needs reconciled the unfocused aspect of centering the curriculum on student interests, Boyd Bode expanded further the conception of needs by distinguishing between real needs and felt needs (e.g., whims) and criticized the PEA and Eight Year Study for their use of needs as the organizing principle for curriculum design. Determining student needs, which ultimately proved an act of determining what students lacked and what they ought to know, was a form of indoctrination and the imposition of values. Bode reconciled the issue of the conception of needs by maintaining that the defining principle for curriculum construction was not defining needs, but instead determining a social vision and philosophy of school in society. Rather than viewing what students lacked—an absence of knowledge—Bode reconceived the conception of needs as an act of establishing a social philosophy.

During the years following the Eight Year Study, proponents of a life-adjustment education movement drew upon the developmental needs-adolescent tasks research and reconfigured student interests and needs to focus primarily upon personal interests and vocational roles. Life-adjustment programs became easy targets for criticism, and the 1950s’ attacks on student-centered curriculum increased as attention to the conception of needs decreased. Currently, student needs, if recognized, typically are viewed as lacks—student inabilities and minimum competencies related to the basics (of academic performance) and to employment and citizenship.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also* Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum Reports; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Project Method

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## INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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The International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS) was established in 2001 to support a worldwide, but not uniform, field of curriculum studies. IAACS recognizes that curriculum occurs within national borders and that often curriculum inquiry is constrained by government, culture, and tradition. However, IAACS recognizes that those borders have become very permeable and that the advancement of the field of curriculum studies acknowledges the importance to the field of opening conversations through and across those borders. The mission of the organization is to promote scholarly conversations concerning the content, context, and process of education in specific localities.

The association began as a Committee of 100 and developed from the Committee of 100 that arose out of the 2000 Louisiana State University Conference on the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies, organized by William Pinar, William Doll, Donna Trueit, and Hongyu Wang.

The governing structure of IAACS consists of a President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. At present (2007–2010) the association officers are President, Zhang Hua (China); Vice President, Terry Carson (Canada); Treasurer, Elizabeth Macedo (Brazil); and Secretary, Wayne Hugo (South Africa). The general assembly of the association consists at present of members from 33 nations and represents six continents. There is a third group of permanent, nonelected members who are responsible for organizing and maintaining the association's Web site (Jacques Daignault—IAACS site

Webmaster; Laurent Duschene—IAACS site technician; and Renée Fountain—IAACS site coordinator. Neil Gough (Deakin University, Australia) edits the online publication of the IAACS Journal, *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*.

The association sponsors an international conference every 3 years. Beginning at the founding conference at Louisiana State University in 2000, regular conferences were held in Shanghai, China (2003); Tampere, Finland (2006); and Cape Town, South Africa (2009); future conferences will be held in South America (2012) and North America (2015). The conference will return to Asia in 2018.

Alan A. Block

*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Comparative Studies Research; International Perspectives; Transnational Research

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### Web Sites

- International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies: <http://iaacs.org>
- American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies: <http://calvin.ednet.lsu.edu/~aaacs/index.html>
- Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies*: <http://www.uwstout.edu/soe/jaaacs>

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## INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CURRICULUM

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The *International Encyclopedia of Curriculum*, published in 1991, is a major, one-volume reference work of 1064 pages that was edited by Arie Lewy. It was derived from his work as editor of the curriculum articles of the *International Encyclopedia of Education*, a 10-volume set edited by Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite in 1985, with a supplement published in 1989. Several encyclopedias on different topics were

derived from the original volume and supplement. Curriculum is one of these topics.

The encyclopedia is distinctive in the diversity of international authors and topics germane to many different parts of the world. It is introduced by John Goodlad, who writes of curriculum as a domain of scholarly inquiry. The encyclopedia is divided into 13 sections: (1) conceptual framework, (2) curriculum approaches and methods, (3) curriculum processes, (4) curriculum evaluation, (5) language arts, (6) foreign language studies, (7) humanities curricula, (8) arts curricula, (9) social studies, (10) mathematics education, (11) science education programs, (12) physical education, and (13) international curriculum associations and journals.

Although several subtopics and individual articles of the *International Encyclopedia of Curriculum* offer perspectives on what is not considered to be curriculum studies today, the volume gives a valuable international perspective on what constituted curriculum studies at the beginning of the 1990s.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* African Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; Asian Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies; European Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; International Perspectives; International Research; Latin American Curriculum Studies; World Council for Curriculum and Instruction

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## **INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF CURRICULUM RESEARCH**

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The *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*, a collection of essays edited by William

F. Pinar, contributed to expanding international perspectives in the areas of curriculum studies and research. The text's publication in 2003 followed the establishment in 2001 of the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS). According to Pinar, both of these can be seen as companion events. The text assisted in establishing that curriculum studies, far from being exclusively an U.S. field, has an international context. It demonstrated that there was a worldwide field of curriculum studies. This volume of essays was the first book to emphasize and analyze curriculum studies internationally. This focus was a major contribution and an extension of internationalization to the field of curriculum studies. The attention to international curriculum studies was a direction initially discussed in *Understanding Curriculum Studies* (1995).

The *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* is comprised of 38 chapters in which curriculum research in 29 nations is discussed. Far from being an attempt to coalesce curriculum research in many nations into one common curriculum studies field, the effort of this text was to first place international curriculum research within the historical, political, socioeconomic, environmental, and cultural phenomenon of globalization and second to begin complicated curriculum conversations crossing national borders.

The first section of the text, "Four Essays of Introduction," elaborates on in-depth conceptualizations of globalization and its consequences that move beyond simple economic or trade studies for the 21st century. The authors included are David Geoffrey Smith, Noel Gough, Claudia Matus, Cameron McCarthy, and Norman Overly.

The second and main section of the handbook, "Thirty-Four Essays on Curriculum Studies in 28 Nations," highlights scholars' discussions of curriculum work in Argentina (Silvina Feeney, Flavia Terigi, Marino Palamidessi, and Daniel Feldman), Australia (Bill Green), Botswana (Sid N. Pandey and Fazalar R. Moorad), Brazil (Antonio Flavio, Barbosa Moreira, Alice Casimiro Lopes, Elizabeth Fernandes de Macedo, and Silvia Elizabeth Moraes), Canada (Cynthia Chambers), China (Hua Zhang and Qiquan Zhong), Hong Kong (Edmond Hau-Fai Law), Estonia (Urve Laanemets), Finland (Tero Autio), France (Denise Egea-Kuehne), Ireland (Kevin Williams and Gerry



McNamara), Israel (Naama Sabar and Yehoshua Mathias), Italy (M. Vicentini), Japan (Miho Hashimoto, Tadahiko Abiko, and Shigeru Asanuma), Mexico (Angel Daz Barriga and Frida Diaz Barriga), Namibia (Jonathan Jensen), Zimbabwe (Jonathan Jensen), the Netherlands (Willem Wardekker, Monique Volman, and Jan Terwel), New Zealand (Peter Roberts), Norway (Bjørn B. Gundem, Berit Karseth, and Kristin Sivesind), Romania (Nicolae Sacalis), South Korea (Yonghwan Lee), Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand (F. D. Rivera), Sweden (Ulla Johansson), Taiwan (Jenq-Jye Hwang and Chia-Yu Chang), Turkey (F. Dilek Gözütok), the United Kingdom (David Hamilton and Gaby Weiner), and the United States (Craig Kridel, Vicky Newman, and Patrick Slattery). The writers of the 34 essays discuss the historical dimensions and the state of curriculum research in their various countries. The text not only allows the readers to concentrate on curriculum issues within their own individual regional or national field, but also allows curriculum scholars and students to reflect and research on the field worldwide.

Pinar in the conclusion to the introduction to the handbook, titled "Next Steps," determines that several issues become evident after reading the work done in curriculum internationally. First, curriculum work most often centers on an individual's nation or region. Second, work in curriculum in most nations concentrates on reform in the areas determined by governmental policy. Third, despite the fact that curriculum work can be driven by governmental policy, work in curriculum internationally has a critical questioning of the work and language of school reform. Finally, much of the work done in curriculum already has an international component and is already concerned with international issues, particularly the appropriation of the scholarly work of other nations to a scholar's own nation and region, of course, not without an awareness of that appropriation.

The scholarly work in curriculum studies is given a showcase in this volume. The movement toward a complicated international conversation concerning curriculum studies and the research connected to it are enhanced in the *International Handbook on Curriculum Research*.

*William Martin Reynolds*

*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Comparative Studies Research; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; International Perspectives; Transnational Research

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## INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

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Despite the Western origins of the term *curriculum* (from the Latin, *currere* meaning "to run the course"), the basic concept behind this meaning has been broadly adopted across national boundaries and cultures. Most countries of the world have identified a period of time when it is compulsory for young people to attend school. At the heart of school attendance is the curriculum: a program of study or learning that has been designed to meet the needs of young people themselves as well as the communities in which they live. Yet the content and structure of the curriculum is not uniform across countries. Local priorities and issues, local cultures, and local pressures come together to influence the form that the curriculum takes. This emphasis on the local can be at odds with global influences that can exert pressures on the curriculum for uniformity and standardization. This tension between the local and the global is often influenced by the ways in which the school curriculum has been constructed historically (especially in countries that have come under colonial domination) and culturally (especially where cultural traditions have valued education and the preparation of young people for their future roles in society). From an international perspective, therefore, the curriculum shares similarities across the globe in

terms of its basic purposes but takes on different forms to reflect local conditions. This means that student mobility can be limited since it can be expected that curriculum differences rather than similarities will predominate. This is not just a technical issue about curriculum content: It has more significant implications.

One important implication is that access to knowledge and skills across the globe is not the same for all students, just as it is not the same within most societies. On a global scale, however, these inequalities can be striking. In advanced industrial societies there may be debates about bandwidth and the size of computer memory to support curriculum innovation, but in other less privileged societies there may not even be electricity to support the most basic of household needs. The level of literacy is of concern in all societies but for some young people in developing countries, especially girls, attaining literacy may remain an unrealized dream. Issues of core curriculum, or what should be the essential components of the curriculum, are likely to always be debated and contested. Yet in some parts of the developing world the issue is not just an academic or even a political issue. In the case of a subject like health education, for example, having access to knowledge of health related practices may well be a matter of life and death. In such a context, it can be argued that health education cannot be debated: It must be mandated.

From an international perspective, therefore, diversity and variability characterize the school curriculum. What is important in one country and culture may not be significant in another and what one country may be able to afford in terms of curriculum provision may not be affordable in another. The equity implications of this are clear at the international level and this provides the curriculum with an important social function. The remainder of this entry provides an international perspective on the school curriculum, highlighting its diversity and social function while also identifying important equity issues that arise in specific contexts.

### International Practices

Valued knowledge is at the heart of any curriculum, but the value placed on knowledge varies across countries, although it does not vary absolutely. For

example, countries with an advanced industrial or postindustrial economy are likely to highlight the importance of mathematics and science as well as literacy in both mother tongue and possibly also a second language. These are the school subjects that are seen to be the most likely contributors to economic growth. Such a curriculum emphasis does not have geographical boundaries. It will be found in countries such as the United States and Australia as well as in China and Thailand and throughout most of Europe. There will be some variations to this kind of curriculum in different locations, but where economies are moving in a direction that requires scientific knowledge and skills, so too will the school curriculum.

Given the importance of such an economic impetus, not all countries will embrace such a curriculum. In Nepal or Bhutan, for example, where economies are more at the subsistence level, the focus of part of the curriculum is likely to be on agricultural and health issues as well as basic literacy skills since it is such content that can contribute to both personal and social development. In addition, universal access to primary education cannot be assumed in all countries, so adult education programs will continue to promote similar curriculum emphases to try to ensure as wide a coverage as possible. The social function of this kind of curriculum is exactly the same as that in postindustrial economies: to prepare young people for future participation in their societies. Yet the content will differ markedly based on the development of local economies and their trajectories for future growth.

Although curriculum content and emphases differ across countries based on the economic needs of those countries, there is at least one area of similarity: All countries, in one way or the other, will focus on the social education of young people through school subjects such as history, geography, or civics. These subjects might be best understood as the socialization subjects that seek to incorporate young people into the national stories of their country. There is often much contestation about these subjects both within and across countries. For example, the way in which Japanese textbooks portray Japan's role in World War II is often of great concern to citizens in China and Korea where deep resentment of Japanese intervention still remains. In the same way, there are different views of the history of the United States

or Australia from within those countries and this often leads to criticisms of history textbooks when they do not portray a full range of views of the past. In the countries of Eastern Europe there has been a considerable emphasis on democratic civics education since 1989 to support the new democracies as they develop more market-oriented economies and democratic electoral politics. Such emphases simply replace an older civics that championed the virtues of the previous communist states in Eastern Europe. The use of curriculum for socialization purposes, therefore, is a political tool used by all governments. Its orientation is determined by current power elites. The pervasiveness of these socialization practices mediated through the school curriculum is best understood when viewed in an international perspective across nation states.

If there is diversity in the content of the curriculum viewed across different countries, there is a similar diversity when it comes to the promotion of specific values. Some indication of this diversity has already been shown with reference to those school subjects a major purpose of which is the socialization of young people. Yet in addition to socialization by school subjects, there is also socialization to local or national value sets. Of course, these value sets can differ from country to country and can often be in conflict with one another. Values underpinning the school curriculum can be a potent force for national cohesion and sometimes international tension. The same values can achieve both outcomes.

In China, for example, all students take a subject called political education that is designed to develop allegiance to the Chinese Communist Party. In the United States, on the other hand, all students will undertake a civics-oriented subject, defined differently by different state jurisdictions, and this will seek to develop civic literacy about the institutions of a liberal democracy and an ongoing commitment to the values underlying such a democracy. In a more recent development, schools in England and Wales have been asked to include British values in their citizenship education curricula in order to develop a more socially cohesive citizenry in an increasingly multicultural British society. In all of these cases, secular values are promoted as are loyalties to a particular nation-state and indeed a way of life. The role of

the school curriculum in promoting these secular values is similar across these three countries although the specific values are not.

The school curriculum, however, is not only used to promote secular values. It is also used to support decidedly religious values, sometimes portrayed as faith-based values. This is true in a country like Pakistan that, as an Islamic society, includes religious practices and values consistent with that faith throughout its school curricula. The Republic of Ireland, as a predominantly Roman Catholic country, includes Christian values as part of its school curriculum. In Thailand, the influence of Buddhism on the school curriculum is notable as it is in Bhutan. Even within countries that are avowedly secular, such as Australia and the United States, faith-based schools have been established with a values curriculum representing whatever particular religious group sponsors the school. In Australia, for example, this means that the state that provides funding for such schools will support Christian, both Protestant and Catholic versions; Islamic; and secular values embedded in the curriculum of differently sponsored schools. It was perhaps for this reason that the Australian government sponsored a national values education program in an attempt to develop common Australian values for all schools.

Content and values, representing the core of any curriculum, differ across nation-states and reflect a great diversity, depending on the economic, social, and political needs of individual countries. The school curriculum becomes an important mirror that reflects what is seen to be important by individual countries, and differences between countries can be judged by the images reflected in such a mirror. An important question that remains to be addressed is what these differences mean and in particular what they can mean for individual students who experience them on a day-to-day basis.

### Equity Issues

Deciding who has access to which knowledge often leads to consideration of equity. Thus, providing students with access to technical knowledge and skills that can help them participate in the knowledge economy provides an advantage for both individuals and their respective societies.

Such an outcome does not exhaust the limits of the curriculum, but it is an important contribution to both personal and social well-being. In other contexts, such as agricultural and subsistence economies, the kind of curriculum that is provided will serve local needs and be praised for its relevance, but it will rarely take students beyond the local. In both cases, the curriculum serves an important social function, but with different outcomes for students. This is not so much the fault of the curriculum but it is a reflection of the social and economic contexts that construct the curriculum in different locations. Many curriculum theorists argue that an important task of the curriculum is to try to break this reproductive function that rarely leads to change in the economic and social circumstances of individuals. When viewed internationally it is possible to appreciate the pervasiveness of this reproductive function and the different forms it takes. It is clear that just such a link creates gross inequity in the international distribution of resources when the curriculum of some schools links students to the benefits of a knowledge economy while other students are linked to the ongoing demands of a subsistence economy.

Within societies, the school curriculum might be adjusted and fine-tuned to try to ensure more equal outcomes for all students, but this is almost impossible to achieve across countries. Global interconnectedness might be seen as one way to ameliorate unequal outcomes but the benefits of processes such as globalization are also unequally distributed across countries. This highlights the point that curriculum priorities are more likely to be concerned with local priorities than global priorities—there is little evidence across countries that globalization leads to uniformity or standardization of the school curriculum. Indeed the opposite is the case—globalization is more likely to exacerbate curriculum diversity so that as post-industrial countries develop more in that direction so too will their curriculum become differentiated from that of countries not moving in that direction. Curriculum differentiation and diversity are likely to remain the key trends for the school curriculum when viewed from an international perspective and this will continue to produce unequal educational outcomes across the globe.

The school curriculum has achieved important results for many students across different countries.

Programs of study, different as they are in different national and cultural contexts, serve the purpose of opening up new worlds of learning and understanding for many young people. Yet the curriculum is not divorced from the social, political and economic contexts that construct it. This means local priorities will always be dominant, outcomes will differ across national boundaries, and some students will be more advantaged than others. There are many continuing attempts both nationally and internationally to try to ameliorate these conditions by making the curriculum more responsive to achieving equity and social goals (e.g., through international agencies such as UNESCO and reform-minded national governments). Yet the school curriculum does not create these conditions and is always a response to them: It does not act independently. There is little doubt that across countries the school curriculum can be a force for good and social progress. Yet its relation to local priorities, its concern with relevance, its need to service social purposes, and the extent to which it is embedded in political and economic processes ensures that aspirations for the curriculum will always be bounded by these realities. Curriculum reform is often a signal from policy makers that these boundaries can be broken. Reform affirms the faith that policy makers, practitioners, and theorists have in the efficacy of the school curriculum. In this sense the school curriculum from an international perspective remains a significant option to achieve change. The capacity of the school curriculum cannot be underestimated, just as the realities that constrain it cannot be ignored. This is the real tension that is sparked by the school curriculum and one that will continue to be challenged in order to achieve better outcomes for all students irrespective of the countries in which they happen to reside.

*Kerry J. Kennedy*

*See also* African Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; Asian Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview; European Curriculum Studies, Continental Overview

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## INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

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In conventional curriculum inquiry, there has been a tendency to study curriculum as locally and nationally distinctive. Nonetheless, international research in curriculum studies has often been pursued using comparative and historical approaches, transcending national boundaries. The focus in this entry is on the basic approaches to and issues highlighted in international comparative curriculum research, including international curriculum discourses, internationalization of curriculum studies, and transnational curriculum inquiry.

### Basic Approaches and Issues

One of the basic issues in international comparative curriculum research is the extent to which one nation's curriculum and its curriculum-making processes can be explained by a common international or global context and to what extent the particular sociocultural contexts of single national systems should be taken into account. Moritz Rosenmund, for example, has analyzed different levels of and approaches to curriculum research with regard to structures and procedures of institutional regulation in curriculum and curriculum-making processes. He suggested that the curriculum process in a particular society is subject to the interplay between the continuum of two forces suggested by Talcott Parsons: context-specific particularism and culture-free pluralism. These could be explained further from various perspectives ranging from a social cohesion perspective (based on theory of societal system), a sociostructural perspective (based on class and status theories), a

world system perspective (based on world-system theory), and administrative rationality (based on organization theory).

### Social Cohesion Perspective

The social cohesion perspective highlights the curriculum process being embedded in the specificity of institutional arrangements, structural relationships, and symbolic representations forming a totality in individual societies. A review by Stephen Heyneman and Sania Todoric-Bebic revealed that different regions, however, may have various issues related to structural approaches to social cohesion. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the structural approaches to social cohesion highlight equality of opportunity, universal primary education as well as administration, organization, and school governance toward the goal of democracy, and teachers' role in political socialization. In Asia, there are variations in such approaches: Malaysia has adopted schooling for national identity; India, Indonesia, and Malaysia have highlighted the role of moral education in enhancing social cohesion. Textbooks and examinations are used as vehicles for social cohesion in China and for the promotion of homogeneity in Japan.

### Sociostructural Perspective

For the sociostructural perspective, the reproduction of social inequality and cultural capital through school education and its curricula has been discussed by a number of scholars, including Basil Bernstein, Michael Apple, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michael Young. Bernstein, in the 1970s, introduced the concepts of strong and weak classification and framing of curricula. Classification relates to the construction and maintenance of boundaries and the hierarchy of curriculum or subject content while framing refers to the relative extent of control by the teacher and pupils over the selection and transmission of knowledge. Bernstein proposed the collection code curriculum (strong classification and strong framing) and the integrated code curriculum (weak classification and weak framing). For the collection code curriculum, he quoted the English upper secondary and Advanced level (post-16) courses that tended to be specialized, concentrated on a small number of related subjects

while the U.S. counterpart tended to be less specialized and structured by courses defined as knowledge units, and continental European curricula structured by subjects. He noted that there was a trend in many countries to move toward an integrated code curriculum, characterized by an enquiry-based approach to topics and themes, multiple modes of assessment, and a wide choice of subjects and courses for pupils and teachers working in interdependent teams. In addition, counteracting the possible deterministic and hegemonic nature of cultural reproduction theories, Bernstein, in *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse* (1990), argued that there could be two recontextualizing fields: the official recontextualizing field focusing on the what of pedagogic discourse and the pedagogic recontextualizing field highlighting the how of pedagogic discourse. These two fields could provide the potentials for various stakeholders such as government officials, consultants, school practitioners, publishers, and university experts to change and negotiate the discourses for curriculum planning, curriculum change, and knowledge transmission.

### *World System Perspective*

From the world system perspective, Robert Fiala and Gordon Lanford's examination of formally stated aims of education between 1950 and 1970 in various countries revealed a world level ideology of education, which focused on the development of the individual, the economy and the nation. Fiala has analyzed the educational aims for countries worldwide between 1955 and 2000, showing that the development of the individual (especially his or her personal and emotional development) tended to be more prominent among educational aims followed by more emphases on national development (aims related to citizenship and national identity) and economic development (but not on sustainable development) as well as normative aims of equality, democracy, and education as a human right and employability as an aim of education.

In addition to educational aims, curriculum structure, standards, and subject offerings have been subjects for analysis. John Meyer and his colleagues' research in the 1990s and recent work of Aaron Benavot, for example, illustrate a trend toward broad similarities in the structure of primary school curricula across nations and over

decades. Such a world curriculum generally consisted of one or more national languages, mathematics, science, some form of social science (e.g., social studies, history, geography, civics), and some form of aesthetic education (in arts and music), and physical education. It is likely that such a trend toward standardization is driven by the networking of international organizations and associations and the promotion by individual countries of universal values such as human or civic rights, socioeconomic development, or education.

### *Administrative Rationality*

For administrative rationality, Henning Haft and Stefan Hopmann used the case of Prussia to illustrate the mechanics of curriculum administration as symbolic actions, which included compartmentalization, licensing, and segmentation for providing legitimation and differentiation of the social distribution of knowledge. Compartmentalization in its current forms entails, for example, a separation among subject syllabus, curriculum timetables, and examination regulations by differentiated agencies. Licensing refers to separation of executive responsibilities such as instructional planning and teaching at school or classroom level from the planning authority of state-run curriculum development. Finally, segmentation of the levels of discourse relates to the division of ways and means in communications between curriculum construction by government officials and experts and curriculum debate by the public.

Although the social cohesion and sociostructural perspectives shed light on the importance of societal systems and social structures in shaping curriculum policies and changes, Ivor Goodson has pointed out that many Western writers on educational and social changes have ignored personal missions and biographical trajectories of key personnel. These create unexpected effects of symbolic actions in curriculum decision making and policy implementation under the administrative rationality perspective. A recent good example is found in Craig Kridel and Robert V. Bullough's recent work on stories of the Eight Year Study in the United States. These provided enlightening biographical narratives of nine educators who contributed to educational reform through experiment, exploration and discovery. In addition to

personal influences, Goodson highlights curriculum change that involves the interactions between domination and structure as well as between mechanism and mediation, all being located within historical periods. Nonetheless, many studies of curriculum and schooling tended to be conducted within snapshots of time and context. He examines how and why, from sociopolitical and social constructionist perspectives, some school subjects historically evolve and maintain their traditions in the grammar of schooling.

Some scholars, on the other hand, have addressed the profound influences of culture and ideologies on curriculum. In the context of England, Dennis Lawton refers to the interplay of three basic educational ideologies: classical humanism, progressivism, and reconstructionism. He refers to the use of cultural variants or cultural subsystems (sociopolitical system, economic system, communication system, rationality system, technology system, morality system, belief system, aesthetic system, and maturation system) in analyzing school curricula. In a similar vein, Alistair Ross examines the interplay of three curriculum traditions, namely, the academic, the utilitarian and the progressive, in English curriculum development and history. Robin Alexander, on the other hand, conducted international comparisons of primary education in France, Russia, India, the United States, and England. When comparing teaching in these five cultures, central European, Anglo-American, and Indian traditions could be identified. Differences could also be discerned with regard to: the openness of the lesson timeframes; handling and focus of lesson beginnings and closures; and unitary or episodic character of the body of the lesson. Moreover, the highest levels of distraction occurred in American and Indian classrooms. Although American students misbehaved or took part in some conversations during the lesson, Indian students stopped working, sat passively holding their pens, and watched the blackboard if they did not follow the lesson.

### *Additional Approaches*

As regards methodological issues related to context-specific particularism and culture-free pluralism, Rosenmund proposed two approaches for international comparative curriculum research. First there was the comparison and contrast

method based on Max Weber's ideal types concept. Second, there was the discourses method based on W. H. Schmidt and his colleagues' work on mathematics and science teaching in several countries. For the comparison and contrast method, the steps were the reconstruction of curricular processes in different countries as distinct forms of national curricular processes interacting with particular contexts; inference of types of regulation and patterns of relevant contextual conditions; exploration of particular historical and institutional factors shaping the variation of types and patterns of contextual conditions shaping curriculum processes; and using ideal types for comparing and contrasting societal conditions. An interesting example of this procedure can be found in a historical symposium in 1988 on a cross-cultural comparison of the Eight Year Study in the United States and the Humanities Curriculum Project in the United Kingdom. Some hypotheses were formulated based on similarities in notions of success and failure, manifestations of progressive education, emergence from climates of unease on the one hand and differences in strategies for coping with the unease, promoting curriculum change, and designing specific forms of curriculum evaluation.

### **International Curriculum Discourses**

The discourses method involves researchers from different countries offering interpretations of specific curriculum and teaching concepts from their own culture-specific perspectives, which, after rounds of negotiation and discussion, arrive at a common or consensual understanding of concepts with defined operational definitions. This approach is exemplified by international survey and observation studies such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the International System for Teacher Observation and Feedback (ISTOF) led by Charles Teddlie, Bert Creemers, Leonidas Kyriakides, Daniel Mujis, and Fen Yu.

Curriculum change and implementation take place at various levels ranging from the government, region or province, district, school, and teacher levels even within a single national system. Although there may be gaps and discrepancies between levels, schooling—its subjects, teaching and learning, schools, probably with exception of

programs of study—may be broadly more similar than different across societies. And the broad similarities of schooling in different societies mirror the linkage between the local implementation and universal discourses and issues that emerged. The ultimate questions are as follows: Who has the power at which level to decide upon the curriculum aims, contents, and modes of delivery for whom and how? Is it necessary to have equivalent curriculum concepts and indicators within and across various stakeholder groups among different countries for making international comparisons? As regards the unit for comparison, while national education systems and school systems remain important in future curriculum studies, Andy Green pointed out that diasporic language groups, distributed teacher and student communities, and virtual communities could be subjects for future comparative educational studies.

### Internationalization of Curriculum Studies

William Pinar reviewed the field of curriculum studies since 1950. He suggested that U.S. curriculum theory was structured on three historical moments: the crisis of curriculum development (1918–1969); reconceptualization from curriculum development to understanding curriculum (1980 to the present), and internationalization (2000 to the present). In addition to comparative curriculum research, international curriculum inquiry could be facilitated through enriching curriculum discourses through different cultural or cross-cultural perspectives. As early as 1999, the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* had published the section “International Curriculum Discourses.” The issues of identity for teachers working in a global context were explored from the perspectives of Christianity, Foucauldian theory, Confucianism, the Trickster tradition, and Buddhism. David Gregory Smith asserted that internationalization of curriculum work could not be achieved simply by celebrating differences; a collective global identity could be constructed by different peoples of the world genuinely sharing and debating their wisdom on how to live in a better, future, and shared world. Pinar has suggested that internationalization of curriculum studies needed to address both the horizontality and verticality of the field: the former ranging from the global to the local and the latter embracing historical and

future-oriented studies across national, regional, and global levels. He also remarked that in terms of themes of inquiry, the field of curriculum studies tended to highlight school improvement, and more emphasis could be put on understanding curriculum theory and history, including curriculum development and evaluation.

### Transnational Curriculum Inquiry

*The Journal of Curriculum Studies* published articles mainly from the English-speaking world in the 1970s, but gradually spread to continental Europe and beyond in the 1980s and the 1990s. Against the backdrop of globalization, some curriculum scholars such as Noel Gough assert that globalization is a transnational imaginary in which national spaces and identities as well as economic boundaries are undone and become homogenized. He argues that internationalization of curriculum inquiry should facilitate the performance of local knowledge traditions and ways of knowing in curriculum inquiry rather than emphasizing the translation of local representations of curriculum inquiry into universalized discourses and practices. This is to some extent actualized by the publication of a new journal, *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, in which articles from non-Western sources such as China, Japan, and Portugal have been published with peer comments. In addition, John Meyer has encouraged us to give more attention to some ignored themes in curriculum discourses including nationalism, religion, national ontology (particular properties of national spaces), social structure (e.g., tracking of students and curriculum differentiation) as well as concrete and local knowledge.

*John Chi Kin Lee*

*See also* Comparative Studies Research; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; International Perspectives; *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*; Transnational Research in Curriculum Studies

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## INTERTEXTUALITY

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The term *intertextuality* was introduced by Julia Kristeva to mean that any given text does not stand independent of other texts, events, or objects, but interacts with those to produce a mosaic of ideas. Kristeva was working off of Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, which explains the primacy of context over text, the hybrid nature of language, and the relation among utterances. Both Bakhtin and Kristeva suggest a three-part nature of textual dialogue: The act of interpretation involves not just author and addressee, but a third entity as well, a super-addressee. The superaddressee term expands earlier theories of textuality such as formalism by problematizing the concept of the closed text since

a wide variety of influences is always streaming in from outside social discourses.

The significance of this move away from fixed dialogue to open discourse is central to the field of curriculum studies, which William Pinar describes as a complicated conversation. No longer can we read a text or view a film without becoming aware of embedded meanings, sometimes heard only as undertones. If, as Louis Althusser observed, we are always already positioned by semiotic systems, then it becomes the task of the curriculum theorist to lay bare the prepositions. The province of the curriculum theorist interrupts assumptions about uncomplicated interpretations. Meaning making as an act of interruption can therefore be subversive or it can be illuminating and playful. In a culture of mass consumerism with access to the World Wide Web, it is essential to be able to read texts in all their various forms so as to see (and hear) how these shape agendas.

Here is where the work of curriculum studies becomes necessary, even unique, among disciplines. Pinar and Madeleine Grumet have argued that curriculum is a moving form, based on the root meaning of *currere*; its focus is on that which flows within subjects. How can curricular theorists ignite sparks in their students and from their publications so as to explore how subjectivities have been positioned? Such a project is both reflective and active, critically engaging outside social forces in complicated conversation.

Intertextuality can be seen as a verbal or gerundive enterprise that contextualizes any text (including the self) by blurring, parodying, layering, remaking, and so on. Intertextuality is a living pedagogy, the very nature of curriculum studies, which turns to such studies as women and gender, psychoanalysis, place, spirituality, post-colonialism, history, auto- or biography, institutionality, and aesthetics in order to examine the plurality of forces that come in to play on subjects and within texts. Of these studies, cultural studies is perhaps the latest and most explosive of areas; unusual, taken-for-granted, seemingly innocuous objects are meaning shapers. Consider Barbie for understanding gender training, gaming for understanding teen violence, and tattooing for understanding body art: These can be seen as a horizon against which curriculum studies critiques the social milieu.

Literature may be one of the oldest forms of intertextuality, as old as the Bible itself with its cross referencing between Hebrew and Christian scriptures. Two examples of postmodern literature illustrate. The British playwright Tom Stoppard is wickedly intertextual, deliberately pilfering characters from, most notably, Shakespeare, who himself pilfered plots from earlier tales. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* is a direct reference to two minor characters from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* who take center stage in Stoppard's farcical rewrite. Stoppard's theme—what we witness is unrelated to truth—always challenges the respect with which we view sacred cows. In Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, the Dick and Jane readers of 1940s middle-class, White, heterosexual America are juxtaposed against the main storyline of an ugly, poor, Black child who only wants to be blond, blue-eyed, and White like the iconic Shirley Temple. Morrison disrupts accepted coded notions of beauty, class,

identity, and race through her skillful weaving of intertextual references.

Mary Aswell Doll

*See also* Canon Project of American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Metatheory; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research

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## JACKSON, PHILIP W.

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Philip W. Jackson achieved prominence first as an educational psychologist, then as an observer of classroom life, and later as a philosopher of education. Throughout his career, he contributed seminal work to the field of curriculum studies. In deceptively simple prose, he has argued that the unintentional curriculum is as worthy of study as is the official curriculum; that the study of curriculum is healthiest when it draws on many perspectives, including its own history; that efforts to define curriculum prescriptively have been more provocative than instructive; and that the moral nature of teaching is a necessary starting point for curriculum studies.

After receiving his PhD from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1955, Jackson joined the faculty of the University of Chicago (where he remained until his retirement in 1998). Initially known for his work (with Jacob Getzels) on giftedness and intelligence, Jackson began to look for ways to get closer to the phenomena of schooling than he could get through the examination of data sets generated by student responses and performances. He spent months as an observer in classrooms, and his reflections on these observations appeared in *Life in Classrooms*, a book that inspired generations of curriculum scholars to pay more thoughtful attention to the complexities and uncertainties of classroom life. Jackson showed that the hidden curriculum was a powerful shaper of student experience and that much of the most

significant and most lasting student learning was being missed by the ordinary methods of educational research.

In “Curriculum and Its Discontents,” a paper first delivered in 1979 to Division B of the American Educational Research Association, Jackson addressed the recurring criticism (launched by Decker Walker and Joseph Schwab in the 1960s) that the field of curriculum was moribund (or already dead). Jackson questioned both the value of the metaphor of the dying field and the helpfulness of the responses to the supposed crisis. Acknowledging the freshness brought to curriculum study by existential, phenomenological, Marxist, psychoanalytical, literary, and philosophical thought (some of which had been inspired by *Life in Classrooms*), Jackson nevertheless critiqued the tendencies of the new perspectives to become bogged down in jargon and to be dismissive of earlier traditions and methodologies of curriculum studies. These concerns with making the products of curriculum study readable and with reconciling opposing views of curriculum and curriculum study recur throughout Jackson’s work.

In “The Mimetic and the Transformative” (the concluding essay from *The Practice of Teaching*), Jackson sketched two competing traditions of teaching that are based on two contradictory conceptions of knowledge. In the mimetic tradition, knowledge is information and skills that are transmissible, testable, and forgettable; they are moved from teacher to student through a sequence of routine steps—test, present, perform, assess, remediate (if necessary), and move on. In the transformative

tradition, knowing cannot be separated from living; to learn is to be fundamentally and pervasively changed, and there are no routine steps to guide the teacher. These two conceptions of knowledge imply two starkly different definitions of curriculum, perspectives on the nature of curriculum study, and roles for curriculum specialists. But, in keeping with his habit of reconciling opposing points of view, Jackson argues that the two traditions can be mutually supportive, suggesting that curriculum studies also need to be guided by both traditions.

In 1992, in *The Handbook of Research on Curriculum: A Project of the American Educational Research Association*, Jackson made two contributions that have helped to shape the study of curriculum. The first is the book itself—the range and quality of the contributions edited by Jackson. The handbook immediately became the standard in the field and has been used as a reference point for more recent curriculum handbooks.

The second contribution Jackson made in the handbook was his essay, “Conceptions of Curriculum and Curriculum Specialists,” an overview of curriculum studies in the 20th century. The essay examines debates over definitions of curriculum, contending perspectives on the nature of curriculum studies, and the evolving roles of the curriculum specialist. Acknowledging the confusion surrounding the study of curriculum, Jackson argues that a primary reason for the confusion can be traced to the assumption that one definition, one perspective, or one role must be seen as superior to other competing definitions, perspectives, and roles. This assumption, says Jackson, is unnecessary and serves only to exacerbate divisions among curriculum specialists and to add to the sense of confusion about the nature and purpose of curriculum studies.

In 1993, in *The Moral Life of Schools*, Jackson returned (together with David Hansen and Robert Boostrom) to themes he had first explored in *Life in Classrooms*, including unintentional learning and the lasting significance of everyday events. But *The Moral Life of Schools* also manifests the transformation of Jackson’s scholarly perspective from quantitatively minded educational psychology to philosophy of education. The tables and statistics that carry much of the argument in *Life in Classrooms* are absent from *The Moral*

*Life of Schools*, replaced by extended passages of observation and reflection. Examining teachers with painstaking care, Jackson reveals both his sympathy for their work and his unwillingness to allow even a minute aspect of it to escape thoughtful attention. The result of the analysis is a conviction that the moral world created by the teacher is the most important curriculum element in any classroom, for it is both a lesson itself and a matrix from which all other lessons are formed.

During his long career of teaching and writing, Jackson more and more has drawn on literary and philosophical sources outside those traditionally used by curriculum scholars, demonstrating in his work an expansive view of curriculum studies that has come to characterize the field.

Robert Boostrom

*See also* Hidden Curriculum; *Life in Classrooms*

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## JOURNAL OF CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

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Founded in 1997, the *Journal of Critical Inquiry Into Curriculum and Instruction*, a refereed journal, was committed to publishing educational scholarship and research of professionals in graduate study. The journal was distinguished by its requirement that the scholarship be the result of the first author’s graduate research—according to



*Cabell's Directory*, the first journal to do so. In addition, the third issue of each volume targeted wide representation of cultures and world regions, often including text in the author's first or national language (e.g., vol. 1). The journal published three issues per volume, a total of 15 issues between 1998 and 2004, when funding, international distribution, and relocation of the editor dictated discontinuation.

Initially sponsored and published by the Wichita State University, Kansas, by volume 2, Caddo Gap Press, San Francisco, published the journal. Later, Georgia Southern University also sponsored the journal.

Features of the publication included a conceptual frame "From the Desk of the Editor" introducing the focus of the journal, "Foreword" introducing the focus of the issue, and "Afterthought" making interpretations and suggesting implications of the content taken as a whole. The latter two were written by members of the editorial advisory board. "Current thinking on . . ."—also written by members of the board—highlighted state-of-the-art topics related to the issue's themes. Other aspects of the journal included the following:

- illustrations, photography, collage, student-generated art or artifacts, full-color art;
- cutting-edge methodologies extending educational research through aboriginal and native oral traditions (e.g., autobiographical work in vol. 2, issue 2 by Kuloin), arts-based analysis, found poetry (e.g., Cherice Montgomery's critical review in vol. 4, issue 2, of Barone's *Touching Eternity*); and
- foci on liberatory pedagogy and social justice action research.

The journal was also the first publication to feature G. Pritchey Smith's expanded knowledge bases for diversity in teacher education in volume 2, issue 3.

The synergy arrow on the cover of the journal translated into the journal's acronym, *JCI*~>*CI*, representing the belief of those working on the journal that their combined efforts with those of scholars in the field would far exceed the sum of individual efforts. The concept also appeared in the regular feature "On the Shoulders of Giants"—Bernard of Chartres' metaphor of dwarfs on the

shoulders of giants, seeing more because of being lifted high.

*Tonya Huber-Warring*

*See also* Action Research; Arts-Based Research; Critical Pedagogy; *Educational Imagination, The*; International Research; Narrative Research; Qualitative Research; Teacher as Researcher

### Further Readings

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## JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

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The *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* is a biannual publication sponsored by the Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference. Patrick Slattery and James G. Henderson developed the idea and with the financial support of Texas A&M and Kent State University, started the journal in 2004. The journal honors the interdependence of varied perspectives, research, scholarship, and forms of representation in order to achieve richer and more complex opportunities for curriculum workers to explore the relevance and significance of their efforts.

The journal offers two unique elements when compared to other curriculum journals. First, it provides spaces for arts-based researchers to share their work both within the journal and on its cover. Each issue of the journal includes an arts-based work, and the cover of the journal for each issue includes a photograph or work of art that coincides with an arts-based article. This element of the journal represents a vital partnership that began between the Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference and the Arts-Based Educational Research Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association (ABER SIG) in

2000 during the conference's first annual meeting. At the time, ABER met jointly with Curriculum and Pedagogy, and since that time the conference has maintained an arts-based strand at each annual conference.

Second, the journal maintains a "Perspectives" section in each issue. In this section, the editors identify a key question or issue in the field and seek a variety of very diverse leaders in the field who provide responses. 'Perspectives' sections have included such issues as how spiritual, moral, and theological discourses influence curriculum and pedagogy; how curriculum workers can claim a progressive curriculum and pedagogy in a politically conservative climate; how the arts inspire curriculum and pedagogy; and how curriculum scholars can become public intellectuals. The editors who plan and develop each "Perspectives" section actively seek diverse perspectives in order to provide engaging and complex conversations about the questions and issues.

The mission of the journal focuses on intersections between curriculum theory, the study of teaching practice, and the professional artistry that emerges within those intersections. The journal considers these intersections democratic spaces based upon the core ideals of John Dewey and his notions of experience, community, and creative expression. Therefore, the journal's editors strive to move away from simple solutions by encouraging conversations between scholars and practitioners who use varied forms of inquiry: historical, theoretical, theological, and philosophical analysis; arts-based research; linguistics; autobiography; and scholarship addressing issues of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity.

The journal attempts to bring honest challenges to the field so its readers can critically explore problems and possibilities within K-12 classrooms, within teacher education programs, and within the larger society. To this end, the journal recognizes the need to honor diverse perspectives, multiple forms of inquiry, and both interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary boundaries within its pages. However, the journal does not merely provide parallel spaces for these diverse views and varied forms of inquiry. It also seeks tensions and intersections between and among them.

*Donna Adair Breault*

*See also* Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference

## Web Sites

Curriculum and Pedagogy Conference: <http://www.curriculumandpedagogy.org>

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## *JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM AND SUPERVISION*

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The *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* (1985–2005) was a quarterly journal of theory, inquiry, and analysis in the scholarship and practice of the fields of curriculum and supervision. Published by the ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development), the journal began with the fall 1985 issue. ASCD Executive Editor Ron Brandt stated in introducing the journal that ASCD was creating the most widely circulated English-language scholarly publication on curriculum and supervision in the world. Brandt attributed the journal to a history of recommendations begun in the late 1950s and culminating with a plan for increased attention to research and theory. The journal began publication with Edmund Short and Robert F. Nicely Jr. as editors and O. L. Davis Jr. (Davis also was editor of the journal from 1995–2005), Maxine Greene, Thomas Sergiovanni, Arthur Steller, Decker Walker, and Benjamin Williams as editorial board members. The editorial board chose the name of the journal and specified that it would be a refereed scholarly journal that examined curriculum and supervision practices and related policy issues. The journal invited articles from a wide variety of appropriate research methods, including interpretive, empirical, historical, critical, and analytical.

The journal continued its 20-year history with largely the same publication intent. Its masthead statement in the final year of publication, 2005, stated that the journal was a refereed scholarly journal that reflectively examined curriculum and supervision policies and related issues as they pertained to teaching, learning, and leadership. Studies using a variety of appropriate research and inquiry methods were accepted for publication.

During its publication life, the journal reported, served as forum for, and felt the impact of changing paradigms in curriculum and supervision. In 1985, supervision was an expected and respected role and professional practice, and clinical supervision was

the model paradigm. The purpose of supervision was to ensure reasonable practice-based compliance and fidelity to curriculum and instructional initiatives within schools and districts. During the two decades of the journal's publication, competing paradigms first moved supervision from expert-based clinical supervision to more collegial developmental models, then to more democratized and peer-based coaching and learning community models. The conceptual shift led to identity issues within the field and scholarship of supervision. This intellectual and practical shift in the field was catalogued by Short as part of a report on the journal's first 10 years. He reported that 31 of 80 articles on supervision had been on either conceptual or philosophical issues in supervision. In a similar manner, the publication years of the journal witnessed the continued movement of the curriculum field from emphases on curriculum practice and curriculum development to curriculum studies and the influence of critical theory in the field. Short's review indicated that 20 articles published on curriculum—by far the largest proportion—in the journal were theoretical or philosophical.

There also were different views of the journal's role. ASCD Executive Gordon Cawelti saw the journal as a potential outlet for definitive and practice-changing research studies that could be promoted as policy and practice contributions by the parent organization. This view was consistent with ASCD's move toward increased lobbying and development as a major education publishing house. Contributors and other members of the higher education community, however, viewed the journal as an outlet for the broad array of topics and inquiry modes listed on the masthead guidelines. ASCD's decision to suspend publication after the 2005 volume year was attributed to diminished circulation (revenue) that no longer justified publication expenses.

*Gerald Ponder*

*See also* Curriculum Development; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Theory; Supervision as a Field of Study

### Further Readings

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## JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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The *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (*JCS*) is an international, peer-reviewed journal with editorial offices in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, and Australia. *JCS* focuses on promoting a global examination of curriculum issues and an interdisciplinary understanding of curriculum practice that emphasizes a cross-cultural dialogue. It maintains an interdisciplinary approach to curriculum studies by featuring articles that focus on the intersections of theory, research, and practice.

The journal was established in November 1968, and the founding editor was P. H. Taylor from the School of Education at the University of Birmingham, in Edgbaston, United Kingdom. Its first issue included pieces by Lawrence Stenhouse and John Goodlad. *JCS* widened its scope by calling for papers that deal with the history of the field, teacher education, and the planning, policy making, and evaluating of curriculum. The journal features reports on the status of curriculum from various parts of the world, op-ed pieces, speculations, and book and essay reviews. *JCS* also collected articles into themed issues on topics such as ways of seeing, knowing, and teaching; written curriculum guides; and changes in curriculum. *JCS* is published six times a year.

In 2007, Ian Westbury and Geoffrey Milburn published an edited collection of seminal *JCS* articles written in the past 25 years, including William A. Reid's "Strange Curricula: Origins and Development of the Institutional Categories of Schooling," David Hamilton's "Adam Smith and the Moral Economy of the Classroom System," Agneta Linne's "The Lesson as a Pedagogic Text: A Case Study of Lesson Designs," Max Van Manen's "Reflectivity and the Pedagogical Moment: The Practical-Ethical Nature of Pedagogical Thinking and Acting," Wolfgang Klafki's "Didaktik Analysis as the Core of the Preparation of Instruction," J. T. Dillon's "Effect of Questions in Education and Other Enterprises," Jeremy N. Price and Deborah Loewenberg Ball's "There's Always Another Agenda': Marshalling Resources for Mathematics Reform," James P. Spillane, Richard Halverson, and John B. Diamond's "Towards a Theory of Leadership Practice: A Distributed Perspective," Joan Solomon's

“Meta-Scientific Criticisms, Curriculum Innovation, and the Propagation of Scientific Culture,” John Elliott’s “A Curriculum for the Study of Human Affairs: The Contribution of Lawrence Stenhouse,” James Andrew Laspina’s “Designing Diversity: Globalization, Textbooks, and the Story of Nations,” Brent Davis and Dennis J. Sumara’s “Curriculum Forms: On the Assumed Shapes of Knowing and Knowledge,” and Shirley Brice Heath and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin’s “Learning for Anything Everyday.”

*Jacqueline Bach*

*See also* Goodlad, John I; Stenhouse, Lawrence

#### Further Readings

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## JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM THEORIZING

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The *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* (*JCT*) has served as the major publication for reconceptualist curriculum theorists since its inception in the late 1970s. Initially, the journal served as a vehicle for publishing particularly noteworthy papers presented at the curriculum theory conference that in 1983 became known as the Bergamo Conference. Interspersed with the conference papers during the first few years of the journal were original manuscripts by some of the leading figures in reconceptualist curriculum theory such as William Pinar, Paul Klohr, James Macdonald, and Ted Aoki as well as the generation of curriculum theorists, such as Janet Miller and Madeline Grumet, who had been mentored or influenced by these scholars as they completed their doctoral studies in the 1970s and early 1980s. The first issues of *JCT* might be considered primitive, aesthetically and technically, by today’s standards, but the journal carved out an important theoretical niche and filled a void that had been left by more established curriculum journals such as *Curriculum Inquiry* and *Educational Leadership*.

The *JCT* has always viewed itself as a voice for curriculum theorists who were exploring new and uncharted territory in the field. The journal generally eschewed traditional forms of inquiry and research and allowed its authors to be both experimental and intellectually curious. Manuscripts drew largely from philosophical, historical, sociological, theological, and psychoanalytic paradigms and when a research design was used, it was qualitative. Although these modes of inquiry are commonplace today, in the late 1970s and 1980s they were far from the norm and were only occasionally evident in the traditional, mainstream educational journals of the time. But that was the primary mission of the journal: to make the strange familiar and the familiar strange.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, *JCT* began to utilize more aesthetically oriented formats on both the cover pages and in the articles. Original drawings, artwork, photographs, and other types of illustrations appeared. The journal began to divide articles by sections such as “Literary Anthropologies,” “Curriculum Forms,” “Hermeneutic Portraits,” and “Cultural Product Reviews,” in addition to the usual four or five articles. This division allowed writers and readers the opportunity to explore alternative approaches to curriculum theorizing while providing a place for new theoretical perspectives to emerge.

This organizational structure has continued through the 1990s and into the current format, although new section titles have evolved including “Biblio-Reverence,” “Childhood and Cultural Studies,” “International Curriculum Discourses,” “Literacies,” “[Popular] Cultural Matters,” “Reading Between the Lines: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Texts,” “Reconceptual Inquiries in Practice and Politics,” “Post-Structural Lines of Flight,” “Studies in Philosophy, Ethics and Education,” and “Feature Articles.” The most recent section titles suggest that the journal is organic, vibrant, and constantly changing to reflect changes in the field and more avant-garde directions.

Although the subscriptions for *JCT* have been primarily from university libraries and attendees of the Bergamo Conference, the readership has remained steady over the past 30 years despite the emergence of new journals focusing on curriculum studies, international curriculum perspectives, and



curriculum and pedagogy. The *JCT* has established and maintained a strong niche in the field of curriculum theory and has provided a voice for several generations of curriculum theorists.

*Leigh Chiarelott*

See also Aoki, Ted T.; Bergamo Conference, The; *Curriculum Books*; *Curriculum Theorizing*; Curriculum Theory

#### Web Sites

*Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*: <http://www.jctonline.org>

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## JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CURRICULUM STUDIES

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The *Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies* began its online publication of articles and research essays on subjects important to the intellectual advancement of U.S. curriculum studies in 2005. Edited by Alan Block of the University of Wisconsin-Stout, it serves as the main voice of its parent association, which aims to advance the field of curriculum studies in two ways: in terms of maintaining and promoting the importance of a formal curriculum studies field and in terms of placing curriculum studies in an international frame of reference.

Because curriculum studies as a subfield of educational studies emerged historically within the larger discipline of education and now permeates multiple disciplines, articles and essays published by the journal pay careful attention to cultural issues and methodological concerns in order to understand curriculum as many kinds of texts including, but significantly extending beyond, curriculum as administrative text. The importance of this conceptualization of advancement extends to institutional issues at the tertiary level; this includes, for example, the consideration of the politics of placement, of where, when, and how

curriculum studies exists as an independent arena of research and teaching, as well as an organizing concept within or across departments. At the same time, the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies has an interesting perspective on the internationalization of the field of curriculum studies as one of a number of regional and national affiliates of the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies. Thus, articles and essays examine how the field of curriculum studies exists and operates in particular locales, analyze curriculum histories in cross-national perspective, or investigate the relationships among curriculum formation, epistemology, ontology, governance, and state formation in international perspectives. The journal also routinely publishes the text of the invited presidential address—a keynote presentation invited by the current association president—from its annual conference.

The unique character of the journal arises in its preference for research essays constituted by close readings of published texts in curriculum studies. These research essays not only critique, but also contextualize new scholarship in the history and present circumstances of the field, institutionalizing complicated conversation between past and present as well as between U.S. curriculum studies and the work in other locations. With the book(s) and article(s) or essay(s) situated at the illusory center, the *Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies'* research essays explore not only ideas in these texts, but also their relations to culture, society, and the historical moment.

*Peter Appelbaum*

See also American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies

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**Web Sites**

*Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies*: <http://www.uwstout.edu/soel/jaaacs>

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## JOURNAL OF WORLD COUNCIL FOR CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

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The *Journal of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction* (WCCI) has played a major role in accomplishing the transnational organization's goal of networking with educators worldwide. In 1982, WCCI started serious planning to make the journal a reality. After several years of discussion and planning, the journal was born. In 1986, Virginia (Jean) Floresca-Cawagas was invited to become the first editor. She accepted and served from 1987 to 1990. In addition, Tony Hepworth served as the first associate editor. The first WCCI journal issue was published in June 1987 under the title of *WCCI Forum*. The journal was originally intended as a two-issue per year publication, but funding and distribution to the large international body of members would continue to plague the publication. In addition, editors faced the challenge of the WCCI mandate to balance scholarship and equitable representation of authors by world region.

In 1991, a new editorial staff was formed. Henry Evans and Helene Sherman served as editors. Marcia Lipson and Nondita Mason served as the associate editors. They published one issue, *WCCI Forum*, volume 5, numbers 1 and 2, in 1991, with Mason and Sherman as editors. Then the journal was relatively inactive from 1992 to 1998.

In 1998, the WCCI executive board invited Floresca-Cawagas to return as the editor of the academic-refereed journal. She accepted, serving from 1999 to 2006. During this time, the journal's name was changed to *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction* (IJCI).

Although the founding name of the association, World Council of Curriculum and Instruction, has been maintained in the title of the official refereed publication, the title has been revisited in consideration of developments in their field. With *instruction* considered pedagogically outdated by many leaders in the field, *teaching-learning* is preferred rather than *instruction*. Although critical thinking, holistic learning, and transformative learning may not be included in the instruction paradigm, articles reflect these critical pedagogies and contribute to professional literature in research and in practice. Themed issues include the following: women and children, *WCCI Forum*, volume 3, issue 2; environmental care, *IJCI*, volume 1, issue 2; and peace education, *IJCI*, volume 2, issue 1.

The North America Chapter also publishes a journal in conjunction with their conferences. Scholars from Australia, Brunei, Canada, China, Cuba, Cyprus, India, Indonesia, Japan, Lithuania, Mexico, New South Wales, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, South Africa, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tibet, Uganda, the United States of America, and Zambia are among many who have published in the journals of WCCI.

*Tonya Huber-Warring and Lisa A. Holtan*

*See also* Berman, Louise M.; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; International Research; Miel, Alice; Transnational Research; World Council for Curriculum and Instruction

**Further Readings**

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## *KEEPING TRACK*

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Even in an applied field such as curriculum studies, it is rare for an academic book to attract and influence a broad spectrum of policy makers, practitioners, and everyday people. Jeannie Oakes's *Keeping Track* is an exception. The book, first published in 1985, draws upon the results of a large national study to describe the effects of grouping, or tracking, students by perceived ability. Although it was not the first scholarly critique of tracking, its combination of accessible writing and compelling evidence helped spark national debate about a practice that had become pervasive in U.S. schools. A second edition issued in 2005 contains a new preface plus two additional chapters that analyze this debate and the detracking movement it spawned.

Oakes opens her book by defining tracking as a subjective process by which students are sorted into high- and low-level courses that offer very different educational opportunities. She then summarizes the misconceptions that she believes underlie this practice: that students learn more in homogeneous groups, that tracking protects the self-esteem of "slower" students, that track placements are appropriate and fair, and that teaching is harder in heterogeneous classes. In the following chapter, she traces tracking's historical roots to the early 20th century when immigration fueled unprecedented increases in secondary school enrollment. Tracking was grounded in racist, classist, and paternalistic beliefs about these immigrants and others. The

practice was embraced as an efficient scientific method to provide this newly heterogeneous student body with schooling appropriate to everyone's academic capacity and future station in life.

The six chapters that comprise the heart of the book describe tracking-related findings from *A Study of Schooling*, led by John Goodlad. This massive 1970s study involved 25 geographically and demographically diverse secondary schools, 297 classrooms, and hundreds of hours and observations and interviews. (The same study was the subject of Goodlad's classic book, *A Place Called School*.) The results, as described by Oakes, are a damning indictment of tracking. Low-track students do not just move slower, they learn less. Their inferior curriculum consists largely of learning and relearning basic skills. Teachers are tracked too, with the best instructors reserved for the higher tracks. Low-track teachers are more punitive and spend more time on discipline. In turn, low-track students develop negative attitudes and behaviors. They argue, act up, and perceive their teachers and peers as unfriendly and unkind. By contrast, the students in the untracked classes included in the study absorbed rigorous material in a supportive environment indistinguishable from what was found in higher tracks.

Oakes accordingly fails to find tracking to be equitable or fair because students who need the most are getting less. And decisions about who gets what are tainted by subjective judgments that disadvantage low-income students of color. Oakes raises constitutional questions about the degree to which tracking violates students' rights to due

process and equal protection under the law. Drawing upon the reproductionist theory of Samuel Bowles and Hebert Gintis, she concludes that tracking legitimizes inequality by providing an illusion of meritocracy. She concludes by recommending that schools eliminate tracking.

In the years that followed the publication of the first edition, tracking was denounced by a diverse group of organizations including the National Governors Association, the state of Alabama, and the National Education Association. Yet the majority of U.S. schools continue to track. In the chapters new to the book's second edition, Oakes provides some reasons why. According to Oakes, tracking advocates have mischaracterized tracking research as inconclusive, erroneously insisted that tracking has changed so dramatically in the past 20 years that it is no longer problematic, and argued that tracking should simply be fixed since detracking would be even worse. In addition, educators fear that detracking will cause "bright" students to flee. Supporters of tracking tend to be more vocal than detractors. Administrators shrink from the parental dissatisfaction that may result from school reform.

Still, Oakes remains optimistic, presenting case studies to demonstrate how detracking can be accomplished. Such optimism is especially noteworthy given Oakes's views that detracking itself is little more than a first step. In Oakes's eyes, schools will not truly change until detracking is accompanied by deeper political and normative paradigm shifts.

R. Holly Yettick and Kevin G. Welner

See also Goodlad, John I.; Heterogeneous-Homogeneous Grouping; Reproduction Theory; *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Secondary School Curriculum; Social Efficiency Tradition; Tracking; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## KILPATRICK, WILLIAM HEARD

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William Heard Kilpatrick (1871–1965) popularized the project method and child-centered curriculum and proved most important to curriculum studies as an emblematic figure for progressive education curricula. Although Kilpatrick's reputation suffers criticism for misapplying progressive ideals and the beliefs of John Dewey, he remains the self-proclaimed interpreter and leading proponent of the progressive education curriculum of the early to mid-20th century.

Kilpatrick graduated from Mercer College and taught mathematics in the Georgia public schools, returning to Mercer to serve as a faculty member and acting president. His decision to leave Mercer was precipitated by charges of religious heresy, where he subsequently moved to Teachers College and completed his PhD in 1912. Referred to during his later years as the white-haired gentleman from Georgia with his distinctive appearance and accent and charismatic public presence, Kilpatrick taught at Teachers College from 1912 until his retirement in 1937. He was described by the New York City press as Teachers College's million dollar professor in recognition of his large classes and the amount of tuition he generated for the institution.

The launching of Kilpatrick's national career occurred in 1918 with the publication in *Teachers College Record* of "The Project Method: The Use of the Purposeful Act in the Educative Process," later reprinted and widely distributed in monograph form. Although the project method was already popular in the areas of agricultural, architectural, and vocational education, Kilpatrick offered the general elementary school classroom teacher a rationale for shifting the curriculum away from rigid content and recitation to a more child-centered program. With the emergence of new psychological and sociological research influencing educational thought, Kilpatrick focused curriculum planning on the interests of the self-directed student. Curriculum development, thus, turned from predefined subject matter to experiences that fostered self-directed, purposive living. Accordingly, curriculum was viewed as a process of living in what has become a fundamental definition for the field of curriculum studies. Yet such basic beliefs, willingly embraced by progressive educators, still



left teachers wondering just what to do in the classroom, and the project method offered tangible direction and guidance for developing a child-centered program. Kilpatrick classified types of projects and described the project method as having two necessary components: (1) a hearty, purposeful act and (2) an activity conducted in a social context. From this framework of curriculum and instruction, Kilpatrick popularized this educational method that came into common usage throughout the 20th century. Although the practice received much criticism from both progressives and traditional educators, Kilpatrick underscored the importance of subject matter, the role of teacher as expert and guide, and the significance of democracy as a social process for schools. The project method remains the most popular and defining curricular-instructional practice of progressive education.

Interestingly, one of Kilpatrick's truly insightful contributions to curriculum studies never received the attention that many believed it deserved: the concept of concomitant learnings. Although Kilpatrick saw the project method as providing a framework for curriculum design and development, his belief in educating the whole child and his familiarity with learning theory caused him to take a broader view of educational experience. He would come to articulate two types of learning: (1) direct (or primary-intentional) learning resulting from traditional or student-centered curriculum and (2) concomitant (or associate-simultaneous) learning, representing students' transactional feelings, attitudes, and reactions to content (again, stemming from primarily the project method, but also possible in traditional school settings). Concomitant learning recognized positive and negative aspects of the process of learning, including both the joy of discovery and the dread of testing. Thus, Kilpatrick's conception of curriculum as the process of living caused the fostering of positive attitudes and habits toward learning, through concomitant learning, to become as important a curricular activity as the actual selection of the content. The project method—arising from the interests of the child and engaged as a hearty, purposeful act—served as a successful means of providing both direct and concomitant learning. Since Kilpatrick underscored the importance of concomitant learning and student growth and interests, critics of progressive education were once again able to interpret

his comments as a way to expose an inattention to subject matter and disciplinary knowledge.

In addition to his contributions to curriculum design and development, Kilpatrick helped to initiate many educational and social projects of importance to the field of curriculum studies, including the John Dewey Society and its yearbooks that often addressed curriculum issues, Bennington College as an example of progressive education curricula at the postsecondary level, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, and the *Social Frontier*. Further, Kilpatrick assisted indirectly generations of textbook authors by serving as the model, an exemplar, for their descriptions of progressivism. Gladly branding himself as the leading disciple of John Dewey, Kilpatrick served elementary teachers of the 1920s and 1930s by providing a specific, tangible curricular-instructional method that could be immediately applied to classroom practice and later, served as a charismatic spokesperson—a teacher and public figure—who could represent progressive education to educators throughout the country and world.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Project Method

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## KLIEBARD, HERBERT M.

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Over the course of four decades, Herbert M. Kliebard (1930– ) has been one of the leading

U.S. curriculum theorists and historians, influencing countless scholars, administrators, and teachers who took his classes and read his many publications. As a faculty member at the University of Wisconsin at Madison from 1963 through 1999, he taught several thousand students who learned, for example, that curriculum planning could be approached in other than an overly technocratic and rational way, indeed as an area of thoughtful and creative deliberation and decision making concerning interrelated issues of purpose, selection, organization, assessment, culture, and politics. He has also shared his historical and theoretical insights in close to 100 journal articles, book chapters, and reviews, some of which have become classics in the curriculum literature, such as several that first appeared between 1968 and 1977 and have been reprinted many times: "The Curriculum Field in Retrospect," "The Tyler Rationale," "The Rise of Scientific Curriculum-Making and Its Aftermath," and "Curriculum Theory: Give Me a 'For Instance.'" Kliebard has also published eight books: *The Language of the Classroom* (coauthored); *Religion and Education in America: A Documentary History*; *Teacher, Student, and Society: Perspectives on Education* (coedited); *Curriculum and Evaluation* (coedited); *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (three editions); *Forging the American Curriculum: Essays in Curriculum History and Theory*; *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876–1946*; and *Changing Course: American Curriculum Reform in the Twentieth Century*. It would be incorrect to say that anyone invents a field of study, but Kliebard has certainly been one of the most influential contributors to the historical study of the U.S. curriculum, to the idea that in order to understand complex curricular and other school phenomena, one must go back to its genesis.

Kliebard was born and raised in New York City, graduating with an AB in English in 1952 and a MA in 1953, both degrees from City College of New York. After working for 1 year as an English teacher at Bronx Vocational High School (the school that formed the basis for the *Blackboard Jungle* novel and movie), he served in the U.S. Army Medical Corps for 2 years before returning to his previous high school position. From 1956 to 1962, he worked as a reading specialist for the

Nyack, New York, Public Schools and then served 1 year as a research associate at Teachers College, Columbia University. By this time, he had begun his doctoral studies in reading at Teachers College, but switched his major to curriculum and teaching, working closely with Arno Bellack. He earned his doctorate in 1963 and joined the faculty at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, teaching in the departments of curriculum and instruction and educational policy studies until his retirement in 1999 (having attained full professor rank in 1970). Kliebard has received many professional honors, including a distinguished faculty award from the University of Wisconsin, a distinguished alumnus award from Teachers College, the Outstanding Achievement Award of the John Dewey Society, and a lifetime achievement award from the Curriculum Studies division of the American Educational Research Association.

After initial work in analyzing teachers' classroom discourse, Kliebard embarked on an intellectual journey of what he early on referred to as examining more closely the field of curriculum's persistence and perplexing questions and issues. During his long and prolific career, he has engaged in the historical study of a wide range of topics that intersect with the selection, organization, and evaluation of the curriculum, in doing so revealing how democracy, status politics, symbolic meanings, liberal education, science, vocationalism, differentiation, social control, and institutional change, for example, are intertwined with curriculum work. Influenced in particular by the work of John Dewey, Boyd Bode, and Edward Krug, Kliebard adopts the kind of critical perspective, along with a commitment to meticulous research and an appreciation for nuance, that is needed to question and redefine the taken-for-granted assumptions of the field. He highlights the myriad ways in which the celebratory, overly simplified, and consensual accounts of many curricular scholars and practitioners do not provide the conceptual frameworks to make sense of what has occurred and why. Indeed, to understand specific practices and policies of the schools today, and in particular their instructional programs (involving, e.g., planning, standards, tracking, integrated curriculum, and assessment), one needs to reach back to the past and closely examine the evolution of the professional field. A historical perspective is

particularly important when one sets out to improve the curriculum, for example, to address the changes of the 21st century.

In his pathbreaking and oft-cited book, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958*, Kliebard makes this point abundantly clear to new generations of prospective and current educators. The role of social efficiency educators, as well as humanists, developmentalists, social meliorists, and others with strong ideological convictions about what should be taught to whom and how it should be organized and evaluated, may not be overtly referred to in the classrooms and hallways of our current schools, but their strong influence can most certainly still be felt. Kliebard has provided richly detailed accounts that substantiate his critical insight that the curriculum was and continues to be a battleground for strongly held, competing values, politics, and status aspirations. Anyone seeking to gain an essential understanding of the curriculum field, in particular its searing conflicts

and untidy compromises, would benefit from starting with his work.

*Kenneth Teitelbaum*

*See also* Curriculum, History of; Curriculum Theory; Historical Research; *Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*; Tyler Rationale, The

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## LACANIAN THOUGHT

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Lacanian thought refers to the work of French psychoanalyst and poststructuralist Jacques Lacan (1901–1981). In curriculum studies, his ideas are used to explore desire in the classroom, challenge the belief that identity is a fixed concept, and examine the subject's relationship with language. His writings and lectures are collected in *Écrits*, published in 1966, and in several volumes that contain his seminars delivered between 1953 and 1981. The three orders of the Lacanian self—the imaginary, the symbolic, and the real—were influenced in part by psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, structuralist Ferdinand de Saussure, and surrealist Salvador Dali.

The imaginary refers to a phase before the acquisition of language and therefore of an identity separate from a caretaker. Subjects are defined through an imagined sense of self based upon what they see constructed through the gaze of another. Lacan's interpretation of the mirror stage (first presented at a conference in 1936) refers to the time when infants between the ages of 6 and 18 months observe themselves in the reflection of another or an Other (i.e., mirror, mother, or sibling). Recognizing for the first time an external, cohesive identity, subjects seek to regain that ideal sense of wholeness. However, because that identity or image changes with each new reflective surface, the subject can never regain a stable, fixed identity, but continues to seek the comfort of one.

Therefore, subjects must adopt the rules and language of the symbolic order. Lacan and many of those who use his theories call their participants subjects because they must succumb to language to express themselves. As they seek their unconscious needs and desires, subjects must succumb to the symbolic register that is governed by the laws of language, which is controlled by the paternal. Furthermore, because they possess a phallus, male subjects are able to employ the symbolic order, whereas females are forever situated outside that order.

The real is the opposite of the imaginary and exists outside the symbolic. This order represents that which always remains, but is forever unattainable. Once a subject uses the symbolic (i.e., language) to try to define that which is impossible to define, it is no longer real, but is constructed by a subject. In other words, the real is always in its place, and (and to refer to one of Lacan's tenets) because the unconscious is structured like a language, it is impossible to access that which cannot be expressed through the symbolic.

Feminist and queer theories build upon and challenge many of Lacan's concepts. Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva each question the notion that the female cannot express herself through language because it is inherently male. Irigaray posits that the female, therefore, is a male construct, while Cixous advocates that the female does indeed possess a language of her own. Kristeva rejects the idea that the subject must suppress the feminine during the mirror stage and argues that the feminine expresses itself through

the pulsations and rhythms found in language. In her work on performativity, Judith Butler addresses Lacan's ideas that subjects experience lack because they desire the phallus. Agreeing with Lacan's explanation of the phallus as a signifier, not always synonymous with penis, Butler argues that women can both possess and lack the phallus through performance, for example, by dressing in drag or by displacing the penis as signifier by substituting another body part.

In curriculum studies, Lacanian thought is used to explore the complex relationships between teachers and students, to explore how language fails to convey the real and how the desire for the real may be transferred to the Other, and to explore the ethical questions that might result from these interactions. For example, a student who desires the affections of a teacher might in actuality covet the power a teacher represents. The student might transfer that desire onto the teacher in an effort to possess the unimaginable. In other words, employing Lacan's theories to read this situation would reveal that this student or subject might lack or desire power. Once this identification is made, however, the subject cannot signify that lack through language and will still experience lack. Lacanian thought brings to curriculum studies ideas grounded in psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, and surrealist art.

*Jacqueline Bach*

*See also* Butlerian Thought; Freudian Thought; Poststructuralist Research; Psychoanalytic Theory; Structuralism

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preparation of pre- and inservice PreK–8 educators for engaging children and youth with the subject matter, pedagogical practices, and current debates related to the commonly accepted strands of language arts, which include reading, writing, speaking, listening, viewing, and visual representation. This topic is relevant to the field of curriculum studies because the language arts remain the most foundational—and potentially most controversial—of curricular emphases addressed within any PreK–8 school setting. This encyclopedia entry provides a definition of English language arts education curricula, including an overview of their most commonly recognized elements; brief discussions of the primary assumptions, theories, and curricular standards associated with this element of curriculum; cursory examinations of historical and recent debates and controversies related to this field of curriculum studies; and descriptions of examples of four of the key strands included in language arts education curricula.

#### Definition

Although language arts education might be taught with a focus on any language (e.g., Spanish language arts education or Chinese language arts education), in the United States it is assumed that one is considering the English language when speaking of a language arts education curriculum. Of course, in the United States—with an increasingly diverse population, including higher percentages of non-native English speakers—traditional language arts education curricula frequently include considerations of the needs, abilities, and skills related to other languages.

Language arts education curricula are generally differentiated from English education curricula by both the grade levels toward which these subject matters are oriented and the range of subtopics that are included in each. The language arts are generally organized as discrete courses of study taught in elementary through middle or junior high school (PreK–8) grades; these courses are distinct from English courses (generally taught in high school settings) in that language arts curricula include a holistic integration of all of the elements listed above (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening, viewing, and visual representation), of which two are written, two are visual, and two are oral.

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## LANGUAGE ARTS EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Language arts education curricula are the sets of materials and practices generally used in the

In addition, in the grades in which the language arts are taught, it is commonly recognized that these topics and skills are integrated within and across subjects (e.g., science or social studies), even if these are also taught as discrete courses. As students progress to high school, these integrated language arts are isolated into distinct courses and curricula, each of which might focus remotely on literature, composition, speech, debate, drama, video, multimedia, or related courses.

### Assumptions, Theories, and Standards

Several assumptions and theories lie at the heart of the nature of language arts education curricula. These include the belief that the upper elementary and middle school (Grades 4–8) youth who are the primary audiences for language arts curricula are developmentally unique and benefit from an integrative approach to curricula and teaching practices. As with many fields of curriculum, the features of language arts education curricula are the outgrowth of a set of psychological characteristics believed to be most prevalent among upper elementary and middle school children.

Psychological, constructivist, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural perspectives on how children learn illustrate how students' knowledge is organized in the brain. Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky both describe cognitive structures that suggest that the organization of children's brains becomes more integrated as their knowledge grows. Accommodation and assimilation are the primary cognitive processes at work: Accommodation takes place when learners' existing mental frames—or schemes—are modified by new information that they encounter, and assimilation occurs when new information is incorporated into children's existing schemes. All people attempt to achieve and maintain equilibrium—to make sense of new information that they encounter; naturally, children in school encounter new information on a regular basis, but teachers must be conscious of the quantity and quality of this information, seeking to share what Piaget calls moderately novel facts, data, and concepts. Language arts education curricula attempt to appeal to early adolescents' developmental needs for integrated, but increasingly discrete, curricular topics.

Language arts education curricula are also rooted in now commonly accepted prescriptive

principles or content standards. The standards movement has greatly altered the curriculum landscape in the past decade, with states generally developing their own standards and designing their own or adopting commercially available forms of curricula for language arts instruction. The majority of these standards are closely related to those developed by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the International Reading Association (IRA), which combined are the two primary professional organizations serving language arts educators. While the standards are not in and of themselves language arts education curricula, they are considered near absolute guides for the selection and development of such curricula.

### Debates and Controversies

Two controversies are particularly important to consider in any discussion of language arts education curricula. The first relates to what has become an almost accepted fissure between the curricula language arts teachers actually use in their PreK–8 classrooms and the curricula that are presented in language arts education courses. A seemingly insurmountable tension remains between language arts curricula—what classroom teachers actually teach—and the curriculum of language arts education programs, which are typically university-based and include a wider array of theoretical perspectives and broader consideration of a variety of media.

The second controversy is the result of the increasing diversity (particularly in terms of language) of the U.S. school population and the persistent achievement gap between children from higher socioeconomic families and those students from more economically, racially, and ethnically diverse settings. It is arguable that as the United States has become more diverse linguistically and culturally that teachers are facing additional challenges in teaching the English language arts. Increasing percentages of students who are non-native English speakers arrive in schools virtually every day, and nondominant and nonstandard language and communication forms are increasingly common among families, communities, and youth who were either not born into or are not successful participants in the primary economy. As a result, effective language arts teachers must be increasingly culturally sensitive and competent,

with abilities to appreciate, study, and honor their students' given relationships to and skills with these school-based reading, writing, speaking, listening, viewing, and visual representation tasks. Given these daily challenges to effective language arts instruction, teachers must be conscious of how their beliefs about how, why, and what children learn impact their daily practices.

The gap between language arts education curricula (those materials and practices used in the training of PreK–8 language arts teachers) and language arts curricula (those materials and practices actually used by PreK–8 teachers in their school settings) is perhaps most evident when the curricula used to serve the needs of the increasingly diverse U.S. school population are considered. Ostensibly in an effort to most efficiently address the curricular guidelines and achievement objectives to which districts and schools are being held accountable (most often through high-stakes, standardized assessments), many districts have turned to scripted curricula that focus on basic skills that are presented in a virtually teacher-proof fashion. Although these curricula are the centerpiece of an increasing number of districts' language arts programs, such materials rarely have a place in the language arts education curricula to which preservice teachers are introduced.

### Examples of Language Arts Curricula

The richest and most complete examples of language arts education curricula address all six of the commonly accepted strands of the language arts. Experts agree that the most effective language arts teachers integrate instruction in and incorporate opportunities for students to use all six every day in their classroom curricula. Seminal examples of these curricula generally focus in substantial detail on just one or two of these strands; scripted curricula that attempt to address all six strands generally do so in a streamlined, commercially appealing, and cursory fashion. This encyclopedia entry focuses on historically significant examples of curricula that address the strands of reading, writing, viewing, and visual representation; these reading and writing curricula are among the most respected and widely used across the United States, and the viewing and visual representation examples are among the latest trends in curricular reforms.

Nancy Atwell has been among the most important of curriculum theorists and developers who have attempted to consider the integration of the six language arts strands while paying particular attention to the psychological and sociocultural characteristics of middle school-aged youth—for whom such an integration is understood as most necessary. Atwell's *In the Middle: New Understanding About Writing, Reading, and Learning* is widely considered a foundational text for the teaching of reading in language arts classrooms. Among the most commonly accepted curricular forms described by Atwell is the literature circle, a pedagogical approach that allows for the use of a wide array of literature in a language arts classroom, but that provides youth with structures for playing authentic roles and making scaffolded, but self-directed choices in the selection of this literature and the ways in which they engage with it. More recently, Jeff Wilhelm has provided detailed examples of what Gloria Ladson-Billings has described as culturally relevant reading curricula and strategies while explicitly addressing the guiding standards outlined by NCTE and IRA.

Paralleling Atwell's work on reading curricula and instruction is Lucy Calkins's *The Art of Teaching Writing*. Her volume describes elaborate student-centered mechanisms for engaging children and youth with writing activities, focusing on the now commonly accepted structure of the writing workshop. As with Atwell's and Wilhelm's work, Calkins's curriculum theory and development provide not so much explicit examples of required writing activities as much as a general writing instruction orientation that appeals to the psychological traits and stages of development of elementary and middle school-aged youth. More recently, the *6+1 Traits* writing curriculum has been widely adopted by districts and schools across the United States; these materials rely on extensive research into the characteristics of quality writing across genres.

In the past 20 years, the role of technology, visual literacy, viewing, and visual representation as language arts has become much more prominent. These often fall under the more general term of critical literacy, which calls on teachers to honor youths' proficiency with the consumption of visual texts while also providing students with opportunities to manipulate and construct their own versions



of these texts—often with a perspective that critiques the passive consumption of existing visual tools. When the book and other published paper forms were the dominant texts inside and outside of school, it was arguable that PreK–8 language arts curricula and language arts education curricula were reasonably current with these forms. But as video, multimedia productions, and electronic media (including Web-, music-, e-mail-, and mobile phone-based tools and text forms) have proliferated—and as youth culture and its visual orientation have influenced popular culture in an increasing, more fluid, and swift manner—school language arts curricula and language arts education curricula have struggled to remain current.

James Gee, Brian Street, Elizabeth Moje, and Ernest Morrell are among the most recognized of curriculum theorists associated with this movement toward viewing and visual representation as foundational language arts. The Center on Media Literacy, among other organizations and individuals, has developed seminal curricula that allow children and youth not only to interpret visual media, but also to develop their own. Rooted in Paulo Freire’s notion of conscientization, Moje, Morrell, Linda Christenson, and Jessica Singer have articulated critiques of language arts education curricula that do not engage students in these viewing and visual representation activities and have developed substantial examples of curricula that provide youth with opportunities for using these and other strands of the language arts in the pursuit of larger, more real-world and social justice-oriented ends.

*Kristien Zenkov*

*See also* Conscientization; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Teacher Education; English Education Curriculum; Middle School Curriculum; Standards, Curricular; Teacher-Proof Curriculum

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## LANGUAGE ARTS EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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History of language arts education curricula refers to historical antecedents and underpinnings that have contributed to the general conception of language arts education curricula. This topic contributes to the larger study of curriculum by illustrating seminal work that formed the foundations for current practices and methodologies in the field of language arts education. This encyclopedia entry includes a brief review of early 20th-century trends in English education, an examination of how social and historical events have encouraged shifts in the perception and implementation of language arts curricula over time, and a subsequent review of how modern perceptions have once again evolved to reflect earlier conceptual notions.

### Early 20th Century Trends

As early as 1917, policy statements and reports issued by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) documented a need to move beyond a departmentalized framework for the teaching of English that prepared students for the eventual meeting of college entrance requirements. Postindustrial advances in science and psychology influenced work in education by encouraging the reenvisioning of the learning process and the learner from a fragmented, behaviorist perspective to a more holistic, whole child appreciation.

Within this context of synthesis, NCTE published its influential 1935 report on the necessity of a correlated curriculum that is also popularly known as an integrated curriculum. The premise of a correlated curriculum is that learning occurs through the varied uses of language and experience across and within interrelated subject areas for a variety of real and relevant purposes and enables the learner and teachers to appreciate patterns: world patterns, subject patterns, experience patterns, and psychological growth patterns. Ultimately, such a curriculum is transformative: The learner prepares not only to adjust to the demands of life, but also to transform or improve the conditions of living.

The correlated English curriculum of this era was organized on a continuum in six forms:

1. The integration of English with other subjects through incidental references and isolated projects
2. An English course based on relationships with other subjects, but not requiring the cooperation or modification of other subject courses
3. The fusion, or blending, of English with another content or subject area
4. The integration of groups of subjects
5. A whole curriculum based on the integration of all subjects
6. A seamless curriculum, or one that does not acknowledge subject area boundaries

Recognizing the strengths and limitations of such English language arts curriculum configurations, educators were encouraged to ask several guiding questions throughout the design process that would ensure the curriculum be balanced, reflect important values, be genuine, be interesting to students, be administratively feasible, be within the range of faculty abilities and knowledge bases, and contain the resources necessary for implementation.

### Events Leading to Language Arts Curriculum Change

As enthusiastic as the progressive voices in education were during the period leading to the early

1950s, the launching of the Russian satellite *Sputnik* in 1957 signaled a rapid reexamination of educational reform in the United States, in particular by critics of progressive education. In an emerging political climate characterized by fear for the U.S. position as a world power, curriculum efforts once again embraced conservative ideologies. Many progressive ideas and efforts were replaced with a renewed focus on the role of technology in education and society and the reestablishment of a separate-subject approach to curriculum. Consequently, widespread attention to curriculum integration during the 1960s and 1970s waned during this period, although school restructuring would eventually rekindle the focus.

Language arts curriculum and practice, given this historical context, reflected a stronger emphasis on a mastery model of learning. Students were frequently permanently grouped, or tracked, by ability level. Student comprehension of reading material was primarily determined through a style of interrogation using low-level questioning techniques that resulted in responses at the most cursory levels of recall and understanding. Assignments and activities also reflected a lack of rigor, requiring learners to practice skills and strategies in heavily structured order and in isolation. Drills involved objective student responses in the form of circling, matching, listing, and otherwise merely identifying correct answers. A pronounced de-emphasis on the individual and the education of the whole child characterized this period as education policy makers struggled to keep the nation competitive with other industrialized countries.

### Revisiting the Origins of Early Language Arts Curriculum

Renewed interest in how children learn through the use of language and in the field of cognitive psychology in general led to a plethora of literacy research in the latter part of the 20th century. The work of pioneers such as Lev Vygotsky and Jean Piaget encouraged language arts curricularists to return to the idea of the literacy development of the whole child in an integrative framework. This movement produced the most commonly supported and research-based practices in contemporary language arts education.

Among the instructional changes that reflect early 20th-century ideas about the correlation of learning English in meaningful ways are a stronger emphasis on the interrelatedness between writing, reading, speaking, and listening across content areas; a greater use of trade books and a variety of print and other media beyond the textbook; an increased attention to the scope of the instructional frame of reference of the learner and learner choices; and an emphasis on the formative nature of assessment and knowledge development. With regard to the social nature of learning, students and teachers seek patterns of meaning collaboratively and cooperatively. Finally, students are encouraged to learn and use language to function not only as productive citizens, but also as individuals who are capable of evaluating, problem solving, and creating innovative, transformative processes.

Lynne M. Bailey

See also English Education Curriculum; Language Arts Education Curriculum; Middle School Curriculum; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Language education may be referred to simply as the teaching and learning of language. When one looks beneath the surface, however, the complexities of curriculum for language education become apparent. Language education curriculum may be defined in many ways, from the design, implementation, and assessment of programs to support the acquisition of target languages; to specific

materials, textbooks, exercises, and instructional practices comprising the instructional program; to a conception of language education curriculum that considers purposes and contexts for which language instruction and acquisition are geared and expanded to acknowledge the impact of larger educational and societal influences on individuals involved in the teaching and learning of languages. Examining complexities associated with language education curriculum provides a glimpse of challenges inherent to the field of curriculum studies by highlighting the interaction of influences beyond the classroom that affect the success of school curriculum.

Joseph Schwab's framework of the four commonplaces of curriculum—teacher, learner, subject matter, and milieu—is used in this entry to address and explore the intricacies of developing and implementing language education curriculum in North America.

### Milieu: Context of Developing and Implementing a Language Education Curriculum

To begin with, the commonplace of milieu, or context in which language education curriculum is developed and implemented, needs to be taken into consideration. Shifts in language education curriculum reflect demographic changes in society that include increased numbers of individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds and a heightened need for the acquisition of language for practical as well as for literary purposes. The world is becoming increasingly diverse as immigration and migration rates grow. Currently, approximately 185 million people around the world live outside their countries of birth. Within this global context, the North American population is becoming increasingly diverse through immigration and the birth of children into immigrant families. Accordingly, there is a growing need for English language education for English language learners (ELLs) to assist them in achieving sufficient fluency to participate in society and to progress through the education system, in addition to the ongoing need for English education for native English speakers to support their development of literacy. Furthermore, in a society that comprises large numbers of immigrant and minority students, language education in terms of

maternal language development and/or maintenance needs to be acknowledged. Finally, awareness of the importance of and need for foreign or second language instruction for all students to facilitate communication in international contexts has become increasingly recognized as international travel and Internet communication have become widespread in recent decades.

Coupled with the pragmatic belief that language education curriculum needs to reflect demographic changes in society is the growing realization of the contested nature of language education in North America. There is a general perception that bilingualism and multilingualism are not as highly valued in North America as they have been in Europe. Some proponents of English-only education in North America claim a mismanagement of limited financial and educational resources as money is earmarked for English as a second language and ELL programs and programs to support the development and maintenance of maternal languages of immigrant and minority language students. At the same time, some researchers claim a denial of linguistic resources that immigrant and minority students bring to North American schools as maternal language proficiency is being overlooked and ignored to the extent of contributing to a squandering of valuable resources.

### **Subject Matter: What to Include in the Curriculum and How to Implement It**

The contested nature of language education curriculum also carries over into its design, implementation, and assessment. In curricular terms, the development of oral and written proficiency in the target language may be considered the subject matter. Decision making about the content and implementation of the subject matter of language education curriculum is plagued by much uncertainty and many questions.

To begin with, goals for language education curriculum need to reflect the purposes for which this education has been identified as being important. If the principal goal of language education is to teach students about technical knowledge about semantics and grammatical functioning of parts of speech in the target language in ways that will enhance their written fluency, activities and lessons in the curriculum will differ significantly

from activities such as class discussions and opportunities for speech or drama activities that would build communicative competence and language awareness for travel or work purposes and confidence in spoken interactions with native speakers of the target language. If it is important that students learn about the culture, societal structure, and mores of the communities of which the target language is part, instructional activities need to support the development of this knowledge. Given the many purposes for which language education may be important to those involved, ambiguity about curricular decisions pertaining to materials, exercises, philosophies, and teaching practices is not surprising.

Research in the areas of applied linguistics, language acquisition, and cultural studies informs our knowledge of pedagogical practices for the development and implementation of language education curriculum. The abundance of approaches and philosophies about how best to accomplish language education curriculum goals, the large body of language education theory, and the differences in professional opinion about the design of language education curriculum and how best to implement ideas and practices further complicate its design and implementation. Descriptions of a few approaches are included in this entry to provide a glimpse of the variety and range that are currently employed. Wallace Lambert and Richard Tucker introduced an immersion model in an attempt to simulate naturalistic settings for language acquisition that resemble circumstances and the level of motivation under which children first acquire their maternal languages. Establishing a need-based context for use of the language and using native language speakers as teachers to model the target language for purposes of communication form the foundation for this method of language instruction. Dual language programs, where language minority students are taught in the home language to support the development of the target language, and bilingual programs, where instruction is conducted in both the majority and the home language with the goal of bilingualism in both languages, differ significantly from previously existing language programs in the amount and extent of exposure to content-relevant vocabulary and in opportunities for exposure to and use of the language for communicative purposes.



### **Learner: Students Who Language Education Is For**

The success of language education curriculum is shaped significantly by the extent to which the curriculum meets the needs of the students involved. Meeting language education curriculum needs is a challenge due to the wide range of needs and goals of the student population. Prior language education experience, materials, instructional practices, personal preferences, and a rich and varied program of instruction all need to be geared toward the cognitive learning styles and objectives of the students.

With an increasingly diverse student population, researchers and educators argue for language education that includes teaching practices and materials to support their ability to integrate into society. When the curriculum does not draw on the linguistic and cultural knowledge that immigrant and minority students bring to school, their academic success and subsequent career success is jeopardized. Not only are immigrant and minority students likely to feel that they do not have a sense of belonging when their maternal languages and cultures are not acknowledged in their school contexts, but also their exclusion is believed to contribute to the loss of maternal language proficiency of students and subsequent difficulties in communicating with parents, family members, and other members of ethnic minority communities who are not fluent in English. Teachers who advise parents to speak to their children in English as a means of accelerating the children's English acquisition may inadvertently contribute to difficulties in communication between children and their parents. Parents, in effect, may lose the ability to communicate with, guide, and teach their children. Researchers elaborate upon the detrimental personal and familial effects of maternal language loss, and educators advocate for the acknowledgment of ethnic and linguistic knowledge of minority students in the school curriculum to affirm diversity in school. They call for the development rather than the denial of these linguistic resources, and an enhanced awareness of theories, such as the linguistic interdependence principle whereby transfer of knowledge about language structures and components in one language, namely, the maternal language, supports the development of another—the target—language.

The lack of acknowledgment of home cultures has been identified as contributing to the high dropout rate among minority students.

Although instructional issues for students learning a foreign language for professional or personal reasons may be similar to those of immigrant and minority students, they have the advantage of existing fluency in the language of the society. Language education for this population is additive, rather than subtractive, in that foreign language proficiency gained through language instruction is in addition to existing English language proficiency. For immigrant and minority students, however, the acquisition of English is unfortunately associated with loss of fluency in the maternal language due to limited opportunities for practice, few individuals with whom to use the language, and a sense of alienation from ethnic communities where the maternal languages are spoken. ELL students often associate English acquisition as critical to acceptance by English-speaking peers, while maternal language proficiency is viewed as a hindrance to participation in peer groups and associated with rejection or exclusion from desirable peer activities. Not surprisingly, given these circumstances, immigrant and minority students are often eager to acquire English even at the expense of maternal language fluency. ELL students may fail to recognize the personal and academic advantages of maternal language proficiency.

Examination of the relationship between curriculum, schooling, languages, and cultures highlights the role of school in supporting maternal language maintenance. Language, culture, identity, and power are intertwined, and immigrant and minority students are more likely to succeed in school when they are not alienated from their cultural values. A nurturing school environment with a culturally sensitive curriculum that validates linguistic and cultural diversity contributes to the confidence and subsequent academic success of immigrant and minority students and to the overall learning of all students.

### **Teacher Experiences of Designing a Language Education Curriculum**

Although there is general awareness of the importance of accommodating for learning styles and linguistic backgrounds of students, there is

uncertainty about how best to acknowledge the wide range of needs represented in student populations.

Teachers play a significant role in shaping a school community where diverse languages and cultures are represented. Incorporating students' linguistic and cultural knowledge in the school curriculum and supporting the development and maintenance of maternal language fluency help create a school environment where students are proud of their home languages and cultures and feel a sense of belonging in their school. To achieve this, teachers may engage parents and children in discussion of values, rituals, and cultural experiences through family stories, using an integrated classroom curriculum that fosters a sense of community within the classroom while at the same time drawing on the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the families of the students. School-based bilingual literacy projects where parents work with teachers to engage students in writing and reading have resulted in enhanced appreciation of literacy in both English and home languages of students.

Although many aspects of language education curriculum presented here are relevant regardless of the age of the learners, it is important for teachers to acknowledge student age in developing and implementing curriculum. Curriculum for adult learners is inherently different from that for children by nature of the reasons for which language education is sought; their level of motivation to acquire the curriculum content, whether for professional or personal purposes, such as self-improvement, communication with desirable others, or travel; and the contexts in which students are learning the language. Students' prior experiences of schooling, whether in North America or in a foreign country, whether positive or negative, enriching or demoralizing, also need to be taken into consideration.

A final factor to be addressed in this entry is the certification of teachers in the area of language education. Although a significant proportion of teachers in North American school systems have teacher education and certification, language instructors are among a pocket of teaching professionals with lower proportions of certified teachers. This shortage may be attributed to poor or insufficient language instruction during their own schooling, the need for more teachers in certain target languages than are available, or the qualification

process required for the instruction of foreign languages. The shortage of certified language teachers may also be attributed to the additional level of qualification required; not only do language teachers need certification, but they also need to have achieved a high level of proficiency in the target language. The unavailability of advanced instruction in specific target languages in North America, a reflection of the low numbers of speakers in some ethnic communities, may limit opportunities for developing high levels of fluency.

### Research

Many factors need to be taken into consideration in the development and implementation of a language education curriculum. Conceptions of language education curriculum reflect societal, political, individual, and education influences, many of which are highly contested. Ongoing research informs educators, policy makers, and the public about the challenges associated with language education curriculum. Research has been invaluable in acknowledging the linguistic resources and cultural knowledge that students of diverse backgrounds bring to a school context and in informing the work of educators as they develop language education curriculum. Despite an increasing body of literature, there remains much we do not yet know about language education curriculum.

*Elaine Chan*

*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Cultural Literacies; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Immigrant and Minority Students' Experience of Curriculum; Language Education Curriculum, History of; Multicultural Curriculum; Schwab, Joseph

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## LANGUAGE EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The history of language education curriculum is highly complex and reflects the contested nature of language education curriculum that is strongly influenced by political, social, educational, and demographic influences. Rather than attempting to cover language education curriculum in English education as well as in the instruction of second or foreign languages in this entry, the focus is on language education curriculum for the instruction of second or foreign languages as preparation for participation in society.

### Societal Context of Language Education Curriculum

Education in North America has a long history of focusing on English as the language of instruction and communication in schools. Despite an increasingly diverse population with larger numbers of

students speaking non-English languages, English remains the standard language of instruction and communication in North America. The use of other languages was often ignored, commonly discouraged, and sometimes even punished in school contexts as a means of accelerating English language acquisition. These practices reflected commonly held beliefs that adherence to home languages and cultures was detrimental to the development of English language proficiency in immigrant and minority students.

Sink-or-swim approaches to English language instruction for immigrant and minority students, whereby students were expected to complete academic activities alongside native English-speaking classmates without the benefit of instructional support, were commonly accepted during the middle decades of the past century, although gradual and more deliberate instruction to support the nuances of English language acquisition were more widely accepted, and even expected, during later decades. Philosophies of language learning have shifted from a perception that minority students should be expected to participate, and succeed, in existing curriculum developed for mainstream, English-speaking students, to a perception that immigrant and minority students need specialized curriculum to support their acquisition of English and adaptation to North American schooling.

Difficulties of implementing language education curriculum in North America are further exacerbated by a lack of acknowledgment for the value of bilingualism and/or multiculturalism in society. Although European countries have long held general acceptance of the advantages of and possibilities for bilingualism and multilingualism due to their proximity to neighboring countries and the relative ease of travel across national borders, North American societies have held less acceptance toward possibilities for proficiency in multiple languages, opting instead for a focus on English. This trend is especially pronounced in the United States. Canada, while heavily influenced by its historic connection to Britain, has been more open to bilingualism, with its official bilingualism policies, despite the long-standing animosity between some French Canadians in the French-speaking province of Québec and inhabitants of other, English-speaking provinces. Regardless of these tensions, this political context has enabled and supported

the development of language immersion as a viable option for second language acquisition to a relatively high level of fluency for students.

### Language Education Programs

Earlier language education was heavily influenced by models of instruction based on memorization of grammatical rules and acquisition of semantic, lexical, phonological, and discourse knowledge and less time devoted to the development of sociolinguistic skills including oral competency or the provision of opportunities to use the target language in authentic situations. More recently, there has been a shift to models of language instruction that include an emphasis on language acquisition for communication in professional and personal situations. With the increasingly diverse population that accompanied increased immigration from non-English speaking countries, a shift in the availability of language programs to reflect this demographic change became necessary.

Immersion education that began with Wallace Lambert and Richard Tucker in Montreal, Canada, is considered among the language education successes in North America. French immersion, whereby students are immersed in French as a means of communication and instruction in their regular school program, has been found to be a more effective means of language education than existing programs where students received approximately 45 minutes of instruction several times a week. This immersion model paved the road for immersion programs in other languages to reflect the ethnic composition of local communities. Currently, immersion programs in languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, and Ukrainian are available in provinces in Western Canada.

In the United States, variations of immersion programs are used in the language education of immigrant and minority students. Dual language programs are intended as a means for language minority students to learn English while using their home language to support English development. Bilingual programs provide language minority as well as language majority students the opportunity to learn and to develop both languages with the goal of bilingualism. Language education for language minority students in the United States continues to be controversial, and bilingual programs

seem to have more public support than dual language programs. Sheltered instruction programs, usually conducted in pull-out or in-class support by an instructor who accompanies the students to their mainstream classes, provide language minority students with English language support in content areas to ease their transition into regular academic programs. Changes in Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages' standards for English language learners reflect a recent shift toward English language acquisition in the context of content area learning rather than the earlier focus on the development of English language proficiency prior to transition into content area classes. Heritage language programs to support maternal language development and maintenance are usually considered extracurricular, often occurring outside regular academic school programs. The design and implementation of this curriculum often reflect cultural influences and methods commonly used in the home country and by the teachers who implement the programs.

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*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Immigrant and Minority Students' Experience in Curriculum; Language Education Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum

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## LATIN AMERICAN CURRICULUM STUDIES

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This entry focuses on the main characteristics that approximate the productions of the curriculum



field of Latin American countries, as well as some aspects that separate them, with special emphasis on the production of the more consolidated countries.

One of the difficulties of tracing an outline of the curriculum field in this region derives from the fact that it has been marked, since the 1990s, by a useful, but at times disquiet hybridism of theoretical perspectives. It is enormously difficult to define the field, and it is impossible to do so on the basis of epistemological questions. There is the possibility of working with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of intellectual field—that is, a space in which different social actors, holders of certain social and cultural capitals in the area, legitimate determined conceptions about the theory of curriculum and dispute between them the power of defining who has authority in the area. In that sense, the field produces theories about curriculum, the objectified cultural capital of the field, which are legitimated as such in competitive struggles fought at different institutionalized levels. Hence, in order to analyze the production of this field, it is necessary to objectify the knowledge produced by the subjects who are invested with the legitimacy to speak about curricula. This legitimacy is conferred by their presence in institutionalized venues.

In view of the option to treat the curriculum as a field, it is important to point out, regarding Latin America, its minor institutionalization. In the great majority of the countries, there are few journals, research associations, and even graduate programs that deal specifically with the subject. As for the latter two, for example, the evaluation and development systems are recent: In Brazil, they were instituted in 1975; whereas in Mexico and Argentina, they date from the 1990s. And it is in those countries that, in past decades, the curriculum field has broadened consistently.

Some general movements of the field are occurring in Latin America, particularly due to international policies directed to it. Although experienced in a different way, the military dictatorships were, between the decades of 1960 and 1980, the political reality of different Latin American countries. The rightist governments and the dictatorships were maintained with strong U.S. support and materialized in the educational field by interventions sustained by international agencies or by aid programs, such as the Alliance for Progress. Those

interventions created real conditions for academic faculties to study in the United States and also allowed for the translation of countless works into Spanish and Portuguese. Thus, the influence of U.S. literature in the curriculum field was very strong in the different countries. The most important reference was, without doubt, Ralph Tyler, but also Hilda Taba, Robert Mager, Benjamin Bloom, and William J. Popham had influence. Also, the curricular projects captained by Jerome Bruner were the subject of transfers guaranteed by official financing. With the end of the dictatorships, in the majority of countries in the 1980s, neo-Marxist literature may have gained prominence in education and in the curriculum field. Nevertheless, echoes of Tylerian rationality continued to be felt in different ways in the various countries.

The end of the dictatorships brought the need to create another educational project, placing the curriculum in the center of the stage. Centralized curricular proposals, whether national or regional, were constructed in the great majority of the countries as they were from the 1990s. That movement broadened the discussion on curriculum, helping to consolidate the field in many countries. In some, such as in Argentina and in Chile, the theorists of a still incipient field took up standpoints with ministries and began to conduct reforms. In others, such as in Brazil, critics dominated the theoretical production scenario of the field. Although with pronounced differences, again, the action of international agencies—especially the World Bank, with its documents for education in Latin America—brought the reforms closer and regulated some common agendas in the theoretical discussions of the field. Thus, curriculum, evaluation, and teacher training were the central features of almost all the proposed reforms. Other approximations can also be credited to the presence of the Spaniard Cesar Coll, one of those responsible for Spain's national curriculum, in teams that worked on the proposition of curriculums in the region. In that way, the wide majority of the reforms were organized around competencies necessary for citizen training and for economic competitiveness. They incorporated transdisciplinary contents and the taxonomy proposed by Coll that classifies the contents into conceptual, procedural, and attitudinal. Because of the prominent role they had in the reforms, those topics began to be

discussed theoretically from the 1990s with greater or lesser centrality, considering the different ways of approximation between the academic field and the policy formulating context.

It is interesting to note that the approximations between the curriculum field in the different countries did not result throughout their history in any identity shared by something as Latin America. In the examples we are mentioning, global movements of control of central countries over the periphery are conspicuous. We maintain, therefore, that there is no articulation that allows us to talk about a production of Latin American knowledge: The countries have different historical processes, in some cases different languages, and political, cultural, and socioeconomic developments with differences that are sufficiently significant to also result in hybrid productions that draw close to as much as separate from each other. If there are global processes like those we mention, postcolonial studies have emphasized how globalization refers as much to the intensity as to the extent of the international interactions, but does not establish the means by which those interactions take place or even how an interaction acquires meaning in some contexts and not in others. A common repertory of significant that is introduced into the disputes in the signification processes does not generate the same circulation of meanings. There is a need to understand the globalization as vernacular, being capable of producing distinct effects mediated as much by the state apparatus as by localization in the context of the practice of schools.

To exemplify the circulation of meanings that occurs in the curriculum field in Latin America, we are mentioning three countries: Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. These countries have the most consolidated curriculum field, especially due to the greater institutionalization of research in education.

### Brazil

The neo-Marxist schools of thought held clear supremacy during Brazil's redemocratization in the 1980s. Critical sociology that was to substitute instrumental emphasis was also referred to by U.S. authors such as Michael Apple and Henry Giroux and English authors associated to the New Sociology of Education (NSE). Also, French

literature had some presence in the field, especially discussions about everyday life—with references to Bourdieu and Henri Léfèbvre—and about complexity based on Jacques Ardoino.

If that could be the outline of the theoretical configuration of the field, with strong foreign influence, the curricular reforms seemed much more associated with Brazilian Marxist-inspired theorizations. The debate revolved around the thinking of Paulo Freire and of the sharp criticism made by critical-historical pedagogy. That discussion, however, did not arise much at the theoretical discussion about curriculum, where the more heated debate seemed to refer to the adequacy or not of national curriculums.

By the mid-1990s, the field underwent, from the theoretical point of view, a very radical change with the introduction into the Brazilian curriculum field of poststructuralist and postmodern discussions with great editorial impact. Initially, authors were mentioned who sought to articulate modern thinking and its preoccupation with emancipation, for example, and postmodern discussions, whereas in the second half of the decade, more radically poststructural curricular discussions became the texts read in the field. However, critical theory was still the main reference of the works defended in theses and dissertations in the graduate programs.

Curriculum groups were formed in the last decade with researches centered in the everyday school life category. It maintains that the teachers produce curricular alternatives in their everyday networks of tasks and powers, mainly dialoguing with Michel de Certeau and defending a rhizomatic conception of knowledge. In the discussion of curricular policies, they emphasize micropowers and the contingent articulations of minority groups for what is considered valid also from the contribution of the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Souza Santos.

Another important group was articulated around questions about knowledge, originating from the preoccupations of the English NSE with strong emphasis on the history of the curriculum and on curricular thought. That group was initially preoccupied with the constitution of school subjects, addressing epistemological, sociological, and socio-historical aspects. Besides the NSE, it was influenced by the work of Ivor Goodson on the history of

school subjects (HSS) and the poststructural approach of Thomas Popkewitz. Those influences express a sliding between modernity and postmodernity that characterized the group. In addition to the recent HSS, the group dedicated itself in the 1990s to studying Brazilian curricular thought, seeking to reconstruct the educational transference category so as to deal with contemporary complexities. A derivative of the latter interest and of the dialogue with the U.S. curriculum theory, the question of knowledge was losing centrality to the notion of culture. That passing occurred differently inside the group, leading to the formation of other groups with different preoccupations.

### Mexico

Despite the negligible institutionalization of the educational field in Mexico, institutions such as the Mexican Council of Educative Investigation have made efforts since the early 1990s to foster research in that field in Mexico. Those efforts can be found in publications targeting educational production and in productions disclosed in the national congress organized by the association every 2 years.

The curriculum is one of the topics accorded special treatment by that association. Researchers of that field have specific space in the national event for publishing and presenting their productions and maintain an Ibero-American network of curriculum investigators that congregates principally Mexican researchers.

On that institutional basis, the curriculum field in Mexico has been providing visibility, on one side, to a vigorous questioning of the instrumental viewpoints predominating in Mexican curricular production, producing a theory that tries to articulate curricular questions in relation to issues of instruction and evaluation. The theoretical oppositions were added, particularly in the 1980s, to the political oppositions to the U.S. scientific viewpoints disclosed in the region, because the latter contributed to denying a socialist-based Latin American thinking.

The most critical production base does not prevent, however, the still accentuated development of studies that blend instrumental and critical viewpoints. In the years 1990 and 2000, viewpoints are still significantly present, centered on ways of planning and developing curricular designs, correlated

to the constitution of later native models for professional training and to the application of models and evaluation methods. Theoretical conceptualization works, even though existing and capable of influencing other countries of the continent, are influential, but not predominant in the country.

Consequently, the focus on the curricular proposition stands out based on the idea of an investigation that connects curriculum and teaching and seeks educational innovation. At times, institutional and governmental demands are strong stimulators of such works. One example is the diffusion of proposals associated to the curriculum by competencies. Although the restructurings of the working world displace qualification to competence and the curricular reforms in Mexico incorporate those proposals, associating them with proposals for integrated curricular organization, the academic sphere begins to dedicate itself to the thematics in a bias not necessarily analytical or critical, but above all, propositional.

We are mentioning the theoretical influence of the constructivist psychological approach, mainly in works associated with curricular development, with distinct hues that include, besides Coll, authors such as Jean Piaget, David Ausubel, and Howard Gardner. The poststructuralist and postmodern discussions, unlike in Brazil and Argentina, are of little significance. Also, there is almost a dearth of references to curriculum authors from other countries of the region, as well as texts in languages other than English.

### Argentina

The curriculum field in Argentina is still more recent and less institutionalized than in Brazil and Mexico, particularly due to the excellence of teaching as an area of study of matters of educational theory and practice. Only in the 1960s did the word *curriculum* emerge in official educational policy documents substituting study plans. At that moment, some professionals began to identify themselves as professionals of a field then characterized by its own technical knowledge. As in the rest of Latin America, Tylerian rationality prevailed. In a different perspective, a group of other intellectuals defended a progressivist perspective. Especially important was the development of a critical vision of the educational processes, centered

on the teaching profession. Between 1976 and 1983, the Argentine dictatorship stimulated the technocratic comprehension of the curriculum, at the same time expanding the technical body of curriculum thought and reducing the academic discussion of the field. With the end of the dictatorship, U.S. and English neo-Marxist authors and the reconceptualization movement began to be part of the field's agenda. Institutionalization of the field also expanded with the creation of curriculum chairs in various universities.

As from the 1990s, the curriculum field in Argentina broadened especially due to the general reforms of the educational system that took place in the period and the generalization of the process of teacher professionalization. From the thematic point of view, the link between the intellectual field and the activities of the official agencies is a strong feature of the Argentine curriculum field at the present time. In recent decades, the authors that had been prominent in redefining the field took on the task of curriculum formulators. Thematics such as curricular innovation, planning, and design are among the principal preoccupations of the field. Production ends up concentrated on curricular tasks, broaching thematics such as disciplinary curriculum, transdisciplinarity, and teaching by competences. From the theoretical viewpoint, constructivist standpoints, especially based on Piaget, share space with theoretical perspectives marked by technical rationality of a Tylerian hue. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the link between the intellectual field and political intervention, if an insertion of academia in practice is permitted, has reduced the critical and postcritical potential of the theoretical production of the curriculum field.

Looking beyond that group of studies, other focal points present in the production of the Argentine curriculum are the relationship between micropolitics, institutional cultures, and curricular dynamics; the relationships between educational policy and teaching action; and the history of the curriculum. Both the critical theory and the poststructural perspectives, especially Foucauldian, are important references in those studies. As for poststructuralism, in the second half of the 1990s the first studies emerged, a tendency that has lessened in this latter decade. Since the 1990s, Spanish, Mexican, and Brazilian authors had been added to U.S. and English references. Studies on curricular

theory continue practically nonexistent, in a way mirroring the field's minor institutionalization.

*Alice Casimiro Lopes and Elizabeth Macedo*

*See also* Freire, Paulo; Hybridity; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; Latino/a Research Issues; Neo-Marxist Research; Postcolonial Theory; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research; Tyler, Ralph W.; Tyler Rationale, The

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## LATINO/A RESEARCH ISSUES

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Latino/a research issues resulting from the quality of the methodological design is beyond the scope of this discussion. This entry focuses on research issues in curriculum when Latinos/as as a population are addressed. It begins with a brief demographic portrait of the Latino/a panethnic group in the United States followed by a discussion of two common problems often present in the scholarship addressing curricular studies focusing on the Latino/a population. These problems include generic identification or labeling of the participant population and limitations in perceptions from researchers with outsider status.



### Demographic Portrait

The *Latinization of America*, a term first used by the Mayor of San Antonio (Texas), Henry Cisneros, two decades ago, is no longer prophetic in nature. Descriptive demographic snapshots show that the Latino/a diaspora is spreading quickly and completely across the entire country. The resulting dramatic exponential growth pattern of Latino/a students calls for research promoting changes in educational policy, curriculum design, and classroom practice. Data profiling the historical and continual neglect of Latino/a children clearly shows that this group is underserved. Public school conditions place this group at the lowest achievement level of any ethnic group in the United States; and the resulting academic outcomes follow children into adulthood. Today, Latino/a students display the highest dropout rates and the lowest high school and college completion rates.

Many in the country were probably not shocked when Latinos/as were proclaimed the largest and the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States. In fact, in 2006, demographers from the Hispanic Pew Center concluded that numbers were probably underreported because undocumented immigrants, with estimates as high as 11.5 to 12 million, were not included in official counts. Although the current growth is stimulated by immigration, 40.1% of Latinos/as are foreign born; the future projected distribution will be expressed through increased birthrates. Undoubtedly this dramatic demographic shift tests political, health, and economic structures and brings challenges to educational institutions. Currently, Latino/a children (under age 18) are the fastest growing and the second largest student population, after White students. Latino/a children account for more than half (58%) of all immigrant youth in the United States. Demographers project that within 40 years, one in four individuals living in the United States will be Latino/a. Presently, the United States ranks as the fourth largest Latino/a population in the world, trailing behind Mexico, Spain, and Colombia. The Latino/a diaspora establishes Latinos/as as the minority-majority in 19 states; however, almost half (49%) call California and Texas home, and approximately 74% live in five states—California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois. In the United States,

the Mexican heritage ethnic group is the largest (66%), while Cubans is the smallest (4%).

### Research Issues

Research issues when members of a specific ethnic or racial group are under examination will likely be characterized by concerns particular to the group. In the case of Latino/a research, there are multiple aspects that might be addressed. For example, in terms of what is studied, some may claim that there is disproportionate attention to bilingual educational issues. When social scientists are positioning this population, there is a dualist tendency to present these children as victims or to romanticize their status in the subsequent interpretation of the findings. Likewise, especially in the conceptual scholarship, advocates tend to sensationalize serious issues facing this student population. This entry focuses on two issues: generic identification and limitations in outsider perspectives.

#### *Generic Identification or Labeling*

In 2008, the Hispanic Pew Center stated that one in five students in public schools is of Latino/a heritage. However, children from this growing panethnic group come from distinct ethnic groups with differing countries of origin, exhibit a variety of language skills, live in neighborhoods with families from diverse socioeconomic levels, and are socialized with diverse cultural beliefs, values, and skills that are often dependent on their citizenship status and generational position. In spite of the obvious in-group diversity found in individuals and groups within the larger panethnic group, research studies label and classify Latinos/as as a monolithic group. When describing Latino/a participants in a study, attention is rarely given to (a) membership in a particular ethnic group, (b) generational position in the United States, (c) citizenship status, and (d) other critical diversity factors influencing the study's outcomes such as the individual's socioeconomic status and language skills. For example, while both may be male, age 10, and Latino/a, a fifth generation, middle-class, English-speaking, Mexican American child has different economical, cultural, and schooling experiences than his native Spanish-speaking peer with minimal English language skills, with low-socioeconomic

status, who is a Salvadorian national and has lived in the United States for less than 2 years. In addition, racial identity factors need to be addressed in participant descriptions. Individuals from some ethnic groups, such as Puerto Ricans, Panamanians, and Cubans, can be classified racially as Black. Children with biracial and/or biethnic backgrounds must also be identified as such.

### *Outsider Researcher Perspectives*

Federal funding targeting Latinos/as, especially for the preparation of teachers to meet the needs of English language learners, has increased significantly. This upsurge in funding along with the exponential student population growth has generated a rise in researchers who study this population. Some of these new scholars hold an outsider status. They may not share ethnic group membership and bilingual language skills; others may not have adequate knowledge of this group's cultural values, beliefs, and competencies. These outsider researcher limitations may lead the researcher to inadvertently err in judgment and thus, ineffectively collect relevant data, make inaccurate interpretations of the collected data, or draw erroneous conclusions. Because outsider status is multidimensional, researchers perceived as insiders may not necessarily meet insider criteria. For example, a researcher with outsider status may include any of the following: Cuban scholars studying Mexican Americans; native born, middle-class Mexican Americans examining low-socioeconomic Mexican immigrant children; or non-Spanish speaking scholars researching a Spanish speaking population with minimal English skills. Cultural sensitivity and extensive knowledge of culture gives the researcher skills to observe the cultural nuances linked to language and ethnic heritage experiences essential to capturing rich data from the participants and interpreting the findings.

*Rosa Hernández Sheets*

*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Cultural Identities; Diversity; Diversity Pedagogy

### **Further Readings**

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## LEARNING THEORIES

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A learning theory is a set of systematic, integrated concepts and research-based descriptions of how individuals acquire knowledge, skills, and competencies, thus helping us understand the inherently complex process of learning. The relationship between curriculum and learning theories is a very close one. Curriculum is essentially a roadmap for learning and as such focuses on competencies and skills that are important to learn. Learning theories are frameworks educators consider when designing a curriculum and applying it to teaching and learning. With a learning theory as a conceptual framework, curriculum and instruction can be structured around making learning most effective.

There are many different theories of how people learn; therefore, it is hard to categorize learning theories in exactly the same way. In general, there are three main categories or philosophical and psychological frameworks under which learning theories fall: behaviorism, cognitivism, and constructivism. Behaviorism views learning as a measurable change of behavior resulting from environmental factors. Cognitive theories emphasize internal mental organization of knowledge, stressing the acquisition of knowledge, mental structures, and the processing of information. Constructivism views learning as a process in which the learner actively constructs new ideas or concepts based on prior knowledge and/or experience. Some variations of constructivism identify learning as more than the formation of habits, the processing of information, and the construction of knowledge, but rather a unique human activity by which individuals realize their inner selves and

make sense of life. Furthermore, postmodern and critical educators warn us about the limitations of these three main learning theories.

### Behaviorism

Behaviorism as a theory of learning that focuses on objectively observable behaviors and defines learning as the acquisition of new behavior through conditioning that occurs through interaction with the environment. Behaviorism was built upon the works of Ivan P. Pavlov, B. F. Skinner, J. B. Watson, and others. According to behaviorism, conditioning through associated stimuli is the basic process of all behavior and learning. People develop new stimulus-response connections and learn new responses to various situations through the process of conditioning. There are two types of possible conditioning: (1) classical conditioning, where the behavior becomes a reflexive or involuntary response to stimulus, and (2) operant conditioning, where there is reinforcement of the behavior by a reward or a punishment. Classical conditioning starts with a reflex: an instinctive, unintentional behavior caused by an antecedent environmental experience. It is the type of learning made famous by Pavlov's experiments with dogs. Operant conditioning forms an association between a behavior and a consequence—that is, learning is the result of the application of consequences. Learners begin to connect certain responses with certain stimuli, and this connection causes the probability of the response to change.

According to behaviorism, behavior can be studied in a systematic and observable way without considering internal mental states or cognitive processes of the learner. Behaviorism assumes a learner is essentially passive, responding to environmental stimuli. Behaviorists argue that adults shape children's learning by providing positive reinforcement. Learners' contribution to the learning process, such as purpose and efforts, and their individual, social, and cultural needs, are ignored in the development of behavioral objectives and the arrangement of learning tasks.

The curriculum for behaviorists should be organized around straightforward learning objectives and clearly stated learning outcomes. Behaviorists argue that anything that cannot be measured does not exist or cannot be important or trustworthy enough to play a role in the curriculum. Behaviorist

curriculum reinforces the structured learning that has predetermined objectives for what is to be learned, as well as predetermined reinforcers when objectives are met. In this type of learning, the end goal is defined up front, and each step necessary to achieve the goal is given to the learner. In addition, step-by-step conditioning programs are used to achieve the desired behavior, and rewards are used to motivate the learner.

Many curriculum theorists criticize behaviorism as an overly mechanistic one-dimensional approach to learning, a criticism that fails to take into account the environment the learning takes place in or the past experiences of the learner. Particularly, postmodern critical pedagogues denounce behaviorist visions of curriculum development that are characterized by behavioral lesson plans, context-free objectives, instrumental and external evaluation, and dualistic curriculum frameworks that detach teacher and student, meaning and context, subjective individuals and objective knowledge, and learning and environment. For the critical theorists, behaviorist curriculum models that aim to transmit value-neutral information to students are no longer acceptable in the multiculturally diverse postmodern societies.

### Cognitivism

Cognitive theories view learning as an internal mental organization of knowledge, stressing the acquisition of knowledge, mental structures, and processing of information. The focus of cognitivism on learning therefore is how learners process inputs and outputs mentally in order to understand how people think, learn, transmit information, and solve problems. Cognitive theorists believe that learners are actively involved in the learning process and that their prior knowledge and experiences play an important role in learning. Because prior knowledge and past experiences are essential for the comprehension of new information, teachers need to help students build the prerequisite knowledge.

Within the school of cognitive theories are several branching theories that examine the cognitive process from various perspectives. Well-known cognitive theories include cognitive information processing theories, which study how the human brain operates and how memory works; schema theory, which explores the existence of knowledge

structures; cognitive developmental theories, which are concerned with the relationship between cognitive processes and age; and the triarchic theory of intelligence, which describes and measures mental ability based on three elements of intelligence.

The cognitive approaches to curriculum development pay special attention to the higher mental activities of the learners, such as thinking, decision making, problem solving, and reasoning rather than the simple mechanic reinforcement emphasized by behaviorism. The cognitive approaches to curriculum development support the idea that better and faster learning can be achieved through the construction of learning environments that reinforce different learning styles. They aim to provide cognitive learning activities that have potential to extend a person's intellectual capacity based on the concept of distributed cognition and to expand a person's zone of proximal development. In these approaches, it is important to present all the necessary lower-level information to the learner before proceeding to teach at higher levels of the knowledge hierarchy in a subject matter.

In comparison to behaviorist theories, cognitive theories attempt to explain complex learning from a different perspective: how information was received, processed, stored, and retrieved inside the cognitive structure of the learner. Cognitive theories criticize behaviorism for being too dependent on observable behavior to explain learning. However, cognitive representation of learning even though in more complex forms is still largely a linear mental process of knowledge acquisition. Both behaviorist and cognitivist theorists recognize knowledge as existing independently from the learner. In this light, learning practice is understood as a matter of technical rationality, a problem solving based on procedural knowledge of how to achieve ends. Critical theorists argue that focusing only on what works and not paying enough attention to development of a critical, social, and political attitude toward teaching and learning may produce regulatory and disciplinary powers that serve as technologies to reinforce resources to Eurocentric and universalistic learning and curriculum theory.

### Constructivism

Constructivism is often articulated in stark contrast to behaviorism. From the constructivist

perspective, learning is not a stimulus-response event. Constructivism identifies learning as an active process in which individuals construct new ideas or concepts based on their past knowledge and/or prior experiences. Constructivist theory recognizes learners as active creators of their own knowledge, and learners interpret and construct a reality based on their experiences and interactions with their environments. In other words, learners construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world through their interactions with the world around them, rather than existing in the world as independent objects of truth. According to constructivist principles, meaningful learning is based on the active participation of learners in problem solving and critical thinking—given real and authentic problems.

Constructivism itself has many variations, such as inquiry-based learning, transformational learning, experiential learning, discovery learning, problem-based learning, cooperative learning, and situated learning. Further, within constructivism itself, learning theorists perceive the constructivist perspective differently by emphasizing different concepts. Nevertheless, there is some agreement on identifying constructivist learning theory in two general forms: (a) cognitive constructivism that approaches learning and knowing from the perspective of the individual and focuses on individual cognitive processes and (b) social constructivism that emphasizes the social, cultural, collaborative, and contextual nature of knowledge construction.

The roots of cognitive constructivism can be found in the theories of Swiss developmental psychologist, Jean Piaget. According to Piaget, learning is understood as an active mental process of engaging the environment in order to make sense of phenomena in the world. Piaget identifies knowledge as something that is actively constructed by learners based on their existing cognitive structures. Therefore, all individuals interpret experiences in the light of their existing knowledge, their stage of cognitive development, and their personal history. For Piaget, learning should emphasize the process and not the product. Learning is a process of constructing meaningful representations of one's experiential world.

Social constructivism, on the other hand, was mainly theorized by a Soviet psychologist, Lev Vygotsky, and an U.S. philosopher, John Dewey.



Vygotsky emphasized the role of language and culture in knowledge construction. According to Vygotsky, language and culture play essential roles both in human intellectual development and in human perception of reality. For Vygotsky, language and culture are the frameworks through which individuals experience, communicate, and understand reality. Consequently, human cognitive structures are, Vygotsky argued, fundamentally socially constructed. Vygotsky identified scaffolding, which is a process to perform tasks that would normally be somewhat beyond the learner's ability without assistance and guidance from the teacher, as an important concept for social constructivist learning.

Dewey also identified learning as a social activity. For him, individuals' learning is closely associated with their connection with other people. Dewey criticized traditional education with behaviorist curricular frameworks for isolating the learner from all social interaction and toward seeing education as a one-on-one relationship between the learner and the subject to be learned. In contrast, social constructivist theories recognize the social and contextual aspects of learning and use conversation, interaction with others, and the praxis as an integral aspect of learning. For Dewey, social constructivist theories provide students with opportunities to actively explore, inquire, reflect on, and experiment with problems. The theories also challenge learners to question, draw connections, reflect, communicate, negotiate, evaluate viewpoints, outline problems, acquire and use evidence, and generate new knowledge, understandings, relationships, and products and transfer them to similar situations.

Whether knowledge is viewed as socially constructed or whether it is considered to be an individual construction has implications for the ways in which curriculum is conceptualized. A constructivist approach to curriculum involves student-centered and problem-based learning strategies and opportunities in which learners are exposed to a range of cognitive processes involving comprehending, analyzing, creating, elaborating, reflecting, critiquing, and reorganizing the body of prerequisite basic knowledge to build up new complex and comprehensive knowledge structures. A constructivist approach to curriculum provides students with the opportunity to identify topics in

which they are interested, research those topics, present their findings, and make democratic changes in their communities. This approach is designed to be learner centered, for it encourages students to select their own research topics rather than being told what to study. The process of curriculum development depends on the questions that are asked, and the questions depend on the context. This view considers the social, political, and cultural factors that shape the structures that are taken as real and indisputable in curriculum development.

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*See also* Problem-Based Curriculum; Rational Humanism Curriculum Ideology; Transformative Curriculum Leadership

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## LEGAL DECISIONS AND CURRICULUM PRACTICES

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Since early attempts by state legislatures to formalize public school systems and standardize curriculum, the courts have played a critical role in shaping the requirements and limits of curriculum.

The greatest impact of case law on school curriculum is on the role of religion, but litigation over school finance, secular values, and student equity has also affected curriculum practice.

Religious influence on public school curriculum has been a topic of debate since Ye Olde Deluder Satan Law of 1647 established publically funded, religious-based curriculum in schools of Colonial Massachusetts. Throughout the 20th century the courts established a legal framework that balances the desire of some communities to infuse religion into its public school curriculum, with the requirements of the establishment clause of the First Amendment. Although a limited forum remains for the discussion of religious texts, observance of religious holidays, and learning religious-based music, the courts have clearly rejected school curriculum that advances or inhibits religion. There have been several attempts to challenge restrictions on prayer in schools. Similarly, court battles continue that attempt to address the conflicts between religious teachings and science curriculum.

School finance litigation has evolved since the early 1970s from an emphasis on student equity to adequacy. Outcome-based measures of adequacy have increasingly injected the courts influence into matters of school curriculum and assessment. Although the courts traditionally avoid acting in the role of a school board, in some cases they have been uncharacteristically prescriptive regarding school funding and outcome measures. The reason for this is that the courts must, to some extent, develop a working definition of adequacy in order to determine whether a state educational system is in compliance with an adequacy standard. The result has been a judicial discussion not only of what constitutes an adequate curriculum, but also of how different parts of the curriculum are to be funded.

Social values have long been the driving force behind curriculum development at the local level. The courts have often been put in the position of determining the constitutionality of structuring schools based on, and teaching children, certain social values that may be in conflict with individual rights. Attempts by the state to impose cultural assimilation through bans on non-English language curriculum and compel acts of nationalism through forced pledges have been litigated and struck down

by the courts. However, efforts by the state to compel both education and medical treatment that serves the greater social welfare have largely been supported by the courts. The greatest conflicts of social values have dealt with student equity as schools have served on the frontlines of social change movements promoting individual rights. The fair treatment of students and equal access to curriculum for people of different race, gender, and sexual orientation has been influenced greatly by court decisions.

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*See also* *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Brown I* Decision; Busing and Curriculum: Case Law; Compulsory Schooling and Socialization: Case Law; Creationism in Curriculum: Case Law; School Prayer in the Curriculum: Case Law; Secular Values in the Curriculum: Case Law; Special Education: Case Law

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## LESBIAN RESEARCH

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Lesbian research is inquiry that focuses on the lives, experiences, and meanings of those who are socially identified as lesbians; this identity label is temporal, culturally determined, and socially constructed. Today, lesbian refers to women who are primarily sexually and romantically attracted to other women. Lesbian research is indebted to the advances and insights of feminism, a movement for social justice centered on women. Reflecting this historic connection, lesbian research has attempted to redress the imbalance of attention to dominant groups in traditional inquiry by calling attention to and countering the invisibility of lesbians through sustained investigation. This approach is aligned with a range of curriculum studies orientations including social reconstruction, feminist

critique and gender analysis, reconceptualization, critical perspectives, autobiography and biography, and more recently, queer theory.

### Lesbian Research and Social Movements

Lesbian research, with other identity-specific inquiry domains, represents the growth and successes of identity-based social movements for justice beginning in the 1950s and continuing into the 1980s, including Black power, the Chicano movement, women's and gay liberation, disability rights, and the American Indian movement. Participants in these movements fought to gain rights and access to social institutions, including higher education, and to establish interdisciplinary departments and programs of study focused on the often ignored and obscured histories and daily lives of these and other minoritized groups. For example, Black, Chicano, and ethnic studies programs preceded the first women's studies program in the United States, which was established in 1970. Women's studies provided an academic home for the social analyses catalyzed by and emerging from the women's liberation movement, in particular through radical feminist consciousness-raising groups initiated in the 1960s, where women rapped about their lives to share personal experiences and recognize common conditions and patterns in what formerly seemed like individual and isolated problems.

#### *Popular Education: Personal and Political*

The strategy of consciousness-raising reflects the common use of popular education methods in social justice movement organizing, as for example, at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, which was cofounded by Myles Horton and Don West and modeled after adult rural high schools in Denmark started in the 19th century, and played an important role in labor and civil rights organizing. Highlander's Citizenship Schools, which taught African Americans to read so that they could vote, were led by Esau Williams, Bernice Robinson, and Septima Clark, Highlander's Education Director, and started in 1954. Civil rights activists also built on popular education ideas when they developed a curriculum for Freedom Schools opened during the 1964

Mississippi Freedom Summer; it posed a series of questions for students to discuss in groups:

What does the majority culture have that we want?

What does the majority culture have that we do not want?

What do we have that we want to keep?

As popular education did at the time of the civil rights and early Black power movements, women's movement consciousness-raising used personal reflection and testimony and analyses of social norms to begin to develop new feminist theory and plans of action against the oppression of all women, perhaps best characterized by the feminist catchphrase, "The Personal is Political." In 1970, Robin Morgan included a description of consciousness-raising attributed to Kathie Sarachild in the germinal compilation, *Sisterhood is Powerful*. The volume, together with *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* and *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, two 1980s edited volumes, can serve as a model of the evolving curriculum of women's liberation movement thought at the time; all include work by and about lesbians.

#### *Lesbians and the Curriculum*

Feminism made conceptual and practical space for attention to the lives and experiences of women, including lesbians; in particular, programs of women's studies in institutions of higher education, fostered through the labors of feminists, created institutionalized support for lesbian research. For this overview, lesbian research means inquiry into all aspects of the lives of those socially identified as lesbians (either by themselves or others), from meanings to material conditions; another sense could be research done by lesbians. As a complicating factor to both these connotations, identified by Suzanne De Castell and Mary Bryson in their essay, "From the Ridiculous to the Sublime: On Finding Oneself in Educational Research," there is a telling absence of lesbian students, teachers, administrators, and researchers in educational research accounts. Lesbians are generally part of the null or unstudied curriculum, while heteronormativity—the ways that heterosexuality is legitimized and

made to appear natural and normal through society's structures of power—is the hidden curriculum, or the ideological message of the rightness of heterosexuality embedded in the explicit curriculum. It is difficult and even dangerous to be known as a lesbian in education; the discrimination experienced by sexual minority teachers and students is well documented; this line of inquiry constitutes one important avenue of lesbian research. However, professional as well as social norms render it difficult and stigmatizing to be a lesbian researcher in education; although this condition has been noted by some researchers in published inquiry, including Bryson and de Castell, it may also reduce the number of lesbian-centric research projects undertaken and published.

### Feminism, Curriculum Studies, and Lesbian Research

Feminist frameworks from the 1970s and 1980s included a liberal strand that focused on analyzing and ameliorating discrimination against women and girls and two radical feminist tendencies—an essentialist analysis that argued for innate differences between women and men (girls and boys)—and a materialist position that emphasized the social construction of gender and with that, the possibility and even imperative of deconstructing the gender system. These frameworks have shaped forms of lesbian research legible within curriculum studies today, where they are sometimes overlapping.

Progressive era—approximately from the 1870s to the 1920s—intellectuals argued that the artificial environment and curricula of schools miseducated youth; they posed another possibility—that schools should help to develop a new social order through the promotion of active participation and learning by doing. The time saw a rapid shift from a rural agrarian economy to urbanization and a concurrent proliferation of women activists with broad social engagements who were also involved directly in public education reform efforts, including Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, cofounders of Hull House in Chicago; Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Caroline Pratt in New York; and many others. Of note is that these prominent feminists were creating the new social order for women and girls through their doing by remaining unmarried; working at careers; living independently or collectively with

other women; claiming public political affiliations, such as to socialism and trade unionism; and participating in social reform activism and political research. These societal shifts laid the ground for the development of lesbian communities and rights-based movements for women and sexual minorities, among other groups.

Feminist critiques of education began to emerge throughout the late 1960s and 1970s and had two main focuses and corollary goals—the first was to analyze inequities for girls and women in education through close readings of texts and audits of activities for stereotypical and overtly discriminatory perspectives and practices, and the second was to develop theory explaining how gender is produced and maintained through social structures. Both of these directions had direct effects on education and curriculum studies. Specifically, the former orientation led to changes in textbooks and mainstream curricula, such as more inclusion of women as a focus in history, discussion of gender in the media, and policy shifts regarding gender-based curricular requirements (such as shop for boys, home economics for girls); the latter has had perhaps more effects on higher education and curriculum discourse than on schools. During these years and the 1980s, lesbians organized as a political force within feminism, and some of those within education began to write about their experiences; an example is *The Lesbian in Front of the Classroom: Writings by Lesbian Teachers*.

Feminism through this period often overlapped with critical (stemming from the Frankfurt School) or socialist, Marxist, and other politically left perspectives and activism, and some of the earliest gay and lesbian organizers were also members of the Communist party and Marxist groups. In general, critical or materialist theorists then and now have maintained a primary focus on class, with secondary interests in race and gender. Within criticalist or political curriculum studies, sexualities generally and lesbianism specifically were and arguably remain nearly invisible. In one instance of critique, in 1988 Elizabeth Ellsworth argued that feminist pedagogy and critical pedagogy are distinct and that critical pedagogy should become informed by feminism and poststructuralism, which could deepen its abilities to explain society's structures of domination, and specifically, how those operate through gender and sexuality normativities; greater



use of feminist frameworks could create openings for critical lesbian research in curriculum studies.

Separate from this strand of feminist curriculum discourse, also through the 1970s, feminist curriculum theory began to address the importance of autobiography and biography as ways to counter the dominant (patriarchal) discourses and establish and recover women's experiences, knowledges, and histories. Janet Miller and Madeline Grumet worked aspects of this terrain through the late 1970s and early 1980s, with Miller relating her feminist theorizing in curriculum and autobiography to the insights of philosopher Maxine Greene, who has written extensively about women in education and the importance of self-awareness to social change. Grumet and Miller both played germinal roles in the reconceptualization movement in curriculum, which called for the creative reworking and reorganizing of the field; Miller helped convene conferences and to establish the journal *JCT* (then, *The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*; now, *JCT: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Curriculum Studies*); Grumet cowrote, with William Pinar, an early reconceptualist work, *Toward a Poor Curriculum*. Reconceptualism's inroads in curriculum studies, paired with the ongoing influences of feminist scholars such as Greene, Grumet, and Miller, helped to create an infrastructure—publishing, presenting, and intellectual community—to support an expansion of lesbian research in curriculum studies.

Through the 1980s, 1990s, and the first decade of the 2000s, lesbian research has been increasingly available in curriculum studies journals and conference venues and in books in the field. Many of these research projects link lesbian and gay and focus, as did some earlier feminist efforts, on reforming education; for example, the publications often address the experiences of sexual minority youth in schools. Other works report on and theorize about the lives and histories of sexual minority educators, such as Madiha Khayatt's *Lesbian Teachers: An Invisible Presence* and Jackie Blount's *Fit to Teach: Same-Sex Desire, Gender, and School Work in the 20th Century*. An example grounded in feminist and reconceptualist discourses is Miller's chapter, "Autobiography as a Queer Curriculum Practice," which paints a picture of the writer's autobiographical presentation at Bergamo, the conference sponsored by *JCT*,

during which she reveals her new relationship with a woman; the essay discusses her goal of "queering" or denaturalizing her many identities, including one as a lesbian, through autobiography. As in this work, many publications from the 1990s to the present reference queer theory. For example, *Negotiating the Self: Identity, Sexuality and Emotion in Learning to Teach* by Kate Evans uses the terms lesbian and queer almost interchangeably, and the book draws from a range of theoretical frameworks and research methodologies, including autobiography and critical discourse analysis, and closes with recommendations for teacher education.

Although lesbians are present in education and curriculum studies specifically, they are not as often noted in the field's synoptic and other foundational texts. For example, lesbian is not included in the subject indices of William Schubert's *Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility* and Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman's *Understanding Curriculum*, though there are entries for gay, homosexuals, and queer analysis in the latter. Gay and lesbian is in the subject index of *Curriculum Books: The First Hundred Years, Second Edition*, by William Schubert, Ann Lynn Lopez Schubert, Thomas P. Thomas, and Wayne Carroll. But lesbian is not included in Pinar's more recent *What is Curriculum Theory?* though its subject index notes heteronormativity and queer theory. If only reviewing these texts, one might think the field leapt directly from the invisibility of all sexual identities, to male sexual minority identities with a brief stop at lesbian (after gay), and to queer theory and its critiques of sexual norms in curriculum. In other words the field seems to barely stop at lesbian as a category worth investigation by itself, rather than just one aspect of sexuality studies, to be paired with other aspects if explored at all. Although the category queer creates some new possibilities for challenging and remaking gender, sexuality, and other identities, it may also translate into less attention to *lesbian*. A review of available articles indicates that lesbian research in curriculum studies is available in education journals and through online databases, but there are notable and persistent gaps in focus. As one example, international lesbian research and lesbians of color are both underrepresented in curriculum studies, though gaining

visibility in the broader field of education; *Troubling Intersections of Race and Sexuality: Queer Students of Color and Anti-Oppressive Education*, edited by Kevin Kumashiro, for example, includes chapters by and about African American, Chicana, two spirit, and Asian lesbians, and recent work by Australian researchers Mary Lou Rasmussen and Jane Kenway bridges both the continents and the cyber divide in their discussions of queerness. Scholars in curriculum studies continue to be challenged by the perennial questions that have invigorated the field for decades, including asking whose knowledges, experiences, and histories count.

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*See also* Feminist Theories; Gender Research; Hidden Curriculum; Identity Politics; Null Curriculum; Official Curriculum; Political Research; Queer Theory; Sexuality Research; Social Justice

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## LIBERAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Liberal education curriculum is a course of study of exemplary intellectual and artistic works across the disciplines, including history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, mathematics, and science. Proponents of liberal education believe that when individuals attain deep understanding of age-old existential quandaries, they will become well rounded, moral, and wise; moreover, they will become liberated from living merely by habit and unexamined belief. Although intellectual achievement is an important goal of liberal education curriculum, so too is the development of character. This curriculum's adherents express faith in liberal education to humanize students by cultivating spirituality, moral sensitivity, self-understanding, intellect, rationality, discipline, the powers of good judgment, and knowledge about of how to live deliberately and humanely as a good citizen within society.

The idea of liberal education stems from ancient Greece and the Socratic tradition of intellectual and moral training to prepare individuals to participate as citizens within a democracy. Greek and Roman Stoic philosophers also argued for liberal education as preparation to become world citizens by gaining the ability to understand different cultures and recognize the humanity of other people. Traditionally, however, this curriculum was meant to educate leaders, in particular, the few who would receive a university education; therefore, most discussion of liberal education curriculum has centered on higher education and the need for liberal or liberal arts education as the foundation of university curriculum.

Over time, liberal education curriculum was recommended for secondary students who could obtain a college education; notably, in the United States in the late 19th century, the Committee of

Ten proposed an academic liberal curriculum because most high school graduates would have prepared for the university. It was not until the later half of the 20th century, in the context of increasing college enrollment and in response to anti-intellectualism of U.S. society as well as lack of academic rigor in secondary education, that devotees such as Robert Maynard Hutchings and Mortimer Adler argued that liberal education would benefit all students and not just a university-bound elite. Contemporary supporters of this curriculum have made the case that it is the right of all students to learn from the powerful ideas of a humanities curriculum, not only because of the transformative power of such study, but because liberal education provides cultural capital for full participation in society.

In their belief that liberal education can be transformative, advocates of this curriculum feel strongly that teachers have crucial responsibilities. Because of the rigor of curricular content, wise and masterful educators who lead, coach, and guide students toward the cultivation of intellect and character are envisioned. When students cannot immediately see the value of study, educators with pedagogical expertise can help them to make connections between their personal lives and for example, great works of literature—to examine moral issues confronted by literary characters and to contemplate ethical dilemmas in their own lives. Teachers continue the tradition of Socratic questioning to stimulate genuine doubt and reflection to foster development of critical thinking and reasoned judgment. To teach this curriculum, educators are called on to have deep disciplinary and interdisciplinary knowledge so that they may stimulate rich multidimensional learning. The ideal image of a liberal education classroom is a community of scholars, often pictured as a Socratic seminar in which students engage in thoughtful discussion artfully led by their teacher.

The curricular content of liberal education begins with a fundamental multidisciplinary knowledge base. For this reason, universities and schools have provided a platform through general education requirements to allow students to achieve a full and balanced course of study. Furthermore, a number of universities and secondary schools have offered a thematic core curriculum not only to provide grounding in the disciplines, but also to promote

intellectual and ethical inquiry. Specific works of the core curriculum are chosen because of their enduring worth based on their potential to engage learners intellectually, artistically, and morally.

The liberal education curriculum has been at the heart of several academic controversies. Critics have attacked its emphasis on historically great works as elitist and out-of-touch with a modern, interactive, global, and technological society. Its sanctioning of particular cultural values has led to concerns of it being a culturally imperialist approach to education. Recent scholarship on liberal education has addressed these critiques by offering resolutions so that this curriculum might continue to be relevant in the 21st century.

Contemporary scholars, therefore, have tried to expand the notion of liberal education in several ways. By encouraging understanding of democratic citizenship through social engagement and community learning, liberal education advocates believe that students can cultivate habits of inquiry, judgment, and action. Hence, they call for liberal education to be evolving, dynamic, and pragmatic rather than being static and concerned primarily with eternal truths. In addition, contemporary proponents insist that moral dilemmas posed within exemplary works can and should focus on critical postmodern themes of injustice, oppression, and racism; for instance, they view both critical or feminist scholarship as compatible with and an enhancement of liberal education curriculum. Moreover, while still critical of the White, male Western European canon and its underlying assumption of cultural supremacy, other scholars imagine how liberal education curriculum can create world citizens who have deep cultural and cross-cultural knowledge. Such positions honor the liberal education tradition yet broaden it so that students can learn about what it means to be human and wise from the traditions, values, and contributions of more than one perspective and culture.

*Pamela Bolotin Joseph*

*See also* Committee of Ten of the National Education Association; Core Curriculum; General Education

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## LIBERATION THEOLOGY

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Liberation theology originated in Latin America in the 1960s as a critical, theological response to overwhelming conditions of poverty and oppression. Grounded in a century of focused development in Roman Catholic social teaching, beginning with the 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and culminating with the Second Vatican Council's 1965 *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, numerous Latin American theologians began to articulate a distinct theological method identified as critical reflection on praxis in light of the Word (as expressed in scripture and ecclesial tradition). This method highlights the primacy of experience as a source for theological reflection, noting that experience precedes theological formulation, and advances a preferential option for the lived experience of the poor. Liberation theology has both been informed by and informed the critical pedagogical work of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, with liberation theologians evidencing particular reliance on Freire's understanding of conscientization as critical participation in emancipatory, transformative action within history. Curriculum studies scholars have explored parallels between liberation theology and the method of *currere* as developed by William Pinar and identified a language of possibility and transformation within liberation theology that can inform a practice of critical pedagogy.

Early Latin American liberation theologians include Peruvian Dominican Gustavo Gutierrez, Uruguayan Jesuit Juan Luis Segundo, Brazilian Franciscan Leonardo Boff, and El Salvadoran Jesuit

Jon Sobrino. Articulating a theology of the periphery, in contrast to a European and North American theology of the center, liberation theologians emphasize solidarity with God and others that acts against oppression within the current historical moment. Concerned primarily with the circumstances of those living in poverty, expressions of this theology have also considered political, cultural, and gendered oppression. It identifies temporal liberation within history as a sign of the eschatological liberation to come beyond history. Critiques within the Roman Catholic hierarchy that led to institutional restrictions on the practice and role of liberation theology center on two related concerns: (1) the view that its emphasis on the pursuit of liberation within history negated anticipation of the fullness of liberation in the Kingdom of Heaven and (2) the perception that its use of Marxist analysis, particularly in relation to class struggle, prioritized political revolution. Liberation theologies have been articulated by scholars working from a range of distinct perspectives, including Rubem Alves' analysis from within Protestant Christianity, Sharon Welch's proposal of a feminist theology of liberation, Cornell West's discussion of Black liberation theology, and Marc Ellis' development of a Jewish theology of liberation.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and subsequent works, Freire theorizes education as a liberatory project advanced through conscientization, described as a process of critical reflection through which people gain insight into the sociopolitical structures of their world as well as the capacity to act to transform oppressive dimensions of those structures. Developed from within his experience advancing literacy among poor and indigenous persons in Brazil, a goal critically oriented toward obtaining the political right to vote in presidential elections, Freire's view of conscientization informed both liberation theology and critical pedagogy. Specifically, it affords each a language of possibility and hope oriented toward action. Drawing on Boff, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren, Thomas Oldenski provides historically important documentation of both Freire's influence on the thinking and experience of liberation theologians in Latin America and that theology's influence on Freire's own thinking. An example of Freire's influence is seen in the Brazilian Bishops' 1963 adoption of his method of literacy through the movement



of education from the bases and the subsequent role of Christian base communities as an experiential source for liberatory theological reflection.

Several scholarly papers presented at the 1992 Bergamo Conference on Curriculum Theory and Classroom Practice began to theorize connections between liberation theology and reconceptualized curriculum theory. Joe Kincheloe proposed that liberation theology offers an emancipatory system of meaning capable of informing critical pedagogy. Patrick Slattery considered parallels between liberation theology's view of time, history, and hope and Pinar's method of *currere*. Specifically, Slattery observed that both Gutierrez and Pinar reference Freire's view that the human vocation is humanization and that pedagogy is mutual and dialogical. Slattery posited that both liberation theology and *currere* emphasize a living autobiographical relationship with the future and the past as necessary for personal development and social reform, noting that liberation theology provides insight for theorizing emancipatory curriculum and pedagogy in a postmodern context. Giroux has noted liberation theology's role in providing a language of critique and possibility that interrupts dominant discourses and advances emancipatory interests. McLaren has discussed similarities between Freire's notion of the prophetic church and the work of liberation theologians, specifically manifest in the effort to orient theological reflection toward moving critical reasoning into practical action. Additional educational scholars influencing the field of curriculum studies through their exploration of liberation theology include Sue Books, Barry Kanpol, James Kirylo, Thomas Oldenski, and Edward St. John.

*Michael P. O'Malley*

*See also* Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy; *Currere*; Freire, Paulo; Theological Research

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## LIFE ADJUSTMENT CURRICULUM

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Life adjustment curriculum emphasized the role of the secondary school in preparing students not for further formal schooling, but for successful engagement in the life activities of adult society. A rejection of the theory of mental discipline and a critique of academic formalism informed the rationale for life adjustment curriculum. The proposals of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education influenced the idea and practice of life adjustment curriculum. In some ways, life adjustment curriculum represented the culmination of several decades of progressive education theory and practice. Life adjustment education, however, was not a monolithic curriculum reform and is best understood in one respect as one man's career-long idea and in another respect as a diffuse, ill-defined, largely symbolic, and short-lived reform initiative.

In the late 1930s, Charles Prosser, who is credited as the inventor of idea and practice of life adjustment education, articulated a conception of education for life that represented a culmination of his lifework in vocational education. Prosser criticized traditional academic curriculum as too focused on preparing students for further education rather than for adult life and as essentially selective rather than educative in character and intent. Prosser maintained that what he variously termed life adjustment education, life education, or just education for living was the best preparation for life and for college life. Although he held that every secondary school subject should be useful to living, he proposed that half of the high school curriculum be devoted to life education and half be devoted to academic studies.

Prosser proposed that curriculum content should be selected according to four criteria that he

derived from E. L. Thorndike's psychology: Subject matter should be selected that offered a wide range of utility, should directly meet life demands, should be widely usable in life, and should meet both present and future needs of students. Applied to conventional subjects, for example, life education would emphasize the use of English in business correspondence, everyday applications of arithmetic, analysis of current events, acquisition of basic business knowledge, and the role of science in everyday life. Life education would feature classroom activities such as using the local community as a laboratory for experience, use of wide range of print sources of information beyond conventional textbooks, active participation of students in learning experiences, the teaching of study skills, emphasis on application versus regurgitation of information, and emphasis on purposeful problem solving and decision making. Prosser envisioned secondary education as an apprenticeship for life.

As a result of a resolution Prosser proposed in 1945 at a conference of vocational educators, the United States Office of Education launched an initiative to promote life adjustment education for the alleged 60% of students who were ill-served by either the vocational or academic components of the high school curriculum. Two commissions served as clearinghouses and catalysts to stimulate interest in life adjustment education through state departments of education. Because of differences of opinion among commission members about which students should be served, about the definition of life adjustment education, and even about what the name of their initiative should be (almost half of commissioners preferred the designation general education), it is difficult to define exactly what life adjustment curriculum was. It is even problematic to associate two school programs, the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program and the course Basic Living at Battle Creek (Michigan) High School with life adjustment curriculum because they preexisted the work of the two commissions and were affiliated with them mainly by name.

Suffice it to say, then, that life adjustment education sought to move beyond the traditional academic curriculum to address the actual needs of youth and is best understood as an effort to make the high school curriculum address the broader life needs, rather than the narrow

academic needs, of youth. Life adjustment education attracted hostile criticism from academic traditionalists, who had more success in defining life adjustment education than its advocates had. As a result, most historical treatments of life adjustment education reflect the views of its critics more than the views of its advocates.

*William G. Wraga*

*See also* Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Secondary School Curriculum

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## *LIFE IN CLASSROOMS*

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With its reflective examination of the social conditions of classroom life, Philip W. Jackson's *Life in Classrooms* became a touchstone in the dramatic expansion of the concept of curriculum in the second half of the 20th century. Jackson's combination of an ethnographic study of classroom life and quantitative analyses of student and teacher experience revealed that much more was taught in school than the explicit subject matter and that the most lasting lessons might not be intended at all.

The book is divided into 5 chapters. The first chapter, "The Daily Grind," describes familiar classroom conditions, showing how the crowds, praise, and power that typify classroom life dominate children's experience and shape their developing role as students. Because schoolchildren typically live in a world with one adult and a score or more other children, they inevitably encounter delay, denial, interruption, and distraction. How children respond to these deterrents determines

whether or not they receive praise and approval from the teacher. To be seen as successful, children learn to accept authority and to adapt to institutional conformity. This hidden curriculum is seen by Jackson as both supporting and competing with the official curriculum.

The second and third chapters draw on numerous quantitative studies to argue that despite the compulsory routine of classroom life most children do not seem to have strong feelings about school and that inattention or disengagement may say more about the experience of going to school than about the contents of the curriculum. Remaining uninvolved can be a way for students to resist the messages of the hidden curriculum.

In the fourth chapter, interviews with 50 teachers reveal a tender-minded, idealized view of children that Jackson argues fits the teachers' dual role as both agents of the institution and protectors of the children who attend it. In the final chapter, Jackson questions whether learning theory or human engineering, however scientifically based, can successfully guide teaching and urges that a better goal than seeking to engineer perfect teaching is seeking to understand teaching.

Rather than a single-minded argument for reform, *Life in Classrooms* presents a complex portrait of schooling in which different readers have found different messages. The introduction of the hidden curriculum has provided reconceptualists, critical theorists, feminists, multiculturalists, and other curriculum scholars critical of schooling with a mechanism to explain how dominant groups use schools to maintain their legitimacy. The methodology of the book, especially its first chapter, encouraged the development of ethnographic curriculum research that focuses more on what students learn than on what teachers plan. The call to seek an understanding of teaching rather than to prescribe how teaching should be done provided a basis for the move to see curriculum work as fundamentally a matter of understanding curriculum, rather than of developing curriculum. Finally, the mere announcement of a hidden curriculum led to other ways of distinguishing aspects or dimensions of curriculum—official, intended, planned, taught, enacted, shadow, experienced, embodied, and null.

Although the hidden curriculum was almost immediately seen as the name for systematically

generated, but undesirable learning outcomes in children, *Life in Classrooms* does not draw such a clear-cut conclusion. Although bringing attention to the demand (on both teachers and students) for institutional conformity, the book reveals the complicated interplay between students' psychological withdrawal and teachers' efforts to engage. By withdrawing (Jackson argues), students resist the demand for conformity; and by seeking to make classroom life less regimented and more pleasurable, teachers diminish the significance of the demand for conformity.

Moreover, *Life in Classrooms* does not insist that the hidden curriculum necessarily induces undesirable effects. Jackson shows that students living in classrooms will, in one way or another, be socialized by the experience of everyday events. Jackson's insight into the enduring significance of the ordinary may be the most lasting contribution of *Life in Classrooms* to curriculum studies. The book teaches readers that both careful observation and thoughtful reflection are required to understand curriculum because the ends of teaching are neither obvious nor certain and because the means of teaching are constituted from the fluid, subtle, pervasive, and often contradictory circumstances of everyday life.

Robert Boostrom

See also Action Research; Ethnographic Research; Hidden Curriculum; Jackson, Philip W.; Null Curriculum; Reconceptualization

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## LOOPING

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Looping represents a curricular-instructional practice where a group of students remain under the guidance of a teacher for more than the standard

period of time (typically more than a single academic year) while they are promoted to a new grade level. After typically a 2- or 3-year period, students move on to a new teacher(s) and the original (looping) teacher returns to a lower grade level to work with a new group of students. Resting upon the premise that better curricular and instructional practices may be crafted by the teacher who has become familiar with the needs and interests of the students, looping is often used as a way to establish a small school feeling and stability to the educational process. The practice is said to lessen anxiety of students as they begin each new year and to build stronger relations among teachers and parents. Looping was implicit in the structure of education during the late 19th- and early 20th-century one-room school house where only one teacher was available to all students. Historically, the term teacher rotation has also been used to describe this practice.

Although looping's pedigree is not necessarily traced back to the progressive education tradition, such experimentation occurred at the elementary, middle, and secondary school level (especially in core curriculum courses). At times, efforts were made to keep students and a teacher together for more than 1 year, a practice which is common in Waldorf Schools where teachers and students stay together typically from the first through eighth grade. Progressive educators felt that the informed teacher could best craft the curriculum for adolescent youth and to serve as a better way to attend to academic, social, and emotional needs. The Ohio State University School, one of the six most experimental schools of the Eight Year Study (1930–1942), practiced looping at different times throughout Grades 1 through 12; in addition, the impact of looping was incorporated into the education program through the planned participation of the school librarian and arts specialists. An interesting question from some worried parents arose from teacher–student dynamics: What if a teacher and student did not get along? The school administration maintained that an important aspect of building community and establishing democracy as a way of life included resolving conflicts. Teachers believed that an aspect of a realistic learning community involved attending to and working through conflicts and strained personal relations. For this reason, what has later been viewed as a criticism of

looping was viewed as a way to make the educational experience richer and more realistic.

Presently, looping is seen, along with block scheduling, as an effective means of assisting low-achieving student populations. Many positive attributes are assigned to looping, including increased parental involvement and stronger teacher–parent relationships, more extensive instructional time and better curricular design in relation to scope and sequence, increased student attendance and retention, better teacher–pupil planning, and more positive classroom environment. From an educational administrative perspective, it is often noted that looping is an inexpensive educational reform.

The concept of looping has been introduced specifically into the field of curriculum studies by Nel Noddings as she describes the importance of continuity in education. Noddings reintroduces a basic assumption, common among 1930s progressive schools, that the classroom community, similar to a family, is a multipurpose setting. She maintains that a moral educational purpose is to care for children as a way to teach them to care for others and that the relationship of caring is developed over time and calls for educators to implement aspects of continuity into the curricular structure. One specific form is continuity of people, for which Noddings maintains that 3-year looping programs should be commonplace.

With the current trend toward elementary school specialization of subjects among teachers, looping at times is dismissed as academic concerns overshadow the emotional needs-based interests of students. Other disadvantages of looping typically discussed include the possibility of tension between teacher and student or among students and the potential for emotional strain caused by the separation between teacher and student. Yet looping proponents, at both the elementary and middle school level, suggest that more instructional time is gained during the 2nd and 3rd years of looping due to teachers' familiarity with students' interests and needs. Further, the strength of classroom relationships and emotional attachments can serve to reduce truancy.

*Virginia Richards*

*See also* Caring, Concept of; Eight Year Study, The; Noddings, Nel



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## LYOTARDIAN THOUGHT

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In the late 1970s, Jean-François Lyotard (1924–1998) was commissioned by the government of Quebec, Canada, to analyze changes in Western knowledge since World War II. In his report, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, published in 1979, Lyotard describes the erasure of culture and aesthetics with the incoming technological age, (mis)shaping advanced, industrialized societies, computerizing them and their concept of knowledge. Reality becomes bytes of information, and performativity becomes the legitimation of that reality. In schools, test scores (high or low) not only attest to one's knowledge acquisition but also legitimate (or not) one's values and methods of operation. We are the scores we produce, and our curricula are designed not to help students question, explore, and think, but to produce efficiently.

Lyotard's report is a warning as to where our performance driven society is headed and calls on us to "wage a war on totality." His report interrogates the present state of knowledge and challenges the totalizing power of modern metanarratives, grand écrits, wherein all problems and possibilities fit together so well that no space is left for questioning, for interpretation, or for the uniqueness of singularity. While committed to challenging this totalizing power of the metanarrative, the sudden popularity of the word postmodern (and its implied categorical separation from the modern) caused Lyotard to rethink whether he had chosen the right word for the process he wished to advocate.

The prefix *post* signifies a time that comes after, subsequent to, or coming later than, suggesting a

separated past, present, future—too strong a distinction for Lyotard. He later preferred the prefix *re*, which carries different signification: To rewrite modernity is to bring forth issues, working through the problems (and possibilities) inherent, but hidden, in the continual present, the now, pregnant with issues yet-to-be. Lyotard's (re)writing of the problematiqués of modern metanarratives addresses the totalizing and terrorizing effects of modern representation. His rewriting of modernity has profound and wide ranging implications for the field of curriculum studies, particularly his attention to modern reality, rewritten as event, and the limitations of modern representation rewritten as language games and differend.

Although Lyotard was a committed Marxist and phenomenologist early on, he later found the master narratives of Marx and Hegel troubling: All was solved by history's inevitable march toward progress, toward a better life. He found Marxism in its view of social problems to present a flat reality. For Lyotard, reality is event-ful—full of events—and singular events cannot be fit into a grand scheme. Something of the personal, filled with desires, passions, hopes, is always left over, a surplus, something for which rational interpretation can not account. This event-ful reality brings with it a personal ethics that requires one to think through each and every situation, to accept the responsibility of such thinking through, and to develop a politics that is not formulaic.

There is a need, Lyotard claims, to free up the rigidity of the grand écrits by searching for ways that personal passions and political structures interplay with one another. Structures are needed, but they need to be flexible. The implication for curricularists is that one should neither willingly impose the structure of curriculum on students, nor dismiss the value of structure. Rather, teachers should attend to the situation, aid students to find their own interpretations within a curriculum, their own connections to, differences from, and reflections on curricular structures.

According to Lyotard, modern reason (human reasoning reified) effectively functions to make individuals want to be or to do what the system needs for its own efficient functioning. To counter this totalizing aspect of modernist reason, Lyotard draws upon Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept language games (to rewrite reason). What attracts

Lyotard to this concept of language games is the sense of contract among the players (conversants). Rules (structures) are there, but not prescribed or imposed; they are spontaneous, flexible, and event driven. Further, although there are overlaps among the rules of different games, as the games (or moves) are discrete, so the rules are incommensurable. Each game is thus its own unique event. Each game is local.

Lyotard was committed to social justice and tackled the limitations of representation in modern, rational law that marginalizes by demanding that all accept its validity and articulate their issues within its parameters. Rational law is blind to cultural differences. This difference is more than mere difference; it is, Lyotard says, a differend: a difference that cannot be negotiated for lack of a rule of law that applies to both parties, the impossibility of representation when there is no common referent. In the postmodern condition, one cannot resolve a differend, one can only recognize such. One can at best feel when a differend occurs. Such feeling takes one outside the logic of reason. It encourages one to bring forth the unrepresentable, to present the unrepresentable, or to present that not-yet-visible. A curriculum based on the sensitivity of feeling, Lyotard believes, would be a curriculum not merely incredulous of the totalization—terrorizing—embedded in modernity's grand écrits, but would be a curriculum continually rewriting the problems

and possibilities inherent in modernity. In short, it would be a postmodern curriculum, where the local, the event-ful reigns; and in this reign, each player has his or her own rights and responsibilities. This condition is indeed a fragmented one, but ironically strength lies in this fragmentation. Various petite réceits interact with/in community and through this interaction the unrepresentable becomes perceptible.

The postmodern condition is then, as Lyotard says, a part of the modern. It is the modern rewritten. It is the modern continually critiquing and exploring its now self, moving beyond the condition of grand écrits, into a condition of the local (the petite réceits), where differences allow, encourage, the new to become perceptible.

*William E. Doll, Jr., and Jie Yu*

*See also* Modernism; Postmodernism

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## MACDONALD, JAMES

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James Macdonald (1925–1983) was one of the most important U.S. curriculum theorists of the 20th century. He taught initially at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and subsequently at the University of North Carolina–Greensboro, until his death. Macdonald never published a book, but his work can be found in disparate places, including numerous monographs, booklets, and out-of-the-way journals (such as the *Journal of Vocational Education*). After his death, Macdonald's son Bradley J. Macdonald published *Theory as a Prayerful Act: The Collected Essays of James B. Macdonald*, a gathering of some of Macdonald's most seminal works. His work may also be found in William Pinar's *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* and *Contemporary Curriculum Discourses*.

Most notable among the many features of Macdonald's work was his willingness to bring in wide-ranging resources having nothing to do with education to develop our ability to see in new and fruitful ways. Illustrative of such breadth was Macdonald's use of the work of the preeminent 20th-century philosopher, inheritor, and extender of the critical theory tradition, Jürgen Habermas; the educational thinking of the eminent mathematician and philosopher Alfred North Whitehead; the anthropological insights of Edward T. Hall; and the psychological theorizing of David Bakan. Although we now take for granted bringing in new

sources to enrich our thinking, it was Macdonald (along with, notably, Dwayne Huebner and Ted Aoki) who introduced this way of working to curriculum studies.

As wide-ranging as Macdonald's sources were, the focus of his work was always consistent in exploring the blockages to and the hope for liberation as the goal of education. He was concerned with the project of finding oneself as a human being and working out the destiny of being human. The Bradley Macdonald collection illustrates that in Macdonald's early essays Macdonald was concerned with what it meant to be a human being and how school life might contribute to, unintentionally interfere with or actively inhibit, the development of the person. As his thinking developed, he became increasingly concerned with the individual and with her or his mediation of experience. He brought in Habermas to explore blockages to communication and to understanding the processes of curriculum deliberation and design through an examination of various value bases for education practice, a Freirian perspective to further critique curriculum development processes, focused on both what worldviews are being promoted and who is involved in the decision making, and he brought in Whitehead to offer an alternative to instrumental thinking through Whitehead's stage-developmental notion, moving from a romantic naïveté in relation to knowledge, a focus on the technical aspects of knowing, eventuating, hopefully, in a new synthesis Whitehead termed generalization, all as models for thinking about

curriculum. As his thinking developed, he moved further and further away from alignment with any one school of thought. Exemplary of this move is arguably his most important essay, "The Transcendental Developmental Ideology of Curriculum Development." In this essay, Macdonald leaves behind the technical-rational (Ralph Tyler) and the political radical (critical theory and critical pedagogy), proposing a new way of thinking about human development focused upon play, spirituality, and cybernetics, leading toward a transcending of ordinary human experience into new realms of human possibilities. In an essay published posthumously (cowritten with David Purpel), Macdonald and Purpel continue a critique of curriculum thinking, again rejecting the schools of thought of both Tyler and his many followers with technological solutions to schooling, and the critical left with a focus, according to MacDonald and Purpel, on questionable political and cultural ends. Their problem with the Tyler school is not with the method itself, but rather that it is used for the wrong ends. In this essay, they focus on establishing platforms, attending to the signs of transcendent reality (such as play, awe, and humor), being aware of evil, making the human aspiration for affirmation and hope central to curriculum thinking, and having liberation as the goal of education.

Macdonald, throughout his career, sought to move beyond the neat categories of curriculum thinking and into new realms of human possibilities not yet fully known or understood. His legacy is the courage with which he explored the world around him and the driving insistence upon an intellectual honesty that demanded a better world not in already existing terms, but in terms to be developed by the actions of the young. An anecdote, perhaps apocryphal but nevertheless illustrative, from his colleague Purpel, serves to highlight the special qualities of Macdonald. They were walking outside of the Curry School of Education at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro one day. A group of kindergartners saw Macdonald from afar and flooded to him. They instantly recognized that he was one of them, ever seeking and ever innocent. Although Macdonald's work was intellectually demanding and always personally challenging, children understood who he was and gravitated to him. Macdonald asks us to become

like those children: ever seeking, ever curious, ever insisting on answers not yet fully understood and yet beckoning forward.

*Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones*

*See also* Aoki, Ted T.; Curriculum as Spiritual Experience; Curriculum Theory; Habermasian Thought

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## MAGNET SCHOOLS

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Traditionally, children go to schools that are closest to their primary residence. Magnet schools are public schools that allow students a choice regardless of school zones requirements. Magnet schools usually have special curricula or characteristics that distinguish them from others and make them attractive choices for students who desire an emphasis in arts, math and science, work preparedness, and so on.

Magnet schools are public schools that have to adhere to all guidelines and regulations of public schools, unlike charter schools, which are public schools with a charter that releases them from some of the regulations. School choice represented in magnet, charter, and alternative schools has provided educators, parents, and students with alternative options for the traditional schools that are plagued with low academic performance, high dropout rates, school violence, and lack of preparation for college or for the workforce.

Magnet schools usually have a comprehensive vision, plus educational aims, goals, and objectives that are in accordance with such vision. Magnet schools also have clearly designed curricula,



themes, and teaching practices that promote the magnet school's vision. In addition, they have budgets, policies, professional development, and evaluation plans that comply with public schools regulations. Magnet schools have marketing and recruitment plans as well.

Magnet schools took precedence in the 1960s and 1970s as a tool for racial desegregation and academic equality for many schools. Providing special features in magnets was thought to encourage parents to enroll their children in such schools regardless of their zone boundaries, crossing racial lines and integrating schools. However, schools that promoted certain types of curriculum, such as Afrocentric curriculum, were found to increase segregation among races as Stephen Sugarman and Frank Kemerer argued in their book on school choice.

Magnet schools were found to lead neighboring schools to examine their own practices and to improve their schools in order to compete with magnet schools. As a result, magnet schools that started as a desegregation tool became part of the school improvement movement. Lately, magnet schools have become a tool to combat the increasing migration of students to private schools. Over the last 20 years, magnet schools have become a very attractive choice for many parents to the degree that most magnet schools are not able to accept more than 10% to 25% of the students who apply for them. Magnet schools appeal to parents due to the following criteria:

- specialized curriculum with common interests such as arts, math, science, or cultural studies;
- parents' and students' choices in curriculum emphasis;
- strong parental involvement in the curriculum and teaching methods compared to public schools;
- improved attendance as a direct result of the learner-centered approach of the curriculum;
- improved students' motivation, which is a product of student's choice and involvement in the curriculum design;
- increased self-esteem of students as a result of students' empowerment by giving students a voice and ownership of their own learning;
- improved academic achievement compared to traditional public schools indicated by the

majority of studies on students' achievement in magnet schools; and

- specialized preparation for the workforce since magnet schools have specific curriculum areas that better prepare students for employment after graduation.

Magnet schools usually promote progressive, innovative, and effective programs that are characterized by curricular cohesion and parental involvement. Magnet schools have three distinctive features: (1) distinguished, progressive curriculum or instructional features; (2) freedom of choice; and (3) promotion of diversity.

Magnet schools are usually found in urban settings since the main purpose behind most of them is social integration. Some magnets are self-contained schools, while others are schools within schools. They usually are small in comparison to their traditional counterparts. In addition, they tend to start with short-term federal grants or funds, which make their long-term planning uncertain. For magnet schools to be successful, the community must be involved and supportive of their mission.

Edwin Merritt and colleagues argued that not only can magnet schools address the academic needs of students, but also they are effective means of addressing the issues of educational equality and parity. They pointed out that a large number of magnet schools in Connecticut and Florida helped integrate racial groups within these areas and combat socioeconomic disadvantages among minority groups in public schools. In Nevada, magnet schools successfully brought diversity to ethnically homogeneous schools.

However, a study of magnet schools' enrollment in Cincinnati, Nashville, and St. Louis found that poor children remained concentrated in nonmagnet schools. The researchers found that the majority of students in magnet schools had higher income and more educated parents as indicated by Bruce Fuller, Richard Elmore, and Gary Orfield's research. Similar studies found that within racial minority groups, parents with high socioeconomic and educational backgrounds were more likely to enroll their children in magnet schools than parents with lower socioeconomic and educational backgrounds as offered by Sugarman and Kemerer.

Can magnet schools actually serve to address the inequality of U.S. inner city schools? The

research on the effectiveness of magnet schools, albeit mostly positive, indicates that magnet schools failed to achieve their original mission: school integration. Jonathan Kozol insisted that magnet schools contributed to the further isolation of poor children who were left behind in traditional schools after more successful students moved to magnet schools. On the other hand, many educators argued that magnet schools, if focused correctly, can contribute to the advancement of U.S. public schools and to the success of students of urban schools.

*Marcia L. Lamkin and Amany Saleh*

*See also* Desegregation of Schools; Equity; Resegregation of Schools; School Choice

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## MALEFIC GENEROSITY

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Critical-political discourses in the field of curriculum studies concern themselves with issues of power, privilege, and oppression with the aim of understanding how education functions to maintain unjust and unequal relations in a society. Malefic generosity is a concept from Freirean critical pedagogy that concerns the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed and suggests a contradiction between pedagogical intention and pedagogical effect. Understanding the concept of malefic generosity can help to clarify why teachers with purportedly the best of intentions fail to achieve successful academic results

with students from marginalized or oppressed groups.

Paulo Freire, in his landmark book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, contrasts two forms of education. Hegemonic education functions to integrate students into the logic of an unjust system, fails to make existing structures of domination explicit, and does not provide conceptual tools to question, challenge, and overcome inequality and injustice. Its pedagogical method has been termed by Freire as banking education—a form of teaching and learning in which the student is considered an empty vessel to be filled with knowledge deposits by the teacher. This form of education promotes passivity and conformity. In contrast, emancipatory education is characterized by the examination and analysis of forms of domination in concrete situations, consciousness raising about ways to challenge structures of oppression, and solidarity between teacher and student. The aims of emancipatory education are freedom, autonomy, and the acquisition of conceptual tools to transform reality toward greater participation, justice, and equality.

Freire characterizes this emancipatory pedagogy as one of authentic, humanist generosity. However, the investment of oppressors, who hold political and intellectual power and resources, in the maintenance of their own privilege and power, precludes their authentic participation in the education of those who are oppressed. This preclusion raises the question of who will participate in the implementation of a liberating pedagogy. Certain members of the oppressor class do join in solidarity with members of the oppressed class and can fulfill the function of facilitators of *conscientization*, a term coined by Freire that signifies the exposition of social and political contradictions and the resultant learning that can lead to overcoming oppressive conditions. This role and function, however, is fraught with unanticipated or unintended consequences. People who shift allegiance to the side of the exploited or the oppressed carry with them many markers of class and privilege (e.g., speech patterns, body language, tastes), markers which if unexamined can result in conscious or unconscious bias, prejudice, feelings of superiority, condescension, and a failure to trust in their students' abilities to think and to know. Hence, although they have taken the side of the powerless and may truly desire to transform the existing unjust social order,

they can end up reinforcing the status quo. Such generosity is considered to be as malefic as the generosity of the oppressors, who though they may dole out favors, rewards, wages, charity, and knowledge, have no interest in transforming the basic structures of exploitation and domination.

There are a number of methods designed to obviate malefic generosity, though no method can substitute for long-term, committed comradeship and communion with those whom one would help liberate. The educator who would engage in emancipatory education must have an abiding faith in the potential of themselves and their fellow humans to grow and develop in meaningful ways and to transform unjust conditions of existence. There must be a deep commitment to decenter dominant forms of discourse and theoretical suppositions and a willingness to learn from those who are culturally different from oneself. Educators need to develop a profound sense of trust in students, trust that can only be cultivated through authentic dialogue. He or she must be willing to equalize the role of teacher and student so that education becomes not something one does for or to someone, but with each other. Concrete strategies for authentic education include shared decision making about what is worth knowing, what will be studied, how learning will be expressed, and how the classroom or learning environment is structured. Perhaps most important is the mutual cultivation of critical thinking and a commitment to action on behalf of creating a more just world.

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*See also* Banking Concept of Education; Conscientization; Critical Pedagogy; Critical Praxis; Freire, Paulo; Hegemony

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## MAN: A COURSE OF STUDY

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Man: A Course of Study (MACOS) was an upper-elementary-level, interdisciplinary social science curriculum that predominantly featured the principles of evolution and anthropology. Originating during the post-*Sputnik* educational environment when federal funds and university academics were ubiquitously present in curriculum design projects, MACOS was developed by Education Service Incorporation, a private, nonprofit organization that had been created by scientist Jerrold Zacharias. In 1962, Zacharias assembled a group of scholars who felt curriculum should teach children to act as investigating social scientists rather than teach an aimless survey of facts. These scholars, along with classroom teachers, collaboratively engaged in one of the most significant, federally supported education projects in curriculum studies history.

In 1964, Jerome Bruner, cognitive psychologist, assumed stewardship of MACOS, the elementary branch of the international, nonprofit Education Development Center's social studies' project. Bruner wanted to develop a curriculum that would help students respect, learn about, and be able to transfer general principles about humanity and the social world. Most importantly, Bruner wanted pupils to develop confidence in their mind's ability to question and interact with information. MACOS's content and pedagogical approach both reflected this goal.

The ideological superstructure of MACOS's content was man's nature and how it related to and was distinct from other species. This distinction was specifically explored through cultural forces' shaping influence on humanity. To focus on such expansive generalities, three guiding questions were proposed: What is human about human beings? How did they get that way? How can they be made more so? To illuminate these questions, five cultural forces (language, tool making, social organization, prolonged childhood, and humans' urge to explain) would be explored as the course progressed through its two major components: animal and cultural.

MACOS examined several animal species with increasingly complex life cycles, communication systems, social behaviors, and child-rearing practices. This examination began with salmon and herring gulls, which laid the content foundations for an in-depth analysis of baboons. Learning about each species revealed to students how human's biological and social nature compared with other organisms, with a final transition to MACOS's cultural component. This unit's goal was to help students realize how culture reveals both distinct differences and similarities between humans. Through the use of unnarrated film of the Netsilik Eskimo's hunter-gatherer society, students conceptualized humans' universalities and culture's influence.

To teach this content, MACOS employed diverse media and activities, thereby allowing educators to provide many and varied learning opportunities. These opportunities were buttressed by Bruner's four pedagogical principles: contrast, encouragement of hypothetical thinking, participation, and stimulation of self-consciousness. Contrast, found in the comparisons of humans versus higher primates, humans versus prehistoric humans, contemporary technological societies versus so-called primitive societies, and adult versus children, was designed to classify the course's content. Students were encouraged to develop hypotheses about the presented content. Models of reality and embodiments of important generalities incorporated games, role playing, and other participatory activities.

Beginning in 1967, MACOS was employed in schools throughout America, and in the early 1970s, began encountering resistance. Some parents challenged what they perceived as an elementary class promoting unchristian, wanton values and behaviors. Other parents and educators disputed these charges and enthusiastically supported MACOS. Eventually, MACOS's curriculum engendered such controversy that it reached the House of Representatives and a national audience.

The atmosphere was now more politically charged, and MACOS's opposition challenged continuous spending for the program, asserting that such patronage was misguided, unfair to commercial educational enterprises, and a federal usurpation of rightful, localized educational control. Supporters of the course rebutted that federal

support had helped develop novel, productive pedagogical programs that advanced student learning. Ultimately, negative publicity extinguished MACOS's governmental funding and sales, thus ending the curriculum's implementation.

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*See also* Curriculum Development; Discipline-Based Curriculum; Social Studies Education; Social Studies Education, History of; Spiral Curriculum

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## MARGINALIZATION

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Marginalization is a process of becoming or being made marginal to centers of power, social standing, or dominant discourses. People can become or be marginalized as a result of either individual circumstance, by being members of historically oppressed social groups, or by choosing associations with particular ideologies. Ideas—even entire disciplines—can become marginalized by virtue of their threat toward, or insignificance to, institutional, economic, or political centers of power. These centers of power can be local, national, or global in scope. Both human (individual and social circumstance) and ideological forms of marginality are of interest to curriculum studies. Curricula can be examined on the basis of the ways they represent and relate to, or fail to represent and relate to, issues of race, class, gender, ability, and sexual orientation. Multicultural curriculum theory, in particular, has focused on these social categories. Curricula can be designed to either challenge or reinforce power relations around such categories. One task of multicultural education has been, at least ostensibly, to challenge



the status quo and, therefore, reduce the effects of marginalization by the curriculum. For some versions of multicultural curriculum theory, the goal is not only to reduce or eliminate the effects of marginalization, but also to educate for activism against marginalization in the larger social sphere.

Curriculum that encourages social critique is often marginalized. When curricula are designed to open complex questions to ambiguous responses—responses that require sophisticated interpretive work—those curricula pose particular difficulties, for example, for common accountability measures. Such curricula may also present problems for particular communities that find ambiguity difficult to accept, understand, or work with. On the other hand, a curriculum that rejects such ambiguity, but endorses a particular set of ideas may likewise be marginalized if those ideas are outside the mainstream societal norms in any way. As such, a state of marginalization belongs to no particular political, moral, or ideological standpoint.

The concept of marginalization is too complex to be reduced to a good versus bad dualism. To be marginalized is oftentimes to be subjected to various kinds of punishment such as rejection, invisibility, suppression of basic rights, and even violence. But invisibility, in some situations, can be advantageous when it leads to, for example, a reduction in scrutiny by an overbearing state or other center of power. What is more, margins are markers of difference. These differences are numerous and carry a range of psychological and material effects that are not equal in intensity or force. In this sense, identities are constituted by one's range of marginalizations. It is within these differences—these areas of marginalization—that individuals or groups may find the most fertile ground for learning and understanding as one so placed has need to understand both the marginal position and the center of power. As such, a marginalized position can be characterized by deeper insight and intelligence than a centralized position in the same sense that bilingual capacity is richer than monolingual.

Various types of marginalization—individual differences, membership in historically oppressed groups, marginal ideologies—may coexist within one body, further complicating our understanding of the functioning of marginalization. Everyone is marginal in some aspects. The ways in which one attempts to define or identify oneself has much to

do with who or what one attempts to define or identify as other to one. Indeed, marginality in all its layers is constituted by encounters with otherness. The social margins result from encounters across differences between in terms of race, class, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, and ability. And encounters across differences between transform all who are involved. Individual margins may be constituted by encounters across differences within—differences generated by socially and culturally produced psyches. Social and individual margins within one body give rise to yet another level of potential marginalization—the surprise offered by a breakdown of stereotype. Rigid categories at any level do not hold up under close scrutiny.

Given these intricacies, curriculum studies of marginalization are best approached through multiple theoretical lenses or multiple disciplines. A psychoanalytic standpoint, for example, will yield different insights than will a political, sociological, or economic interpretation. It is this requirement that might recommend a cultural studies approach to understanding marginalization over many of the more traditional and instrumental approaches within curriculum studies. Cultural studies, particularly from the tradition of British cultural studies that originated in the 1950s, is by definition inter- or even antidisciplinary and has been applied routinely to marginality studies. Reconceptualized curriculum studies of the 1970s to the present contain approaches that are compatible with cultural studies, and there are many representative studies of marginalization within that tradition.

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*See also* Antiracism Theory; Colonization Theory; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Hybridity; Multicultural Curriculum Theory

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## MASTERY LEARNING

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Mastery learning is a philosophy about learning and teaching that essentially asserts that under appropriate instructional conditions virtually all students can learn well. It places on teachers the responsibility of student learning proposing that they can teach so that all students master most of what they are taught. The goal is to enable students to acquire some basic intellectual competencies ensuring that they can undertake the subsequent learning demanded of them by their schools and eventually their vocations and avocations and which will potentially lead to satisfaction increasing the chances for the development of positive feelings toward learning. Mastery learning strategy is an important development in the field of curriculum studies, which, although criticized for its mechanistic nature, many of its tenets include lesson plans and emphasize instructional techniques, planning and competency assessment, and particular knowledge and skills that are thought of as important for students to live and work in the society. This strategy is influenced by social behaviorism with emphasis given on the formulation of specific instructional objectives attained through instruction sequenced into small steps. The career reward for teachers who use this approach is that their teaching consistently results in high levels of learning for most of their students rather than for just a few.

Mastery learning is typically a group-based, teacher-paced approach to instruction in which students learn, for the most part, in cooperation with their classmates. It is designed for use in typical classroom situations where instructional time and curriculum are relatively fixed and the teacher has charge of a big group of students, and thus, although excessive amount of instructional time cannot be spent in diagnostic-progress testing, student learning must be graded. Students progress through a systematically approached instructional sequence as a group and at a pace determined primarily by the teacher who is the instructional leader and learning facilitator directing a variety of group-based instructional methods together with accompanying feedback and corrective procedures. Particularly, courses or subjects are broken into small units of learning at the end of which students

are tested and receive feedback on particular errors and difficulties. Also, students are provided the needed time to learn and the alternative learning opportunities in order to master the predefined intellectual and behavioral competencies. What constitutes mastery is set based on some clear criterion, and successful learning relies primarily on teachers and students rather than on technological devices. Although it can be also implemented in an individual based, self-paced format, it differs from the vast majority of such individualized instructional programs where the teacher primarily gives individual assistance when needed rather than being a principal source of new information. Also, in the latter programs, students generally work at their own pace, independently of their classmates, using carefully designed, self-instructional materials and move onto new material only after they have mastered perfectly each unit.

Many elements of mastery learning were observed via empirical research as integral parts of successful teaching and learning. Some of these observations included the conviction that many students lack the needed sophistication and motivation to be effective self-managers of their own learning; mastery learning's consistently positive effects, although it did not yield the large effects on student learning proposed as possible by its advocates; and the quality of instruction, the strikingly improved student learning outcomes, and the effectiveness of schools evidenced worldwide.

The idea of mastery learning was found by Benjamin Bloom in 1974. Yet the basic tenets of mastery learning were described in the early years of the 20th century by Carleton Washburne and Henry Morrison who discussed in their writings the idea that all can learn and learn well. Current applications of mastery learning are generally based on Bloom's learning for mastery model developed in 1968, based on John Carroll's conceptual model of school learning, which provided the theoretical basis for the strategy of learning for mastery that viewed student aptitude for a given subject as an index of the amount of time the student would require to learn the subject to a given level. Bloom's approach to mastery, the basic features of which have been summarized by John McNeil in 1969, requires that learning objectives are well defined and appropriately sequenced that student learning is regularly

checked and immediate feedback is given, and it stresses that student learning is evaluated in terms of criterion-referenced rather than norm-referenced standards. In the subsequent decade through the mid-1980s Bloom's ideas were refined by James Block, Lorin Anderson, and Thomas Guskey providing a more systematic and practical model focusing on defining, planning, teaching, and grading for mastery. Block and Robert Burns have written extensively on mastery learning and have elaborated on four types of mastery learning research, focusing on whether mastery approaches to instruction work, what might follow, why, and how and their practical, theoretical, and ideological implications.

In the mid-1970s, proponents and opponents of mastery learning argued about the pros and cons of the strategy. Critics of mastery learning assert that mastery approaches to instruction are rigid, mechanistic, training strategies; that they can only give students the simple skills required to survive in a closed society; and that they do not appreciate the complexities of school learning. Adherents of mastery approaches to instruction maintain that they are flexible, humanistic, educational strategies; that they can provide students with the complex skills needed to prosper in an increasingly open society; and that they do take into account the realities of classroom life. Nevertheless, the elements of mastery learning as proposed by Bloom and refined by others constitute a general foundation for educators at all educational levels to plan lessons.

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*See also* Achievement Tests; Competency-Based Curriculum; Taxonomies of Objectives and Learning; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## MATHEMATICS EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Mathematics curricula are popular, perceived as the most stable and the most universal of the disciplines that are represented in formal educational institutions. In terms of stability, many topics in contemporary texts were not just represented in medieval schools (with some tracing back to ancient Greece); the manner of presentation is often surprisingly similar across recent centuries. As for perceptions of universality, mathematics is by far the most common focus of international comparison testing. Although examination makers often must make minor adjustments for grade levels from one nation to the next, topics and expected levels of mastery are strikingly consistent in the developed world.

Yet a very different picture of mathematics curriculum is presented when one focuses on particular eras and locations. Not only does the what (the contents) of curriculum shift with time and place (i.e., the who and where), so do the when, why, and how. For example, the topic of common fractions is one of the mainstays of curriculum in most of the English-speaking nations. It is typically introduced in middle school arithmetic and serves as a major emphasis for several years. In France, however, the topic is only encountered incidentally in high school algebra, as minor subtopic of rational expressions—and for good reason. Having developed and adopted the international (Metric) system centuries ago, the ability to manipulate fractions is a rather unimportant competence in France.

Even where topics of study are reasonably stable—as they have been in North America over the last century, for example—shifts in pedagogical emphasis have contributed to substantial transformations in the character of school mathematics. Recent examples include the post-*Sputnik* new math movement of the 1960s in which the emphasis shifted from mastery of procedures to understanding logical structures and formal propositions. The more recent movements toward problem

solving in the 1980s and manipulatives in the 1990s have had impacts of similar magnitude, although not always of comparable coherence. It remains a topic of heated debate, for example, whether mathematics should be taught for or through problem solving. Although it might sound like word play, the difference is not a subtle one in practical terms.

Briefly, then, in spite of appearances, the mathematics curriculum is as volatile and context dependent as any other subject area. This short introduction is thus organized around points of apparent agreement, coupled to prominent tensions, ongoing evolutions, and emergent issues.

### Aims of School Mathematics Curriculum

Perhaps the most contested topic in school mathematics has to do with the purposes of engaging with the subject matter at all. At present, the overwhelming emphasis within the field of mathematics education is on the development of conceptual understanding, often contrasted with the mastery of technical or procedural knowledge. Such technical competence was the explicit goal of mathematics instruction a century ago—so much so that massive efforts at reform over the past few decades have done little to disturb the popular belief that mathematics, in fact, consists precisely of those procedures to be mastered.

This emphasis on conceptual understanding is a recent one. It is, in large part, borne of technologies that have eased the burden of technical competence, both within and beyond mathematics classrooms. In terms of curriculum topics and pedagogical approaches, the emphasis on understanding has prompted increased attention to explanation and justification and diminished interest in memorization and practice.

The major issue that arises here is around the tendency to dichotomize conceptual and procedural knowledge. To truncate current discussions, in order to develop more sophisticated insights, earlier ones must be somewhat automatic. A knower would be severely handicapped if compelled to reconstruct an idea or technique every time it is invoked. It is thus not a matter of which to emphasize when specifying a curriculum, but how to ensure a balance that supports both conceptual and technical development.

As obvious as this point might seem, current efforts at mathematics curriculum development tend to be mired in the math wars—popularly characterized in terms of a pendulum that swings between the poles of technical mastery and conceptual understanding.

### Topics in School Mathematics Curriculum

Technically speaking, the noun *mathematics* should be treated as a plural—that is, we should speak in terms of what mathematics are, not what mathematics is. The domain comprises many branches of inquiry, the most familiar of which are arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and calculus.

A frequent observation within the mathematics education community is that the topics and sequencing in most school mathematics curricula seem to be organized with the intention of preparing students to proceed into calculus. In most North American jurisdictions, the first 7 or 8 years are focused on arithmetic, developing understandings of and facility with different number systems. Early grades deal with whole numbers, decimal and common fractions are typically introduced toward the end of elementary school, and signed numbers and irrational numbers are introduced in the middle years in preparation for algebra. Most often, each number system is studied by looking at equality, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and exponentiation in sequence.

Algebra, or the mathematics of generalized arithmetical operations, most often begins toward the end of middle school. In many locations, the shift to algebra not only corresponds with, but also is used to define the commencement of high school mathematics. As with arithmetic, topics and sequencing in algebra curriculum tend to be quite similar across contexts. Typically, it begins with simple equations and then moves through multistep equations, systems of equations, polynomials, radicals, rational expressions, and sequences and series.

The most varied strand of school mathematics is geometry. Aspects of this branch of mathematics are usually distributed across K–12 curricula, and topics addressed in the higher grades tend to vary dramatically from one country to the next. Often topics in geometry are gathered under the categories of measurement, shape, and spatial sense in



contemporary curricula. In the early grades, topics such as identification of simple shapes, linear measurement, and uses of formulae to calculate area are typical. More sophisticated applications and a few elaborations (e.g., volume) of these topics are usually encountered in the middle years, but few new topics are introduced. At the high school level, a range of geometry-related topics might be encountered, including trigonometry, conic sections, and proof.

Calculus is most often included as an advanced option in most school jurisdictions—although it now commonly appears as a topic of required study in academic-stream mathematics. Even though it is not usually a part of the required K–12 curriculum, many topics in the higher grades (again, varying dramatically from one context to the next) are clearly intended to ease the transition into calculus. These topics include functions, vector algebra, matrix algebra, conic sections, and linear algebra.

As noted above, mathematics comprises many other branches of inquiry. A few others that are commonly encountered in grade school curricula are probability, data management (i.e., an adaptation and application of statistics, seen by many to be out of place in a mathematics curriculum), combinatorics, and problem solving (typically treated as a transcurricular, rather than a discrete topic). Other branches of mathematics are beginning to be represented in many grade school curricula, partly in response to a desire to present mathematics as a vibrant and evolving domain of inquiry. For example, fractal geometry is now commonly encountered. Less often, nonlinear dynamics and complex modeling are included in some curricula. Notably, most of these new topics are heavily reliant on powerful computing technologies.

### **Structures of School Mathematics Curriculum**

One of the features that distinguishes school mathematics curriculum from most other subject areas is its tendency to be explicit about the assumed structure of knowledge and the manner in which that structure might be employed to organize formal curricula. Indeed, it appears that most other disciplinary areas have borrowed from mathematics in this regard.

More descriptively, most modern curricula are organized around the ideal of the formal geometric proof, drawn from the mathematics of ancient Greece and championed by rationalist philosophers since René Descartes. Briefly, the model here begins with the statement of foundations truths or assumptions and proceeds by knitting those premises together into more sophisticated truths. From this structure we derive the tendencies to organize curricula around basics, to focus on formal principles, to organize concepts into elementary and advanced categories, and to sequence topics and subtopics into linear trajectories.

On this count, it is interesting to note that there is a growing movement in mathematics curriculum to rethink the structure of mathematics knowledge (and hence, mathematics curriculum) in terms of networks rather than hierarchies. In this frame, concepts and understandings are understood not in terms of foundations and a logical structure, but as coherences that arise among experiences and associations. So conceived, for example, the concept of multiplication is not a basic operation that is readily defined, but a complex of metaphors (e.g., number-line stretching, scaling), processes (e.g., folding, grouping), images (e.g., grid making, area producing), and algorithms (e.g., repeated addition, multidigit multiplication). Correspondingly, curriculum is reconceived in terms of major hubs or neighborhoods of ideas that resemble other neighborhoods. One does not move sequentially or incrementally through these neighborhoods. Rather, it is more a matter of gradual, recursive, and simultaneous elaboration of existing nodes and hubs.

This notion is actually gaining much more traction in postsecondary contexts where, as might be expected, concerns with coverage and standardized performance assessment are much less pervasive. It will be interesting to observe how the shift in sensibility might affect K–12 curricula in upcoming years. It is, of course, only one of many other emergent issues that are having an impact on current school mathematics curricula.

### **Emergent Themes in School Mathematics Curriculum**

Perhaps the most persistent question in discussions of school mathematics curriculum is that of relevance, so clearly articulated in the question posed

by almost every student at some point in their mathematics study: Why are we learning this?

This question is of increasing significance at the moment. The common contents of contemporary mathematics curricula were, for the most part, selected at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution—a time of very different social, technological, intercultural, and ecology conditions.

Socially, for example, most of the mathematical content that has come to be represented in public schooling was selected associated with the needs of workers who occupied a class that was rather sharply separated from upper and noble classes. Curricular distinctions that are based on class are, of course, no longer viable. In fact, they are now commonly perceived as oppressive and offensive. A related concern with mathematics curriculum traditions is what many perceive as a strong masculinist bias, one that some argue continues to privilege males. In fact, many have called for mathematics to be displaced from its privileged position at the center of the modern curriculum—a call that is tempered by critical theorists who note that school mathematics is among the most valuable of cultural capitals. To displace it might further disadvantage that already disadvantaged.

In a different but no less significant vein, the technology that has dominated mathematics research and education for millennia—formal symbolic manipulation—is rapidly being overtaken by electronic technologies. New techniques and tools, with increasingly user-friendly interfaces, are transforming every aspect of mathematical engagement from early learning to advanced research. One major transition, for example, is the emergence of an empirical mode of research in which mathematicians (and students of mathematics) are able to experiment with various aspects of mathematical constructs, thus opening up entirely new and unanticipated domains of possibility. There are clearly some profound curriculum implications, although they remain to be seen. At the very least, it is no longer easy to justify the months and years spent on, for example, long division and fraction addition.

On the level of intercultural dynamics, mathematics has been implicated in massive cultural oppressions in large part through its contributions to western economic, industrial, and military powers, in addition to the subtler platonist and rationalist sensibilities that are often associated with

mathematical thought. Two prominent movements to address these issues within the field of mathematics education are critical mathematics, concerned mainly with the Eurocentric and modernist biases of the discipline (particularly as represented in schooling), and ethnomathematics, concerned with mathematical insights from eras, cultures, and traditions other than modern, Western, and European. Some of these insights are coming to be represented in different nations, particularly those with strong postcolonial narratives.

A very similar line of thought has extended into discussions of the role of mathematics and emergent ecological, environmental, and sustainability issues. As an enabler of science and industrial technologies, mathematics is seen by many to be fully complicit in a range of contemporary crises. It is not yet clear how school mathematics curricula might be affected by this concern. At the moment, the topic has entered schooling through data management and various application exercises in different strands. It has not, however, emerged as a significant or coherent curriculum topic.

*Brent Davis*

*See also* Mathematics Education Curriculum, History of; Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

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## MATHEMATICS EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The history of mathematics education curriculum is, in many ways, a history of formal education in

the Western world. Embedded in the contemporary school mathematics curricula are a full spectra of philosophies, a variety of contested rationales, and a set of incommensurate beliefs about learning and teaching—all of which attest to its long history and its central position in formal education.

### The Emergence of Mathematics

The conflicted character of mathematics education curriculum is anchored to the variegated history of the discipline itself, starting with the very word *mathematics*. Derived from Latin, Greek, Gothic, and Germanic terms having to do with thinking, having one's mind aroused, and wakefulness, mathematics originally had to do with a more general notion of learning.

The strands of thought included under the umbrella of mathematics have changed considerably over the last few millennia. Originally conceived as a rather broad category, mathematics once included (among other domains) geometry, astronomy, and optics. Indeed, the mainstays of modern school and university mathematics curricula—algebra and calculus—are relative latecomers to the group.

To complicate matters, until relatively recently, certain aspects of the current category of mathematics were distributed in very different ways within formal educational institutions. For example, medieval universities tended to organize their curricula around Plato's trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy), an organization which in itself was a significant refinement of more varied mixes in the education systems that were typical of ancient Egypt, Rome, and Greece. A major transformation in this structure was prompted by the mathematical research of René Descartes (1596–1650 CE) who is generally credited with defining modern mathematics. His two major contributions were, first, to emphasize the role of logic in mathematical argumentation and second, to introduce the  $x$ -,  $y$ -coordinate system as a means to pull together geometry, algebra, and analysis into a coherent domain (rather than three distinct strands of thought). These moves continue to be reflected in the structures and contents of modern curricula.

### Key Moments in the History of Mathematics Education Curriculum

Setting aside the gross differences between ancient and contemporary conceptions of mathematics, it is fair to state that elementary mathematics (in particular, topics in basic arithmetic and plane geometry) were part of the education systems of most ancient civilizations, including ancient Vedic, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman societies. (Of course, in most cases, formal education was restricted to males of sufficiently high status.)

The most potent of these ancient influences on modern mathematics curricula is ancient Greece. On this matter, perhaps the three most notable in a long lineage of Greek thinkers are Pythagoras, Plato, and Euclid. Pythagoras (575–490 BCE) freely mixed mysticism, philosophy, and mathematics (in modern terms) as he and his followers developed a significant opus of mathematical knowledge and institutionalized its teaching. Plato (428–328 BCE), much influenced by Pythagoras, was the first to divide the trivium and quadrivium, and this structure was carried into the classical education of medieval Europe. Euclid (323–283 BCE) is noted both for his substantial contributions to geometry and for formalizing the logical proof. Indeed, the Euclidean deductive proof still stands as the hallmark of mathematical argumentation.

However, the major influence in the shape of modern mathematics curricula, as noted above, was Descartes. Not only did he help to define the contents of modern mathematics, he stripped away mystical elements and argued for a link between the structure of mathematics and the processes of learning. That link, the logical sequential movement from simple to more complex elements, has since served as the most common model for the structure of school curricula.

This is not to say that school mathematics, as now understood, started with Descartes. The beginnings are perhaps more appropriately traced to the first mathematics textbooks to be composed in French and English by Robert Recorde, textbooks which began to be published in 1540. Those texts had a decidedly algorithmic and utilitarian flavor, focusing on commerce and trade. With these emphases, the academic status of mathematics declined, and in Renaissance

institutions, it tended to be treated as secondary to studies of philosophy.

The trend was reversed in the 1600s, as evidenced by the establishment of chairs in English, French, and German universities. Even so, it continued to be unusual for mathematics to be taught outside of universities. It was not until the 1700s and 1800s, with massive industrialization and rapid urbanization, that mathematics became part of public education. Its early foci were fully utilitarian, concerned with simple arithmetic, counting money, telling time, and so on—in brief, the sorts of skills needed by a minimally literate workforce in a new urban setting.

By the early 1900s, mathematics was part of the core curriculum of all developed countries, and by the mid-1900s, a relatively uniform curriculum had spread around the world. This curriculum focused on arithmetic in the elementary grades and algebra in the higher grades, with topics in geometry distributed across levels. However, even though modern mathematics curriculum often seems to be stable and uniform, it began to be dramatically affected by shifts in thinking about how people learn and the purposes of school mathematics in the late 1900s. Although specific topics have changed little over the past few decades, emergent emphases on problem solving, communication, and argumentation have contributed to a fundamental redefinition of mathematics curriculum. The major move might be characterized in terms of a shift away from the utilitarian aims of earlier generations toward emphases on creativity and exploration.

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*See also* Mathematics Education Curriculum; Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

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## MERITOCRACY

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A meritocracy can be defined as a system in which the rewards (wealth and privilege) are distributed according to individual merit. In other words, good things will accrue to those who work hard and do well. A meritocratic society is generally distinguished from an aristocratic one in which wealth, position, and privilege were received as a function of one's ancestry and family background. In theory, a meritocratic society is more fair because any individual has the possibility of being successful and achieving at a high level. In actuality, meritocratic beliefs are often linked to decisions about differential access to rigorous curriculum and high level pedagogy that maintain social-economic stratification among students. For this reason, conceptions of meritocracy impact greatly the areas of curriculum design and development and indirectly, have influenced research in curriculum studies.

The term meritocracy was first used in 1958 by Michael Young, a British sociologist, when he wrote a science fiction novel called *The Rise of the Meritocracy*. This satirical book depicted a society where people in power legitimated their status using merit as the justificatory terminology; those who were poor or left out were seem deservingly disenfranchised.

Our belief in meritocracy, often linked to the American dream that states that anyone can be successful with enough drive and effort, ignores the ways in which stratified societies tend to reproduce themselves.

In her new book, *Meritocracy Inc.: How Wealth Became Merit, Class Became Race, and College Education Became a Gift From the Poor to the Rich*, Lani Guinier argues that many of the criteria associated with individual talent and efforts (which should be rewarded proportionately) are actually highly linked to one's social position or opportunities gained by virtue of family and position so that while the system called meritocracy is supposed to be more democratic and egalitarian than aristocracy, it in fact reproduces the same distribution of power and rewards.

A strong belief in the existence of a meritocratic system often leads to a system of blaming those



who are not successful, associating their failure with lack of intelligence, drive, commitment, or effort. In other words, if the system is fair, then those who are failing have only themselves to blame. This analysis keeps us from looking at societal and structural barriers to achievement and avoids interrogating how racism, classism, sexism, and other oppressive institutions and practices manifest in highly differential achievement by various groups and individuals. Those who believe in meritocracy are often highly critical of programs of affirmative action, arguing that since the system is fair, there is no reason to provide special opportunities to those often disenfranchised or excluded.

In their book, *The Meritocracy Myth*, Stephen McNamee and Robert K. Miller, Jr. challenge the myth that the system distributes resources—especially wealth and income—according to the merit of individuals. McNamee and Miller do not deny that there is such a thing as merit; rather, they question the idea that societal resources are distributed exclusively or primarily on the basis of individual merit. They cite the interaction of merit with nonmerit factors such as inheritance, social and cultural advantages, unequal educational opportunity, luck and the changing structure of job opportunities, the decline of self-employment, and discrimination in all of its forms.

They explain that there are a variety of social forces that tend to suppress, neutralize, or even negate the effects of merit in the race to get ahead, factors which they refer to, collectively, as social gravity. These forces tend to keep people in the places they already occupy, regardless of the extent of their individual merit. Because these forces of privilege are often invisible, it is easy to miss the ways in which achievement is linked to inherited and accrued advantages.

Children of wealthy, privileged parents are far more likely to end up in programs of gifted education, for example, and poor children are more likely to end up in special education and remedial education. These decisions provide evidence that even what appear to be neutral measures of intelligence and aptitude are closely correlated to family background and income; meritocracy is still very much enacted through curricular and programming differentiation.

McNamee and Miller say that making Americans more genuinely meritocratic would necessitate radical effort to end discrimination, redistribute wealth, make taxation fairer, and increase the allocation of governmental resources for education and health care services.

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*See also* Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Equity; *Keeping Track*

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## METATHEORY

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A metatheory represents a conceptual framework offering both normative and empirical foundations for theory. A metatheory of the curriculum studies has fallen on hard times from a postmodernist perspective. In modernist curriculum theory, the search has been to provide some sort of comprehensive structure of knowledge and its transference through a variety of competencies such as learning skills and methods of inquiry, the idea being that it is possible to synthesize existing educational theories under a grand scheme to achieve such an end. Such a desire can be found in many fields of knowledge. Physics searches for a unified field theory and a theory of everything while the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* had hoped for the same. However, it too fell on hard times when Thomas Kuhn, a member of its editorial group, argued that this was an impossible task by describing the history of science as a set of revolutions in the second book of volume 2.

Jean-François Lyotard's critique of the grand narratives or metanarratives that legitimated knowledge through an emancipation narrative (e.g., Marxism) or a salvation narrative (e.g., Christianity), or the progressive narrative (e.g., capitalism) has had a profound effect in educational curricular circles. It marked a turning point—some would say a “hermeneutic turn” to begin to interpret texts ideologically and to deconstruct their seeming unity. The claims to metatheory became suspicious because of their totalizing nature, which were propped up by some form of transcendent and universal truth. In curricular thought, this truth was especially damaging. Developmental theories that had universalistic overtones—such as Jean Piaget's schema for developmental cognition based on genetic epistemology—that is, on an inherent structure of the mind; Noam Chomsky's transformational generative grammar that claimed an innate universal grammar common to all languages; and Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development—all underwent critique for their universal structuralist assertions. It was found that the Piagetian pattern simply replicated the logic necessary for the development of secularized capitalism, while Kohlberg's moral development was inherently gender biased. Chomsky's schema underwent revision in light of the Sapir-Worf hypothesis, which maintained a linguistic relativity; the grammatical categories of the language a person speaks is related to how that person behaves and understands the world. For curricular thought, these developments meant that the assurances of the linear way children developed their verbal, written, and mathematical skills and their moral growth could no longer be maintained. The developmental schemas began to decenter and unravel as curricular theory faced the questions of differences along sex, gender, ethnic, mental ability, and linguistic lines. Particularities began to multiply as metatheory began to topple.

Such a meltdown, however, was being recuperated to keep the system afloat at the same time that it appeared to be sinking. Modernist closed metatheories have evolved into postmodernist open metasystems with the same general claim that a comprehensive theory is still possible, but with a caveat attached. The teleological end game of universalistic closed systems that end with a final purpose or final cause have been replaced with

temporal open ones—the final cause is unknown. In other words, the stability of a system is now taken to be relative until the next change occurs. One might take Karl Popper's falsifiability thesis as one of the key conceptualizations toward open system thinking. Knowledge remains reliable until it begins to accumulate anomalies and is proven false by an observation or a physical experiment. The step beyond the Popperian gambit is to maintain a heuristic approach to knowledge in each situational domain of science through stochastic analysis. Ilya Prigogine's work on dissipative structures, complex systems, and irreversibility, which identify states of disequilibrium (popularized as chaos theory) and Bruno Latour's actor-network theory mark further advances in open-systems thought. Metatheory status is thus retained through the neologism of holism rather than the former metaphysical signifier wholism by forwarding the interconnectedness of systems, thereby the topology of spaces (the mapping of things together) has become increasingly important. Surface as opposed to depth is forwarded. Generally speaking, the poststructuralism of open-systems thinking has changed the image of thought concerning science from a set hierarchical order to an order that is more planar and horizontal where any one set of factors holding a particular space-time configuration in place is likely to change should the dynamics of the system change.

There was yet another development that took a turn away from any possible metatheoretical recuperation or reconciliation toward the ironic self-reflexivity of antinarrative structures, especially in postmodern literature that moved away from modernist metafiction, stressing the impossibility of referential affirmation that dominated realist fiction. In the philosophy of science the anarchism of Paul Feyerabend moved in the same direction, denying the existence of universal methodological rules. It is perhaps only in the areas of art and drama curricula that the possibility of this self-reflexive ironic stance could have been explored and given its full artistic potential.

Both complexity theory and actor-network theory, emerging from the sciences have been applied to social and educational theory, but not without criticism. Complexity theory has gained ground in mathematical education, while actor-network theory has been influential in science

education, maintaining that human activity needs to be understood in its wider ecological setting in the way human beings (as just another subsystem) are interacting with other various subsystems. Complexity theory has now become the new metatheory spreading into business organization, strategic management, organizational studies, and evolutionary theory where notions of genetic drift have introduced a random element into the selection process making the process much more rhizomatic and chaotic. In education, the mantra “learning to learn” is precisely such a direction based on neoliberal principles of development, which claims to meet individual needs. Even the orthodoxy of evangelicalism has been affected by these developments. The metasignifier *God* has been dropped and replaced with intelligent design. The Vatican’s position on unidentified flying objects has changed to one of acceptance and possibility on the premise that God may have created multiuniverses, thereby accommodating an unexplainable event.

The key criticism regarding the appropriation of complexity theory into education emerges in the notions of both reductionism and expansionism despite the apparent complexity. This complexity results in a paradox. The question is whether there is something about human beings that these complex biological models are not able to articulate. Within the actor-network interconnected chain, human beings remain the most powerful and ideologically driven, having the highest encephalization of all creatures. To what degree does anthropology, which attempts to grasp human behavior, including all its inhumanness, still remain a viable realm of research to sort out the charge of an anthropocentric bias? The neglect of the nonhuman world is what is at stake if research remains too insulated focusing only on humans. In this regard, the question of ethics has now replaced morals in search for a nonteleological human science that can still provide a direction for the future of the planet.

In brief, the emerging educational imagination that is embracing more and more poststructuralist and complexity theory drawn from science and capitalist forms of organization is constantly being contested to find a new potential direction by educators drawing on cultural studies. This direction has emerged as a countermetatheory to scientific complexity, repeating in a different form the rift in

modernism between *Naturwissenschaften* (i.e., natural sciences) and *Geisteswissenschaften* (i.e., humanities). Since the early 1980s, curriculum theory (roughly the so-called reconceptualist movement) in North America finds itself caught in the tension between enlightenment modernism with its notable signifiers of the disciplines, subject areas, and linear clock time versus the shift toward the open-systems of science and the humanities, which introduce a new conceptualization of time and space that can no longer be accommodated by the structure of public schooling. The introduction of cyberspace into the schools through the various technologies of computerization to individualize the curriculum through online services have abetted the change toward the complexity imagination spearheaded by globalized competition while neglecting difficult questions that surround issues of tradition, history, and existential questions that pertain simply to living.

The conflict surrounding the possibility of a metatheory comes down the inherited tension of what appears to be an irresolvable antinomy between the particular and the universal. The universal is what particular things have in common. Ernesto Laclau attempts to resolve this impossible gap by maintaining the possibility of a particular universal. Some particular becomes the placeholder for the universal for an undetermined duration of time providing that the inclusiveness of a democratic ideal is being maintained. Laclau is following suit that is common to open-systems thought, with other educators following his lead. However, such a general theory remains caught by Aristotelian thought and dialectical thinking as forms of representation. To say one loves everyone means there has to be the one exception whom one hates; otherwise, difference could not be established. Gilles Deleuze who dismisses this dialectical imagination as an inability to overcome representational thought offers a rather dramatic opposition to this quandary. Through immanent morphogenetic transformations, he proposes to recognize the singularity of difference, independent from concepts of sameness, identity, resemblance, similarity, or equivalence. Pure difference identifies uniqueness that is not a factor of negativity, or a negation of sameness, but affirms the actuality of existence.

jan jagodzinski

See also Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Deleuzeian Thought; Lyotardian Thought; Piagetian Thought

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## MIDDLE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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Curriculum for middle schools should be different from elementary and high school curriculum—as different as the developmental needs of 10- to 14-year-olds are from younger and older students. As young adolescents become more cognizant of the world around them and of their place in it, developmentally responsive forms of middle school curricula reflect that awareness. James Beane's belief that middle school curricula should focus upon the questions and concerns that adolescents have about themselves and their surroundings exemplifies this notion. It is also important to recognize that one of the functions of middle level curricula should be to extend and build upon the skills that students learned in the elementary school. Finally, curricula in middle schools should deepen students' understanding of the disciplines of knowledge while simultaneously demonstrating their connectedness.

The separate subject approach to curriculum—the most common arrangement at the secondary level—will not be addressed in this entry, even though it is found in most middle grades schools. It is important to differentiate between middle grades schools and middle schools. Middle schools are schools where the needs of young adolescents

are addressed by educators who implement middle-level philosophy and practices, including curriculum. Middle grades schools are simply places that house young adolescents. What follows are brief descriptions of curriculum planning options for middle schools. It is important to note that in actual classroom practice, one curricular form often contains components of the others.

### Curriculum Integration

Curriculum integration is a curriculum planning philosophy in which students and teachers coplan the curriculum based upon the intersections of the students' shared personal and global concerns. Curriculum integration is founded on democratic principles as all students have an opportunity to participate in the planning process by submitting questions that they have about themselves and the world around them. By soliciting adolescents' questions, teachers recognize their students as thoughtful, diverse, and complex individuals who are capable of asking meaningful questions that are both personally and socially relevant. Students and teachers select common questions and name the intersections or connections between these personal and social questions. The connections among the questions are used to create themes that act as organizing centers of the curriculum. Once themes are selected for study, the students and teachers coplan the activities and assessments for each unit.

Curriculum integration is a different way of thinking about curriculum planning, and it can be quite challenging to implement. Many teachers find it easier to let the textbook be the curriculum and have students read chapters, answer chapter review questions, and take photocopied exams than to plan units, activities, and assessments from scratch. The time it takes to gather resources, create lessons and projects, and then evaluate them is considerable. Teachers who use curriculum integration leave themselves open to criticism from colleagues, parents, and administrators as it is a planning philosophy that is often misunderstood. Many critics of curriculum integration mistakenly believe that state and national learning standards, the disciplines of knowledge, and important skills are deemphasized or even ignored. However, because the curriculum is based on the human concerns of young adolescents, the disciplines of



knowledge, and therefore the learning standards (which are drawn from the content and process knowledge of the disciplines) are inherently present in the curriculum. Therefore, teachers who plan curriculum using the human needs identified by young adolescents will create units whose contents are found within and draw upon the disciplines of knowledge.

An additional criticism of curriculum integration is that it will not adequately prepare students for their futures. Advocates of curriculum integration believe that education as preparation for the future is a simplistic notion at best. This belief is especially true for adolescents as they are in the process of building their identities, not determining what job they will have, although future employment is a concern of most young adolescents. By providing adolescents with the opportunity to address their concerns within the contexts and cultures of their lives, teachers are following John Dewey's belief that allowing children to explore in the present will prepare them for the future. For most adolescents, units planned through curriculum integration are rich and significant because they grow out of the concerns and issues that are relevant to their own lives.

### Multidisciplinary Curriculum

Another curriculum approach that is designed to correlate two or more subject areas is called the multidisciplinary approach. Multidisciplinary planning correlates two or more disciplines taught around a central theme. A simple example is that in some high schools, sophomores take world history and American literature. As juniors, they take American history and world literature. In a correlated curriculum, students would take world history and world literature one year, and American history and American literature the next year. Thus, two disciplines, history and language arts, are correlated in the sense that the major themes America and world are being taught simultaneously.

Students are rarely involved in planning a multidisciplinary unit, and there is no conscious effort made among the teachers to demonstrate how the disciplines are related. Furthermore, the content of the disciplines remains the same, only the order of what gets taught is altered. Therefore, a multidisciplinary unit is relatively easy to implement from

a planning perspective as it only requires that participating teachers agree to teach their respective content at the time that it relates to the chosen theme during the length of the unit. That said, gradewide or schoolwide multidisciplinary units are a bit more complex and require more careful planning as all of the teachers of one grade or school are involved in teaching one theme.

When compared to the separate subject approach to planning curriculum, multidisciplinary curriculum helps to unify the separate subjects thematically. A potential benefit of this unification is that students may begin to understand that the separate subjects are related to each other or at least appear to be less fragmented than they are in the separate subject approach. In addition, because the main theme is examined by connecting two or more subject areas, students may better understand the theme. Such units are usually fun for both students and staff and also have the potential to build community.

### Interdisciplinary Curriculum

Many educators use the terms *interdisciplinary* and *multidisciplinary* interchangeably. Interdisciplinary curriculum differs from multidisciplinary planning in that teachers deliberately make connections between two or more disciplines. One such attempt is called *fusion*. In fusion, the content from two or more disciplines is combined in order to study issues. For example, a course called Ethical Uses of Technology could combine content and processing skills from the disciplines of science, social studies, and language arts to examine the social benefits and problems with technological innovations. Another common arrangement, especially during the freshman year in high schools, is to combine language arts and social studies classes into a two-period block where students study historical or social issues while reading related literature.

In middle schools, interdisciplinary units involve interdisciplinary teams of teachers that plan a unit around a common theme. Unlike planning with multidisciplinary curriculum, teachers preparing an interdisciplinary unit use concepts or questions used to inform the theme, rather than directly linking separate subject matter to the theme. For example, an interdisciplinary unit about rainforests

could conceivably center on the following large concepts:

- locations and types,
- global ecological impact,
- inhabitants,
- advantages-disadvantages of development, and
- getting involved.

Once teachers identify the major concepts or questions that they want their students to address, they develop activities related to the concepts. These activities cut across discipline lines, making it possible for teachers to team teach and for students to work on the same project during block periods—periods in which they would normally be attending single-period classes in which the separate disciplines are taught.

It is important to note that not all disciplines make equal contributions in such units, and therefore, some teachers may be either teaching content in which they are not certified or may be teaching topics not connected to the unit. Sometimes, there is a danger of making connections that are not clearly connected to the unit. It is important for teachers to contribute to interdisciplinary units in ways that keep the integrity of the unit in tact. Trying to make artificial or forced connections can confuse students and frustrate teachers. At the completion of the unit, the teachers could decide on another theme, maybe one in which other disciplines play a more prominent role in an effort to provide a balance among the disciplines and to ensure that students receive instruction in the state-mandated content areas.

One of the advantages of interdisciplinary planning is that students are taught to see connections among the disciplines of knowledge. In successful units, students are heard to ask, “So are we doing math, science, or language arts?” when working on activities. Interdisciplinary units help students combine knowledge and skills from different fields in order to solve problems and answer questions, which mirrors the way adults use knowledge and skills. This type of planning allows teachers opportunities to team teach and plan together, valuable experiences for professional growth and rejuvenation.

On the down side, interdisciplinary units take a great deal of time to plan, making team planning time a virtual necessity. As school budgets shrink

and pressure to raise test scores increases, many middle grades schools are eliminating team planning time and replacing it with test prep periods or classes focusing on basic skills, making it difficult for teachers to find time to plan interdisciplinary units. In addition, students are rarely involved in the planning process, so the themes are based on teacher ideas of what students may find interesting. As in multidisciplinary planning, interdisciplinary curriculum is discipline based as opposed to student centered, yet most students develop a greater appreciation of how the disciplines of knowledge are interconnected.

### Standards-Based Planning

Given the increased attention to standards during the last two decades, it seems logical to plan curriculum by beginning with the required standards for middle grades students. In standards-based planning, teachers begin by selecting major topics or themes as organizing centers and then use the relevant standards as the content and processes of the unit. Unlike curriculum integration, unit topics are typically selected without student input and may or may not cut across the boundaries between the disciplines of knowledge. For example, a science teacher could select the solar system as her theme and teach all of the science standards connected to the study of outer space, the laws of matter and motion, and rocketry. By contrast, a four-person team could select the topic of wetlands, and each teacher could address the corresponding standards within their own discipline (multidisciplinary planning), or they could team teach and combine disciplines (interdisciplinary planning).

To be responsive to adolescent needs and concerns, teachers encourage students to ask questions about the essential concepts and to discuss related topics of interest that could lead to projects and activities. Soliciting student input fosters curriculum that has the potential to connect to the multiple cultures of young adolescents. When adolescents see their cultures represented in the curriculum and understand that their teachers are willing to make personal and curricular connections to their cultures, they are more likely to feel accepted at school.

After gathering input from the students, the teachers examine the types of skills that students

will need to acquire and apply while learning about the essential concepts of the unit. Teachers can also examine gaps that need to be filled in students' knowledge bases and skills and prepare lessons, activities, and assessments with the intention of filling those gaps.

The final steps in standards-based planning are to design activities that blend the essential concepts with the skills and determine how these activities will be assessed. Most middle-level learners prefer hands-on types of activities meaning that simulations, debates, skits, creating models, and various forms of cooperative learning appeal to most young adolescents, making authentic forms of assessment essential to standards-based planning.

An advantage of standards-based planning is that because the unit begins with the standards, teachers can defend what they are teaching to those who may have concerns about whether or not the curriculum is aligned to state, district, or national standards. For more democratically minded teachers, standards-based planning provides an opportunity to plan portions of the curriculum with the students. Doing so can allow kids to feel a sense of ownership and relevance in their learning that can lead to higher motivation and participation.

Ironically, the advantage of incorporating the standards can also be a drawback as, even though most standards are written broadly, there is no such being as a standard middle school student, as middle school philosophy emphasizes the unique aspects of each adolescent. An overreliance on standards can reduce curriculum into an exercise of preparing for standardized tests. Middle-level advocates caution educators about falling into a trap in which the curriculum becomes the standards. Such a message seems especially relevant to educators who may be tempted to skip the allowing-for-student-input step in the standards-based approach. Doing so ignores the unique and powerful sociocultural experiences that students bring to the classroom and also ignores a major part of who they are.

### Final Thoughts

Schools for young adolescents that either are middle schools, or are trying to become them, contain

teachers who make deliberate efforts to move away from the separate subject approach to curriculum planning. Such teachers attempt to provide students with learning experiences that are relevant and developmentally appropriate, and these efforts at planning curriculum are consistent with middle-level philosophy. In short, middle grades schools that continue to hang onto the separate subject approach are not middle schools, as they do not follow the kinds of curricula recommended by middle-level advocates.

Gary Weilbacher

See also Albery, Harold; Child-Centered Curriculum; Core Curriculum; Curriculum Design

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## MIDDLE SCHOOL CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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It is difficult to trace the history of middle school curriculum, for unlike other aspects of middle school practice and philosophy (e.g., interdisciplinary teaming, advisory programs, exploratory classes and projects, and flexible block scheduling), middle-level advocates have fallen short of creating and promoting a consistent and coherent form of middle-level curriculum. Although middle schools were created as a response to the perceived shortcomings of the junior high schools that preceded them (although junior highs continue to exist), middle schools have historically distinguished themselves by their administrative structures. Therefore, identifying a particular evolutionary path of a middle school curriculum is difficult at best. What is apparent is that a relatively small number of middle schools have been places where important departures from the dominant, high school-driven, separate-subject approach have occurred. Such departures have been consistent with the kinds of curricula advocated by middle level curriculum experts, but have not been adopted in most middle grades schools, which cannot be accurately labeled as middle schools. In addition, depending upon one's political views, such curricular options are often viewed as exemplary exceptions or rebellious realignments that ignore standards and rigor. For this and other reasons, the curricula that students experience in most middle grades schools continue to mirror high school curricula, in other words, a junior high school curriculum.

In attempting to trace a history of middle school curriculum, it is helpful to consider publications that have described or recommended curricula that embraced middle school philosophy and practice. For example, middle-level advocates have recommended developmentally appropriate curricula for middle schools that connect content across the different subject areas. The major implications for such curricula are that they can be organized around themes that young adolescents see as being connected to their own lives. There is a long, but relatively unknown, history of curricular forms that addressed the needs of the learners and moved away from the separate-subject approach.

The idea that curriculum should connect the disciplines and in addition connect to the prior experiences of learners, goes back at least 250 years ago to the Herbartians. The Herbartians were followers of the German philosopher and educator, Johann Friedrich Herbart, who believed in the importance of concentration centers.

In addition, the Herbartians promoted the notion that ontology recapitulates phylogeny, basically meaning that the way an individual developed followed the order of the historical development of mankind. In the early 1900s, this idea served as a catalyst to G. Stanley Hall and others to form the child study movement, which in part promoted curriculum based on the notion of cultural epochs.

Hall's work, which focused on the importance of studying children and how they developed, created the foundation for developmental theorists such as Jean Piaget, Erik Erickson, and Lev Vygotsky. Ultimately, the adoption and modification of Herbartian ideas led to curricula that connected disciplines thematically and recognized the importance of the prior experiences and the developmental needs of the learners.

The U.S. link to Herbart runs deep, for many progressive educators of the early 1900s were influenced either directly or indirectly by Herbartian thought. In terms of linking today's middle-level curriculum advocates to the past, some of the more important educators who were influenced by the Herbartians include John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and L. Thomas Hopkins. The curriculum of the Dewey-run Laboratory School of the University of Chicago shared interesting similarities with current forms of curriculum found within middle schools. Although there was little doubt that the notion of cultural epochs had an influence on Dewey's curriculum, his ideas included respect for the feelings and interests of the students, an emphasis on investigation and problem solving, and a desire to connect learning with social experiences.

Drawing significantly from Dewey, the work of Kilpatrick is important; he promoted the project method, a curricular innovation that engaged students in learning by creating projects that incorporated the disciplines of knowledge and solved problems.

Kilpatrick also suggested that the curriculum should be organized around children's purposes as



opposed to subject matter. In addition, he believed that, much like Dewey, education was life itself, not preparation for it. Kilpatrick and the project method became extremely popular, and along with the ideas of philosophically similar curriculum theorists, became one of the foundations for the core curriculum movement.

In part because of interest in core curriculum, by the late 1920s and early 1930s, the term *integration* was receiving considerable attention in curriculum matters. Hopkins was one of the first to promote curriculum planned by teachers and students that centered on experiences of the learners and problem solving. Although student-teacher coplanned curriculum was a significant departure from multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary arrangements, Hopkins's ideas were often misunderstood, leading to blurred conceptions of integration. The lack of clarity of what curriculum integration is continues to this day.

Many of the seminal ideas of Dewey, Kilpatrick, Hopkins, and several of their contemporaries can be found in the work of many current middle-level curriculum advocates who have suggested that middle school curriculum be integrated—addressing and using the concerns of young adolescents to democratically plan curriculum. Their work is also closely connected to two forms of core curriculum, structured and unstructured, that grew out of curriculum arrangements in a few schools who participated in the Eight Year Study. Basically, both types of curriculum involve students and teachers coplanning curriculum, but in structured core, teachers and other staff identify themes of study while in unstructured core the themes are constructed by negotiations between students and teachers.

Today, what passes for middle school curriculum varies considerably upon the commitment of schools to middle-level philosophy. It seems as if the majority of middle grades schools continue to use the separate subject approach to curriculum planning, while a smaller number of middle schools use approaches that are multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, or integrated. Contrary to popular opinion, such curricula have a long, distinguished, and complicated history as reform movements distinct from the separate subject approach.

Gary Weilbacher

*See also* Core Curriculum; Curriculum, History of; Dewey, John; Eight Year Study, The; Kilpatrick, William Heard

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## MIEL, ALICE

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Alice Miel (1906–1998) served as an educational leader during the 1940s to the 1970s and symbolized the classroom teacher-university scholar who brought the spirit and practices of progressive education to higher education. Her scholarship in the field of curriculum revolved around her dissertation, later published as *Changing the Curriculum*, and brought the basic themes of democracy and cooperation—reformulated and described as a social process—to all activities of education and schooling. Miel accepted important leadership roles at Teachers College and in ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) and later helped to form the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction. Her career represents a particular type of curriculum academic who sought to maintain the principles of progressive education during the 1950s and 1960s, a period that did not embrace progressive ideals.

Miel taught Latin and French in Michigan public schools from 1924 to 1942. When asked in 1987 to identify her most important educational

experiences, she mentioned teaching from 1930 to 1935 in the democratically administered school with G. Robert Koopman as principal and attending a 1935 Progressive Education Association workshop at Ohio State University where she met Laura Zirbes. Miel began doctoral studies at Teachers College in 1942 where Hollis Caswell, who had recently formed the first department of curriculum and teaching, served as her doctoral advisor. She remained at Teachers College as a professor of curriculum throughout her career, retiring in 1971 after having chaired the Department of Curriculum and Teaching from 1960 to 1967.

The significance of Miel's *Changing the Curriculum*, published in 1946, cannot be underestimated for the field of curriculum. As the Progressive Education Association was in decline and a new era of school consolidation was to begin throughout the United States, Miel wrote in opposition of what would become the standard curricular practices of the 1950s. She maintained that the curriculum should be seen as being in a constant state of change, and the intent of curriculum organization was not standardization and consolidation, but instead, a form of social change—that is, changing individuals' beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and skills rather than merely changes in the configuration of course alignments and listings. She believed curriculum development and school experimentation would transform education at the district level; however, rather than using a simplistic structure for curriculum planning (such as the Tyler Rationale), Miel underscored the importance of the social process, constructive social purpose, democratic leadership, and cooperation and cooperative study. These terms, also drawn from the progressive classroom of the 1930s, blended the 1950s human relations movement with a dynamic conception of learning where many individuals—teachers, students, staff, administrators, parents, community members—were actively involved in the activities of the school. “Cooperating to learn and learning to cooperative” represented a motto that Miel believed would serve as an antidote to the standardization that was beginning to overtake the field of education and curriculum planning.

Greatly influenced by the Progressive Education Association's cooperative studies, Miel sought to

incorporate the principles of the progressive classroom—teacher–pupil planning and curricular experimentation—into the field of curriculum studies during a time of increased curricular standardization and the rise of the curriculum specialist-expert. She wrote specifically about the role of the curriculum expert-consultant in the democratic process of schooling, and while such titles created hierarchies in staff structures, she maintained that all educators should be viewed as experts, differing merely in degree and the kind of expertise (e.g., classroom teachers are experts by knowing particular children at particular stages of development). This belief would become especially important as school districts were beginning to call upon educational administrators to take on responsibilities as curriculum specialists. Although these curriculum specialists would have been armed with the Tyler Rationale, Miel reestablished the crucial role of classroom teachers and incorporated cooperation and human relations as a most important aspect of the social process of curriculum design and development.

Miel participated in other research projects and edited publications and ASCD yearbooks where she also served as president of ASCD and the factotum of the Professors of Curriculum. During the 1970s, she helped to found the World Council on Curriculum and Instruction, serving as executive secretary and later as president. This organization, a direct outgrowth of an ASCD commission, embraced many of the most fundamental beliefs of the social process as developed by Miel throughout her career.

Miel served as a doctoral advisor to well over 100 students during her years at Teachers College. One of her students and later close colleagues, Louise Berman, described Miel as a leader, chosen by others, who abdicated privileges of leadership to complete those necessary tasks and who contributed her own expertise while drawing upon and building the strengths of the group.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also* ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Cooperation/Cooperative Studies; Professors of Curriculum; World Council for Curriculum and Instruction

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## MINDLESS CURRICULUM

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The term *mindless curriculum* in curriculum studies, refers to policy and practice that instantiates curriculum without careful, reflective study, thought, or anticipation of consequences. Mindless curriculum is often reactive vis-à-vis social, political, and economic pressures and sometimes refers to deskilling teachers of their thoughtful propensities by teacher proofing the curriculum—that is, by telling local educators rules to follow rather than enabling them to exercise intelligent judgment. Mindless curriculum is critiqued in a widely touted study of schooling in the late 1960s by Charles Silberman, published as *Crisis in the Classroom* in 1971. Similarly, one can find criticism of mindlessness in John Goodlad's *A Study of Schooling*. In the main volume published from it, Goodlad depicts the status of schooling in the late 1970s and early 1980s in *A Place Called School*. These and many other studies commissioned to examine education in the United States have revealed and criticized a follow-the-rules mentality. The use of mindless to characterize a nonreflective, reactive tendency in school is ironic in view of the fact that schools were presumably created to teach students and thus society to be reflective. The term mindless may or may not be used, although the sentiment is often there.

This and contemporary exposes of schooling hearken back to the first such study in the era of curriculum development. Joseph Mayer Rice, a young pediatrician who actually sought progressive

tendencies in school practice, was commissioned by a journal called *The Forum* in the last decade of the 19th century. His explorations led him to decry the routine and lock-step character of schools and their mindless perpetuation of procedures. His reports were published in 1893 in a volume called *The Public School System of the United States* and contributed to his lack of faith in the creativity to be expected in schools. Thus, in 1913 he published a call for greater efficiency in school management under the title, *Scientific Management in Education*.

Many curriculum scholars today draw upon work of Paulo Freire who has often critiqued the dominant banking approach to curriculum, an approach which increases mindless practices. Freire, however, seeks a resolution in democratic involvement of all concerned rather than through increased efficiency and control. He advocates overcoming mindless curriculum through a problem-posing approach.

The central point for curriculum studies of the term mindless curriculum does not reside in the frequency of the term's use. Rather, it lies in the idea that unimaginative procedures govern an institution or school that is supposed to stimulate and release the human imagination.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Banking Concept of Education; *Crisis in the Classroom*; Deskilling; Freire, Paulo; Official Curriculum; *Place Called School, A*; Teacher-Proof Curriculum

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## MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

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Mixed methods came into emergence during the 1990s as a process of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches at different stages within a single research study. Known as the third paradigm in research methodology after traditional

quantitative and qualitative methods, mixed methods attempts to legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions. The use of mixed methods is particularly suitable for research in curriculum studies because it permits the exploration of complex instructional issues that do not lend themselves to numerical examination and interpretation. The use of mixed methods eschews the belief that researchers are constrained in their choices for approaching the study of phenomena, relegated to solely selecting either the quantitative or qualitative approach.

Qualitative methods rely primarily on the use of text to generate findings, whereas quantitative methods use numbers to conduct descriptive or inferential statistics. Just as qualitative and quantitative approaches have requirements for application, so does mixed methods. In mixed methods inquiry, methodological congruence must be maintained. As a result, all of the assumptions of applicable methods must be adhered to and the components of each method must be consistent. Thus, strategies cannot be applied, combined, and selected liberally. Researchers must identify the overt dominance of each in study. The continuum that describes the degree of mixture ranges from monomethod to fully mixed methods. The potential for mixing methods is large because for example, a researcher may locate an emergent design during a study dependent primarily on the information that emerges or on the conditions of the study. Rather than be limited by long-standing designs, the researcher has the opportunity to let the findings guide subsequent phases of the research study. In essence, the researcher is not restricted to selecting among a menu of pre-planned designs; instead, the researcher can create a design that is likely to answer his or her research questions.

### Types and Stages of Designs

Eight types of multimethod designs grounded in deductive and inductive theoretical approaches have been identified. Four designs, identified for the inductive theoretical approach, are described below.

1. QUAL + qual refers to the use of two qualitative methods used at the same time. One

method, qualitative, is dominant and is the basis for the whole project.

2. QUAL + qual refers to the use of two qualitative methods that are used sequentially in which one method, qualitative, is dominant.
3. QUAL + quant refers to the use of a qualitative and quantitative method used simultaneously where qualitative methods are dominate.
4. QUAL + quant refers to the use of a qualitative and quantitative method used sequentially where qualitative methods are dominate.

Four designs have been identified for the inductive theoretical approach.

5. QUAN + quan refers to the use of two quantitative methods that are used at the same time. One method, quantitative, is dominant and is the basis for the whole project.
6. QUAN + quan refers to the use of two quantitative methods used sequentially in which one method, quantitative, is dominant.
7. QUAN + qual refers to the use of a quantitative and qualitative method used simultaneously where quantitative methods are dominate.
8. QUAN + qual refers to the use of a quantitative and qualitative method used sequentially where quantitative methods are dominate.

Researchers have also emphasized the importance of considering the stage of the research process during which the integration of quantitative and qualitative data occurs. There are four points in the process in which integration can take place within the study: (1) the research questions, (2) data collection, (3) data analysis, or (4) interpretation. Although integration typically occurs during data analysis or in the interpretation stages, it may occur at multiple stages. For example, survey data that is both quantitative and qualitative might be integrated in the analysis stage by transforming qualitative data into scores that can be compared to the quantitative scores.

Seven data analysis stages have been described: (1) data reduction, (2) data display, (3) data transformation, (4) data correlation, (5) data consolidation, (6) data comparison, and (7) data integration.



In data reduction, qualitative and quantitative data are reduced to themes, descriptive statistics, factor, or cluster analysis. Data display refers to illustrating data. Qualitative data are represented pictorially, while quantitative data may be represented as tables or graphs. Data transformation refers to the conversion of data. For example, quantitative data are converted into narrative data (qualitized) that can be analyzed qualitatively, while qualitative data are converted into numerical codes (quantitized) that can be statistically analyzed. Qualitative and quantitative data are correlated with one another during data correlation. During the stage of consolidation, qualitative and quantitative data are combined to create a consolidated set of variables or data sets. Data comparison refers to comparing data from both approaches. During data integration, the quantitative and qualitative data are integrated into a whole or into two separate sets.

Assessing the trustworthiness of the qualitative and quantitative findings and consequent interpretations is conducted during the legitimation stage. Frameworks to assess the 50 potential sources of invalidity for the quantitative portion of the mixed methods at the stages of data collection, data analysis, and data interpretation have been created. Frameworks to assess the potential of 29 types of legitimation for the qualitative portion of the mixed methods have also been created. The latter can also be used to assess the legitimacy of the qualitative and quantitative components of the study, respectively.

### Foundations

The researcher must have solid understanding of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to conduct mixed methods studies. Quantitative research problems are generally confirmatory or outcome-based, while qualitative questions are typically process oriented, exploratory, descriptive, and/or centered on a phenomenon. Quantitative data collection methods include the use of instruments, observations, documents, scoring, close-ended processes, or predetermined hypotheses. Qualitative methods are interviews, observations, documents, audiovisuals, participant determined or open-ended processes, or text or image processes. Descriptive or inferential statistics are the

quantitative data analytical procedures, while thematic identification or the identification of the horizontal or vertical connections among themes or categories is commonplace in qualitative research.

One assumption underlying the use of mixed methods is that the use of qualitative or quantitative approaches simultaneously provides a better understanding of the research question than either method by itself. Also requisite to using mixed methods is that an integration of the findings and an explication of the linkage between what has been found through qualitative and quantitative findings must be provided. Utilizing the mixed methods approach to analyzing the data requires extensive time in collecting and analyzing data. Mixed methods may also be used when more data is needed to extend, elaborate on, or explain the findings from the first data set. For example, findings from a survey may be insufficient to explain reasons for participants' beliefs. Use of follow-up interviews with participants in a qualitative study may offer greater insight and more specific information than the statistical results provide.

### Example 1

An example of the use of a mixed methods design, qual + QUAN, exploratory, that was used to create instrument follows. In this study, researchers who were interested in measuring teachers' beliefs began their inquiry with qualitative methods. Their goal was to construct a quantitative instrument that was easily scored, practical, and readily interpretable. To develop a student-centered teachers' beliefs scale, the researchers initially created a list of items. Once the initial set of items was created, cognitive interviews, a focus group, and expert reviews were performed to improve item wording and eliminate items that were unclear or redundant. Next, a pilot test was performed to eliminate items with poor psychometric characteristics. The instrument was then taken by 445 individuals, preceding two types of analysis: confirmatory factor analysis of scores of the scale and the short form of the teachers' sense of efficacy and a structural equation model (SEM) evaluating the relationship between teacher self-efficacy and student-centered beliefs. The aim of analyses was to provide different sources of evidence of validity, following the validity taxonomy presented at the

Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing. Evidence of validity was obtained using a SEM about the expected relationship between student-centered beliefs and teacher self-efficacy. The SEM examined whether efficacy in student engagement, efficacy in instructional strategies, and efficacy in classroom management was related to student-centered beliefs. The hypothesis was that all of these factors significantly predicted student-centered beliefs. However, the hypothesis was partially accepted. The results indicated that efficacy in student engagement and efficacy in instructional strategies significantly predicted student-centered behaviors, but efficacy in classroom management did not. The analyses confirmed the unidimensionality of the construct of student-centered instructional beliefs.

### Strengths and Weaknesses of Research Approaches

Charles Teddlie and Abbas Tashakkori have postulated that use of a mixed methods approach can mitigate the disadvantages that using quantitative and qualitative methods have by themselves. For example, mixed methods studies offer insight from divergent points of view and also provide researchers with an opportunity to use supplemental research strategies. For example, researchers who use survey questionnaires to determine teachers' reported use of instructional strategies might also want to see if those findings are consistent with what instruction looks like in classrooms. The addition of this qualitative approach allows researchers to determine if the findings from the survey are supported or refuted by what they saw in the classroom. One of the strengths of mixed methods is that it lets researchers develop as comprehensive and complete investigation as they wish. A variety of data collection methods can be utilized within the same study including questionnaires, interviews, document analysis, focus groups, and observations. Depending upon where the integration takes place in the mixed method study, strengths and/or weaknesses of the methodology vary.

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches have costs and benefits. Among the potential costs of qualitative research is one frequently cited criticism—that the findings are not credible. Multiple

perspectives or opinions are likely to emerge within a data set; however, it is important to remember that these do not always constitute realities. They may constitute the subjective realities of particular individuals, but they are not necessarily representative of the totality of views among the study participants. Adequate rationales are needed to support researchers' findings; otherwise the veracity of the results may be called into question, or worse, remain unsubstantiated. Qualitative research does, however, offer a pluralist, contextualized point of view, although, funding agencies may view findings as too abstract and too general for application to specific contexts and individuals. Other weaknesses of qualitative research are that the findings typically cannot be generalized beyond the context where the study was conducted and that research using this approach is time consuming. Also some researchers have asserted that the results might mirror the researcher's beliefs instead of the realities or lived experiences of the participants. Thus, the uniqueness of the qualitative findings and the assertion that the results do not appear to produce immediate and practical results causes those from a techno-rationalist point of view to ask the following: For whom are these findings useful?

Quantitative research is not without its criticisms either. Typically, the results do not explain why and fail to constitute the participants' understanding or perspectives. However, quantitative research holds an appeal for many researchers who like its orderliness and efficiency. Data collection tends to be relatively quick, while the analysis is typically precise and much less time consuming compared to qualitative research. The results are independent of the researchers, and the findings can be generalized when the data are based on random samples of ample size. Moreover, quantitative findings tend to be seen as more credible by funding agencies and people in power.

Overall, the use of mixed methods provides greater diversity of divergent views. The usage of different designs, such as concurrent exploratory, concurrent explanatory, sequential exploratory, and sequential explanatory makes implementation and discussion of results easier. Mixed methods rely on the principle of complementarity. The findings that result from this approach may enhance the quality of inferences that are made at the end

of a series of phases or strands of research. However, as some researchers have pointed out, the difference in the methods themselves may account for the differences in the findings. Some critics claim that mixed methods research suffers from the cognitive information processing limitations of the observer.

### Example 2

Another example of a mixed methods study can be seen in the hypothetical investigation of a research question within the context of culturally appropriate practice. The researchers could ask the question, “Is there a relationship between the specific parenting proficiencies shared by African American parents in low-income families of academically successful children? And if so, what is the nature of that relationship?” Through the use of a mixed methods research design, researchers could explore the possible variables related to parent proficiencies that contextualize the lives of the participating parents. Using a dominant–less dominant (QUAN–qual) design in which the quantitative study is conducted first followed by the qualitative investigation, the researchers could run a statistical analysis of quantitative data from a preexisting data set to explore salient variables that could be explained in a follow-up ethnographic inquiry. Researchers could deepen their understanding of key concepts through direct contact with individuals via surveys, focus groups, and in-depth interviews. As such, the data analysis is likely to provide a more expansive view of significant constructs and lead researchers to new knowledge about African American parenting and its relationship to student achievement.

### Choosing a Research Method

The work of educational researchers focuses on providing clarity about issues of interest to educators, researchers, and the public. Within the scope of their work, there is room for several realities to be illustrated through their findings. To determine what form of inquiry is most appropriate to the research questions or what methods are likely to produce information, it is important to first ask what type of information is being asked for. The answer to this question might be that more than

one form of inquiry is needed. As researchers have pointed out, mixed methods research recognizes the importance of both traditional quantitative and qualitative research, and it offers a more powerful choice that lends itself to offering complete, useful, and balanced results.

*Linda S. Behar-Horenstein*

*See also* Complementary Methods Research; Qualitative Research; Quantitative Research

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## MODERNISM

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Modernism, an umbrella word, covers the words modern, modernity, and even moderné. These words derive from the Latin *modo*, meaning just now. As just now, modernism, modern, and modernity all deal with the continually current, always on the cutting edge of the present. Their histories, though, stretch back many centuries, and thus, while continually in the present, modernism and its allied words have long pasts. It is the play of the past with the present that keeps modernism always on the edge of an emerging future. Modernism can be looked at linguistically, intellectually, socially or politically, and educationally. Each view gives modernism another layer of richness and presents to us a concept that at times is apart from current traditions and at other times is apart of current traditions. This interplay of apart from and apart of is what gives modernism its dynamism.

Linguistically, the modern is part of that tripartite division of languages into old, middle, modern. Modern language raises issues of what is

linguistically acceptable or not acceptable: street language, official language; native language, dominant language; phonetic spelling, authorized spelling. Intellectually, the modern is part of the historic breaking of thought into periods: premodern period, modern period, postmodern period. Each of these has its own way of thinking; its own episteme. By thought down by historical periods, the modern is frozen into a time period: approximately mid-16th to early-17th century (Copernican revolution) to the early- to mid-20th century (quantum revolution). Socially and politically, modernism goes back to the 17th-century “wars” between the ancients and the moderns—those of a classical (and conservative) bent as opposed to those of a newer and more liberal, scientific-mathematical bent. Educationally, modernism goes back to Peter Ramus (1515–1572), who first used the word *curriculum* in an educational sense. There is a family resemblance in the curricula forms and thoughts of Ramus, René Descartes, and Ralph Tyler. What Ramus founded in the mid-1500s has been with us for centuries as Stephen Triche and Douglas McKnight point out and occupies a prominent place in schools today. The Tyler Rationale can well be considered the epitome of modernist curricular design.

### History of Modernism

The modernist movement, in all its forms, can be bracketed in the time span between Copernicus’ positing of a sun-centered universe in the 16th century along with the scientific revolution this spawned and the quantum revolution of the 20th century. By the end of World War II (in the mid-1940s), modernism and all it stood for (including its progressive phase) had died. After WWII, the advanced industrial countries of the West, entered a new age, one Jean François Lyotard labeled postmodern. This new, computerized, information-dominated age both fascinated and frightened Lyotard.

Ramus’s work preceded, slightly, the scientific revolution spawned by Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, and Galileo Galilei, all of whom accepted and advanced the astronomical work of Copernicus a century earlier. Together these movements—Ramism in education (with a special interest in curriculum) and the scientific revolution—ushered

in the modern age, one logically ordered, scientifically framed, Protestant in its values, commercial in its outlook. Prior to Ramus, education was a piecemeal affair, young children learning to read and write from dames (wives and mothers) and proceeding onto study as they wished with itinerant teachers. The church schools (i.e., Catholic) were a bit more formalized, with the Jesuits, in 1599—a half century after Ramus—producing their *ratio studiorum* (i.e., plan of study). Ramus, a Catholic of Protestant persuasion—a persuasion for which he (literally) lost his head in the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in 1572 when students broke into his University of Paris rooms and severing his head from his body, threw the former out the window—was a professor and schoolmaster. As a schoolmaster, he trained boys ages 8 to 16 for the university; as a professor, he organized the knowledge he taught the boys into what, borrowing from John Calvin (*curriculum vita* or path of life), he called a curriculum. The word *curriculum* (Latin for circular path) was used by Ramus to designate not a racetrack, but rather a course of study to follow. He laid out this path in a linear, hierarchal, and orderly manner (actually a visual chart) beginning with the most general (i.e., that which came first) and proceeding in a step-by-step pattern. Ramus’s charts, much akin to the bracketing done in current tennis, golf, or basketball tournaments (or to university or corporate line and flow charts from presidents through vice presidents to deans or directors to faculty or employees), were usually dichotomized into splits or two or three. Thus, knowledge to be taught would be split into the trivium and quadrivium with the trivium split into grammar, logic, and rhetoric and the quadrivium split into arithmetic, geometry, music and ethics, and physics and astronomy. These individual subjects would again be split into subparts: arithmetic would be split into addition, subtraction, multiplication, division. Addition would then be split into whole numbers, positive and negative integers, fractions, and so on. Subtraction, multiplication, and division would follow the same branching (ramification). This charting of knowledge into a visual representation (logical, orderly, hierarchal) was a great advance on previous, disorganized forms of representation, either woodcuts—the most famous of which was the tower of knowledge with a key (the alphabet)



unlocking the basement door and the flag of philosophy fluttering from the top turret—or just long memory lists given in no particular order. Ramus's sequencing of knowledge in a logical form became popular with the rising merchant class—it was both orderly and efficient. As an organized way to study, curriculum entered the protestant universities of Leyden and Glasgow in the early 1600s.

Along with organizing knowledge in a textbook manner, Ramus made a decision that has influenced Western teaching ever since: Knowledge should be taught (via direct instruction) in the same way he organized it. Today, reading that follows the phonetic method is a carryover from Ramus's sense of logic. Whole word or sight recognition methods are often considered illogical: They do not have a definite pattern. Ramus's sense of pattern—simple in its sense of order—appealed immensely to the Puritans and their simple piety. They quickly adopted Ramus's method of organizing and his logic, based on there being one and only one true (or best) way. In Colonial America in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Ramism—the product of that great scholar and blessed martyr—and all it stood for permeated virtually every thesis done at Harvard College.

Ramus's method of organizing knowledge (a curriculum)—while attacked, often quite mercilessly (common at the time), as being too simple, starting with the most general or well known and proceeding reductively down to the particular—was part of the larger and more general methodization movement that swept Northern Europe and Colonial America in the 17th and 18th centuries. Francis Bacon, John Bunyan, Johann Comenius, Descartes, Gottfried von Leibniz (not to forget Isaac Newton, alchemist and scientist) were all caught up in this movement. It has been said that by the end of the 17th century, Protestantism had its answer to Catholicism's spirit: method. Method—scientific, rational, normed—captured the allegiance of the new men (engineers, builders, industrialists) of the 18th and 19th centuries. Frederick Taylor brought it to the forefront in his time and motion studies in the late 19th and early 20th century. Efficiency and scientific management became bywords of the times, including the organization of school curricula. Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum*—(pre)planned, sequentially ordered, scientifically assessed—comes from this lineage,

and his four steps for developing a good curriculum has a strong resemblance to Descartes four steps in his *Discourse on Method for Seeking Right Reason and Truth in the Sciences*.

Another aspect of modernism came from the 17th and 18th centuries, war between the ancients and the moderns. This war—represented in the writings of Giambattista Vico (1668–1744)—was over who would control university curricula. The ancients (scholastics, rhetoricians, classicists) favored learning the classical languages, in particular the grand rhetoric of Cicero. The moderns (the new natural philosophers) favored contemporary (i.e., now) scientific, rational, and mathematical learning and the use of vernacular language. This classical or modern distinction carried well into the 19th century, particularly in the curricula of British schools, some favoring the classics and ancient languages, others favoring the sciences, mathematics, and vernacular language. In the United States, Robert Hutchins's Great Books program and the curriculum at the colleges he founded in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Annapolis, Maryland, carry vestiges of this classicism.

Over time, the moderns with their success in medicine and astronomical predictions and their practical appeal to a rising commercial class of merchants (where employment not heredity were determiners of rank) became dominant. Their values—practical, bourgeois, progressive—became the traditional values of society. Social power shifted from those connected with the church or aristocracy to those prominent in commerce and industry. Education (and the curricula in schools) took on a practical hue. No longer was education restricted to the elite few, nor was it purely for the enjoyment of study. More and more education became associated with schooling adopting a practical, useful bent. One became schooled for commerce, industry, a trade, or profession. In this new industrial (modern) age, the engineers, planners, and builders believed they would tame and improve the ways of nature—in genetic breeding and in human society. The notion of being civilized took on a definite White, Anglo-Saxon, male flavor. And with such civilizing came the moral duty of those civilized to civilize or at least to control and lead those not civilized.

Modernism now took a twist; it became the tradition and as such, spurred a counter (avant-garde) movement. This countermovement, led by the

artistic, flamboyant avant-garde—in music, dance, painting, drama, literature—along with some intellectuals on the political fringe, played modernism off against itself. In a sense, modernism now defined itself (as tradition) and transcended itself. The avant-garde, favoring the cutting edge of the just now, an edge continually reforming, reframing, and redefining itself, took the social traditionalists (the bourgeoisie) as their enemy. They wished to shock the sensibilities of those possessing traditional authority, those who saw employment and productivity as virtues, indeed as the holy grail to lead all to a life of progress. As brilliant (and still brilliant) as are the works of Pablo Picasso, Sergei Diaghilev, Igor Stravinsky, Frank Lloyd Wright, and James Joyce (to name but a few), the modernists were caught by that which they attacked. As avant-garde, they needed bourgeois tradition as a foil for their creativity. With the advent of pop culture in the 1950s, this form of modernism died—the traditional versus avant-garde distinction disappeared. This particular modernist tradition had a relatively short life of about one century—from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s.

During this century though, modernism in both its scientific form and artistic form dominated intellectual thought and brought with it great creativity. Scientific creativity and artistic creativity not only existed side by side, but also actually played off one another. Curriculum was mostly influenced by science, which in its ideological form became scientism, a grand narrative answering all needs. In many ways, Frederick Taylor's work in industry (his time and motion studies on worker productivity) became the holy grail of modern progress. Through scientific management—workers separated from and taking orders from managers—production increased as did worker pay (albeit to a far lesser degree). Progress—defined in terms of efficiency and productivity—in the early decades of the 20th century, seemed not only assured, but also inevitable. Into this rich, industrial, milieu of efficiency through tight control and productive progress through efficiency, the Progressive Education Association (PEA) was born (1919). The PEA was part of the broad political and social progressive movement, a modernist movement, which captured the hearts and minds of

many Americans from the 1890s through the 1940s. By the end of World War II, though, progressivism and the PEA, and indeed modernism itself, were dead.

After World War II, pop culture became so diffuse (and indeed so common) that avant-garde no longer was a meaningful term. The avant-garde versus traditional distinction lost its sense of definition; it referred to a time past not a time present (i.e., just now). Scientific thinking now infused with the quantum became less certain and more problematic-probabilistic, rational reason was beginning to be seen as only one form of reason, educational research became infused with the qualitative and anthropological, and society started on the road to integration. A new, computerized world came into being. No longer was there one dominant (traditional, unified, correct, all encompassing) culture; a variety of “posts”—postmodern, poststructural, postcolonial, postpatriarchal, and even posthuman—emerged. All these posts challenged the basic metanarrative foundation of modernism. In advanced, Western, industrial societies capital was replaced by knowledge as the currency of the realm. The current information age came into being. Nothing captures the drama and excitement around the creation of this information age better than the Macy Conferences, held in New York City in the years 1946 to 1953. At the conferences were gathered some of the brightest mathematicians, computer designers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and anthropologists of the time. Information theory, communication theory, cybernetics, and insights into learning and mental disease came from these conferences. The systems foundations for the new sciences of chaos and complexity were also laid at this conference. A new paradigm began to emerge, a paradigm heavily tilted towards and influenced by technology, the new sciences, and the coming to age of biology. The arts—literature, music, drama, painting, architecture—which had been so dramatic, indeed flamboyant, a generation before, were not part of the Macy Conferences, nor were they part of the measured world, which defined the mathematical, scientific, and rational aspect, which so engulfed intellectual thought at that time (and continues to do so today). Scientific rationality has become the dominant mode of thought; it has taken on the power Lyotard feared it would. This rationality,

devoid of personal feeling, artistic expression, or aesthetic culture, has become paradigmatic. For Lyotard, we need to eschew this mode of thought and be incredulous toward it, especially its universalizing tendency to see all through one lens. Instead, we need to look at the now as an ongoing (re)creation.

Interestingly, Lyotard's use of the term postmodern actually refers, not to a time after modernism, but to a modernism that is continually rewriting itself. Viewing modernity as an act of rewriting is Lyotard's hope for the future, a dynamic (now) modernism, continually on the cutting edge of the current epoch. A postmodernism separate from the modern, which freezes the modern in a particular time period, is a postmodern that terrorizes all that does not fit into one, universalizing, grand narrative. For Lyotard, the postmodern (in its best sense) is really a dynamic form of the modern; it is a modern that is always just now; it is a modern that is situated in the local, a modern which interplays with the traditional and accepted, but always moves beyond these. In a real sense, it is postmodern.

### The Teacher's Role in a Modern and Postmodern Frame

Every period or movement has its own ethos, and often that ethos is recognized after the period or movement has passed. To take this statement at face value, though, is too simple, for in many ways, a period or movement does not pass on as much as it is subsumed or extended by the next movement. In short, there is a flow between movements, a flow which we break into linear order for our own purposes. Such linearization is far more common in the English speaking world than in the French speaking world. French intellectual thought is more fluid, integrative, relational, as is evidenced by a host of French "post" writers, often labeled poststructuralists. Hélène Cixous, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, Bruno LaTour, and Michel Serres are but a few of those who point out this relationship between language and thought. These authors provide a fine counterpoint to the analytic-linear style of analysis so common in modernist Anglo-American philosophy.

The ethos of modernism is complex. It is universalizing, totalizing, and indicative of the grand narratives on which Lyotard declared war. This modernist thrust, born from the union of both the scientific revolution and the Protestant burghers (the gentlemen of commerce) of the rapidly expanding towns and cities in Northern Europe, with vestiges of the Enlightenment (particularly its commitment to reason), created an ethos the modernés (the avant-garde artists) were to challenge. Without the straight-jacket of this form of modernity, though, the avant-garde artists would not have been so creative. So, too, in a sense, without the work Tyler put out for others to pick up as a rationale, the reconceptualist movement would have taken a different form.

The point-counterpoint play of modernism as it struggled both to define and transcend itself has yet to emerge in the curriculum field. Certainly no longer moribund, this field is still caught in either-or dichotomies rather than point-counterpoint interplays. In short, the field is not yet postmodern.

The hyphen in post-modern, to signify this interplay, is similar to Lyotard's use of *re* in his reflection on his own statements about the postmodern. A few years after writing *The Postmodern Condition*, Lyotard suggested the phrase (re)writing as a useful addenda. In this text, he talks about the modern, the just now, always reflecting back on itself. Such a recursing, so important to chaos and complexity theories, keeps the modern always on the cutting edge, on the cusp of change. The postmodern (or better post-modern) is but a phase in this process of modernity continually (re)writing itself. The teacher who is able to envision the now as a continual process, not as a set period in time, who is not placed in a straight-jacket by the prevailing culture of the time, who is able to bring the yet-to-be into focus, should be able to deal with curricula issues in a way in which the history, contemporariness, and emerging possibilities of a field flow together in a continually recursive manner. This challenge is modernism's greatest legacy to contemporary curricularists.

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*See also Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction; Curriculum, History of; Lyotardian Thought; Postmodernism*

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## MONTESSORI CURRICULUM

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The Montessori curriculum is based upon the work of Maria Montessori (1870–1952), an Italian educator, educational theorist, and student of child development who contributed enormously to the field of curriculum studies. She developed and promoted the enduring Montessori method of schooling and teaching. At the core of her method was an emphasis on the child’s experience in a learning environment that was based both on the student’s interests and was rigorously structured. The method remains popular in many parts of the world today and represents a child-centered curriculum with self-directed activities and specified areas of learning.

Montessori had an abiding respect for the competence of children, and that fact was served as an underpinning of her child-centered approach to the curriculum. In her approach, students are taught to develop skills and acquire knowledge at an individualized, self-guided pace. Within the Montessori educational approach, children were, first and foremost, the center of intense study by the teacher, who made rigorous observations of them in their natural environments. It was then the role of the

teacher—who no longer occupied center stage in the schoolroom—to structure the school environment in a manner that aroused the interest of students through their senses. Structuring the school environment around the interests of the students would lead to the restructuring of the school environment in a manner conducive to exercises in which students engaged independently in practicing the activities of daily living. The teacher would guide students through activities that, on the one hand, were personally and practically meaningful to them while, on the other, engaging them in the use of their powers of observation and reflection.

Montessori’s child-centered educational strategies owed much to the previous work of Frederick Froebel, especially the notion of instructive play as described in his *The Education of Man*. Other influences on her method came from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi, and Edouard Seguin. Moreover, her emphasis on the interactions between the child and his or her environment also accorded somewhat with the progressive curriculum platforms of U.S. pragmatist educationists such as John Dewey. Other emphases shared by Montessori and informal educators included the placing of the teacher on the sidelines of an educational process that sought to foster self-realization and self-determination in the students. The most useful and significant learning was seen to occur when all senses of the students were fully engaged in the experience of living.

For Montessori, as for many other progressive and informal educationists, the result of this process would also include the development of responsibility, self-respect, and respect for others. This Montessorian emphasis on attitudes and habits of mind may be seen as presaging John Dewey’s focus on the fostering of a democratic mind-set in children and adolescents. The Montessori curriculum revolved around specific areas, including activities of practical life, sensorial experiences, mathematics, language and literacy, and a general cultural realm to include arts and sciences and geography and history.

Although Montessori passed away in the Netherlands in 1952, the Montessori method is still very much alive. Although Montessorian purists have sometimes decried the modern modifications of the method within the operational curriculum of some schools, most of the central characteristics



discussed above have endured. Her groundbreaking approach to the place of children in the curriculum is still widely visible today inside and outside of Montessori schools, especially in the early grades.

*Tom Barone*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum

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## MORIBUND CURRICULUM FIELD, THE

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Declared first by Joseph Schwab in 1969 and reiterated by Dwayne Huebner in 1975, this assessment of the state of the field points up the intensity of the crisis it underwent following the 1957 launching of the first man-made satellite, *Sputnik*, by the USSR. General agreement exists that Schwab's 1969 pronouncement coincided with the emergence of a paradigm shift in curriculum studies, usually referred to as a reconceptualization or renaissance of the field. The effect was to change the field's focus from curriculum development to a scholarly effort to understand curriculum from a wide variety of perspectives. The degree of influence Schwab exerted on that shift, however, has been disputed.

Following *Sputnik*, amidst grand rhetoric of concern for education's role in the national security, the federal government allocated massive amounts of federal funds for curriculum reform through such legislation as the 1958 National Defense Education Act and the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. A fundamental reorientation of curriculum research occurred as the monies went mainly to discipline-based scholars, especially those in math, sciences, and foreign languages. The focus of improvement shifted to individual school subjects rather than to various theories of curricular program design. In addition, philanthropic organizations such as the Ford Foundation awarded grants

for educational research to social scientists outside schools of education, thrusting the work of curriculum professors further to the margins. All of this came on the heels of a series of critiques of public schools and education professors by arts and sciences scholars during the 1950s. In addition to these external pressures, discontent had already been building within the field in regard to the venerated Tyler Rationale as an adequate basis for thinking about curriculum work. All of these circumstances helped drive the field into the state that Schwab referred to as moribund.

Although Schwab believed the condition to be one that occurs within all fields periodically, he diagnosed the problem in this case as an unhealthy reliance upon the theoretic, in an Aristotelian sense, evidenced in part by the post-*Sputnik* emphasis upon the technical, behavioristic research paradigm. As additional symptoms he also noted several types of flight, including a flight to experts in other fields for solutions to problems, very likely a reference to the post-*Sputnik* transfer of curriculum responsibilities to subject matter specialists and educational psychologists.

To restore vitality to the field, he prescribed a new approach, focused on the practical, but not averse to theory. To the contrary, he believed a strong theoretical background was necessary to select and craft various theoretical perspectives to unique problem situations. He envisioned school-based teams engaged in deliberation, identifying and exploring solutions to curricular dilemmas. The emphasis would be on gradual curriculum improvement, as opposed to the broad-based school or social change that had been sought by many progressives. Teams would be composed of school faculty, subject matter specialists, and social scientists and would be chaired by a curriculum specialist. The role of curriculum professors would be to prepare the curriculum specialist in the practical skills of persuasion and deliberation and the scholarly skills of accessing and utilizing the latest research on curricular practices, the behavioral sciences, and academic subjects in the school curricular program. For their role, Schwab advised curriculum professors to become more intellectual; to read broadly on U.S. government, life, and society; and to take up the mantle of the critical essayist, commenting on current issues as they related to education.

Philip Jackson pointed to the tension in Schwab's advice for professors to focus more on the practical, while also exhorting them to become more intellectual. He noted the similarity between the description of Schwab's academic role for professors and the subsequent work of scholars of the reconceptualization. However, many reconceptualist scholars credit other bodies of work as their inspiration, most notably those of James Macdonald, Dwayne Huebner, and Maxine Greene. Scholars of the reconceptualist vein celebrate the post-1969 renaissance of the field, while curricularists who remain focused on curriculum development are less optimistic about its revitalization, citing a lack of engagement with the schools and Schwab's original critique of an overreliance on the theoretic.

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*See also* Arts of the Eclectic; Deliberative Curriculum; Reconceptualization; Schwab, Joseph

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## MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM

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At its most basic level, multicultural curriculum involves issues similar to those of concern in any curriculum development. They are what knowledge is of greatest worth, to whom and why, and how can it be best organized to be delivered most effectively to students. These apparently straightforward questions become complex, commanding, and unique to multicultural education when they are applied to deciding which dimensions of diversity are to be the units of emphasis and how the studies are to be conducted. They are challenging decisions to make for several reasons. First, all possible forms of diversity cannot be included in any given curriculum. Second, of the many things that can and should be taught about the explicitly

declared diversities of study, which are most important, and how will these determinations be made? Third, should the curriculum focus on cognitive content only, or are other forms of knowing equally important, such as thinking, feeling, valuing, acting, reflecting, and transforming? A fourth key curricular issue is whether multicultural education should be an independent enterprise, an integral part of all other subjects and skills taught to students, or both. Educators do not have to operate alone in answering these questions. Much assistance is available from research and scholarship, including conceptual principles and possibilities for actual practice for creating multicultural curriculum.

### Multicultural Curriculum Principles

Invariably, curriculum is created in and reflects multiple layers of contextual influences. This reality defies the hopes of some educators that a single multicultural curriculum can be created and transported across all school settings and student populations. Scholars may not speak in a single nomenclature (nor should they be expected to do so), but there is a high level of agreement among them about why multicultural education is important, what are its fundamental substantive components, and how it should be implemented. Together these ideas constitute the foundations for curriculum development for and about ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity.

The conceptual and ideological parameters of multicultural education provide baselines for creating curriculum rationales, goals, and objectives, content, learning experiences, and assessment procedures for students and teachers. One of these emphasizes ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity within the United States, as opposed to global or international settings. This initiative originally grew out of concerns about discrimination and oppression against groups of color in U.S. society and the inequities they suffer in educational institutions. Some advocates extend these constituent concerns to other dimensions of diversity (such as gender, social class, and sexual orientation), but not as the expense of or as proxies for race and ethnicity, and locations of analysis (national and global). As groups, African, Latino, Native, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander Americans

have the lowest records of school performance, regardless of the achievement measures or indicators used, level of schooling, or social class of students. Proponents of multicultural education suggest that they are more a function of educational programs, policies, and practices that ignore or demean the cultures, heritages, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically and racially diverse groups than the intellectual abilities, interests, and aspirations of individual students. Interventions that counter these attitudes and related practices may be the best courses of action to pursue for closing achievement gaps among students from majority and underrepresented groups. This is a logical premise to make because race, ethnicity, class, culture, and education are deeply interconnected.

A second major ideological principle of multicultural education is that it is more than a cognitive endeavor. Although all students in all educational settings and levels of learning need to acquire a greater depth and accuracy of knowledge about the wide variety of ethnic and cultural groups that comprise the United States, this is not enough. Racial attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors of individuals and institutions in the past, present, and future should be analyzed and modified. Combating racism requires moral convictions and political actions along with more accurate knowledge. So does empowering students to contribute to constructing a society that is more culturally inclusive and socially, politically, and economically egalitarian. Therefore, the goals of multicultural education include both what to teach about ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity and how to teach ethnically diverse students more effectively through cultural responsiveness. They are deeply interconnected, and it is counterproductive to argue for one instead of the other. In creating multicultural curriculum, these interrelationships should be kept in mind, along with the need to provide multilayered and culturally appropriate learning experiences for ethnically and racially diverse student across them. When implemented, whether separately and in concert with each other, they improve the performance of underachieving students of color on multiple levels—social, personal, cultural, psychological, emotional, political, and academic.

Curricular concerns about ethnic, cultural, and racial diversity are more complex than the

presentation of factual information about minority and marginalized groups. They involve deeply entangled moral dilemmas, correcting negative attitudes and beliefs, transformative insights and actions, and the redistributions of power and privilege. They affect all people in some way or another and are, therefore, appropriate for all students, school settings, and subjects, but not in identical ways, meaning that critical features of multicultural curriculum are using multiple perspectives and different ways of knowing in examining ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity.

Another aspect of multicultural education that has strong implications for curriculum creation is its interdisciplinary nature. None of its components and concerns can be analyzed and understood sufficiently through the lens of a single discipline. They demand the knowledge, insights, and methodologies derived from many different bodies of scholarship and styles of teaching and learning. For example, if educators are to establish viable foundations for understanding the performance patterns of students of color over time, they need to analyze them from the vantage points of history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and pedagogy, all within the contexts of ethnic and cultural diversity. Similarly, students can learn better the nature and effects of racial prejudices and oppression, how to be social justice activists, and function more effectively in cross-cultural encounters by reading scholarly books and culturally expressive literature; engaging in analytical discussions and critical self-reflections; listening to different genres of social commentary music; examining demographics on racial profiling; observing the social and political behaviors of people in different ethnic groups and positions of power; participating in cultural events; compiling and analyzing personal narratives; and forming coalitions with ethnically diverse individuals and groups for social, cultural, and political reform. The idea is that cultural diversity is a dynamic and complex phenomenon and understanding it authentically requires varied approaches to teaching and learning.

One way to actualize multicultural education in practice is to make it an integral part of the curriculum of everything else that is taught to students, whether that is reading, writing, math, science, citizenship, critical thinking, or computer

technology. Proponents note that this approach is pragmatically feasible and pedagogically sound. K–12 schools are not likely to teach multicultural education as a separate subject, even though some colleges will. The latter is a greater possibility because studying discrete disciplines fits into the prevailing conventions of how college curricula are organized and implemented. Although it is useful to think conceptually and theoretically about multicultural curriculum as a separate entity or artifact, for classroom practice it is more reasonable to think of it as a component of or presence in other learning plans and instructional actions. Therefore, it has high instrumental value in that it improves the quality and effects of all learning opportunities and outcomes for ethnically diverse students.

If educational institutions are committed genuinely to teaching students historical realities and cultural truths, then the content taught within and through the various subjects needs to be culturally diverse to reflect the plurality of contributions that formed and continue to shape them. Compelling evidence demonstrates that the United States is not a European American–only construction. Rather, it is and always has been a pluralistic composite, a synergy of the contributions of many different ethnic groups and individuals. What the country currently is, as well as its potential to become, are direct reflections of its ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity. It is our reality, our potentiality, and our strength. This is one of the key messages multicultural curriculum conveys to students, and it is best done by integrating information about ethnic and cultural diversity into all subjects and skills taught for all students, at all times, instead of restricting it to isolated lessons, units, or courses for select student populations and special occasions.

Desirable multicultural curriculum integration is not easy to accomplish. The challenge involves more than merely adding appropriate information about ethnically diverse contributions, cultures, and experiences into existing curricula. Sometimes entire curricular frameworks and their underlying assumptions, values, customs, traditions, and claims of truth may need to be challenged and changed. A case in point is the pathological orientation mainstream society has displayed toward groups of color as dependent and universally powerless. It needs to be replaced with conceptions (and related instructional actions) of power and

agency as being contextual and situational. Viewing power and agency in this way means that the most powerless groups in mainstream society may be quite powerful, imaginative, creative, and resourceful within their own cultural contexts and from insiders' marginality perspectives. Certainly, some of the most stimulating and successful social justice momentum has come from the leadership of ethnic individuals on the margins of mainstream society, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Harriet Tubman, Caesar Chavez, and the civil rights movements of various ethnic groups of color over time. These emphases fulfill other intentions of multicultural curricula including developing positive ethnic identities, cultural pride, and personal efficacy; closer aligning the realities of U.S. society with its democratic ideals; and functioning more effectively in different cultural systems and relationships.

Multicultural curriculum integration does not exclude the possibility of, or the necessity for, some discrete studies of ethnic and cultural diversity as well. But these should be complements to general, wide scale, integrated learning experiences, not in lieu of them. Thus, courses in Latino politics, African American music, and Asian American psychology, and college majors in multicultural education provide opportunities for interested students to study these topics in greater detail than what they might acquire from the multicultural contributions woven into other subjects and pedagogies.

### Translating Principles to Practice

Theory suggests that content about ethnic and cultural diversity should be inserted everywhere and all the time throughout the educational enterprise. However, these proposals do not provide any practical guidance for how to actually do what is being suggested. The absence of this assistance reduces the likelihood that educators will embrace and act on what are otherwise powerful ideas. To minimize this possibility, some suggestions from multicultural education advocates are now presented for translating general multicultural curriculum principles into actual practices.

Educators should develop strategic plans for incorporating ethnic and cultural diversity into teaching and learning on a regular and routine basis. An important part of this planning is realizing that



all subjects cannot be multiculturalized at the same time, in the same way, or at the same rate. Some subjects and learning locations are initially more amenable to accommodating cultural diversity than others. Consequently, priorities need to be established, and curriculum reform plans made that allow for variability within the established disciplinary boundaries of multicultural education and developmental progression across subjects, grades, and learning settings over specified periods of time. These changes do not have to be linear in that they begin with the lower grades and basic subjects or skills and then proceed sequentially to the more advanced ones. Some multicultural curriculum interventions may begin in Grade 5, others in Grade 2, and move up, down, or sideways until all subjects in all grades are impacted. One high school could start integrating multicultural education with 10th-grade English and move from there to 12th-grade social studies, followed by 9th-grade mathematics. Creating multicultural curriculum also involves multiethnic representation, or including different kinds of significant information about the histories, heritages, cultures, experiences, contributions, challenges, and possibilities of a wide variety of ethnic groups in all teaching and learning encounters.

More pragmatic suggestions for accomplishing these general principles in actual multicultural curricula are as follows:

- Place information about ethnic and cultural diversity into the core components of high status, high stakes subjects, skills, and learning processes routinely taught in schools, such as reading, math, science, critical thinking, and test taking.
- Include information about a wide range of individuals, events, perspectives, and experiences within and among ethnic groups, locally, regionally, and nationally.
- Use specific cultural content, examples, perspectives, and experiences of diverse ethnic groups to illustrate general academic concepts, principles, ideas, and skills, and for students to practice and demonstrate mastery of them. For instance, use African, Asian, Latino, Native, and European American novels to illustrate literary techniques or ethnic residential patterns to teach geographic concepts.
- Diversify the types of individuals, information, and experiences used to represent ethnic groups to prevent dependence on the overexposed, exceptional few who have become common stocks-in-trade in teaching cultural diversity and to avoid ethnic type casting. Hence, Asian Americans should not always be presented as high achievers in mathematics and science, African Americans as pop culture singers and professional athletes, and Mexican Americans as immigrants and migrant farmworkers.
- Avoid placing different ethnic groups in competition with each other by emphasizing various perspectives on common themes. For example, examining the different ways African, Asian, Native, Latino, and European Americans have engaged in social justice struggles over time, instead of teaching only the political activism of African Americans during the civil rights movement of the 1960s.
- Focus on concepts and themes (i.e., identity, struggle, marginality, resistance, etc.) and how they are manifested over time within and among ethnic groups, as the center of multicultural education teaching and learning instead of studying first one ethnic group and then another.
- Provide multiple ways of learning and types of knowledge for all topics, issues, and events taught. These should allow for students' intellectual, affective, active, and reflective engagement, individually and collectively.
- Include techniques for ethnically diverse students to acquire the process skills and the social and cultural capital needed for understanding the substantive content to be taught. These might include how to identify cultural cues embedded in written texts, understanding the technical language of different disciplines, how to shift modes of behavior from one cultural system to another to improve academic performance, and how to take standardized tests.

Although multicultural curriculum has many common conceptual features and frameworks, they do not translate into a single universal model in practice. Too many situational factors impinge upon its actualization for this to be possible. The more important need is for educators to make thoughtful, deliberate, and informed decisions about teaching ethnic and cultural diversity with

due consideration given to localized and contextual factors and the scholarly funds of knowledge on multicultural education that already exists and is continuing to emerge.

*Geneva Gay*

*See also* Critical Race Theory; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Multicultural Curriculum Theory; Race Research

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## MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM THEORY

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Multicultural curriculum theory is the broad term for strands within curriculum studies that critically examine the sociopolitical, historical, economic, and cultural contexts of education with a focus on race, ethnicity, class, and gender as well as issues

of equity, social justice, and power. It evolved separately from, but connected to, multicultural education theory as theorists became concerned with inequality in schools and classrooms particularly as related to the achievement of historically disadvantaged students and the development of a democratic society. As a component of general curriculum theory, its major contribution to the field has been to highlight education issues related to marginalized students, to develop a language and terms to articulate these issues and to bring forward alternate ways to address these issues in order to create equitable environments for all students.

Multicultural curriculum theory was first brought to the center of curriculum studies discourse in the 1970s and 1980s by reconceptualist movement theorists who contested notions of curriculum as neutral and drew attention to previously neglected areas of inquiry, ones that centered on the raced, classed, and gendered nature of curriculum, teaching, and learning. It grew in prominence in the 1980s and 1990s as an interdisciplinary method to study curriculum in context, policy, and practice in terms of racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and other minority and marginalized students' education and experiences in schools and societies. It also developed as a system to explore the social construction of minority identity and disparate power relations in schools and societies. During this period, it evolved as a means to express a humanistic, social justice, and emancipatory orientation to curriculum and education. The late 1990s and early 2000s marked the beginning of a major development in multicultural curriculum theory that reflected the inclusion of the dynamics of globalization and international perspectives on issues.

Although there are variations in topics and perspectives that are identified with distinct strands of multicultural curriculum theory, there are also overarching principles and goals that provide a foundation for all multicultural curriculum theory. These principles include addressing fundamental issues of inequality in societies, institutions, and education with goals of prejudice reduction, elimination of bias and stereotyping, and empowerment of oppressed individuals and groups; recognition

of the contingent and constructed nature of knowledge and an ensuing critique of mainstream pedagogical and other practices; and development of policies, practices, pedagogy, curriculum, and evaluation procedures that are inclusive of diverse students' experiences and learning styles. Goals of creating an equitable education system for diverse students and a socially just society through transformation of individual attitudes and beliefs with concurrent reform of institutions also unify multicultural curriculum theory.

While adhering to core principles and overall goals, within multicultural curriculum theory there are multiplicities of substrands that represent different philosophical orientations to and disciplinary perspectives on the study of multicultural phenomena, have different historical roots, utilize different methods and starting points for inquiry, and have different, though related, foci of interest. These differences have led to intense debates and a rich, nuanced discourse in the field; one prominent focus has been the relevance of theory to practical issues in schools and classrooms.

Key substrands within multicultural curriculum theory can be broadly grouped under humanistic, critical, and emancipatory approaches. Humanistic approaches include the personal such as autobiographical, narrative, and existential studies that focus on an examination of issues at the microlevel in order to effect change at the macrolevel. Starting points of self, self in relation to others, and goals of personal transformation characterize these approaches. Much of the work in these approaches has focused on studies of culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms and schools, cross-cultural educational experiences, and preparation of teachers to work with diverse students. Critical approaches include critical pedagogy and Marxist orientations that focus on addressing issues at the social, political, and institutional level to effect change at the macrolevel to impact the microlevel. These approaches begin with institutions, policies, and structures as starting points with goals of reconstruction of educational and social life. Work within critical approaches include studies of race and racism, antibias and antiracist education, White privilege, inequitable allocation of resources in schools and society, and examinations of the

political context of curriculum. Emancipatory approaches use aspects of humanistic and critical approaches. They focus on complex questions of human potential, solidarity across difference, community, and social responsibility. The goal of these approaches is to raise consciousness and to elucidate possibilities for human life.

Humanistic, critical, and emancipatory strands overlap and compliment each other; together they constitute a robust body of scholarship in multicultural curriculum theory. Scholars are often associated with distinct strands; however, many contemporary scholars, such as those who study Whiteness, use a combination of approaches to address concerns. Various strands also have different content of inquiry. Foci of interest include specific racial, ethnic, or linguistic groups, within or across group differences, place specific orientations, and accommodation of curriculum to the needs of linguistic and cultural minorities. Contemporary multicultural curriculum theory discourse simultaneously engages these contents of inquiry with possibilities for a socially just education system and society.

*JoAnn Phillion*

*See also* Diversity; Equity; Immigrant and Minority Students' Experience of Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum; Social Justice

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## MULTI-VOCAL RESEARCH

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Multi-vocal research often embodies the perspectives of diverse sets of authors such as academics, journalists, policy makers, classroom teachers, and parents. This method of writing aims to democratize research in curriculum studies by incorporating multiple perspectives rather than placing in relief the perspectives of a privileged group or dominant epistemic traditions. The term *multi-vocal* literally means many voices. In the context of curriculum studies, it is used to describe a form of research that represents multiple perspectives. First-person point of view is commonly combined with third-person omniscient narrative to represent a range of positions (often contradictory) on a single issue, phenomenon, or theme. The reading path of multi-vocal research is not arranged conventionally, but is often recursive, makes use of montage, performance, sidebars, white space, visual images, sound-tracks, and found objects. Experiments with multi-vocal research range from book reviews to theoretical arguments, conference presentations, online reports, and ethnographies.

The turn to multi-vocal research in curriculum studies can be traced to poststructuralist principles as well as to two key academic figures: anthropologist Victor Turner (1920–1983) and literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975). Turner's study of the multiple meanings assigned to a symbol during ritual practices emphasized the multi-vocalic nature of symbols. A single symbol could have more than one referent and, in fact, often does. Turner found that symbols worked during ritual practices to bring together seemingly disparate meanings or themes simultaneously and can only be understood in context and according to the meanings that a community endows it with. Drawing on Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Turner developed a practice and theory for interpreting symbols that explored the manifest (obvious), latent (partly

aware of), and hidden (unaware of) meaning embodied in symbols. The principle of the multi-vocality of symbols resonates to the intentions that often accompany multi-vocal research, especially the intent to portray the insights and understandings that challenge dominant values, beliefs, and policies.

Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher, literary critic and semiotician, emphasized the significant role that social context plays in generating meaning. His scholarship offers a substantive and elaborate conceptual critique of the limits of binary structures and the social, ethical, and aesthetic relevance of creating texts that create a dynamic interplay among many conflicting radiants of meaning. Rather than relying on the principles of a binary system such as openness-closeness, moral-corrupt, sickness-wellness, intelligence-ignorance, Bakhtin emphasizes the importance of creating more complex, multilayered meanings that capture nuance, contradictions, and sustain engagements with indeterminate meanings, for in the context of multi-vocal research, understanding is recognized as inherently incomplete. Bakhtin's suspicion of totalitarian, single-voice, synthetic, monologic forms of representations resonate as well to the ethics that accompany much of the esteemed multi-vocal research in curriculum theory. The central idea is that no one voice should subsume another and that the dynamic interplay of opposing forces be represented in order to further a more just society. Thus, multi-vocal research is rooted in a desire to represent voices that have historically remained beyond the pale in the annals of educational research. Multi-vocal research often seeks to represent those who are marginalized, perceived as untrustworthy, or exceed normative categories for wellness, intelligence, and integrity.

Although multi-vocal research has become prominent in curriculum studies, it has also met with serious critique. Concerns have been expressed that academic rigor is compromised, in part because the protocols traditionally used to determine if a study is reliable and valid are often not recognized as relevant when evaluating multi-vocal scholarship. Questions have surfaced about the review processes that multi-vocal research should undergo for publication, the ethics of involving participants in writing themselves into



multi-vocal reports-ethnographies and the extent to which participants such as students, patients, or teachers are coauthors of such texts written by academics and hence, responsible for the findings of the research projects.

Paula M. Salvio

*See also* Case Study Research; Feminist Theories; Poststructuralist Research

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## MYTHOPOETICS

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Mythopoetics is the study of myths and their dysfunctional aspects found in the field of curriculum studies. The researcher-mythopoeist reports findings in poetic form. A myth in this context is an answer to an unanswerable question that has become a part of what is accepted as true. One such myth is that spirit is religious and hence unacceptable as part of the curriculum in the public schools because it violates the separation of church and state. When spirit is thought of as the dynamic principle, which is the life-force of all, it is not religious. In fact, it is a critical aspect of curriculum. Hence, to exclude the spirit in curriculum studies is dysfunctional. The methodology for studying myths and their dysfunctional aspects is demythologizing. The process of demythologizing has four major dimensions: (1) the substantive, (2) the syntactical, (3) the philosophic, and (4) the formal.

The substantive dimension is the study of the history and substance of myths by which education functions. Research in this field focuses on dysfunctional aspects of myths. The goal of such studies is understanding myths and determining what causes them to be dysfunctional. Another

example of myths and their dysfunctional aspects that mythopoeists have demythologized is that when scores in reading, math, and science go down, the best way to correct the decline is to do away with art, music, and physical education. Scientifically and practically this solution is not valid; hence, it is a dysfunctional aspect of the myth. The most poignant aspect of the substantive dimension in mythopoetic curriculum theory is the study of what Carl Jung called the spirit as a dynamic principle of the life-force in us all.

The syntactical dimension of demythologizing is the inquiry process. Mythopoeists take a multiple paradigmatic approach to assist in the inquiry process. This approach uses a series of stream metaphors to explicate the paradigms. Each phase of the stream metaphor addresses the role of the researcher, methods of inquiry, research subjects, objects and research goals. The paradigm that includes the objective, quantitative and documentary is called rational-theoretical; the researcher is on the edge of the stream being the objective observer/experimenter.

The research goals of the mythopoeist in this paradigm are generalizations, predictions and causal probabilities. The paradigm called mythological-practical has the researcher in a boat in the stream and acting as participant observer. The research goals here are naturalistic generalizations, action, and theories. In the evolutionary-transformational paradigm the researcher becomes the stream and studies self and interactions with others. The goals in this paradigm are change, healing, and transformations. In the critical-normative paradigm the researcher having experienced the other paradigms becomes critic and revisionist-activist. Participants in the feminist movement think and act primarily in this paradigm in which awareness, emancipation and demystification are the research goals. The mythopoeist is most often the bricoleur working in each-all of these paradigms and selecting appropriate research methods for the tasks at hand.

When thinking-acting in the philosophic dimension the researcher has multiple world views. The one that mythopoeists use most is phenomenology where primary experiences are basic reality. Heuristic inquiry, autoethnography, autobiography, and hermeneutics are commonly used methods (epistemologies) of inquiry to gain

understandings and affect-effect transformation-change and healing.

While demythologizing, the mythopoet may use poetry, stories, narrative, music, dance, sculpture, paintings, movies, photographs, rituals, signs, metaphors, architectural designs, dance, autobiography, letters, and portraiture to represent her or his research findings, insights, breakthroughs, and transformations as forms of presentation.

*Nelson L. Haggerson, Jr.*

*See also* Autobiographical Theory; Curriculum as Spiritual Experience; Feminist Theories; Prayerful Act, Curriculum Theory as a

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## NARRATIVE RESEARCH

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Narrative research in curriculum studies is a relatively new social science methodology and grew out of F. Michael Connelly and D. Jean Clandinin's curriculum studies work on teacher knowledge. They called the method *narrative inquiry*. The terms *narrative research* and *narrative inquiry* are synonyms. Different Individuals outside of curriculum studies may use and interpret the terms differently. *Narrative inquiry* is commonly used in curriculum studies and is used in this entry.

Narrative inquiry is an experiential methodology for studying curricular experience. The key phrase is *experiencing experience*. Narrative inquiry is a comprehensive research methodology referring both to a method of inquiry and to the phenomena studied. In narrative inquiry, that is, in *experiencing* (method) the *experience* (phenomena), narrative is the phenomena of curriculum inquiry because teachers, students, and others experience curriculum narratively. Narrative is the method of inquiry because the inquiry process is an experiential and collaborative process for the researcher. Narrative inquiry is the *experiential study of curriculum experience*.

The significance of narrative inquiry for curriculum studies is that researchers participate in the curriculum experience under study. Narrative inquiry in curriculum studies is a holistic experiential study of all aspects of curriculum (learner, teacher, subject matter, and milieu), both in and out of classrooms and schools.

## Narrative Inquiry and the Concept of Experience

### *The Black Box of Experience*

*Experience* is the key term in narrative inquiry. *Experiencing experience* means that curriculum experience is studied experientially. Much curriculum research treats experience as a black box, taken-for-granted, but not studied. In input-output studies, for example, a new curriculum may be introduced (input) and its effects studied (output) by evaluating student achievement after using the new curriculum, by studying teacher attitudes toward the new curriculum after using it, or by studying parental responses to having their children exposed to the new curriculum. The *experience* connecting these results to the new curriculum is the black box between input and output. Student achievement, teacher attitude, and parental response data say nothing about children's, teachers' and parents' actual experience of the new curriculum.

Narrative inquiry opens the black box to inquiry into curricular experience. In the example introduction of a new curriculum just described, researchers would participate in teaching the new curriculum. They would explore such things as how students interacted with the curriculum and with one another inside the classroom, and with parents and others outside of the classroom. They would explore student and teacher prior experience relative to the curriculum and examine the goals that students and teachers thought the curriculum served. The researchers might visit parents

in their homes and places of work, and they might attend parent-teacher interviews. In this way, what happens between input and output is experienced and studied.

### *The Meaning of Experience*

Connelly and Clandinin observe that arguments for using narrative inquiry are inspired by a view of human experience in which humans lead storied lives. People shape their daily lives by stories and they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story is a portal through which a person enters curricular situations and by which his or her experience of curriculum is interpreted and made meaningful.

Seen in context, and understood experientially, stories are complex. They grow out of past experience, and they shape the way future events are experienced and interpreted. Stories occur in a social context and, although a person's story is personal with particular emotional, aesthetic, and ethical qualities as experienced by that person, stories also express and reveal the environment in which the story is experienced and told. To reflect these features of story and experience in narrative inquiry, Connelly and Clandinin developed a metaphor of a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space. They drew on John Dewey's criteria of *interaction* and *continuity* as well as his notion of *situation* to study people's lived experience. The three dimensions of a narrative inquiry space are (1) personal and social (interaction); (2) past, present, and future (continuity); and (3) place.

### *Experience and the Life Space*

The three-dimensional narrative inquiry space framework guides a researcher's data collection in curriculum life spaces. Whereas much curriculum research is aimed at describing things as they are, narrative inquiry takes things as they are and asks how they came to be this way. Inquiry questions about what is observed are asked along each dimension: past, present, and future questions; personal and cultural/social questions; and questions about place. This idea of experience means that curriculum researchers are in a life space that is holistic, dynamic, living, and unfolding, rather than fixed, static, and something to be fixed by

description. For the new curriculum example, the life space includes the classroom where the curriculum is taught, but is not limited to it. The space also includes out-of-classroom settings in the school, home, and community. Participants include teachers, students, researchers, and others who play a role in how the curriculum is experienced in the life space. Inquiry is pursued along each of the life space dimensions for various participants and for various settings.

### *Story and Curriculum Experience*

The stories people tell in the life space give meaning and significance to their curricular experience. For instance, if the new curriculum is in art, some children may do poorly saying they are not artistic and cannot draw, while other children may do well saying they love art and are good at it. A teacher might believe that modern society depends on science and technology and tell a curricular story of needing to get through the art curriculum quickly to pursue more important things. Another teacher may believe in the social value of the arts and may enthusiastically teach the curriculum, bring in extra resources, and encourage reluctant students. The *experience* of the new curriculum will be different for students with different stories of themselves relative to the art subject matter of the new curriculum, and the experience will be different when the curriculum is taught by teachers with different stories of the value of the art curriculum. These differences provide an explanation for different results in input-output studies.

### **What Does a Narrative Inquirer Do in the Life Space?**

A narrative inquirer's task is to *experience the experience* being studied. Four guidelines for a narrative inquirer's actions are establishing a collaborative sense of purpose with participants; participating in whatever is going on in the life space; recognizing that the researcher has a different relationship to the life space than do other participants and that it is her or his responsibility to craft the explanatory narratives emerging from the research; and relinquishing ultimate responsibility for what is happening in the life space. This last guideline may create tension for narrative inquirers who



invest themselves in a curriculum life space. When researchers enter a curriculum life space it is ongoing, and when the inquiry concludes the life space continues. Narrative inquirers are temporary members of curriculum life spaces under study.

The degree to which a narrative inquiry researcher participates in a life space influences what a narrative inquirer does. In some curriculum studies, whether by preference on behalf of the narrative inquirer or by circumstances imposed by the life space, the researcher's participatory access to the life space is restricted. Returning to the new curriculum, a narrative researcher may enter the life space after the curriculum has been taught and may inquire *retrospectively* by studying the life space vicariously through *tellings* in interviews, conversations, and other interactive social arrangements with participants. Full participation in the life space leads to a different way of being, and doing things, in the life space than does inquiry conducted retrospectively. The difference leads to two general types of narrative inquiry studies: *telling* studies and *doing* studies.

### *Ethics*

Researchers need to be aware of institutional policies on ethics. In Canada, for example, the ethics for all social science research is governed by the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. The Tri-Council is a joint body of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, the National Sciences and Engineering Research Council, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. A university researcher conducting narrative inquiry into curriculum in a school or school board normally completes two ethical protocol reviews, one at his or her home university where Tri-Council Policies are built in to the process, and one at the school board which normally has school board specific policies.

Narrative inquirers need to consider ethical matters from beginning to end: during opening negotiations with potential participants, in relationships during inquiry, and in the writing up of results. Janice Huber and D. Jean Clandinin show how narrative inquiry can influence the experience of life space of participants. Ethical considerations are guided by relationships established during

inquiry in the life space. Narrative inquirers need to consult their own consciences as a guide for their ethical conduct during narrative inquiry.

### Collecting/Writing Field Texts

The fact that people make meaning of their lives through story sometimes leads to the mistaken view that narrative inquiry field work is the collection of stories. Stories are collected during field work. But stories are a small part of the range of field records collected. Narrative inquirers use the term *field texts* rather than *data* when discussing evidence recorded during research. The reason *field texts* is preferred to *data* is that the word *field* implies a place where the record is collected whereas *data* carries an abstract sense independent of place. The term *texts* conveys a complex quality, and *data* has a unitary quality. In addition, *data* tends to carry a fixed idea of the record, for example, a record of achievement on a mathematics test, whereas *field texts* is open to whatever might bear on the life space.

There are potential conceptual difficulties with the use of the term *field text*. Narrative inquiry is an experiential, field-based, form of research, but the idea of *text* suggests discourse *about* life situations. Ian Westbury wrote that there was a turn to text in curriculum studies in critical, theoretical, and postmodern research based on texts rather than on curriculum experience. To the extent that the term *field text* suggests this abstract turn in curriculum inquiry, the term misrepresents narrative inquiry.

Narrative inquiry uses the following field texts as data sources: field notes, personal stories, family stories, photographs, autobiography, journals, letters, conversations, interviews, participant observations, and any life experience record and artifact bearing on the inquiry.

### History of Narrative Inquiry in Curriculum

Connelly and Clandinin were the first to name and describe narrative inquiry as a social science research methodology in curriculum studies. They wrote about teachers as curriculum makers: their lived experience and personal practical knowledge. They, their students, and others have studied curriculum reform policy, teacher knowledge, student

experience, multiculturalism, administration, and cross-cultural work in curriculum. In recent curriculum research, narrative inquiry is used to study the curriculum of ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse societies. The work has expanded within curriculum studies and is used in many social science fields.

The expansion of narrative inquiry led Connelly and Clandinin to say that narrative inquiry is positioned *in-between* abstract, formalized, inquiry, and concrete, empirical, factual inquiry. Clandinin and Jerry Rosiek expand the formal side to a set of philosophical assumptions at three formalistic inquiry borders with narrative inquiry—postpositivism, Marxism and critical theory, and poststructuralism. However, the reductionistic boundary is most important for curriculum researchers. For example, in the United States, where accountability and student achievement are powerful forces in the context of the No Child Left Behind Act, the experiential, holistic quality of narrative inquiry often runs counter to a reductionistic input-output focus in the school curriculum.

### An Example of Narrative Inquiry

Shijing Xu studied newcomer-Chinese family experience of curriculum in Canada. Though much was known about the achievement levels and career trajectories of Chinese newcomers, their curriculum experience was mostly an unknown black box. Xu *experienced the experience* by working intensively in one school and its community for 4 years. She participated daily with language teachers, regular teachers, settlement workers, parent center director, school administrators, parents, students, and community workers. She spent time in classrooms, homes, and parents' places of work. She joined in family and community social gatherings, and she participated in a wide variety of school curriculum and school–community cultural events. Following a lengthy trust-building process, she served as a cultural bridge between home, school, and community. Teachers and school administrators asked her to translate and to intercede with students and parents. Parents and children came to see her as an advocate able to understand their culturally and linguistically derived questions and sources of tension. Every day after returning from the field, she made computerized field notes and

filed-collected documents. Based on her experience and the field texts, she showed how intergenerational family narratives, traced back to Confucian times in China, interacted with Canadian cultural, educational, and curriculum narratives. She showed how newcomer-Chinese experience of the curriculum was understandable in terms of the intersection of intergenerational narrative threads as the two cultures interacted in the curriculum. This experiential understanding led to policy suggestions emphasizing reciprocal, cross-cultural, curriculum possibilities.

*Shijing Xu and F. Michael Connelly*

*See also* Ethnographic Research; Experienced Curriculum; Phenomenological Research; Teacher Knowledge

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## NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

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Also known as “The Nation’s Report Card,” the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) originated in response to demands for indicators of the results of large government expenditures for curriculum development in the aftermath of *Sputnik* and the country’s fear that the Russians educational system was exceeding that of the United States. Billed as the gold standard of education assessments and the only nationally representative and continuing assessment of what U.S. students know and can do, it is currently administered periodically in mathematics, reading, science, writing, the arts, civics, economics, geography, and U.S. history. The instrument today, however, is different in both form and function from what was originally envisioned by its creators, most notably Ralph Tyler.

Varied interpretations of NAEP’s key purpose are suspected as the cause for its several incarnations since the first version in 1969. Disagreement on the matter of purpose was present even at NAEP’s inception, as can be noted by the stories of two key players, Tyler and Francis Keppel, the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Keppel was seeking precise data to support policies of the federal

government and turned for advice to Tyler, whose reputation as head of evaluation for the Eight Year Study and experience as director of the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford made him a logical choice. Tyler agreed in 1963 to chair the Exploratory Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education (ECAPE), to be underwritten by the Carnegie Corporation. He recognized the inadequacy of existing standardized tests for providing information about the educational attainments of large numbers of people of various ages over time. The task of providing the census-type portrait of U.S. educational achievement and the wealth of information it could provide for educators required an objectives-based model, akin to that of the Tyler Rationale.

The difference in Tyler and Keppel’s motivations is subtle, but powerful, and concern over the connection of educational assessment to public policy making was one of the first difficulties Tyler had to negotiate. Historically, curriculum scholars have had qualms about standardized testing. As early as the 1927 *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, they noted it as one of the most effective forms of curriculum control, and they decried its tendency to emphasize memory of facts to the neglect of more dynamic instructional outcomes. Even some of ECAPE’s members expressed misgivings that NAEP might eventually drive a national curriculum. School administrators, stung by criticism after *Sputnik*, were especially concerned, fearing both the loss of local control and the use of assessment for comparison purposes.

Tyler labored to allay the fears of administrators and state superintendents. Citizen panels were formed to provide input on appropriate learning objectives for the targeted ages of 9, 13, 17, and “young adult.” The assessment was designed to consist of “exercises”—short-answer questions and performance tasks, as well as multiple-choice items. They would be read aloud for subjects other than reading, so that even poor readers could demonstrate what they knew. Because the goal was to provide the public with concrete, specific evidence of the skills and knowledge of respondents, reporting by overall test score would have no meaning. Instead, results would be reported for individual exercises, showing the estimated percentage of the population or subgroups that answered each

exercise correctly. ECAPE committed to reporting results by age and demographic group, but not by state, school, or individual.

Resistance waned when the Education Commission of the States took charge of the test in 1969. However, the first iteration of NAEP was not fully administered before social and political conditions began chipping away at its design. In addition to gradual changes over the years, a major redesign occurred when responsibility for it was transferred to the Educational Testing Service in 1984. Increasingly, NAEP was expected to provide information for policy making, information that often conflicted with its basic design. Contrary to Tyler's vision, it has now been reformulated for interstate comparison, and results are reported in terms of what students should know and be able to do at three levels of achievement: basic, proficient, and advanced.

NAEP is now governed by the National Assessment Governing Board, appointed by the secretary of education. The National Center for Education Statistics retains responsibility for NAEP operations and technical control.

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*See also* National Curriculum; Tyler, Ralph W.

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## NATIONAL CURRICULUM

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National curriculum is a public representation of what are considered the purposes of education at a national level, and it serves as a documented map of theories, common beliefs, and ideas about

schooling, teaching and learning, and knowledge—evidence in the development of teacher-proof curriculum. National curriculum is generally developed and mandated by a national jurisdiction to provide the same basic education to all students mainly in public schools across a country. National curricula commonly establish national standards for the performance of all students in the subjects they include. They mostly incorporate overarching legal statements that outline how teachers can modify, as necessary, curriculum programs of study to provide all schoolchildren with relevant information at main key stages.

Many developing countries and countries in transition to market economies have a highly centralized education and state-mandated national curriculum. The main argument of proponents of a national curriculum in these countries is that there is need to promote greater uniformity across education systems to help students required to transfer across regional boundaries. Another argument is based on the economic rationale that nationwide curriculum promotes financial effectiveness through the sharing of limited resources across systems, such as curriculum materials and curriculum development. Furthermore, the proponents argue that a national curriculum concerned with teaching all groups a common language, cultural heritage, and set of common values is a major instrument to develop a sense of national identity. For them, decentralization of curricula development will work against this aspiration.

Until the 1960s, the United States had decentralized but remarkably similar curriculum identities in many individual states, confining their curriculum development to visits by key officials organized to exchange information and ideas. At the beginning of 1970s, the centralized administration of each state began to ensure that there was uniformity of provision across the state boundaries to provide the same basic education to all children within the state. This rationale of establishing commonality of official curricula across state boundaries—so that students who move to another school district or even to another state are not disadvantaged—has been a recurring matter since the early 1970s. Furthermore, the ideal of U.S. common curriculum was charged with teaching future U.S. citizens a common language, a code of



conduct, shared values, and common ideals while providing the same experiences, the same curriculum, and the same opportunities to all students.

After the Education Reform Act 1988, England, Wales, and Northern Ireland developed their nationwide curriculum for primary and secondary state schools to ensure that state schools of all local education authorities have a common curriculum, which secures an entitlement to an equal education for all citizens. However, opponents note that the largely centralized production of these “official” national texts has resulted in a codified curriculum producing a new social order reflective of dominant groups.

During the 1990s and early 21st century, many developing countries began to initiate the process of decentralization of curriculum development and of localization of curricula in national and local specific contexts in view of ensuring greater responsiveness to local needs and realities. Today in many of these countries, there have been pressures from regionally based ethnic and language groups to develop their own curricula, teach in their own languages, and administer their own schools. In Spain, for example, initially the Basque and Catalan regions gained the right to manage their own educational systems and develop their culturally responsive curricula, followed later by other regions.

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*See also* Hidden Curriculum; Teacher-Centered Curriculum; Teacher-Proof Curriculum

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## NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

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The National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE) was an organization of scholars, professional educators, and policy makers. Among these members, the NSSE strove to create a vigorous, inclusive dialogue that addressed educational problems and focused on the relationships between pedagogical research, policy, and practice. To catalyze this dialogue, the NSSE hosted meetings, engaged in interorganizational conferences, and published a two-volume, annual yearbook.

Having originated from the National Herbart Society (1895–1901), christened for the revolutionary educational thinker, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), the NSSE was founded in 1901 and published its first yearbook in 1902. Each yearbook was thematically centered on a particular educational issue that interested the general public and the NSSE’s members. For instance, the 1983 Individual Differences and the Common Curriculum issue contained articles about the multifaceted nature of individual differences and how curricular designers can accommodate student variability. Similarly, the 1988 Critical Issues in Curriculum edition contained articles about tracking, testing, textbooks, and other compelling educational dilemmas and practices. Initially, such topics were investigated and written about by an assembled committee, but later authors were solicited to individually contribute. The ultimate goal for the volumes was to provide a foundational perspective of the topic.

To provide this foundational but pluralistic perspective, the NSSE has featured such eminent and diverse authors and editors as John Dewey, E. L. Thorndike, Lawrence Kohlberg, Benjamin Bloom, and Jerome Bruner. Such efforts resulted in much praise for the yearbook from the academic and educational communities. Despite these efforts, the NSSE had been occasionally criticized for being too conservative, dismissing progressivism, and having an overly cabalistic and cloistered board of directors. But these problems were not as severe and consistent as NSSE’s low membership.

Membership dues were an important source of income, and ultimately the lack of members and other related factors rendered the NSSE financially

unfeasible. Thus, at the conclusion of 2008, the NSSE no longer functioned as a membership society. The NSSE's assets, including its yearbooks, became the property of the Teachers College Record (TCR), at Teachers College, Columbia University, in New York City. Under TCR's auspices, the yearbook has continued its publication, and the NSSE's archives have been digitized.

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*See also* Curriculum, History of; Fundamental Curriculum Questions, The 26th NSSE Yearbook; Language Arts Education Curriculum; Mathematics Education Curriculum; Science Education Curriculum; Social Studies Education

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## NATION AT RISK, A

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*A Nation at Risk* was issued by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, which found poor academic performance at every level of schooling. Signaling the development of new priorities for the federal government's approach to education reform, it was used by President Ronald Reagan's administration to frame the education debate in cold war terms and warned of a "rising tide of mediocrity." The report equated the state of education in the United States to an "act of war" and made direct comparisons between the economic competitiveness of the U.S. economy and other countries, particularly Japan, South Korea, and Germany. Additionally, the report cited a number of "indicators of risk" that included declining SAT scores; low student scores in literacy, science, and math; and poor showings on international comparisons of student achievement.

The commission placed the blame for these academic shortcomings on incompetent teachers and lazy students and offered the following recommendations, some of which have had moderate success, as noted below:

- Calling for strengthened graduation requirements, the report stressed a core curriculum and recommended that all students take a minimum of 4 years of English, 3 years of mathematics, 3 years of science, 3 years of social studies, and one-half year of computer science. In 2005, the U.S. Education Department found that 36% of high school graduates had completed such a curriculum, improved from 26% in 1990.
- Schools and colleges should adopt more rigorous and measurable standards for academic performance. Although some state standards aimed high, critics report that most states have selected tests that do not measure what is actually taught. Critics also contend that an unintended by-product of this recommendation is a teaching-to-the-test mentality that has resulted in a curricular reductionism that gives little attention to curriculum content not assessed by accountability tests. Many districts now impose test-preparation drills on their teachers and students rather than teaching all academic subjects.
- The amount of time students spend engaged in learning should be significantly increased to 7-hour days with a 200- to 220-day year. Only a few charter schools have extended days and the school year, but most public school systems have not.
- The teaching profession should be strengthened through higher standards for preparation and professional growth, and salaries should be professionally competitive. Although a recommendation in this 1983 report, this became mandated through the No Child Left Behind Law of 2001, when every teacher had to be "highly qualified."
- Citizens should hold educators and elected officials responsible for leadership and fiscal support to drive reform. Although many governors have called themselves "education governors," few have chosen to reform public schools. Rather, they have chosen to support school vouchers and choice options.

Truly a watershed moment in educational policy, the report served as a demarcation for the start of the curriculum standards movement. It also inaugurated a series of attacks on public schools and ultimately united politicians and businessmen into claiming control over the country's public education system.

In 1989, the nation's governors met in Charlottesville, Virginia, with President George H. W. Bush. The general consensus at the education summit was that despite grave concerns announced in *A Nation at Risk*, little had been accomplished in terms of student achievement. In a final press release, conference participants stressed the need for creating a "system of accountability" and called for more systematic reporting of school, district, and state performance; increased parental choice; school-based management; and alternative certification for teachers. Thus, Bush's education summit represents a pivotal turning point because it links the politically driven, but essentially unmandated, *A Nation at Risk* of 1983 to the legal enactment of national education policy that culminated in President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act.

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See also Accountability; Achievement Tests; Deskilling; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind

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on educational programs and practices to be funded by the federal government. The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), enacted in 2002, specifically states in more than 100 of 200 references on educational research that such research be "scientifically based." In NCLB, scientifically based research is defined as that work involving objective and rigorous procedures resulting in valid and reliable data applicable to educational activities and programs. The meaning of the term *neocolonial* stems from political theory and was first used by the Ghanaian scholar, Kwame Nkrumah, in 1965, to describe the continuing imperialism exerted by the former colonial powers on the newly sovereign African states primarily through economic and monetary measures. More recent analyses of neocolonialism emphasize the importance of cultural, social, and political factors in addition to the original, narrow economic focus. In its imprimatur of scientifically based research in education, the federal government indirectly devalued all other forms of educational research, resulting in the use of the term *neocolonial research* to describe a form of imperialism exerted through the funding and through the culture of federally sanctioned educational practices.

Subsequent to the passage of NCLB, the National Academy of Sciences published a guide on the application of scientific research (SR) to education. The academy established six principles for acceptable scientific research:

1. SR poses significant questions that can be investigated empirically.
2. SR links research to relevant theory.
3. SR uses methods that permit direct investigation of the question.
4. SR provides a coherent and explicit chain of reasoning.
5. SR replicates and generalizes across studies.
6. SR discloses research to encourage professional scrutiny and critique.

To manage the funding and dissemination of SR in education, the federal Institute of Education Sciences (IES) was established and replaced the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. The use of randomized experiments became the

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## NEOCOLONIAL RESEARCH

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*Neocolonial research* is a term applied to the form of education research designated by the U.S. federal government as the dominant form of research

gold standard of research designs and constituted those research projects most likely to be funded and endorsed by the federal government.

Alternative forms of education research—such as research based on qualitative methods and grounded in postmodernism, poststructuralism, cultural, critical, critical race, and feminist theoretical approaches in which knowledge is construed as complex, multifaceted, contextual, and thereby, problematic—were deemed questionable from a scientific design perspective. As a result, the IES has funded very few studies based on these alternative forms of research. The singular focus of the federal government on SR in education reversed several decades of advances for alternative research approaches. Beginning in the 1970s, education research methods shifted to the qualitative paradigm as a result of the difficulties of the then-dominant paradigm of quantitative and SR in measuring educational significance and in determining causal models because of the preponderance of interaction effects within the context of schooling.

In addition to directing the form of the production and dissemination of research, the federal government also required funded programs to show evidence of applying the findings of SR to their practice, thus adding curriculum to the federally defined domain of acceptable research practices. One curricular area most affected by these requirements is reading, specifically the federally funded Reading First programs for low-income students. Based on the findings of the National Reading Panel (NRP), Reading First programs require schools that receive grants to focus reading instruction on phonemic awareness, phonics, developing fluency, vocabulary, and text comprehension. To receive funding, states must also demonstrate to the federal government how they will assist school districts in ensuring that local districts that receive federal and state funding have engaged in professional development for teachers based on scientifically based evidence, an additional expansion of the use of neocolonial research. The political process, funding, and results of SR in the Reading First programs have come under increasing scrutiny regarding the reliability of SR across samples and, therefore, the replication of Reading First programs. Policy decision making has also been affected by contradictory SR findings

in the areas such as the charter school research and the federally supported voucher program in the Washington, D.C. schools, leading educational experts to conclude that that no single research study can provide the definitive answer to application of research to curriculum or policy because of the limitations of data and the complexity of schooling and community.

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*See also* Colonization Theory; Critical Theory Research; No Child Left Behind; Phenomenological Research; Postcolonial Theory; Qualitative Research; Quantitative Research; Quasi-Experimental Research

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## NEO-MARXIST RESEARCH

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Neo-Marxist curriculum studies is a field of inquiry concerned with the complex connections between broad, economic structures and inequalities and the everyday production of school knowledge. Often called the “new sociology of education,” neo-Marxist research in curriculum studies explores how class inequality is “naturalized” through the school curricula. That is to say, it is concerned with how official school knowledge or curricula is complicit in the reproduction of class inequality. The earliest, most important work in this field emerged from the United Kingdom (e.g., the work of M. F. D. Young, Geoff Whitty, and Basil Bernstein)



and France (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron) during the mid-1970s before becoming more pronounced in the United States during the 1980s (e.g., Michael Apple and Jean Anyon). In many respects, neo-Marxist curriculum studies was a response both to dominant structural-functionalist models of schooling (e.g., Émile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons) as well as more orthodox Marxist ones (e.g., Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis). The current rising tide of neoliberalism and its attendant, global economic stratifications and inequalities has brought renewed attention to this field of inquiry.

### Structural-Functionalist and Orthodox Marxist Models of Schooling

Structural-functionalist models of schooling were dominant throughout most of the 20th century. Such models of schooling assumed society a well-functioning, integrated whole. The primary purpose of schooling was to maximize social efficiency by sorting young people according to their ability and potential. The goal was to maximize “human capital”—that is, to use human resources most efficiently to maximize the broad social capacities of the nation-state. The cold war brought these concerns to the forefront during the late 1950s, particularly in the United States. With the USSR’s launch of *Sputnik* in 1957, many were concerned that the United States was falling behind in the sciences, leading to a renewed interest in public education.

These structural-functional notions of education were questioned during the 1970s. In their famous book, *Schooling in Capitalist America*, Bowles and Gintis argued that schools work to reproduce deeply classed and inherently unfair social relations. More than anything, schools work to “sort” young people into a stratified and deeply hierarchical capitalist system, one that exploits the labor of the working class to the benefit of elites. As Bowles and Gintis famously argued, school reform was largely a hopeless endeavor in a capitalist system. Family income was a far greater predictor of future social class than was IQ or school achievement. As with structural-functional work, schools were treated here as “black boxes.” The particularity of school curricula and everyday teaching and

learning practices were not considered important or relevant. The macrolevel perspective exhausted all possible discussions and questions.

### Key Scholars

Work in the “new sociology of education” opened this so-called black box, looking at all the ways in which curricula itself worked to effect social and economic reproduction. Much of this work was drawn together in the highly influential volume, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, edited by Young. This collection included contributions by (among others), Young, Bernstein, and Bourdieu—all of whom would be critical for the field.

Like many neo-Marxist curriculum scholars, Young was interested in the connections between social stratification and knowledge stratification. In particular, he was interested in the ways schools marginalized working-class youth by producing arbitrary and unfair distinctions between “high” and “low” status knowledge. The former is so-called pure, rather than applied knowledge. Such knowledge operates at the level of broad generalities, not specificities. This distinction helps explain why vocational education is typically marginalized in school settings. Often attractive to working-class youth, this kind of education is often marked as low status. For Young, these distinctions between high and low status knowledge help explain why schools do not serve the needs and interests of working-class youth.

In arguing for this, Young underscores a point that would be critical to the new sociologists of education—that knowledge itself was a social construction. This insight creates a critical space to think about the curricula as a politically contested construct. Curricular knowledge is not simply “given” but a function of power. This raised a series of questions, including these: Who controls the curricular knowledge? And whose interest does it serve? For Young and others, this is not only a question of curricula content. It is a question of how knowledge itself was organized. More specifically, Young was interested in the question of how knowledge becomes specialized and how this specialized knowledge falls under the purview of the elite. Indeed, the separation of knowledge into

discrete disciplines was itself a function of power. All of this worked to create specific kinds of knowledge stratifications that helped maintain broader kinds of social stratifications. For Young and others, the pressing question was one of social class.

Bernstein was another key figure in neo-Marxist curriculum studies. Bernstein's earliest work looked at class differences and language use. Bernstein was interested in the linkages between symbolic structures, broader structures, and everyday experience. More specifically, he was interested in how social orders reproduce themselves through microlevel speaking practices. Yet, he was not only interested in describing these practices. He was interested in developing a way to understand how language use could critically intervene in the reproduction of unfair social structures. Throughout his career, he was interested in finding ways to prevent the marginalization or "wastage" of working-class talents.

Bernstein soon took up questions of education and the ways language practices prepare youth for school success in distinct ways. In early articles such as "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge," first printed in *Knowledge and Control*, Bernstein explored the ways curricular knowledge is "framed" in school settings. Bernstein was less interested in the particular content in educational curricula than in the formal dimensions of how knowledge is dispensed and controlled. Bernstein highlighted the idea that different kinds of knowledge (e.g., different school subjects) can be rigidly separated from each other or can be more loosely interpenetrated. He called the former "collection code" type of curricula and the latter an "integrated code" type of curricula. As he argues, classification is about the relationship between curricular contents—not their content per se. This classification can be strong or weak. For Bernstein, the degree of "boundary maintenance" between different kinds of knowledge was a function of power. Bernstein was also interested in the ways teachers and students were able to "frame" curricular knowledge in pedagogical settings. Here, Bernstein was interested in whether students and teachers could freely rearticulate these boundaries or not. A key question becomes to what degree students can introduce their own everyday knowledge into school settings.

Bernstein was thus centrally concerned with questions of power and authority in school settings, with particular attention to how knowledge is organized and disseminated. Like Young, he was interested in the ways in which broader social hierarchies were connected with and instantiated in the organization of school knowledge. This work wrestled with the ways decisions about knowledge or curricula stratification could both support and disrupt broader social stratifications. The focus was primarily on questions of social class.

Another key scholar in neo-Marxist research in curriculum studies is the French sociologist Bourdieu. Beginning in the 1970s, including in the volume *Knowledge and Control*, Bourdieu raised a series of questions and issues that proved central to neo-Marxist curriculum studies. In 1977, he published, with Jean-Claude Passeron, the seminal *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. This volume brought together and crystallized many of his most central insights for the field. Like others in neo-Marxist curriculum studies, Bourdieu was centrally concerned with showing how school curricula served the interests of the elite, even as it appeared neutral and disinterested.

More than anyone, Bourdieu raised important questions about the nature of "elite" cultural activities and the process by which they become legitimated. As Bourdieu argued, so-called high art forms enter a certain intellectual field that is controlled by and serves the interests of the elite. This intellectual field—and its associated critics, teachers, other artists, and so forth—confers a particular kind of legitimacy on these forms. These elite art forms are often quite different from those privileged by the working classes. So, for example, classical music is privileged above interior design or cookery. The particular power of these distinctions is that they do appear as "elite." Their power is made to appear natural and immutable.

Schools play a particular role in this process. For Bourdieu (and Passeron), schools reward the cultural dispositions of the elite, translating them into different kinds of success and achievement. In particular, schools translate the "cultural capital" that elites typically grow up with into "economic capital." In turn, schools marginalize working-class youth—committing a kind of "symbolic violence" on them. For Bourdieu, this violence is arbitrary, as are these cultural distinctions. They

work only to reproduce the power of elites—here, through school knowledge.

Anyon and Apple are perhaps the most prominent and important neo-Marxist researchers in curriculum studies in the United States. Beginning in the late 1970s, Apple and Anyon brought these concerns to the United States. Apple's important first book, *Ideology and Curriculum*, looked at the ways in which school knowledge was (borrowing from Raymond Williams) the result of a "selective tradition" that worked to maintain capitalist hegemony and produce capitalist ideologies. Drawing on Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci, Apple saw school curricula as a site of struggle—one of resistance and incorporation—though largely around issues of social class. Like the neo-Marxist scholars noted earlier, Apple was interested in showing the power of the curricula to appear neutral and disinterested. The technocratic and seemingly "scientific" approach to curricular knowledge and human capital belies their service to the elites.

Anyon's work started a more explicitly empirical approach to the question of the production and dissemination of school knowledge—though one firmly rooted in neo-Marxist theory. In particular, Anyon looked at the ways different types of schooling prepared youth for different kinds of relationships to work. Her great achievement here, however, was to open the so-called black box and explore how this all worked. She looked at the attitudes of school personnel to knowledge, the role of curriculum-in-use, as well as young people's perceptions of knowledge. All had different implications for one's class position. For example, in various pieces, Anyon shows how working-class youth and teachers had a rule and skill-oriented relationship to school knowledge. One had to learn the most rudimentary responses to what were perceived as arbitrary questions and problems—so-called drill and skill. Creativity was not encouraged. These students were being prepared to follow the orders of their bosses in menial labor type jobs. Young people here do not have an active relationship to knowledge. As one moves across the class spectrum—from workingclass, to middleclass, to affluent professional, to elite schools—one sees young people having more and more control over school knowledge and the curricula. In elite schools, the "right answer" is not stressed. The nature of problem solving is. That is to say, these

youth are being prepared to set the rules for others—to have absolute control over knowledge. All of this implies different relationships to the curricula across numerous disciplines.

### New Directions

Many of this generation of neo-Marxist critics have expanded their work to address other kinds of inequalities. For example, Cameron McCarthy's well-known work has looked at the nonsynchronous relationship between class, race, and gender, assuming all need to be looked at in context-specific ways. McCarthy challenges the often reductive or additive forms of multiculturalism that became most pronounced in the United States during the 1980s. McCarthy's work retained the traditional neo-Marxist focus on the materiality everyday life. That is to say, he stressed the ways in which the relationship between these forms of difference are complex and contradictory and need to be explored "on the ground." While remaining tied to the traditional neo-Marxist focus on economic inequality, McCarthy examines how gender and race can complicate seemingly deterministic or isomorphic relationships between and among them. Like many neo-Marxist curriculum scholars, McCarthy focused largely on how these dynamics were embedded in particular texts—specifically, works of art and literature.

Apple has remained perhaps the most prolific of neo-Marxist curriculum scholars in the United States. However, his work has moved in several new and interesting directions. Most specifically, his recent work has focused on the ways in which the "new Right" has drawn together four distinct power-blocks in forming a new kind of alliance. These are the new, managerial middle class; evangelical Christians; cultural conservatives; and adherents to neoliberal economic policies. New economic regimes—in particular, those associated with deregulation and neoliberal reform—have had to justify themselves with these new kinds of connections and associations. As Apple writes in *Educating the "Right" Way*, the rise of No Child Left Behind legislation in the early 2000s worked in tandem with neoliberal economic logics. More than anyone, Apple has stayed attuned to school knowledge and the evolving and increasingly exploitative logics of capitalism.

### Current Challenges

Neo-Marxist curriculum researchers today face several new challenges. As Young argued in a recent retrospective, the field has not developed a viable, alternative curricula to the one offered in school settings. The work has remained largely critical, often assuming the primacy of a de facto “common curricula” of the people. That is, if schools offered a largely “pure” and disconnected curricula that did not draw on the lives of the working classes, the solution would be an applied, vocational curricula that drew on the strengths of these groups. As Young argued, this was largely a fruitless effort to “flip the binary,” and did not answer more fundamental questions about which knowledge is most worth teaching.

Yet, the need for such work is pressing. In particular, global economic shifts over the past 20 years—marked by the rise of neoliberalism and neoliberal logics—have been profound, concentrating increasing amounts of wealth in the hands of very, very few. We are experiencing the largest income shift since 1929—a period often referred to as “the gilded age.” On one level, we see this evidenced in the well-documented move from an industrial to a postindustrial global economy where more and more young people will spend their lives working in service sector jobs that provide minimal income, few if any benefits, and little job security. Thus, further research regarding the role of school knowledge in reproducing and contesting these economic inequalities is needed.

*Greg Dimitriadis*

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Curriculum, History of; Gramscian Thought; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Social Justice

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## NEW LITERACY STUDIES

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*New Literacy Studies* (NLS) refers to an approach to literacy and literacy education underpinned by three central ideas. First, literacy is seen as a communicative tool, with the emphasis firmly placed on its intersubjective aspects. In other words, the starting point for analysis is the way humans use texts to symbolize and transmit information to each other. Second, literacy develops to meet social needs, and this is true for literacy across societies and for individuals. When there is a task for which text use is necessary or desirable, then literacy strategies will develop. Third, and arising from these first two points, it may make more sense to talk about multiple “literacies” than a singular “literacy.” Taken together, these ideas have significant implications for the teaching of reading and writing and have been summarized as a “social practices” view of literacy. There are strong indications that the insights of the NLS have gone far beyond the immediate field of literacy teaching and learning.

The NLS developed during the “social turn” of the behavioral sciences in the 1980s and, in common with other developments of that era, features strong cultural relativism. There is resistance to the notion that any particular form of literacy is inherently more effective or valuable than any others. Any literacy practice is valuable to the extent that it is appropriate for its social context. The question of whether an approach to text is right or wrong



depends on its adherence to the set of norms within which it operates, and the notion of a standard orthography is undermined. To make this idea more concrete, consider a note on a fridge door that says “M. Sal etc.” This note exists within a specific social practice of literacy and communicates quite clearly to those engaged in that social practice; to them, the note means something like “Michael, remember to pick up salad vegetables and fruit when you pass the market on your way home from work.” This use of text is highly localized, but that does not make it less valuable, or less useful in literacy learning as a manifestation of textual production activities.

The NLS emerged in opposition to two central tenets of the approach to literacy dominant until the 1980s—what Brian Street referred to as the “autonomous” model of literacy. First, within the autonomous model, literacy was considered a set of individual cognitive skills, with reading typically broken down into lexical access and comprehension. More fluent readers were considered to have stronger skills, with implicit acceptance of the notion that there was a single continuum of skills involved in reading. Second, this model viewed literacy as an independent variable that brings about a series of effects such as cognitive development, economic development, and social progress. In this view, societies evolved from oral to literate stages, with the development of literacy having a profound effect on the society in supporting logical thought, extended territorial holdings, and the development of commerce.

NLS challenged this model and instead argued for what Street called an “ideological” model of literacy, which held that literacy practices are never just neutral skills, but are always embedded in social and cultural contexts. More than this, literacy practices are implicated in struggles over power, resources, and meanings. NLS scholars are skeptical of the idea that literacy changes people or societies, believing instead that literacy practices are essentially reactive, created and shaped within specific sets of human relationships.

The earlier views of literacy emphasized the cognitive processes and tended to regard comprehension of text as a rather mysterious process that depends on the undefined “schema” of the individual readers. In contrast, the NLS writings tend

to take the opposite stance, underemphasizing the mental work of textual interaction. So although the NLS is strong on antithesis to the psychological models and provides some invaluable insights, it has not yet offered a true synthesis of the individual and social processes of reading and writing.

The NLS has significant implications for the development of curricula and the practices of pedagogy. It suggests that there is the potential for a fruitful interaction of school and home literacy practices, with each supporting the other. For example, students can be encouraged to develop skills in both local and official literacies, rather than privileging school literacies. The NLS view also promotes the notion that learning should proceed from real life language use and social scenarios to more abstract ideas. Instructional time spent on understanding the social context of students’ text use will be highly beneficial to the learning process because it so profoundly affects what can be learned and how it will be learned. There is also a need to work from desired tasks to the skills that will support them. For instance, trying to learn grammar in the abstract will always be less effective than is learning it through the process of learning to communicate through writing. The way adults learn a new language illustrates these issues quite effectively. Learning a language through interactions with others who speak that language, in real life contexts where there is a need to speak that language, is more effective than is trying to memorize verb tenses in the abstract. The NLS would support the same process for interacting with texts and would see this as being more than a matter of learning styles. To these analysts, working with language, written or oral, is an irreducibly social experience.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental pedagogical implications of NLS is the reinforcement of diversity among learners. Students approach language, and indeed every subject, with experience and abilities already in place, and these are used as resources to construct meaning in new contexts. Rather than viewing the curriculum as a one-dimensional checklist of items to be covered, the idea of social practices encourages educators to blur the framing of learning, allowing the pace, sequence, and outcomes of learning to be more flexible.

The NLS conceptualization of literacy also holds implications for literacy research—namely, that one cannot research “literacy” as if it were something that exists independently from some social context. Instead, researchers must examine concrete practices of literacy—*literacy events* as Shirley Brice Heath calls them, or *literacy practices* in Street’s terms. *Literacy practices* refer to how reading and writing are used socially, and what meanings individuals make of their reading and writing practices. With the New Literacy models, there has been a shift in many literacy research projects toward more qualitative methods that focus on the social, cultural, and power contexts of literacy practices; research within the New Literacy Studies addresses social contexts and social change using methods such as ethnography and qualitative inquiry.

Educators and researchers in schools have explored the implication of the NLS quite extensively, looking at issues such as the way teachers protect and reinforce school-centered literacy practices and the way identities and social practices of literacy come together. In summary, the New Literacy Studies offers a range of interesting and insightful perspectives on the ways people interact with text in different settings. There is some way to go, however, in applying and developing these insights into a coherent educational approach. The attempts that have been made remain partial, strongly challenged by the difficulty of taking a highly relativistic theory and using it as a frame for defining the knowledge and practices to be valued in the classroom.

*Jennifer A. Sandlin and Ralf St.Clair*

*See also* Cultural Literacies; Reading; Whole Language/ Reading Issues

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## NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

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The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 is the reauthorized version of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), originally passed in 1965 and signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson that year. The ESEA is the main federal education law and sets forth the conditions under which local public schools and districts receive federal aid. The terms of the law are revisited every 7 years, the most recent revision being passed by Congress in 2001 and signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002. NCLB has defined and redefined all forms of public school curriculum design and development and has transformed contemporary directions of research in the field of curriculum studies.

The changes from earlier reauthorizations was generated by frustration that the ESEA, originally a part of the Great Society, seemed to be ineffectual at bringing about authentic change in schools. There has been apparently little impact on those populations that the law was designed to benefit, specifically the children of the poor and people of color. Internationally commensurable studies of student achievement such as the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) made clear that in comparison with children from other nations, U.S. students were performing poorly at best.

Great volumes of educational criticism and critique have been generated in recent years with many of curriculum studies leading spokespersons—Deborah Meier, George Wood, TheodoreSizer, and Linda Darling-Hammond—actively and publicly involved in activities of opposition and protest.

### Transparency

The great curriculum projects of the past such as the Eight Year Study were public events in which

teachers worked together to build the frameworks that were to drive great teaching and learning. Even the day-to-day school curriculum is a public thing in that curriculum programs are purchased or developed publicly. Teams of teachers convene to examine curriculum and instructional materials to ensure that such materials are appropriately aligned with state standards. Teachers work together over summers to prepare units and lessons that will be enacted during the school year. However, once the teacher takes responsibility for the curriculum, its public persona is transformed into a private enterprise. Individual teachers even at the same grade level pursue their own vision of instruction, curriculum, and assessment. The NCLB has the potential to alter this pattern in which public curriculum mutates into a private, almost secret activity.

The NCLB requires that publicly developed standards are to govern the day-to-day work of the teacher. Whatever curriculum is used must be consistent with those publicly displayed standards. All children are to be tested on a regular pattern. Although testing is hallowed by tradition, under NCLB, such testing must be aligned with the instructional goals derived from the standards, and more importantly, the results of such testing are both public and open. In the past, schools were able to bury their failures in the “average” of all the test scores from a cohort of students. Under NCLB, test results must be reported by subgroup, for example, English language learners (ELL). The test results must be publicly reported so that the results for all subgroups are presented. Finally, there is a standard metric for identifying the progress for students over time. To comply with NCLB, a school must demonstrate that each subgroup represented in the school has made “adequate yearly progress.” The measure adequate yearly progress (AYP) asserts that children should have the opportunity to learn what has been defined by the standards each year so that when the student is ready to go on to the next grade level or school, he or she knows what is required to be successful at the next level.

These four NCLB imperatives—public standards, public tests, public accountability, and a common and public metric for progress—have the potential to transform curriculum studies. The

public curriculum discourse, though producing new ideas and approaches, is crippled by the fact that the enactment of curriculum has been a private act. There are signs that the habit of private enactment is changing. The new emphasis on professional learning communities is one such sign. The requirements of NCLB provide the incentives to make the entire curriculum enactment cycle transparent.

Yet, NCLB has also proved highly controversial because it has expanded significantly the federal government’s role in education by establishing three NCLB mandates—accountability for results, highly qualified teachers (HQT), and scientifically based instruction (and research)—causing public outcry and leading to carefully articulated criticisms of NCLB-generated practice.

*John T. Holton*

*See also* National Assessment of Educational Progress; Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

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## NODDINGS, NEL

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Nel Noddings (1929–), U.S. philosopher of education, is widely recognized for contributions across her illustrious career to curriculum conception and reform. Across her writings, curriculum has always held pride of place; for her it is the backbone of schooling. And in effect, no reform should be undertaken without its specific attention. Emblematic of this curriculum emphasis, in 2000, Division B, Curriculum Studies, of the American Educational Research Association, awarded

Noddings its Distinguished Career Award. Central to an international reputation, her prose is direct, pithy, and accessible, and is thus useful to scholars and practitioners alike. Occasional paraphrasing from key texts is sprinkled throughout this entry.

Noddings's biography mirrors her general commitment to education through a multiplicity of opportunities and based in the contributions of each individual to a democratic society. From working-class roots, she earned undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees from Montclair State, Rutgers, and Stanford universities, respectively. Her professional life began as a mathematics teacher, curriculum developer and school administrator, and college instructor. A faculty member at several institutions, her principal tenure was at Stanford University as assistant and full professor and as a dean. She often taught courses that focused on or included curriculum theory and application. By 2008, she was the author of 16 books and had published individual pieces almost too numerous to count. She is also a frequent speaker in the United States and elsewhere. Among many honors, she was elected president of the National Academy of Education, the Philosophy of Education Society (North America), and the John Dewey Society.

From a beginning in mathematics education, Noddings's curriculum interests have developed in support of a comprehensive reform position for schooling and education broadly. A basic premise is critique of today's dominant standard and standardized liberal arts curriculum. This is because no persons are exactly alike and schooling should not support such an explicit or implicit agenda. Instead, there should be a rich array of attractive curricula and facilitation for informed choices by students.

Moreover, although predominantly employing language of needs and wants rather than rights, she posits that the present age of "accountability" has meant unrealized equal outcomes and continued inequity. Societal resources matter as does continued discussion of aims of education. For Noddings, aims, accountability, and opportunity become matters of ethics. Both for individuals and society, the general model is one of relation and encounter. The ethical ideal is relations between persons in ordered pairs that are extended to relations with others. Noddings poses that education for ethics occurs for the young through well-chosen

encounters and their effects to trigger deep affect. Genuine relations through genuine encounters multiply.

Across writings, educational and curriculum reform is substantiated through a set of thematics. Surely not exhaustive of curriculum topics, they include her position toward mathematics, proposal for a broad vocationalism, specific focus on the personal lives and everyday interests of children and adults, and attention to the contributions from women's culture for the benefit of everyone. First, Noddings loves mathematics (for many years, a small blackboard principally for working math problems was prominent in her Stanford office). The educational point, ironically and significantly, is that for her everyone need not love mathematics and there should be no strict, narrow requirements for mathematics for everyone. As one outcome of student choice and curriculum differentiation, Noddings offers a general proposal for schools to promote happiness. One arena of personal happiness is preparation for work, as the second theme and as a broad conception of vocation in the curriculum. As across much of her theorizing on curriculum, she begins with critique of existing practices. In this case, schools seem to have forgotten that work is for more than economic preparation. A much-needed curriculum reform is to educate for a wide set of occupations—to appreciate any honest work and to be exposed to and explore many kinds of formal and informal work in the curriculum.

A third thematic is concentration in the curriculum on personal life in the everyday interests of children and adults and particularly in open discussion of different views about them. A recent book on "critical lesson" attends to such everyday matters as home, parenting, religion, and war that are rarely if ever considered. Again for emphasis, Noddings supports preparation for life in a liberal democracy through choice among rich course offerings. Principles of curriculum organization (here at the high school level) include sequential study and location of these topics within the culture of the disciplines, and from these origins, practical applications to everyday use.

Finally, this entry would be remiss without mention of Noddings's feminist theory, tied to leadership and major contributions to an ethics of care. Valuing women's culture in the lives of everyone,



this is the fourth curriculum theme. In earlier writings, she proposes specific study of caring—for self, intimate others, and strangers; for animals, plants, nature, and culture; and for ideas. A later emphasis has been on incorporating the historically significant interests, daily lives, and work of women. As she puts this, in making women’s traditions significant in curriculum, one can start at home. Armed with diverse but ideal conceptions of home, the educational process is to move outward to learn what it means to be cared for, to care for close others, and finally to care about those distant. Women’s private occupation of caring thus becomes public commitment. Across her career, in sum, attention to ethics in society, schooling, and especially to curriculum has been the foundation of Noddings’s significant philosophical contributions.

Lynda Stone

*See also* Caring, Concept of; Curriculum Change; Curriculum Purposes; Equity; Liberal Education Curriculum; Participatory Democracy

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## NULL CURRICULUM

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The concept of the null curriculum initiates a critical analysis of curriculum that explicitly seeks to attend to that which is absent, left out, and overlooked how curriculum is conceptualized, created, and enacted. The null, or nonexistent, curriculum, in directing focus on what is *not* present, brings to the field of curriculum studies an

important theoretical tool for considering that which is *not* offered to students, and the potential educational significance and effect of such neglect. As such, the null curriculum keeps alive the classical curricular concern and question most famously expressed by Herbert Spencer in 1860—“What knowledge is of most worth?,” alternately asking what of worth has been unaddressed, left out of what constitutes knowledge, in the curriculum. Additionally, here the null curriculum raises awareness about the deliberative nature of curriculum work itself, by which selections are made and omissions committed ceaselessly based on decisions regarding what is valued, or not. In its explicit address drawing attention to the curriculum that is not, was not, but could have been, the null curriculum also implicitly offers scholars in the field an interpretive impetus for imagining possibilities for the curriculum that might be.

In his 1979 analysis of the “educational imagination” at work in designing the curricula of schooling via its program offerings, Elliot Eisner coined the term *null curriculum* to identify one of three forms of curriculum he posited the school “teaches” its students. Distinguishing the null from the curriculum explicitly introduced and that offered implicitly, in describing a curriculum constituting what schools do not offer to or do for students, Eisner highlights the intellectual perspectives and processes unavailable to them, and raises questions about the educational significance of what is left unattended via schooling, of what is taught by omission, *in absentia*. He notes how, for instance, visual and metaphorical thinking is neglected in favor of verbal and logical reasoning—also calling attention to the art implicit in curriculum work, which requires imagining what is not present as if it were, to better understand and transform what is.

A source of debate, the emergence of the null curriculum concept can be situated within a larger call for reform, begun in the 1960s, aimed at inquiring into how schools overtly, tacitly, and unintentionally fail students and systematically produce consequences of ill-effect. Postulating a formally authorized curriculum and attempting to identify other curriculum forms operative in relation to it—unsanctioned, yet influential and enduring in effect—this criticism has generated a variety of curriculum distinctions for analysis, that is, the

unstudied, unwritten, lived, and hidden curriculum. The null curriculum, among them, has been called ambiguous and operationally indefinable, but its usefulness as an analytical and speculative device is largely acknowledged nonetheless. This has brought into view much that has been formerly ignored and generated new alternatives for curriculum thought and practice for consideration. Scholarship issuing from the null curriculum has explored broad educational exclusions with respect to social class, race, and gender, for example, as well as particular silences, such as neglecting the Holocaust in school curricula. Extending Eisner's academically oriented conception, such scholars have suggested that the null curriculum consists largely of those aspects excluded from the curriculum because of emotional content or potential conflict, reflective of differences in basic values, and beliefs about the purposes of schooling.

The null curriculum foregrounds these important questions in the field of curriculum studies concerning how we define curriculum itself, and to what ends. Some argue that it brings into relief, too, the abundance of confusion and disagreement among scholars on these points. Reflecting a historical shift in focus on the development of curriculum to its analysis, the null curriculum also

portends the abiding significance of addressing the context in which curriculum is created, having foreshadowed and informed the canon debates, multicultural initiatives, and inclusion efforts deemed so fundamental to present work in the field. The null curriculum continues—given marked educational inequity, an unprecedented explosion of knowledge, and an increasingly diverse, global scene, wherein at issue is not only *what* knowledge is of most worth, but also *whose* and *for whom*—to make its contribution to the field in addressing these vital concerns.

Molly Quinn

*See also* Curriculum, Definitions of; Eisner, Elliot; Hidden Curriculum; Official Curriculum; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## OBJECTIVES IN CURRICULUM PLANNING

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Objectives are statements that describe the endpoints or desired outcomes of the curriculum, a unit, a lesson plan, or learning activity. They specify and describe curriculum outcomes in more specific terms than goals or aims do. Objectives are also the instructions or directions about what educators want the students to be able to do as a result of instruction. Considered essential to goal setting and planning curricula, objectives aid students, teachers, and parents by specifying the direction of the curriculum and goals. Typically written by school districts, schools, and individuals, objectives also help ensure that educational processes are aligned and that instructional activities are directed toward the defined outcomes or learning.

There are several criteria for ensuring the appropriateness of objectives. Objectives must be developmentally appropriate and attainable by students within a short period. They must be properly sequenced so that prerequisite skills are accomplished before those objectives that require more complex skills. Objectives must be in harmony with the overall goals of the curriculum as well as with the goals and philosophy of the institution.

Objectives are generally considered the most specific aspect of the curriculum following the philosophy, aims, and goals. The philosophy of education is the mission of the overall curriculum or content area, and aims identify the overall direction of the curriculum. Goals are broad statements

that indicate the long-term outcomes that educators hope to achieve. For example, a school may state that its long-term goal for first graders is that they will be able to read. A corresponding objective might be that first-grade students will be able to read a 100-word developmentally appropriate passage orally with five or fewer mistakes. Thus reading instruction might be developed around enhancing the students' decoding skills, sight-word recognition, and developing oral fluency. In this manner, objectives indicate the lesson outcomes and help communicate the intention of the teacher's instructional strategies. Objectives also assist educators by helping them (a) focus instructional planning, (b) plan appropriate instructional activities, and (c) create or develop valid evaluation procedures. Objectives also signify to students what behavioral changes or observable actions teachers expect them to demonstrate as a result of the student-teacher interactions. Objectives may also provide a rationale about why particular learning activities are used.

Objectives can specify behavioral or nonbehavioral outcomes. Behavioral objectives are written in terms of specific and observable behaviors. Supporters of behavioral objectives favor observable behaviors because they are measurable, unambiguous, and useful toward guiding instructional activities. Behavioral objectives easily and clearly communicate desired target behaviors. These types of objectives are written using verbs that indicate measurable or observable behaviors such as "state," "recognize," "evaluate," or "create." Behavioral objectives guide the development and design of the

curriculum planning by suggesting a sequenced, precise, and compartmentalized approach to actions and outcomes. Nonbehavioral objectives are written using such words as “know,” “understand,” and “appreciate.” Nonbehavioral objectives allow for a more open-ended curriculum and integration of subject matter.

Those who oppose the use of preformulated objectives claim that behavioral objectives limit learning opportunities and activities to only those that can be measured and, thus, ignore the affective and spiritual dimensions of the students. For example, not all educational activities, such as a field trip to swim with the manatees have preformulated objectives, yet this does not mean that this experience was not fruitful or educative.

Educators who decry the unrelenting force and narrowness that a single view of what counts as legitimate suggest that if there is only one correct way to do something, others who hold other values or perspectives are likely to be left out of the educational process. This criticism is amplified by the use of criterion-referenced tests that reinforce an emphasis on limited conceptions of objectives.

Teachers can use three domains of learning when planning curricula, defining goals, and writing objectives. Written objectives can be classified into the cognitive, affective, and physical or psychomotor domains. Traditionally, curricula have been written to reflect an emphasis on the cognitive domain. These classification formats help teachers organize learning activities and the objects of phenomena into a hierarchical order. Each taxonomic level specifies skills, competencies, and understandings that define the outcome. Benjamin Bloom developed the well-known cognitive domain taxonomy. His revised taxonomy has been organized into six levels: remember, understand, apply, analyze, evaluate, and create. The taxonomy is incremental. Skills and competencies build on the preceding level of skill development. Taxonomies have been developed for the affective and physical domains also. They are useful for developing and writing educational objectives that designate different levels of accomplishment.

Although objectives may be written in different ways, they generally have three distinct and descriptive parts: (1) the student task, (2) the conditions under which the student is required to perform the task, and (3) the performance standard. The task

is written clearly so that the student knows what he or she is required to do. Second, the conditions are specified and may include the materials that students will use, the number of minutes allotted to complete the task, or identification of the type of task such as homework, quizzes, or individual assignments. The performance standard identifies the level of achievement that the student must demonstrate to clearly meet the objective.

When creating objectives, particular attention must be paid to matching, worth, wording, and appropriateness. Objectives should match and relate to the goals and aims from which they are derived. Educational objectives should be worthwhile to the student’s present learning needs and have utility beyond the required task. Educators, supervisors, and students must be able to comprehend the written objectives in such a way that the objective is only open to one interpretation. Appropriateness refers to the degree of attainment because not all students need to attain the same learning outcomes.

*Linda S. Behar-Horenstein*

*See also* Achievement Tests; Classroom Management; Curriculum Design; Curriculum Development; Goals 2000

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## OFFICIAL CURRICULUM

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The official curriculum can be simply defined by the way curriculum itself has been traditionally understood: as the course of study, body of courses, or program of training at a school or university. However, this conception fails to address its analytical significance in the field of curriculum studies, where attention is directed specifically at



what is formally sanctioned by schools or other institutions of learning through their explicit educational offerings. To speak of the official curriculum is also to raise questions about the relationship between knowledge and power, ideology and institution—the politics of education and teaching, and processes of standardization, legitimation, and accountability that come to define what constitutes curriculum. Representing an authoritative response to the classical query concerning what knowledge is of most worth, whether actively endorsed or critically interrogated, the official curriculum affords an object of analysis for clarifying educational purpose and responsibility, providing direction for instruction and assessment, and articulating the meaning of educational success.

Since the unofficial emergence of the curriculum field with Franklin Bobbitt's 1918 publication of *The Curriculum*, many scholars have sought, in defining curriculum, to address such concerns and expand upon understandings that are limited to that which is explicitly authorized. Making curriculum distinctions via descriptors such as *official*, *hidden*, *informal*, or *enacted*, curriculum scholars seek to challenge the tenacity with which traditional notions of curriculum, confined to the formal, have held sway and remain dominant in educational thought and practice. Much attention to the official curriculum, then, has been oriented around its exploration in relation to the “unofficial,” that which falls outside curriculum so narrowly conceived.

David Hamilton reveals, however, the officiating function curriculum has served since its introduction into an educational context in the 16th century. Locating the first such use of the word *curriculum* in an administrative effort of authorities to bring order to the programs of study offered in the universities of Northern Europe during the Protestant Reformation, he elucidates the ways in which social and political forces direct how and what curriculum is officially established, and to what ends. Focusing on a more contemporary—and U.S.—context, Herbert Kliebard documents a history of struggle over authorization of the official curriculum among various groups representing conflicting interests and differing ideological commitments. Encompassing complex compromises and even contradictions among competing constituencies, the curriculum as

formalized, rather than neutral or given, is shown to be a result of deliberation, and even under negotiation.

Michael Apple has done much to direct attention to the official curriculum, specifically his analysis of the “official knowledge” subscribes and promulgates via schooling. Apple's critique posits that these struggles and negotiations are, in fact, obscured, and myriad ideological endorsements unexamined, in a presentation of the official that lays claim to objectivity and common sense. Rather, such claims are powerfully operative in cultivating taken-for-granted policies and practices in education that are profoundly value laden and politically motivated. For example, he lays bare the politics of the adoption of textbooks in the United States. Analyses of authorized textbooks, state curriculum standards, and federal educational policies have also been similarly initiated, to uncover the ideological positions authorized in them and explicate what knowledge is privileged, devalued, or excluded by official definition. For Apple, what is sanctioned is democracy as dominantly defined by the free market, citizenship as conceived in the individual consumer, and knowledge valued as a commodity.

With heightened concern and controversy regarding accountability in education—particularly via high-stakes testing and scripted curriculum, and shifts in the capacity and control of knowledge production via globalization, the official curriculum promises to hold continuing and contested interest and importance for the field. What scholars share is a recognition that the official curriculum lies at the heart of schooling, communicating the most important messages to youth about what we value and why we educate, and thus is of abiding significance as an object of study and potential reform.

Molly Quinn

*See also* Formal Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Official Knowledge; Standards, Curricular

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## OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE

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Official knowledge is the explicit academic content that students are intended to learn and the often-implicit social content that both lies within and contextualizes academic content. Because of its particular blend of academic, social, explicit, and implicit knowledge, official knowledge shares its borders with at least the following three central aspects of curriculum studies: (1) hidden curriculum, (2) formal curriculum, and (3) institutionalized text perspectives. This entry focuses on questions of knowledge and its reproduction through the processes of schooling.

Over 130 years ago, Herbert Spencer wondered what knowledge is of most worth, a question that has served as a touchstone for inquiry about the content teachers deliver and students learn in schools. Official knowledge can be understood as a given society or culture's responses to this question. The field of curriculum studies understands knowledge to be socially constructed. Because official knowledge represents the academic content that those with the power to decide what successive generations of a society should come to understand as important, official knowledge embodies dominant norms and values.

Concerns about dominant norms and values fall into two categories. On one hand are concerns about the ways in which dominant ideas and ideals reify existing sociocultural and socioeconomic categories in their own image. Through this process, people (in this case, students) who most resemble those in power have the greatest likelihood of finding their ways of being and knowing represented in school. On the other hand are the ways in which dominant norms and values reproduce particular constructions of knowledge. As with all standardized versions of knowledge, it is not simply the categories around and through which students come to know about their worlds, it is the content itself.

Michael W. Apple's *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* is

perhaps the most well-known work in curriculum studies on this topic. Apple shares with many curriculum scholars an understanding of curriculum and knowledge as a social construction. From this perspective, knowledge and curriculum are decisions about what "counts" as important information from myriad possibilities, a selective tradition rather than a listing of infallible truths or facts. In this text, Apple traces how a coalition of not necessarily commensurate conservative groups have worked at realigning what education reform means, who is responsible for current educational failures, and the solutions for such educational failures that their reforms provide.

Central to Apple's argument is an understanding of changes in how equity is conceived by this coalition. Instead of being seen as related to oppression and marginalization of *groups*, equity is constructed as a need to guarantee *individual's* rights within a social, economic, and educational free market. Through this lens, educational problems are recast as individual shortcomings without regard to the sociocultural, economic, or other contexts that affect the knowledge students receive in schools.

Solutions for such shortcomings are often provided through a seemingly contradictory motion of tightening what knowledge means and how it is measured while increasing the private (business) sector's access to children in schools and the construction of what knowledge means for students. This pincer-like motion has created the space for ideas such as school vouchers where parents can use public monies to send their children to private schools; standardized assessments that create a mask of objectivity through which nonmajority populations are constantly measured as intellectually deficient; and multiple points of entrée for business into schooling. Apple argues that such movements are possible because they resonate with U.S. common-sense understandings of schooling and the ideas that have in many ways often been present throughout the history of education in the United States.

The seemingly common-sense nature of dominant norms and values and the notion that such understandings have always been present are shared in many scholars' talk about and around official knowledge. For example, scholars such as Ray Rist, Harve Varenne, and Ray McDermott

present a powerful argument about the construction of schooling as a success and failure binary. Rather than possessing inherent traits that render them as successes or failures, such scholarship argues that students are acquired by the sociocultural contexts that surround them—contexts that reflect dominant norms and values that reify existing constructions of what school knowledge means and who counts as successful. Similar to Pierre Bourdieu’s construction of *habitus*, these authors contend that the injustices of this construction that unfairly measure students against one another are perceived to have been *always already there* and therefore often go unquestioned.

Predating *Official Knowledge* by more than 20 years, Michael F. D. Young’s edited volume *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* contains many of the themes and perspectives central to what has come to be called *official knowledge*; Nell Keddie’s chapter on “Classroom Knowledge” is but one strong example. The topics and ideas presented in this volume are particularly prescient, noting the common-sense nature of knowledge, how knowledge is normative, as well as some of the ways in which such normalization positively affects some students at the expense of others.

In sum, *official knowledge* is the term used in curriculum studies to indicate academic and social content that is important to the dominant group that has the power to construct knowledge in its own image. Although this knowledge may well indeed be important to a given society or culture, official knowledge also reifies sociocultural and socioeconomic divides. As the scholars presented in this entry demonstrate, these divides tend to consistently disadvantage nondominant groups while maintaining the dominant group’s dominant status.

Walter S. Gershon

See also Bourdieuan Thought; Formal Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; Institutionalized Text Perspectives

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## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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During the tenure of Dean George Arps of the College of Education from 1920 to 1937, individuals and projects came together that set the course for curriculum studies at Ohio State University for nearly 60 years. The people included Boyd H. Bode, W. W. Charters, and Laura Zirbes. Arps lured Bode, a distinguished philosopher, to Columbus, Ohio, and to education in 1921. Three elements of Bode’s philosophy shaped the pattern of curricular thinking that emerged in the college. Bode argued that curriculum development necessarily requires both a theory of mind or intelligence and a social theory, that the two necessarily go together. These elements were joined by a third, general education as that education essential to learning the ways of democracy required by all students. Bode argued that every aspect of schooling taught a way of life and that way of life should be explicitly democratic.

Charters came to Ohio State University in 1928 to direct the Bureau of Educational Research. Charters’s model of curriculum development, known as job or activity analysis, began with determining ideals and activities arising from good performance of the many activities of life. These were analyzed into units to be arranged logically and prioritized according to importance and time availability. Next, the best approaches to teaching the ideals and activities were identified and, finally, ideals and activities were arranged in an order that most suited the material and how children learn. In contrast to Bode, Charters asserted that ideals were objective and enduring.

Zirbes also came to Ohio State University in 1928 where she served as professor of elementary education. Within the college, Zirbes elevated the importance of school experimentation, founding a summer demonstration school to develop and test progressive practices in the classroom and later serving as director of research within the laboratory school. Her use of workshops and various experimental classroom practices served as venues for exploring the educational implications of democracy at the early childhood and elementary school levels. Additionally, she championed aesthetics and in her own practice modeled creativity as essential components of effective teaching.

Ohio State University housed the Eight Year Study. As a member of the directing committee, Bode brought to the forefront democracy as a guiding ideal, a position Charters came to embrace. The Ohio State University School, one of the participating 30 schools, was founded explicitly to test Bode's theories of education. Opening in 1932, the school and several of the later directors gave leadership in developing the programmatic implications of democracy as a way of life and, in varying degrees, experimentalist conceptions of mind.

Bode, Charters, Zirbes, and the activities of the Eight Year Study profoundly influenced the history of curriculum across the nation as well as at Ohio State. Charters brought Ralph W. Tyler to the Bureau in 1929. Occupying offices across from one another, Bode knew of Tyler's innovative approaches to assessment. Tyler was appointed in 1934 to direct the evaluation of the study, an experience that would significantly shape his curricular thinking. When one reviews the Tyler Rationale, the influence of both Bode and Charters is apparent—Charters's in its logic and Bode's in the place given to philosophy and learning theory. Zirbes was a guiding force behind the University School, considered one of the six most experimental schools participating in the Eight Year Study.

Charters's interests are also apparent in the curricular work done within the college on the use of radio and other media to facilitate learning. Here, two members of the bureau, I. Keith Tyler and Edgar Dale, both close associates of Charters, are important. A third member, Ross Mooney, pioneered independent work in creativity, perception, and adult development that later stimulated criticism of established technical approaches to

curriculum development. After Tyler's departure in 1938, others associated with Charters and the Bureau continued innovative work in curriculum evaluation and assessment.

Each of the elements of Bode's thinking shaped several of his students' careers. A leader in the study and, from 1938 to 1941, the director of the University School, Harold Alberty became a major proponent of core programs for general education. Following publication in 1947 of the first of three editions of *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*, Alberty's needs and social problems-based core became increasingly influential nationally. Working as a teacher in the University School and later as a curriculum associate within the study, H. H. Giles, who studied with both Charters and Bode, pioneered teacher-pupil planning, an essential aspect of successful core programs and key to developing the qualities of democratic citizenship. Of Alberty's many students, Paul R. Klohr, University School director from 1952 to 1957, and William Van Til, a core teacher and later distinguished professor, continued to develop the core curriculum. Later in his career, Klohr encouraged the formation of "the reconceptualist movement" in curriculum studies that is associated with his student William Pinar.

Bode's influence flowed directly through his student Alan Griffin and Griffin's many students, three of whom taught at Ohio State for many years: Robert Jewett, Frank Buchanan, and Eugene Gilliom. Lawrence Metcalf and Maurice Hunt, also Griffin students, grounded their text, *Teaching High School Social Studies*, in ideas presented in Griffin's 1942 dissertation, *A Philosophical Approach to the Subject Matter Preparation of Teachers of History*. Coming from Bode, a central idea developed by Griffin and embraced by these authors was the opening of closed areas of social life, including student beliefs, to reflective inquiry and to the connecting of beliefs to social issues to further democratic social theory.

Professors of curriculum associated with Ohio State also are important in the history of the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development. Several Ohio State professors and former graduate students served on the executive committee and as association presidents including William Van Til, Kimball Wiles, Arthur Combs, Harold Shane, Alexander Frazier, and Jack Frymier



in the 1960s and 1970s. Frymier came to Ohio State in 1962 and retired in 1984; while president, he initiated the School for Tomorrow project, which led to development of the Annehurst Curriculum Classification System, a delivery system for managing materials and individualizing instruction. Although supportive of the value of philosophy in curriculum development, Frymier's work signaled a break from earlier traditions.

*Robert V. Bullough, Jr.*

*See also* Albery, Harold; ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Bergamo Conference, The; Eight Year Study, The; Reconceptualization; Zirbes, Laura

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## ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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Since its founding in the late 1960s, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto has been a resource for study of how curriculum is implemented and enacted by teachers and interpreted by students through the innovative scholarship of Michael Fullan, F. Michael Connelly, John P. Miller, Roger Simon, and D. Jean Clandinin. A cadre of graduates expanded applications of the narrative inquiry to new populations and cultures.

A graduate of the University of Toronto with a doctorate in sociology, Fullan served as dean of OISE and as policy-implementation advisor to the Minister of Education and Training in Ontario.

Fullan has been internationally recognized for his study of institutional change and the factors that promote or inhibit sustained reform. Fullan's initial interest in this subject was study of curriculum implementation and why various curriculum innovations of the later part of the 1960s and into the 1970s never became standard practice in elementary schools. In a review of research with Alan Pomfret, Fullan described the complexity of the process of translating a curriculum reform into lived practice, contingent on the character of the reform (clarity, complexity), the strategies used to implement the change (professional in-service, resources), the character of the unit that is implementing the reform, as well as the character of the macropolitical unit that promoted the reform. Fullan's studies evolved from investigation of the process of curriculum change to considerations of when institutional change can be regarded as successful reform by achieving and sustaining its goals. For the past four decades, Fullan has examined various enacted curriculum implementations and served as authority, counsel, and critic of variations on how to realize curriculum reform. His own proposal, in working with Ontario elementary schools, is that the classroom is the most effective unit for effecting change, with curriculum innovation personalized to the needs of each child. Curriculum and instruction are developed to these needs, however, without hardwiring a curriculum that is teacher-proof, and supported by a system of professional learning for teachers that is relevant, evaluative, and directed to regularize the reform in classroom practices.

F. Michael Connelly came to OISE shortly after its establishment as a graduate studies program, having completed his doctorate at the University of Chicago where he studied with Joseph Schwab, Benjamin Bloom, and Philip Jackson. Initially focusing on curriculum planning and improving science education, Connelly's investigations brought him to consider what a curriculum became and meant when intersected with the lives of teachers. Interest in expanding the conversation on ways of studying curriculum prompted Connelly to found and serve as initial editor of *Curriculum Inquiry*. In collaboration with his student D. Jean Clandinin (University of Alberta), Connelly developed a model of inquiry that used narrative to explore the ways that knowledge was organized

and integrated by teachers. Through examination of diverse artifacts, they sought to provide a credible, defensible description of how curriculum became realized in the classroom. Using professional artifacts, interviews, conversations, and most particularly through storytelling and re-telling, teachers were encouraged to craft an awareness of and relate their decision-making processes. Through these studies, how individual teacher knowledge constructs and experiences continually interact to inform and transform curricular practice was revealed. With this examination of teachers' knowledge came the conviction that narrative is a primary organizer of knowledge, a method of storing and retrieving professional insights that is able to convey emotional context as well as guiding principles and schemes for situational problem solving.

In addition to the direct influence of Fullan, Connelly, and Clandinin on curriculum studies, John P. Miller has been a leader in the promoting of the holistic education movement, integrating wisdom traditions, spiritual awareness and alternate modes of knowing into teaching of the humanities. Roger Simon offered an ethical argument that teachers be aware of their role as cultural workers and consider the social import of their labors with learners, exploring tacit ways that social transformation is either limited or promoted. Jim Cummins has been a major contributor to the development of bilingual education and education in a multicultural society.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also Handbook of Research on Curriculum, The; Narrative Research*

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## OPEN CLASSROOM AND OPEN EDUCATION

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Open education is a theory of education based on the principle that education and its curriculum should be active, fluid, and individualized. The primary concern of open education is to facilitate meeting educational goals while fulfilling the unique, individual potential of each child. Open education is particularly relevant to curriculum studies because of this flexible format. Originating out of various grassroots communities, open education incorporates many differing theories of education. It is sometimes referred to as *informal* education.

Modern open education in the United States has been greatly influenced by the primary education system of England. During an educational revolution after World War II, many English educators began incorporating ideas that would later become open education. In 1967, the English minister of education commissioned a report assessing aspects of primary education and called attention to changes made using open education approaches, urging all other schools to adopt similar practices. This report was commonly known as the Plowden report. Its observations influenced many educators, including the early childhood educator, Lillian Weber. Having visited England, Weber returned to the United States an advocate for open education, directing further influence toward open education. Likewise, Canadian politician Joseph Featherstone brought attention to the open education system in a series of articles for *New Republic* in 1967. Since that time, England has incorporated open education into its nationwide program. Conversely, open education in the United States has been confined to private and laboratory schools, reaching its peak popularity in the late 1970s to the early 1980s.

A description of an open classroom appeared in a 1970 issue of *The Saturday Review*, written by Ronald Gross. This article summarized four basic practices of the open classroom: (1) decentralization and organization of space into smaller, flexible units; (2) encouragement toward individual and group exploration/activity within that space; (3) incorporation of diverse, hands-on educational material; and (4) individual/small-group educator-led instruction.

Curriculum in open education revolves primarily around the individual student. It emphasizes individual interests, and highlights the influence learning materials and their arrangement within a classroom may have upon children. Although the starting point of learning is the children's experiences and interests, this is not by any means the extent of it. Open education is often misunderstood in this regard. Educators in an open classroom may often follow a specific, daily curriculum. This curriculum is supplemented and altered through interaction to complement spontaneity. Therefore, although lessons may be taught and learned, the manner in which they are done so is rarely repeated.

Open curriculum emphasizes context as an integral part of education. To maintain context-given content, open curriculum suggests integration. One section of the Plowden Report, "The Need for Flexibility and Balance," describes how teachers in England have successfully integrated subject-based curriculum into context-based curriculum. Open classrooms, like many of their traditional counterparts, recognize that subject division may obscure context.

Integration may be achieved in numerous ways. Many students and classes choose a specific area of study or problem to resolve. Along with their study, students may write, calculate, and perform any number of experiments or activities ranging through all areas of learning to achieve their objective. With unnecessary barriers removed, subjects such as writing may be taught as tools for learning a subject of interest, rather than as a particular subject to be learned. Often projects are sparked by a first hand experience that children may share in the classroom. Experiences may be spontaneous—such as observing birds from a window, or planned—such as a day trip to a farm. Together, they serve as a springboard for learning, by either generating interest for learning or being initiated by the child.

Although open education and open curriculum have become foundations of learning, individual assessment remains controversial. When evaluating personal progress, many educators rely on performance with standardized testing. Open education educators argue that precisely because of the varied, individual ways children learn, standardized testing is rendered meaningless. Although

the United States was able to observe a model of open education via England, no such precedent has been set for academic assessment. Ronald Gross, in *The Saturday Review*, acknowledged that England has not experienced the same pressure for assessment as the United States has. Although tests and assessments vary, children taught through open education in the United States have performed as well as their peers in traditional systems. Though open education assessments were initially influenced by traditional assessment, the influence of open education back upon those traditional systems can be distinguished today in practices such as portfolio and authentic assessment.

*Barbara Morgan-Fleming and Nora Phillips*

*See also* Informal Curriculum; Piagetian Thought; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## OUTCOME-BASED EDUCATION

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Outcome-based education (OBE) is a student-centered, results-oriented instructional system that focuses on those processes by which each student in the school is able to demonstrate what he or she knows and is able to do to a predetermined level of attainment. In its focus on clearly specified student outcomes as the curriculum, OBE differs from traditional education that emphasized school inputs, such as Carnegie units, known as "seat time," as indicators of student achievement. The original conceptual framework for OBE was based in the Benjamin S. Bloom's Learning for Mastery model and in the theoretical work of

John B. Carroll, which asserted that as many as 95% of students could achieve mastery of a topic or a task if differential instruction that maximized the quality of instruction, the understanding of the instruction, and the time allowed for needed instruction was provided to the student.

In the 1980s, mastery learning expanded from individual classrooms to districtwide implementation of the model, and the term *outcome-based education* was adopted to identify this instructional system. In an OBE system based on mastery learning, learning was not a finite resource but was unlimited, allowing the potential of every student to be maximized and not regulated by a belief in the random distribution of intelligence. By the 1990s, many school districts in the United States, Europe, Asia, and Australia were implementing OBE and were reporting gains in student achievement, in particular for lower-income students and for students who were not in the upper 20% of the district student population. In 1992, Pennsylvania became the first state board of education to reformulate its state curriculum to include measurable student learning outcomes, later to be termed *academic standards*.

In an outcome-based system, what the student is expected to learn is clearly identified as an objective/standard and the student demonstration of the learning to be acquired must be measurable. The level of student achievement is measured via multiple assessment means, ranging from selected response tests to performance-based exhibitions. Multiple instructional strategies are used over time until the student reaches a satisfactory level of achievement. The design of the strategies involves an ongoing teacher reflection and analysis based on the learner's needs. The student outcome, the instructional strategy, and the assessment means are clearly aligned in the instructional model.

During the early development of OBE systems, student progress was based on criterion-referenced rather than norm-referenced assessments. Local districts determined the outcomes, the strategies, and the assessments; if required by their state, local student outcomes were aligned with state standards. However, as a result of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) and its requirements for state defined academic standards and for state standardized tests to assess student achievement, local districts have had less and less control over

the development of student academic outcomes, the form of assessments, and the design of the instructional strategies.

In the mid-1990s, William Spady and other proponents of OBE developed what they called "transformational" OBE, in which curriculum planners expanded the scope of learning outcomes beyond essential academic knowledge and skills to include higher-order thinking skills, affective values, and social behaviors. Many parents and community members considered the expanded learning outcomes too vague and overly directed at academically average or weak students, and questioned how certain outcomes, for example, the development of student tolerance to diverse groups would be assessed. Their opposition in several states led to a narrowing of learning outcomes and their being renamed "academic standards" and the elimination of psychological or values outcomes. NCLB mandated that each state develop a set of academic standards in reading, mathematics, and science for Grades 3 through 8 and Grade 11; in effect, these standards defined each state's curriculum for these subject areas.

*Cheryl T. Desmond*

*See also* Individualized Education–Curriculum Programs; Mastery Learning; Standards, Curricular; Taxonomies of Objectives and Learning; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*

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## OUTSIDE CURRICULUM

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*Outside curriculum* refers to the purport and patterns of teaching and learning that occur in



nonschool contexts of life. As with school curricula, outside curricula could be analyzed in terms of diverse venues: intents or explicit policy dimensions; hidden or implicit dimensions (sometimes referred to as *hidden curriculum*); aspects that are part of the act of instruction, or taught curricula; tested curricula, relatively narrow bands that are subjected to evaluation; learned curricula, or that which is acquired and applied from the educational experience; embodied curricula, or that which becomes part of a person's existence and guides his or her life. Thus, outside curricula are those dimensions of life experience that help shape a person's outlook and ways of negotiating the world. Outside curricula should not be confused with the *extracurriculum*, often referred to as *extracurricular activities*; the latter pertain to clubs and organizations sponsored by schools and often conducted in after-school hours or specially designated times during the school day. Examples of extracurricular activities include band, choir, sports teams, yearbook committees, school newspapers, service organizations, interscholastic sports teams, intramural sports, subject matter clubs, theater and drama, honor societies, and many more. Sometimes extracurricular activities lead students to outside curricular experiences that are totally apart from the purview of the school. This is part of the realm of outside curriculum as treated here.

The literature has more recently referred to outside curricula and *public pedagogy*, in writings of Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren, and others. William Schubert used the term *outside curriculum* in the 1980s, calling first for its study to augment understanding of school curriculum by providing a more complete understanding of each student. What students learn from their home and family, culture, language, community, religion or unbelief, nonschool organizations (from scouts, sports, dance, and music to gangs, peer groups, and other informal relationships), mass media (television, radio, video, videogames, CDs, comic books, magazines, books, and the Internet), jobs or vocations, hobbies or avocations, and more. Illustrative questions follow vis-à-vis the forgoing topics, which are in turn followed by curriculum topics or categories that could be used as a basis for analyzing and interpreting the curriculum implicit or explicit in each.

### Illustrative Outside Curricula

The many ways outside curricula have been conceived are sampled here through illustrative questions. Literatures in sociology, anthropology, political science, history, geography, communication, and the like could be sources of research and theory that could be tapped by those who want to better understand the myriad realms of outside curriculum that influence the growth, understanding, perspective, contributions, and lived experience of all human beings. A central point is that the education of anyone is derived from much more than formal, or even informal, experiences with school curricula.

#### *Home and Family*

The curriculum of home and family shapes human beings during their formative years, a phenomenon that many psychologists claim cannot be overestimated. How do families enable children to learn to talk, walk, socialize, pursue their interests, and meet their needs? What consciously orchestrated and unconsciously created configurations of experience derive from homes (or even from homelessness in the instances of the many who have no homes throughout the world) that shape human beings? This pertains to parents, older children and youths, and to members of extended families, as well.

#### *Culture*

The values, beliefs, social forms, and ways of living of particular ethnic, racial, or religious groups may or may not be incorporated in the school experience. What happens when school experiences bypass, disconnect, or contradict salient features of cultural curricula in the lives of learners?

#### *Language*

When school curricula are provided in a language that differs from a person's primary language, what are the effects? How does minimization of one's principal mode of communication contribute, intentionally or unintentionally, to the colonization process? What limitations in cultural understanding are wrought when a language is

used that obscures understandings only available in other languages?

### *Community*

To what extent is school curriculum in a given community consonant with the outside curriculum of the community that surrounds the school? What is taught and learned if the two are essentially incompatible?

### *Religion*

What perspectives or outlooks are conveyed when school curriculum is supported by a given religion? What are denied? Alternatively, if there is separation of church and state, as in the United States, how does the absence of emphasis on religion, belief, or unbelief shape learners? What formal and informal curricular assumptions underlie teachings of religious organizations? What formal and informal curricula contribute to agnostic or atheistic orientations?

### *Formal Organizations Outside of School*

How do each of the following illustrative organizations influence the character, events, perspectives, and consequential actions of those who participate in them? Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations have long offered formal curricula that lead to merit or proficiency badges and different ranks to designate achievement. Upon what assumptions do these curricula rest, and more profoundly, what messages are conveyed about service, regimentation, and the like by participation in such organizations? How do the myriad sports organizations, from Little League to the Olympics preparation, shape outlooks and lived values, by the inspiration, activity, and pressure extended to all who participate in them?

Similarly, what is conveyed by experiences provided by organizations that stimulate learners to experience or develop expertise in such organizations? What is learned about a topic being taught overtly, *and* what is learned about values, human relationships, and more? What teaching and learning occur in cultural organizations (such as community centers, museums, YMCAs), and how does this teaching and learning affect participants?

Again, what subtle messages are conveyed as accompaniments to overtly stated purposes?

How does a family history of participation in gangs, the secrecy of their linguistic expressions on walls pejoratively labeled graffiti, hierarchical relationships, experiences of induction and initiation, and modes of evaluation contribute to outlooks of participants? How do gangs represent contestation with and resistance of colonizing efforts of dominant society, and how have some gangs moved into activist spaces and social movements in attempts to acquire greater equity and justice, such as the Black Panthers in America? How do friendships, social groups, peer associations, marriages, acquaintanceships, and other relations shape outlooks and practices?

### *Mass Media*

It can be argued that the most influential curricula in the advanced postindustrial world are derived from mass media. Mass media influence (often via advertising) powerfully seeps into preindustrial cultures as well, often bestowing a globalized mind-set there, too. Such impacts stem, such as the following:

Situation comedies, family shows, music and its messages, talk shows, game shows, well-known personalities, and interpretations of news all shape outlooks, life styles, and even mannerisms. Although impact (and *class size* implications) of intentionally educational shows from *Mister Roger's Neighborhood* and *Sesame Street* to PBS specials and offerings on the Food Channel or the History Channel are powerful, the informal influence of Oprah, Johnny Carson, Barbara Walters, or the many fictional families, hospitals, soap opera relationships, law and crime-fighting groups, and comedy shows, all offer examples of how to think and be, of what to need (in addition to commercials that directly address such matters). How do all of these constitute curricula that shape who we are and who we are becoming?

Virtual worlds of the movies (large and small screen) and participation in videogames and computer games are couched in curricular orchestrations that allow freedoms and pose restrictions. What do they teach—both overtly and by the nature of the learning processes they engender? How do these worlds

influence, shape, control, and release our imaginations about what is or might be possible?

Although print materials (books, magazines, and hybrids such as comics) are diminished by comparison to the myriad images to which we are exposed on a momentary basis; they still have deep impact. Why do so many scientists talk of benefit in formative years from comic books which were considered taboo by their schools? Why do the young rise to the occasion to comprehend *Harry Potter*, the *Lord of the Rings*, Spiderman, and much more of modern and postmodern mythology, while in school the same students are earmarked as problematic learners?

Apart from profound substantive abundance provided by the Web, how has almost universal capacity to access and negotiate information and misinformation affected us all? How has the opening of myriad channels of communication emerged so profoundly with so little direct tutelage, so much informal interaction, learning by trial-and-error, and skill development through careful perception? and by careful perception? Then, how has the accessibility of information regenerated values, capacity for self-education, and communities (actual and virtual) of curricular exchange that saturate human lives with previously unimaginable learning?

### *Vocations and Avocations*

How do jobs experienced and occupations vicariously perceived in others shape our image of the past, present, and possible? From jobs that follow the rules (factory, military, fast food, and service industries) to vocations (including those with immense flexibility or work from home varieties) that deal with the invisible worlds of ideas, commodities, relationships, and values or understandings, how do they fashion outlooks? How do hobbies, from electronics and computers to popular arts, sports, and multifarious relationships create in many (who might otherwise be considered mediocre) vast storehouses of knowledge?

There is considerable overlap among these and related realms of outside curriculum. A central point is that if whole persons are to be educated, then those who develop curriculum in any of these realms must be aware of how those with whom they work are shaped by the other realms.

### **Exemplary Conceptual Schemes for Analyzing Outside Curriculum**

The same categories of analysis may be used to understand outside curricula as are used for interpreting school curricula. Employment of such analytic schemata is a principal basis of how the outside realms become phenomena of inquiry for curriculum studies. Some of the most prevalent conceptual schemes and their founders are illustrated in the following, and make possible diverse interpretations of curricula within the previously mentioned realms of life. For example, John Dewey asks of any curriculum whether it gives credence to the psychological as a starting point. By *psychological*, Dewey meant the interests and concerns of learners, as contrasted with the *logical*, that is, organized bodies of knowledge prepared by experts for dissemination. He advocated that curriculum be initiated through the interests and concerns of learner. Hollis Caswell initiated *expanding horizons curriculum*, that is, a progression from the home, to the neighborhood, community, state, nation, and world. Ralph Tyler developed a rationale that advocated consideration of purposes, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation, advocating that each should be informed by philosophy, psychology, social and political agendas, evolving conceptions of the disciplines, and learner interests and concerns derived from out of school realms of life. L. Thomas Hopkins and Harold Alberty called for integrated curriculum and core curriculum, respectively, each building curriculum from fundamental interests of students is in their own self-development and social responsibility. Jerome Bruner argued that curriculum should be developed according to the implicit structure of the disciplines, and that learners should be immersed in subject matter areas to acquire an intuitive understanding that resembles that of experts. Joseph Schwab admonished curricularists to focus on the enhancement of life in particular practical situations, by eclectically matching of extant knowledge to situational needs, adapting it to situations, and developing one's own capacity to anticipate possibilities. Schwab saw curriculum as a complex and dynamic interaction of four commonplaces: teachers, learners, subject matters, and milieus. Jack Frymier called for curricular attention to artifacts, actors, and events in curriculum. Louise Berman

offered a process-oriented curriculum of new priorities: perceiving, communicating, loving, knowing, decision making, patterning, creating, and valuing, as contrasted with conventional subject areas. In work with Brazilian peasants, Paulo Freire drew a stark distinction between what he termed *banking* and *problem-posing* curricula. He criticizes the former as commodified knowledge for social control, and advocates the latter to unleash insight from within the experiential understandings of people themselves. Like Freire, Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, and other critical theorists ask the following when taking stock of any given curriculum: How is knowledge reproduced? What are its sources? How do learners and teachers resist or contest it? What is realized by participants in the situation? What and whose interests are served? Do such interests liberate, and for whom? Who benefits and who is harmed? How can liberation be enabled for more, even all, of the participants? Kieran Egan suggests an alternative to the expanding horizons curriculum based on mythic, romantic, philosophic, and ironic phases of development. He calls for learning through story, not artificial analysis of concepts de-contextualized from learner experience of learners. William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet call for emphasis on the verb *currere* more than the noun *curriculum* in pursuit of understanding of one's present by excavating one's past and by imagining possibilities for one's future. John Holt and John Gatto have each also directly contributed to a form of curriculum, *unschooling*, that is intentionally or outside school curriculum. William Schubert emphasized that the central question of curriculum studies (What is worthwhile?) be the organizing center of curriculum experienced by learners in any situation. Their growth is enhanced when their learning is guided by asking, What is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, and contributing in my life? Although these orientations to curriculum differ considerably from one another, and although most of them have focused on curriculum in school, they readily can be applied to myriad realms of outside curriculum.

## Uses of Outside Curricula

Understanding outside curricula in any realms of lived experience has consequences for the growth of human beings. In combination with one another, realms of outside curriculum offer a kind of perspective that could be called *ecological*, that is, emphasizing patterns of relationships among environs that create us. Refined understanding of implicit and explicit influences of outside curricula provides more complete conceptualization of human growth and its sources. Although such understanding offers significant bases for decision and action vis-à-vis curricula of schooling, it significantly provides even more potential for illumination of the curricula embedded in a diverse and expansive landscape of human experience that can be called *educational*.

William H. Schubert

*See also* Currere; Curriculum as Public Spaces; Curriculum Venues; Hidden Curriculum; Holistic Curriculum; Home Independent Study Programs; Public Pedagogy; Subaltern Curriculum Studies; Unschooling

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## PARADIGMS

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The concept of paradigm within curriculum studies, shaped by Thomas Kuhn's influential work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, means a unifying theoretical framework of an academic discipline as well as a worldview. Paradigm shift occurs during times of great intellectual transformation as one paradigm is rejected and replaced by another, this usually taking place over a length of time as the original model becomes untenable in view of disciplinary discoveries and societal changes. Identification of paradigms allows scholars to make sense of their fields, to clarify and create new research questions, and to guide their methods and analyses.

In the field of curriculum studies, paradigms comprise assumptions about learning and teaching, the nature of reality, knowledge, intelligence, inquiry, discourse, the naming of problems and approaches to problem solving, and social and political values. Unlike some academic fields that sanction only one paradigm until another one evolves and wins acceptance, several paradigms have existed simultaneously within curriculum studies; thus, although paradigm development may signify a revolutionary change in thinking, a new paradigm may not replace an existing one. Adherents of a particular paradigm have developed their identities as curricular theorists and researchers from its worldview, characterizing their held beliefs and values in contrast to others and creating among themselves discourse communities. Whereas

paradigmatic conflicts create deep divisions within the field, they also serve as catalysts for vigorous dialogue, ensuring that no one curricular worldview dominates without critique.

Over time, a number of paradigmatic dichotomies and trichotomies have been articulated and invoked within curriculum studies. Such classifications encompass worldviews demarcated by philosophical orientations, cultural traditions, approaches to inquiry, and to curricular development and enactment. Curriculum theorist William Doll, in *A Post-Modern Perspective on Curriculum*, delineated three paradigms (premodern, modern, and postmodern) that characterize major differences that serve as a frame of reference for understanding other identified paradigms within the history and contemporary field of curriculum studies.

The premodern paradigm, emanating from ancient Greek philosophy, sets forth an ideal of order, symmetry, balance, and harmony. The conception of a just and ordered society underlying the early forms of this paradigm presents a conservative worldview of static knowledge and societal hierarchy in which individuals know their place in the social order; however, later incarnations focus on democratic principles and visions. In this paradigm, education consists of striving to learn essential and eternal truths and principles for living out how one lives in the world. Elements of the premodern paradigm are represented in the liberal education tradition although, paradoxically, aspects of this paradigm are found in indigenous worldviews that accentuate harmonious relationships, balance, and respect for elders and their

knowledge. The goal of curriculum studies in this paradigm is the attainment of balance through offering a course of study that aims to create well-rounded, wise individuals. Moreover, educators are paramount in the process of initiating learners into traditions of knowledge and beliefs.

The modern paradigm, often viewed as the dominant paradigm of 20th-century European American education, emanates from Enlightenment philosophy that emphasizes an individualistic, mechanistic, and progress-driven worldview, control and domination of the environment, competition, and directly perceived reality. This paradigm's themes include efficiency, linearity, rationalism, empiricism, scientific method, measured outcomes, and standardization. Descriptions of the modern paradigm focus on an engineered, goal-driven, and segmented disciplinary curriculum, at times portraying students as raw material shaped into products for the benefit of society and industry. At its zenith in the early 20th century, this paradigm included Franklin Bobbitt's industry-inspired notion of social efficiency and scientific management of curriculum to provide what appropriate education to students according to their social classes and apparent abilities. Later, in the mid-20th century, the curriculum-planning model formulated by Ralph Tyler became the dominant way of viewing the curriculum field. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, this has been expressed as the standardized management paradigm with its emphasis on teaching to meet state and national standards. In this paradigm, the role of educators is to deliver the curriculum and to provide the right experiences so that the prescribed goals—created by others outside of the classroom—are met.

The third paradigm, postmodernism, holds a complex, multifaceted worldview that can be understood as a critique of the elements of modern and premodern paradigms through rejection of both the belief in an empirically known reality and eternal truths. The postmodern outlook suggests the world is not orderly but complicated and unpredictable, that history is not linear and segmented but evolving and contradictory. Postmodernism recognizes multiple truths, the importance of interpreting individuals' personal experiences as well as a multiplicity of perspectives through the lens of race, ethnicity, social class, gender, and sexual orientation. This paradigm also

highlights the social construction of knowledge and emphasizes integrated curriculum, authentic assessment, education for understanding, dialogue, interaction, perspective taking, creativity, and playfulness. As follows, the postmodern paradigm is an umbrella for various curricular paradigms including constructivist, critical, democratic, holistic, ecological, multicultural, and indigenous paradigms. The goal of curriculum studies in the postmodern paradigm, what curriculum scholar William Pinar named as the reconceptualization of curriculum studies, is understanding. Through curriculum inquiry—including qualitative, phenomenological, and hermeneutic research approaches—curriculum is not measured; instead, its complexity is explored.

*Pamela Bolotin Joseph*

*See also* Curriculum, History of; Curriculum Discourses; Curriculum Knowledge; Curriculum Purposes; Curriculum Theory; Liberal Education Curriculum; Modernism; Postmodernism

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## PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

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All schools serve the societies in which they're embedded—authoritarian schools serve authoritarian systems, apartheid schools serve apartheid society, and so on. Practically all schools want their students to study hard, stay away from

drugs, do their homework, and so on. In fact, none of these features distinguishes schools in the old Soviet Union or fascist Germany from schools in a democracy, and indeed those schools produced some excellent scientists and athletes and musicians and generals. They also produced obedience and conformity. In a democracy, one would expect something different and something more—a commitment to free inquiry, questioning, and participation; a push for access and equity; a curriculum that encourages independent thought and singular judgment; a standard of full recognition of the humanity of each individual.

The core lessons of a democratic education—an education for citizenship, participation, and active engagement—include these: Each human being is unique, induplicable, and of incalculable value, and everyone has a mind of his or her own; we are each a work in progress swimming through a dynamic history in the making toward an uncertain and indeterminate shore; we can choose to join with others and act on our own judgments and our own imaginations; human enlightenment and liberation are always the result of thoughtful choice and action.

There is a more fundamental purpose to public schooling in a democracy than either loyalty to the state or fealty to the leaders or job training, and that is teaching citizens to think about the issues that affect their lives and how they might act to change things. Pressure from government to make schools little outposts of patriotism and military recruitment, or from business to make the goals of education identical to the needs of corporations jeopardizes the democratic foundations of education. We must ask ourselves whether schools geared to preparing loyal subjects or obedient workers also build thinking, literate, active, and morally sensitive citizens who carry out their democratic responsibilities to one another, to their communities, to the earth.

Students in a vital democracy must learn the values of self-governance: to care for other people; to accept wild and vast diversity as the norm; to acknowledge that the full development of each is the condition for the full development of all; and to value participation, free thought and speech, civil liberties, and social equality. Curriculum that contributes to these commitments involves analysis and exploration, diverse political expression, and independent thought and action.

Participatory democracy rejects formal and structural markers of self-governance in favor of a system based on people actually making the decisions that affect their lives. Voting is surely an important right, for example, but it is not, in and of itself, a singular or sturdy marker of democracy. Again, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and Baathist Iraq all held elections, but none was a recognizably democratic society. In our own country, we've seen elections stolen and manipulated, voters disenfranchised and their rights suppressed, electoral colleges overturning the popular vote. This is all to say that elections may be a necessary aspect of democracy, but they are also by themselves an insufficient expression.

Participatory democracy insists that the people themselves must decide. Mass society is itself, then, an obstacle, the manipulation of media a barrier, huge amounts of money a hindrance, bureaucracy, hierarchy, command-style organization an obstruction. So is the pressure of the monoculture, the power of the monologue, the symbol of the talking head. Participatory democracy at its heart requires dialogue—each one speaking with the hope of being heard, and each one listening with the possibility of being changed.

Democracy in the United States has been predicated on citizens' informed and thoughtful engagement in civic and political life, and schools have been essential to the development of such citizens. But the foundations of democratic engagement— independent thinking and critical analysis, for example—are always in contention, generally under attack from some quarter or another. Participatory democracy requires a high level of vigilance and action in its defense, and in its enactment.

*William C. Ayers*

*See also* Curriculum as Public Spaces; *Democracy and Education*; Dewey, John; Social Justice; Teacher Empowerment

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## PEABODY COLLEGE COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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Since its founding in 1914, George Peabody College of Education has been a principal center of graduate study in education in the South, affecting curriculum studies through the work of Hollis Caswell, Harold D. Drummond, and William Van Til, along with their graduate students who have had wide influence in curriculum history and the development of the middle school curriculum.

Peabody College of Education, a private educational institution, emerged out of the division of the University of Nashville and was relocated adjacent to Vanderbilt University in 1911. Although Peabody was a segregated school emphasizing education of teachers and school administrators for White students, a limited program of desegregation (carefully selected principals of Black schools from 13 Southern states and the District of Columbia) was initiated in graduate studies in 1954, and the undergraduate program was desegregated in 1964. Peabody merged with Vanderbilt University in 1979.

By the late 1940s, Peabody was widely recognized as a premier program in the South for future college and university professors. In 1929, the Division of Surveys and Field Services was initiated by Caswell who came to Peabody from Teachers College, Columbia University. Survey research was a design for inquiry and evaluation of school resources and curriculum to support the professionalization of school leadership and modernize curriculum planning and instructional delivery. Over two decades, 47 state and city surveys were completed throughout the South. Caswell remained at Peabody until 1938 and coauthored with Doak Campbell what is often referred to as the first synoptic curriculum text, *Curriculum Development*, in 1935, followed by *Readings in Curriculum Development*, a collection of articles representative of contemporary curriculum concerns. Henry Harap, who had established his reputation for his

promotion of consumer education curriculum and was a principal in the founding of the John Dewey Society, then assumed direction of Peabody's Surveys and Field Services division.

Influence on curriculum scholarship reemerged in the 1950s with Drummond and Van Til joining the Peabody faculty. Drummond collaborated with John Goodlad in authoring a work on educational leadership for building principals in elementary schools in 1956, a practitioner's guide for effective leadership of staff, curriculum planning, and program development. Drummond's scholarship shifted to the development of a popular geography series. *Journeys Through Many Lands*, *Journeys Through the Americas*, and *Our World Today* were widely adopted for use in elementary and junior high schools.

Van Til came to Peabody in 1951 while the institution and then the city of Nashville struggled with racial desegregation. Before his appointment as chair of the Division of Teaching and Curriculum Development, Van Til had been director of Learning Materials at the Bureau for Intercultural Education and professor at the University of Illinois. A recognized advocate of democracy as a key purpose of education and activist for progressive reform, Van Til remained as chair until 1957. As a member of the executive board of the John Dewey Society, Van Til promoted support for implementation of democratic schooling and open consideration of controversial social issues in school curricula. Van Til was directly involved in efforts to advance the *Brown* decree in Nashville public schools.

Harold R. Benjamin joined the faculty as chair of educational foundations in 1951 for a 7-year tenure. Benjamin and Van Til, along with Willard Goslin in school administration and Nicholas Hobbs as leader in psychology, became known on campus as "The Four Horsemen" of Peabody. William H. Alexander received his MA at Peabody in the late 1930s and followed Caswell to Teachers College. After serving in the Navy and in school administration, Alexander returned to Peabody in the late 1950s following publication of a widely adopted guide to curriculum development coauthored with J. Galen Saylor.

Scholars who graduated from Peabody in the 1950s later contributed to curriculum history and practice. O. L. Davis has developed a substantial



body of scholarship on curriculum history at the University of Texas, and John Lounsbury attained prominence for his work in the middle school curriculum as editor of the *Middle School Journal* from 1976 to 1990 and publications editor of the National Middle School Association.

Thomas P. Thomas

See also *Curriculum Development*

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## PEDAGOGICS

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*Pedagogics* is the systematic, scientific study of the educational process. Unlike *pedagogy*, which retains an emphasis on the humanistic disciplines within the teaching profession, pedagogics almost always refers to the study of teaching and education from the perspective of empirical science. The term is not frequently used in the United States, but it is commonly found in South Africa, Germany, and a few other European countries. Whereas *pedagogy* implies the practice of teaching, texts on pedagogics stress the analysis of educational phenomena with the goal of understanding education from the perspective of an objective observer.

Beginning in the early 20th century, researchers who preferred pedagogics to pedagogy (or education) sought to establish pedagogics as a science distinct from all other fields. In this respect, pedagogics developed similarly to the field of economics, which sought to distinguish itself from politics and ethics. Before this time, politics, ethics, and economics were inseparable. The most significant book published in the United States on pedagogics was Francis Wayland Parker's *Talks on Pedagogics: An Outline of the Theory of Concentration*,

published in 1937. Despite the success of this one book, however, pedagogics never really took off in the United States (nor did pedagogy). Educational researchers in newly established U.S. research universities preferred the term *education* to refer to the kind of work that was being done under the name of pedagogics in Germany and other European countries.

Where it did develop mostly outside of the United States, however, the new science of pedagogics sought to establish its own area of expertise developed by pedagogicians, or experts in the science of pedagogics. Distinguishing itself from the practice of pedagogy, the field of pedagogics grew alongside the new specialization of analytic philosophy. Experts in pedagogics began to explain social phenomena using the methods of analytical philosophers, but they chose to concentrate on their own areas of expertise found within schools, families, and other educational situations. One text by three South African scholars of pedagogics—J. L. du Plooy, G. A. J. Griessel, and M. O. Oberholzer—describes the field as a child of philosophy, but then argues that pedagogics has become an independent science in its own right. These authors go on to explain that pedagogics, as a special type of science, exists to produce knowledge that is verifiable, supplemented by the findings of other scientists, rationally or intellectually obtained, accounted for in a methodical way, generally accepted as being valid, communicable and intelligible, and which may be applied in everyday life by men and women who engage in pedagogical acts. In another text, Griessel describes pedagogics as a field that should inquire into the universal and enduring aspects of education.

The goals of modern social science lay at the heart of pedagogics. The relationship between theory and practice within pedagogics is similar to the relationship between theory and practice in economics. Economists describe how money flows from one area of society to another, but they only rarely venture into the realm of telling practitioners what to do with their money. Similarly, pedagogicians work to explain how learning takes place within various educational settings, but, being scientists, their role is not to provide guidance for teachers and parents about how they should educate their children. Practitioners may use the descriptions that pedagogicians produce,

but the ends toward which they use these descriptions are to be determined entirely by practitioners. The job of pedagogicians is only to explain how the learning mechanism works.

In the United States, much of what takes place under the name of pedagogics can be found in departments of educational psychology. Educational psychologists, like pedagogicians, describe the process of learning with the goal of establishing a “knowledge base” that explains how people learn. These attempts to establish pedagogics (or learning) as a separate field of research, however, have been met with frequent controversy. The most common criticism has been that a science of pedagogics (or learning) cannot (and should not) be divorced from curriculum.

*J. Wesley Null*

*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Instruction; *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*; Pedagogy

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## PEDAGOGY

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Stated simply, *pedagogy* is the art of teaching. However, it is important to explore what “art of” really means to recognize the vitality and complexity of the term. When educational practices ascend to the designation of “art,” it means those involved are making intentional decisions based on a set of beliefs. Further, as in any performing art, there is a desire to refine one’s efforts—to achieve an ideal of perfection. To that end, the artist engaged in art as well as the teacher engaged in pedagogy become acutely aware of the nuances, flows, and tensions within their work so they can move closer to their images of the ideal. Thus,

consciousness, intentionality, refinement, and belief are critical elements within any pedagogy.

### Pedagogy Versus Instruction

Although pedagogy requires some larger ideal or set of beliefs to give it life and form, instruction does not. Instruction can occur with no set of larger beliefs or with no larger ideal in mind. It is a technical process that can be applied relatively context-free. For this reason, *instruction* is often used as a primary mechanism for thinking and planning about the enactment of a number of the reform models used in recent years. Further, the term *instructional leader* is often used to refer to principals and the ways they work with teachers without any specific image regarding the larger values, aims, and beliefs of education. Instead, the instructional leader is often seen as one who manages instruction for the sake of efficiency and, consequently, higher test scores. By the same token, much has been written in recent years about best practices, which are instructional techniques teachers can do (relatively context free) to bring about higher achievement as measured through standardized tests. This trajectory of privileging images of instruction over pedagogy is supported by policies and practices that make “achievement” the sole aim of schools and, subsequently, standardized tests as the primary if not sole measure of that aim.

In contrast, pedagogy does not exist outside of larger ideals or beliefs. Larger aims animate pedagogy and give purpose to the efforts of the teacher. For example, Paulo Freire developed a specific way to teach illiterate Brazilians who lived in oppressed villages during the 1960s. His work included entering the villages to learn about the people and their lives. It also involved listening to the villagers to understand what words were important to them. Freire and those who worked with him would use the language and experiences of the villagers to develop generative themes for literacy lessons. In these lessons, they would teach the villagers to see how they had been oppressed and how the power of literacy could help them overcome their oppression. Freire’s work with the oppressed and illiterate Brazilians was not merely a set of effective instructional techniques. It was, instead, work animated by strong convictions about justice and empowerment. Freire believed

that political and social systems had relegated many people into the role of objects—seemingly powerless to change their circumstances. He fought to empower these individuals so they could be subjects with control over their own lives and the well-being of their communities. Further, Freire believed this shift was possible only through a heightened sense of critical consciousness. These convictions about justice, power, and critical consciousness permeated Freire’s pedagogy of and for the oppressed he taught in Brazil.

### Examples of Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy, as seen in the work of Freire, is one example of a common ideal from which individuals think about, plan for, and enact their work in classrooms. When teachers are deeply concerned about social justice and agency, then they become more aware of how they work toward justice in their own classrooms. They are more mindful of the political nature of the world, the systemic social functions and structures that perpetuate injustice, and the ways in which those in power can influence what counts as knowledge, what priorities a community should strive to achieve, and even how individuals define themselves. Because these issues influence so much of how they see the world, teachers engaging in critical pedagogy teach in a way that is responsive to these issues and the potential for education to make changes in the world. These teachers strive to be just in their classrooms, and they work to empower their students to seek justice now and in the future.

Culturally relevant pedagogy addresses the need to be responsive to cultural differences within the classroom. Teachers who view their work through lenses of critical race theory or multiculturalism recognize the White, Eurocentric nature of much of what happens in schools. Further, they see how some culturally diverse students do not achieve as well in these settings. Teachers operating from this perspective strive to use the experiences and frames of references of culturally diverse students to make schooling more relevant and affirming. By doing so, they work to raise the level of achievement of the culturally diverse students.

Another example, feminist pedagogy, is rooted in the belief that human experiences are gendered and therefore shaped by one’s gender. Teachers

operating from a feminist lens work to challenge and change patriarchal structures and policies within schools. Teachers engaged in feminist pedagogy work to review what is possible both within the classroom and within the world when gender-based ways of being and ways of knowing are deconstructed. Their aim within their classrooms is to help students transcend gendered and limiting notions of themselves and their world.

*Donna Adair Breault*

*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Feminist Theories; Freire, Paulo

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## PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT

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*Performance assessment*, also known as alternative assessment, is a method of educational evaluation based on the measurement of an individual’s proficiency at executing various complex tasks, such as writing an essay, following a lab protocol, or solving multistep problems. Equal attention is paid to the how and why answers or solutions are reached for the results. By attending to the learner’s practices, educators can identify and correct flaws in action and reasoning. In this way, it is argued, assessments can more effectively evaluate and remediate learning.

Practitioners of performance assessment hold that their evaluation methods provide a wider array of skills and information for measurement and analysis. They add that its residual effects are improved lesson planning and teaching practices. Advocates further argue that their practices are

more flexible at evaluating, and adjusting the processes and strategies students use in problem solving. These practitioners explain that standardized tests simply evaluate the collection of static information without determining the learner's capacity to employ that information in answering more complex questions. Performance assessment, it is offered, provide instructors with greater insight into an individual's thinking processes.

As a means of improving teaching practices, performance assessment calls on teachers to attend to the methods and procedures of learning, to help students integrate knowledge and skills in creating a personal toolkit for problem solving and integrating concepts and ideas. This calls for educators to aggressively facilitate learners' need for sources, tools, and time devoted to their problems, along with a meaningful curriculum, reflecting the real-life problems. Such dramatic changes will require many to restructure curriculum, modify testing methods and timetables, and redefine workloads and job descriptions of teachers and administrators.

Performance assessment calls for greater interaction among teachers and students and a more intensive observation of a learner's actions, reasoning, and development. Classrooms will need to see better cooperation and more collaborative projects. Learning will need to be more hands-on and interactive as learners construct knowledge and practices. Educators will need to give greater attention, to individual students and to the methods and procedures that they themselves use as they assist learners in choreographing and refining their actions and competencies.

Performance assessment is a topic of growing importance in curriculum studies because it presents an alternative to current standardized testing regimens. Critics of present evaluation methods, question their effectiveness in measuring real learning, the validity of what is being tested, and how well these assessments inform and remediate student's practices. The full implementation of performance assessment will call for changes in how lessons and skills are presented and how facts, theories, and concepts are integrated into learning. Educators have long searched for evaluation tools that are fair, accurate, and provide meaningful and timely data that informs students and instructors alike. Performance assessment offers new and

promising methods for evaluation as well as unique sources for measurement. Along with this, it demands a greater investment of time, effort, and resources, factors hindering its broader implementation by school districts.

Critics of standardized testing systems point to serious problems and consequences created by test-driven curriculum programs, citing problems such as time limits on exams, limited response choices, and answers that are short, meaningless, and decontextualized. No Child Left Behind funding, based on standardized assessment programs, has the consequence of fostering bad practices, disrupting class and study time to teach to the tests that will evaluate their performance. This may lead some schools that are most in need of time for studies and thoughtful and expansive learning to cede that time to repetition, drilling, and prepackaged lessons.

Supporters of performance assessment have identified characteristics that are most exemplary of effective measurement procedures that support learning. Many of these features will be a part of any comprehensive authentic assessment protocol.

- Assessment should be based on real-life, practical tasks involving communication skills, step-by-step technical expertise, or the processes of solving complex mathematical problems.
- Data should inform assessors of the mastery of information and of the potential for its application.
- Problems and challenges should engage higher order thinking and allow learners to experiment with complex problem solving skills, and offer the opportunity to hone and refine skills and develop proficiency.
- Projects calling for critical and creative thinking, problem solving using a variety of reasoning schemes, and writing assignments asking open-ended questions exercise the imagination and promote the development of communication skills.
- Lessons and projects should strive to widen perspectives, evoke a greater range of responses, and stimulate an appetite for inquiry.

Advocates of performance assessment promote learning using principles of constructivist and experiential learning, multitasked projects, procedures,



and challenges that promote exploration and experimentation. Storage systems and schemes for artifactual collections (i.e., portfolios, electronic storage) provide learners with progressive evidence of their mastery of skills and create a source for reflection and further development. Open-ended questions and questions calling for essay answers and paragraph responses promote the learner's reasoning and communication skills. Projects and exhibits demonstrate a learner's ability to organize and execute longitudinal plans and incorporate disciplines in complex processes and skills to achieve a goal.

Questions still exist concerning the consequences of performance assessment, issues of fairness, transfer and generalizability, meaningfulness, cost, and efficacy. Many of these issues will be explored as performance assessment is further implemented and as standardized testing incorporates many of its elements and philosophies into its test practices. The hope is that performance assessment can resolve these concerns and continue to contribute and change the ways educators teach and assess.

*Terrence O'C. Jones*

*See also* Benchmark Assessment; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind

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describing that culture and the treatment of one's own story as an expression of a culture) with post-modern performance theory. For curriculum studies, performance ethnography offers a specific orientation toward doing curriculum research on both curriculum artifacts and curriculum practices (designing, developing, etc.) in which the researcher is profoundly implicated in the "outcomes" of the research.

Performance theory for social scientists comes out of the work of theater scholars such as Richard Schechner and is extrapolated to everyday life. Performance theory points to "performance" in two ways. There is "performativity" in which the actual process of undergoing our lives is a performance, similar to the work done by Erving Goffman analogizing social interactions to theater. "Performativity" is the present tense of social action as we perform ourselves, presenting aspects of ourselves selectively with both intention and unintention. Our performance is always mediated through culture and politics. There is never an innocent, pure self that is free of culture. Auto-ethnography's contribution to performance ethnography lies with that premise, building a research practice around narratives of self that are linked to the cultural context in which the self is becoming a self. Linked to this is "performance," a finished product of performativity, completed and ended. "Performance" references the looking back at performativity as memory. When people engage in stories about the past they are engaging in describing, discussing, and locating meaning through examining performances of self. Both performativity and performance are performative features of how people actually live their lives. We are always performing our lives rather than presenting them innocently and purely.

Performance ethnography presents a view of research in which the researcher is deeply implicated in the final expression of the research (the conclusions made, the articles, books, presentations of all sorts shared with others) *and* in the actual unfolding of the research. This "actual unfolding" is performativity itself. In performance ethnography, the researcher recognizes the performative character of asking research questions, setting up research opportunities, seeking out informants, actually gathering information from the field, thinking through and analyzing what is

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## PERFORMANCE ETHNOGRAPHY

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*Performance ethnography* is a melding of ethnographic and auto-ethnographic practices (the immersion in another culture for purposes of

“learned,” and organizing all of that for sharing with others. In the performative situation, there are no firm conclusions because the act of interpretation for the purposes of organizing and carrying out research are always ongoing, evolving performances of what is occurring. Through the auto-ethnographic character of performance ethnography, the researcher recognizes that he or she is performing culture through his or her own specific cultural or social location. The researcher often will tell performance stories of his or her experiences within the setting as a way into the situation because the researcher already recognizes that he or she is seeing through his or her personal sociocultural resources that preinterpret the scene. Performance ethnography draws from standpoint theory in this regard. Performance ethnography rejects the standard Western modern notions of distanced research objectivity in favor of this deep presence of the self of the researcher. In doing so, performance ethnographers see a need to present the actual research in new, aesthetic forms that are more capable of both revealing the performativity of the researcher and of engaging the recipient of the research in ways that implicate the receiver (so that he or she also experiences the performativity of encountering the research). For curriculum studies scholars, performance ethnography presents possibilities of encountering curriculum artifacts and practices through the self as the conscious tool of understanding. The “self” is seen as an experienter and interpreter of culture through the personal and immediate (performativity). Thus, if the curriculum studies scholar is studying a curriculum design practice or studying curricula as experienced by those involved in living the curriculum design, he or she will study his or her responses (as cultural) to the situation and how the situation situates the researcher, rather than studying the practice as an outside, distanced, disinterested eye observing what others are doing. Performance ethnography, with the willingness of its practitioners to use alternative forms of research and research presentation, offers curriculum studies scholars new ways of performing and presenting this research (forms such as poetry, narratives, theater work, visual art, dance and performance art, to name a few).

Performance ethnography offers a further characteristic important for curriculum studies. Norman Denzin, a leading developer of the notion

of “performance ethnography,” aligns performance ethnography with a social justice framework. He argues for the immediacy of recognizing that we are performing life rather than simply fulfilling life’s mandates. This recognition affords the possibility of seeing our actions from within a personally recognized, realized sociohistorical-cultural context that can bring us up short so that we may fruitfully confront our own implication in injustice. In so doing, he argues that we will be motivated to contribute to the ongoing struggle to make a better, more just world. Thus, performance ethnography can contribute to the larger critical social curriculum studies project as described by such social theorists and curriculum studies scholars as Henry Giroux, Peter MacLaren, and Gloria Ladsen-Billings.

*Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones*

*See also* Postmodernism; Qualitative Research

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## PERFORMATIVITY

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The theory of performativity is centrally important to curriculum theorists who examine relationships among power, identity, and culture from a poststructural perspective. Performativity is based on an understanding of human reality as discursive, as produced not through a natural truth but through the constant repetition of discourses that *perform* our understandings of what is true or real. From this perspective, identities are not natural attributes; rather, they are the result of mundane practices of social norms and represent compulsory social practices.

Performativity theory is most closely related to the work of feminist theorist Judith Butler. Butler draws from J. L. Austen's and John Searles's work on speech acts and from Michel Foucault's understanding of truth as a discursive production of power and knowledge. Butler explores the constitution of naturalized gender, sex, sexuality, and race through reiterative performances of normative behaviors, speech, and gestures. This repetition creates the appearance of stable and taken-for-granted ways of being in relation to recognized identity markers for the social audience and for the performer. Performances of identity inscribe the body with physical stylizations and desires that are mistaken as the individual truth of each person; while they are experienced as real by individuals, they reference not natural reality but the citational nature of reality.

Identity is performed with both pleasure and fear. Identity functions to provide a sense of meaning and belonging through the structuring of desire and gratification in relation to identity norms. Identity defines the behaviors, beliefs, and interests that are privileged as normal within a given identity group. In sharing these with others, individuals can create and solidify social bonds that provide feelings of warmth, belonging, meaning, and satisfaction. At the same time, along with the pleasures of identity, there is always a threat. Those whose identity performances are outside the acceptable range can face sanction and punishment. The force of social sanction enacted by peers, family, friends, strangers, and professionals (e.g., teachers, specialists, counselors, lawyers, doctors) threatens discipline. Identifying and punishing those outside the norm bestows the social privilege that comes with being perceived as normal to those who toe the line and communicates what happens to those who step over the line.

Although this description of performativity suggests a highly determined perspective, theorists working from this perspective point out that there is no single set of norms for any identity. Rather, there is a range of practices that are understood to mark a given identity. Further, individuals express multiple identities and the norms of these identities can come into conflict. For example, the contested meanings of "woman" became clear when White U.S. feminists of the 1970s and 1980s were criticized for putting forth definitions of gender that

failed to recognize the raced and classed interests within their universalized claims. Individuals can likewise experience conflicts within the demands and expectations of their self-identifications. Because norms gain authority through the establishment of the nonnormative, norms inevitably generate their own resistances. Because identities are not natural but produced, they require constant performative reiteration to maintain their authoritative position. Therefore, the insistent performance of identifications, behaviors, and desires that violate the norm demonstrates that they are not natural and opens up the possibility of a more inclusive space.

Curriculum theorists working from a performativity perspective may examine curricular texts or practices or classroom interactions for performances of speech and behavior that reiterate or challenge social norms. Examples of this work include examinations of the discursive production, regulation, and rearticulations of gender, race, and sexuality in the performances and disciplining of teacher and student identity in schooling.

*Gail Boldt*

*See also* Butlerian Thought; Cultural Identities; Feminist Theories; Foucauldian Thought; Gender Research; Identity Politics; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research; Queer Theory; Race Research

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## PERSONAL PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE RESEARCH

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Research studies in *personal practical knowledge* have had a significant impact on scholarship in curriculum studies and how educators think through problems pertaining to teaching and

learning. Personal practical knowledge is often characterized as a form of situated knowledge and associated with feminist standpoint theory. It is generally understood to be shaped and influenced (but not solely determined by) one's social position, emotional life, politics, institutional demands, conscious and unconscious desires, tastes, and aesthetics. Personal practical knowledge is also described as implicit, taken-for-granted, fluid, and tacit. The term *personal practical knowledge* has been used in curriculum studies to account for what has been termed the *tacit knowledge* that influences teachers' practical action in the classroom. Studies that use personal practical knowledge as a unit of analysis have explored how experienced teachers make decisions about teaching in the classroom based on practical experiences cultivated during their careers.

The use of the term *tacit* suggests that practical knowledge is implicit and not available to consciousness. It also summons the concept of *tacit knowing* developed by the philosopher and scientist Michael Polanyi who wrote about a process of knowing that is apparently inexplicable. Relevant to the idea that personal practical knowledge is often tacit is the fact that such knowledge is believed to consist of habits, cultural practices, beliefs, and rituals that are so taken for granted in a person's daily life that they remain opaque and, consequently, are not passed on through explicit instructions or in formal settings. Tacit knowledge is understood as involving skills and technique, a sense of timing and a repertoire of methods, but following Polyani, remains unspoken.

Personal practical knowledge has long been recognized as having broad relevance for research in teacher education, autobiographical studies, curriculum theory, and professional development for teachers and administrators. One can trace the discourses of personal practical knowledge to studies interested in "how teachers think," as well as "teacher lore," and scholarship that has focused on studying teachers' lives. Understood at its most foundational level, personal practical knowledge is constituted by a set of discourses that have worked to engage the productive tension between theory and practice, educational scholarship and classroom practice, and, to illuminate the value of inquiry in education that involves practitioners and scholars in discovering modes of research that

serves students, teachers, and communities by recognizing the vital role that social context plays in educational experience. Implicit in the study of personal practical knowledge is the work of reflecting and elaborating on one's educational and pedagogical experiences for the purpose of provoking deeper insights and understandings into education in and out of school.

Research in curriculum studies that understands personal practical knowledge as tacit is vulnerable to critique from a range of disciplinary fields, particularly given that educators are often consciously aware of the practical theories they use and are articulate about these theories. Research critical of the notion that personal practical knowledge is tacit works toward elaborating the complex conceptual structures, metaphors, and visions that educators use to justify why they act as they do in the classroom and for choosing curriculum materials, teaching activities and classroom arrangements to effectively engage their students. They refer to the principles and propositions that underlie and guide teachers' approximations, decisions, and actions as "practical theories of action," which might be understood as a more refined articulation of earlier understandings of personal practical knowledge as tacit.

A related but distinct construct of personal practical knowledge is *pedagogical content knowledge*. This construct refers to the theories of action taken by teachers in classrooms as "practical theories." These theories are understood in contrast to educational theory, which select scholars in teacher education have found many teachers to have little faith in, and those theories developed by teachers through their practices. Pedagogical content knowledge is not understood as tacit, nor is it located solely in the individual teacher; however, like personal practical knowledge, this knowledge is situated in the work of practice, is derived from practice, and informs practice as a social and institutional project that is at once personal and social.

Personal practical knowledge is also associated with "pedagogical reasoning and action," which refers to the modes of reasoning that teachers engage in as they conceptualize content knowledge and reorganize it so that material can be effectively communicated to students.

It has been argued that scholarship drawing on concepts of personal practical knowledge works to



dismantle the hierarchical expert/client relationship or vertical power structure often present in university-school research projects and that, as noted earlier, often generates suspicion among teachers and holds fast to misconceptions about the distinctions between theory and practice. However, critics argue that the notion of personal practical knowledge fails to address the institutional and social elements that affect pedagogical practices and locates knowledge about teaching in the hands and heads of individual teachers. This approach to understanding how knowledge is generated and put to work has been understood as isolating teachers within the limits of their personal, practical understandings and setting them apart, not only from one another, but from engaging with institutional structures that create and sustain inequities and undermine the professional authority of teachers. Concern has been expressed that personal practical knowledge is inclined to be falsely reassuring and therapeutic and is too often devoid of social critique and awareness of the workings of ideology.

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See also Pedagogy; Tacit Knowledge; Teacher Knowledge

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## PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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Phenomenology is a project of abstemious reflection on the lived experience of human existence—abstemious, in the sense that reflecting on experience must, as much as possible, abstain

from theoretical, prejudicial, and suppositional intoxications. But, phenomenology is also a project that is driven by fascination: being swept up in a spell of wonder, a fascination with meaning. The phenomenologist directs the gaze toward the regions where meaning originates, wells up, percolates through the porous membranes of past sedimentations—then infuses, permeates, infects, touches, stirs us, and exercises a formative affect.

Within the broad field of curriculum studies, phenomenology is a form of inquiry that historically has induced several distinct perspectival interests, purposes, and practices. The perspectives are briefly outlined in this entry in terms of critical onto-theology, extended imaginary, and phenomenological research as interpretive method. Onto-theology refers to the larger metaphysical and philosophical assumptions about what is real, meaningful, relevant, and consequential for the way we live and understand the nature of education, pedagogy, knowledge, ethics, childhood, teaching, learning, and so forth. The extended imaginary is the cultivating of insights about fundamental curriculum notions and concerns through the mediation of rich and inspiring phenomenological literature. Descriptive/interpretive method provides access to phenomenological research approaches and ways of thinking, inquiring, and reflecting on topics of curricular and pedagogical interest.

In engaging phenomenological research with curriculum and pedagogy, one needs to make some distinctions between phenomenological literature that historically is included in curriculum studies and literature that identifies itself with the fields of philosophy of education, educational psychology, counseling, and administration. Some scholars such as Maxine Greene have straddled the disciplines of philosophy of education and curriculum studies; others, such as Donald Vandenberg and Thomas Greenfield have published and situated themselves more strongly within the fields of philosophy or administration. This entry is limited more closely to the literature that has primarily engaged with curriculum and pedagogy.

### Phenomenological Research as Critical Onto-Theology

*Onto-theology* is a term used by Immanuel Kant and especially Martin Heidegger to describe the

metaphysical undercurrents of Western culture that condition the technological nature of all human forms of inquiry. Dwayne Huebner and Maxine Greene were forerunners among curriculum scholars who turned to the thought of Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Karl Jaspers, Albert Camus, and Hannah Arendt as intellectual sources for expressing critical concerns with the pervasiveness of positivism, instrumentalism, and technologism in the field of curriculum and teaching. From an emerging phenomenological perspective, Huebner and Greene already warned in the 1960s against the damaging dominance of technological, instrumental, and calculative thought in the field of curriculum studies. In subsequent years, Greene criticized the traditional epistemologies of educational research and the limiting consequences of these epistemologies to the shape of educational thought and pedagogical practices. William Pinar turned to Sartre's *Search for a Method* to find existentially sensitive directions for curriculum thought. And Max van Manen explored how different ways of knowing are related to ways of being practical.

The onto-theological roots feeding the technologizing of professional knowledge have not diminished. On the contrary, the influence of communication and information technologies and market economies in the administration of schools and educational systems may have pushed the technological onto-theology even more deeply into the metaphysical sensibilities of Western cultures. There is a certain irony in the fact that even the increasing popularity of qualitative inquiry in curriculum studies has not prevented professional practice becoming cemented ever more firmly into preoccupations with calculative policies and technological solutions regarding the productivity of learning outcomes, the accountability of standards of practice, the measurement of educational effectiveness in terms of school ranking, the codification of ethics governing programs of research and teaching, and so forth.

### Phenomenological Research as Extended Imaginary

The imaginary is a notion that Sartre used to describe extended reflections, meditations, and examinations from the point of view of the work and thoughts of Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger,

Henri Bergson, and other early phenomenological scholars. In the field of curriculum studies too, phenomenology has been used as a resource for rethinking and reconceptualizing the meaning of curricular and pedagogical concepts and processes.

An early example of the extended imaginary in curriculum is Huebner's "Curriculum as Concern for Man's Temporality" wherein he questions the meaning and centrality of the concept of learning and reflects on Heidegger's *Being and Time* to rethink teaching as being and curriculum as environmental design. In *Existential Encounters for Teachers*, Greene advances a kind of phenomenology of literature to teaching. In her various writings, she shows how fictional literature and poetry make it possible for the reader to "see" aspects of human experience that cannot be stated discursively, cannot be translated into fact, or assimilated into a body of knowledge. And yet, these forms of human understanding cannot be achieved by the epistemologies of science and research as promoted by mainstream curriculum scholars. Ted Aoki loosens the gnostic nature of curriculum by drawing distinctions between curriculum as planned and curriculum as lived, the goals and the intentionalities of teaching. And van Manen shows how phenomenological pedagogy is primarily an ethical orientation to the lived experience of the child or student, and how an epistemology of practice presupposes an ontology of thoughtfulness and tact of teaching.

In addition to curriculum scholars who turned to phenomenology for gaining insights into curriculum concerns and concepts, there are precursors among curriculum scholars whose works arouse the sensitivities that a phenomenological approach requires. An outstanding example is John Dewey's *Experience and Education*, wherein the eminent philosopher argues for the need for a reflective understanding of the meaning of student experience. Another precursor to the phenomenological interest is Philip Jackson's inspiring study of *Life in Classrooms*, wherein he engages with the complexities and experiential concreteness of mundane details of classroom life and living.

### Phenomenology as a Tradition of Traditions

Phenomenology consists of a complex web of traditions rooted in continental philosophy and now

globally diversified across all major human science and professional disciplines. Transcendental phenomenology is the name of the tradition that begins with Husserl. Husserlian phenomenological research proceeds through transcendental reflection as practiced through the eidetic reduction (bracketing) or epoché. In the transcendental reduction, the researcher withdraws from the natural attitude of the taken-for-grantedness of the everyday world and of objective science. Husserl stresses that the phenomena (persons, things, objects, events, ideas, etc.) of which we are conscious are not simply retrievably *in* consciousness (as *in* a box); rather, they are *constituted* as being what they are for us and as what they mean for us. Husserl's writings are often bypassed by contemporary researchers in education, in the mistaken belief that they are now irrelevant. An influential adaptation of the Husserlian approach that explicates and emphasizes the methodological significance of the eidetic reduction for practical inquiry is found in works of the psychologists Amadeo Giorgi and Clark Moustakas. A curricular example of this influence is Carol Thomson's article on phenomenology in teacher education contexts.

Ontological phenomenology inquires into the nature of human existence or modes-of-being in the world. Heidegger distanced himself from the Husserlian preoccupation with eidetic description, in favor of an ontological and interpretive perspective. Heidegger points out that human existence (*Dasein*) is always already embedded in a world of meanings. Things are not primarily phenomena that are constituted in consciousness; rather, we encounter them immediately in the world where we use them. For Heidegger, phenomenology is the study of what shows itself in the unique manner in which it shows itself to us. Every mode of being (such as the mode of being a student, a teacher, a reader, a scientist, a parent) is always simultaneously a way of understanding the world. These modes of being in the world need to be interpreted, as in David Denton's early reflections of the being of teaching and more recently Gloria Dall'Alba's ontological consideration of becoming and being a teacher.

Hans-Georg Gadamer continues the development of a hermeneutic phenomenology, especially in his famous text, *Truth and Method*. Heidegger and Gadamer (like Husserl or any other phenomenological philosopher) do not offer

a set of determined research methods for conducting hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry, but their works are inspiring examples both in their form and content. In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer carefully explores the hermeneutic role of language, the nature of questioning, the phenomenology of human conversation, and the significance of prejudice, historicity, and tradition in the project of human understanding. All these topics have relevance for curriculum inquiry, typified in the writings of curriculum theorists such as David Jardine.

Existential phenomenology is famously presented in the works of Sartre and Merleau-Ponty. The relevance of existential phenomenology for education lies in its focus on the world of lived experience and on embodied, linguistic, gendered, and intersubjective dimensions of human existence. In his preface to the *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty suggests that phenomenology begins in awakening and describing the basic experience of the world. Sartre points out that lived experience cannot easily be accessed through narrative experiential accounts because retrospective descriptions turn unreflected experience into reflected (and thus distorted) accounts. Similarly, the Husserlian reduction always objectifies the experiential subjectivities that it tries to capture and describe. Sartre argues that the challenge of phenomenological inquiry is that it must remain attentive to unreflected experience as we live it in our daily lives by joining in a sort of conspiracy with it. This conspiratorial joining requires a type of intentionality and evocative sensitivity that remains attuned to the prereflectivity of lived experience as in van Manen's phenomenological pedagogy of *The Tact of Teaching*.

We can speak of a radical linguistic phenomenology in the poststructuralist writings of Jacques Derrida and his French colleagues such as Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous. Derrida aims to show that meaning is always primarily linguistic. Meaning resides in language and the text rather than in the subject. In contrast to Husserl's search for an indubitable ground of human understanding in the cogito, Derrida points out the essentially unstable and undecidable character of the nature of signs and meaning. Through the method of deconstruction, Derrida aims to demonstrate, not the invariance (essence) of human phenomena but the

essential variance, the *différance* that destabilizes all meaningful distinctions and discernable identities. Examples of the deconstructionist approach to curriculum may be found in *Understanding Curriculum as Phenomenological and Deconstructed Text*, edited by William Pinar and William Reynolds.

Ethical phenomenology is especially associated with the original and influential work of Emmanuel Levinas, who intended to radicalize the thinking of Husserl and Heidegger into a phenomenology of otherness. For a truly profound understanding of the human reality, one must not (only) inquire into the meanings that are constituted in consciousness (self) or that inhere in being (presence), but for the meaning of what is otherwise than being, alterity, or difference. Levinas finds the phenomenological power of this question in the encounter with the face of the other who addresses us. In the vulnerability of the face of the other, we experience an appeal: We are being called and even taken “hostage.” Our response to the vulnerability of the other is experienced as a responsibility. This is an ethical experience, an ethical phenomenology. The work of Levinas has particular relevance to the normative project of pedagogy as well as some contemporary curriculum discourses. For example, drawing on Levinas, Paul Standish emphasizes the invocational over the representational language of curriculum.

### Phenomenological Research as Human Science

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach to inquiry that is guided by methods such as the transcendental reduction, ontological analysis, hermeneutic interpretation, existential reflection, conspiratorial attentiveness, deconstructive analysis, or ethical responsiveness. As a professional discipline in curriculum and pedagogy, phenomenology is aided by human science procedures and techniques such as experiential interviewing, experience-sensitive observation, thematic analysis, and so forth.

However, phenomenology is not just a method that one can employ like a set of procedures. It is also an attitude that relies on the perceptiveness, creative insight, interpretive sensitivity, scholarship, and writing competence of the researcher. The phenomenological attitude constitutes a fascination with the uniqueness, the particularity of an

experience or phenomenon. When I am in love and I reflect on the meaning and significance of this love, then I am compelled not by abstractions but by the concreteness of my experiences: the sweet taste of that last kiss this morning, the tenderness I feel when I look in my love’s face, the longing I experience when reading the love letter, the desire I experience to be the object of my lover’s desire, the arousal of voluptuousness. Thus, a phenomenology of love is not primarily pursued through a theoretical discourse or a conceptual analysis of the notion of love. It is pursued through attempts to awaken the experience as we live it, and make contact—through concrete examples and reflection—with the living sensibility of its uniqueness.

Phenomenological research is oriented to the lifeworld as we immediately experience it—prereflectively, rather than as we conceptualize, theorize, categorize, or reflect on it. It is the study of lived or experiential meaning and attempts to describe and interpret these meanings in the ways that they emerge and are shaped by consciousness, language, our cognitive and noncognitive sensibilities, the ontics of meaning, and our personal, social, and cultural preunderstandings. Phenomenology can be adopted to explore the unique meanings of any educational experience or phenomenon.

Phenomenological research within the spheres of curriculum and pedagogy may address questions such as, What is the student experience of recognition, disappointment, motivation, examination, and so on? What is the experience of epistolary writing? How is a class conversation different from discussion, argument, or debate? How do students and teachers experience digital media technologies in the classroom? How is the body experienced in online teaching and learning? In a broad sense, any curricular or pedagogical experience may become the focus of phenomenological research.

The practical significance of a phenomenological research should not be sought in instrumental action, efficiency, or technical efficacy. Rather, the significance of a phenomenology of practice lies in its formative power, issuing from the sensitizing effects and affects of phenomenological reflections. Phenomenological understanding inheres in the sense and sensuality of our embodied being and practical actions, in encounters with others, in the ways that our bodies are responsive to the things of



our world, and to the situations and relations in which we find ourselves. Phenomenology of practice is an ethical corrective of the technological and calculative modalities of contemporary life. It finds its source and impetus in phenomenological research, and of phenomenological reading and writing that open up possibilities for creating formative relations between being and acting, self and other, interiorities and exteriorities, between who we are and how we act.

*Max van Manen and Catherine A. Adams*

See also Aoki, Ted T.; Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Theory; Greene, Maxine

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sounds of spoken English to individual letters and groups of letters. A variety of different approaches to decoding exist that are called "phonics," but these methods are not interchangeable. Although used in most primary grade reading programs, how and if phonics should be used has been and remains a sometimes-controversial topic. Some curriculum theorists would term phonics a *social efficiency ideology*, focusing as it does on achieving a social good (i.e., improved decoding skills), through instruction that is often programmed and standardized. This entry examines the theoretical underpinnings of phonics, the historical controversy with advocates of other approaches, some of the different phonics approaches used in the schools, and its lasting influence today.

Phonics is predicated on the *alphabetic principle*, where letters, either singly or in combination, are used to represent speech sounds, which are also known as *phonemes*. Phonics is relatively straightforward in Romance languages, such as Spanish, because of their nearly one-to-one correspondence between sounds and their representative letter patterns. Phonics in English is more complex, however, because the 40 or more phonemes in the spoken language are represented with only 26 letters. To represent certain distinct sounds, two letters are sometimes fused together to form *digraphs*, such as when "s" and "h" are joined to stand for the sound /sh/. English has absorbed words from other languages, especially Old English, Danish, French, Latin, and Greek, so the same sound can often be spelled in different ways, and identical spellings can represent different sounds. Research suggests that English spelling rules that consider syllable structure, phonetics, and accents are reliable more than 75% of the time.

The complexity and inconsistencies underlying English phonics have generated many criticisms of it as a method of instruction for young children. The controversy related to the value of phonics instruction is not of recent origin, and educators such as Horace Mann criticized the technique as "soul-deadening" more than a century and a half ago. Over the decades, alternative teaching methods have been developed and promoted that emphasize engaging with all aspects of the language rather than phonics' perceived emphasis on part-to-whole. Influential alternatives to a phonics-based approach have included the "look-say" or

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## PHONICS/READING ISSUES

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*Phonics* refers to an instructional method whereby children are taught to decode words by linking the

“whole word” methods, popularized by the Dick and Jane basal readers, and the whole language movement of the 1980s. These substitute reading programs had critics of their own. Disagreements about the best practices in literacy instruction have been termed the “reading wars,” with researchers, educators, parents, and others all weighing in on the relative merits of different approaches. The disagreements about the role of phonics have sometimes been emotional, contentious, and bitter. The dispute centers on the question of focus in the early grades: Some favor more emphasis on decoding, whereas others stress the meaning of language. These disputes have sometimes spilled into the political arena, with legislation regarding the teaching of phonics being considered and sometimes passed at the state and federal level, including No Child Left Behind. Proponents of phonics are sometimes painted as favoring a more traditional, authoritarian type of instruction. Although today most reading experts agree that phonics instruction has value, the precise role, and form, of that instruction can vary greatly.

This confusion is exacerbated by the variety of different phonics approaches used today, such as analogy phonics, analytical phonics, embedded phonics, and synthetic phonics. *Analogy phonics* has students analyze phonograms, composed of a vowel and the sounds that follow it, such as -op. Students memorize a bank of phonograms and use the phonograms to analogize unknown words. With *analytical phonics*, children explore sound-symbol correspondences but do not blend sounds together to make words. Children using analytical phonics might be asked to identify common phonemes in a set of words and then explore how the words are alike. *Embedded phonics* is often used in whole language classrooms. Embedded phonics maintains the focus on the literature’s meaning while addressing phonics concepts that students are struggling with or new patterns that may occur in a reading assignment. Finally, *synthetic phonics*, sometimes referred to as *systematic and explicit phonics*, provides explicit direct instruction as to various sound-symbol correspondences, and teaches children how to blend the phonemes learned into words and how to segment words into phonemes. Although these various approaches to phonics instruction each have merits, they often

result in different reading programs, both in appearance and results.

Contemporary curriculum theorists continue to address the role phonics plays in U.S. public schools. *Social meliorists*, for example, who view schools as vehicles for change that can improve the lot of students, are highly critical of phonics. In the social meliorists’ view, phonics instruction too rigidly reinforces differences that are based more on socioeconomic status, class, race, heredity, and other factors than on intelligence. Phonics is seen as focusing too much on achieving predetermined goals that reproduce and reinforce the extant social structure rather than on building on the individual child’s knowledge and background. *Developmentalists*, who concentrate on children’s emotional and behavioral development, are also critical of phonics. Developmentalists question using phonics programs that are based on preconceived notions regarding pacing and the introduction of various letter sounds and blends as these are not built on individual needs. Developmentalists instead advocate for phonics instruction that is differentiated based on a child’s specific requirements, preferring to wait for the teachable moment rather than for adherence to packaged instruction. A third group, those interested in *social efficiency*, accept and indeed advocate for systematic and explicit phonics instruction. Social efficiency educators strive for a curriculum that builds the individual child’s capacity. Phonics, which can be efficiently taught and assessed, is seen as an ideal means of providing results to society.

Phonics-based approaches to reading instruction remain popular, widespread, and controversial in schools. Although growing consensus exists about the necessity of including phonics instruction in the classroom, no such agreement exists about the amount of time devoted to that instruction nor on the form in which it should be delivered. Educators continue to struggle with the appropriate balance of time and instruction devoted to learning how to decode versus that spent interpreting the meaning of language and literature.

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*See also* At-Risk Students; Curriculum, History of; No Child Left Behind; Reading; Reading, History of; Whole-Language/Reading Issues

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## PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Contemporary physical education curriculum today, as it pertains to the consideration of central issues of curriculum studies about what is worthwhile, has come a long way from issues of credibility and data-based studies to issues of what is worthwhile in physical education curriculum.

### Physical Education as an Academic Discipline

In the 1960s, physical education was primarily viewed as a teaching field in higher education, with the exception of one specialization, exercise science, which fueled the drive to be “more academic.” At the time, there were no systematic research programs in place other than some positivist-oriented research. Attempts to create a theoretical structure for the field began at this time.

More changes were on the horizon as well, driven at least in part by the need for academic credibility in higher education and the success of exercise science with its established body of research. The most notable change, following the path of exercise science (increasingly referred to as exercise physiology), was the development of other subdisciplines, such as sport psychology, sport sociology, sport philosophy, biomechanics, and motor learning. Borrowing from the parent disciplines (e.g., psychology, sociology, physics), each of these subdisciplines, among others, began to adopt their own unique research methods, theories, and language, facilitated by the gradual emergence of multiple paradigms and tentative steps

toward qualitative inquiry and critical theory research. Emphasis at this time was on affiliation with the “parent discipline” and away from the practice of physical education. As a result, the field of physical education began to look more like other academic disciplines, but in the process became fragmented, with each subdiscipline becoming increasingly isolated from the others. These beginning trends in the 1960s quickly became the field’s primary structure, a development that has grown since then. One consequence of all of these changes, because of prioritization of the subdisciplinary structure over practice, was the reduction of status of practice-based activities in higher education, leading to a loss of the term *physical education* at many institutions of higher education. It was replaced by subdisciplinary terms such as *kinesiology*, creating distance between what was physical education in higher education and what remained as physical education in schools across the country.

### The Growth of Curriculum Studies

Although these issues were problematic and warranted attention (and still do), this new structure provided an opportunity for curriculum studies in physical education to begin to carve out its own niche. Physical education teacher education (PETE) already had a research base, the aforementioned body of systematic observation studies. A new term, sport pedagogy, which was intended to focus on physical education instruction research, cropped up in the field’s lexicon. Unlike most of the other subdisciplines, PETE and sport pedagogy attempted to bridge the gap between what was left of university physical education and what was going on in schools. Physical education, many argued, was both a discipline and a profession. However, in the eyes of some academics, their work was that of “second class citizens” in a fragmented field.

Although the door had opened for specialization in physical education, the development of curriculum studies in physical education lagged behind PETE and sport pedagogy. The struggle for identity and recognition continued into the 1980s, but during that decade, research on teaching in physical education was finally included in the Big Ten conference on research in teaching physical education at Purdue. However, curriculum studies were

more or less ignored, a point punctuated by one highly recognized physical education scholar who argued against inclusion of curriculum scholarship in one of the leading physical education journals. Undaunted, Ann Jewett, a pioneer in physical education curriculum studies at the University of Georgia almost single-handedly paved the way for a series of biennial curriculum conferences. The American Alliance of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance soon followed with creation of the Physical Education Curriculum and Instruction Academy, which met (and still meets) yearly, recognizes one distinguished curriculum-instruction scholar each year, invites a recognized scholar to speak, and includes a social gathering of curriculum-instruction faculty. Although not focusing exclusively on curriculum, these developments helped legitimize curriculum scholarship in the field. Meanwhile, the prestigious American Educational Research Association established a special interest group in physical education that also holds yearly meetings and sponsors several awards for scholarly work.

### Issues and Responses

Despite substantial growth in the field and in curriculum studies and a number of studies designed to upgrade curricular and instructional practices, state school physical education requirements have been under attack for years and even more so in the No Child Left Behind era, even threatening survival of the requirement. Moreover, similar concerns have recently spread to some research universities where PETE, sport pedagogy, and curriculum doctoral programs are being reduced or eliminated, affecting the recruitment of PETE, sport pedagogy, and curriculum studies faculty at middle-range institutions. These are ongoing issues.

Three other factors in addition to the threat of a reduced requirement influenced a shift in the organizational structure of physical education: (1) the child obesity issue, (2) lack of adult guidance for many children and youth in nonschool time, and (3) the emerging field of youth development. The result in many schools was two kinds of programs: (1) in-school physical education and (2) extended-day physical activity. Physical education continued as an in-school instructional experience, but physical activity differed significantly

from the in-school version. For example, kids could choose to join or withdraw from physical activity programs. Kids had more choices in the program. Learning could be more project-based as well as more longitudinal in nature. In at least one state, schools now have both a physical education director and physical activity director.

### The Development of Curriculum Models

The structural shift in practice from physical education to both physical education and physical activity gradually began to influence professional preparation in higher education. Programs to “train” youth development professionals sprung up here and there in higher education, eventually spreading to the field of physical education. For example, physical education programs focused on developing physical activity programs; in other words, developing curriculum for children and adolescents in underserved communities began to be offered in masters and doctoral programs at the University of Illinois at Chicago and at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

A recent comprehensive review of physical education curriculum and instruction scholarship sponsored by the prestigious Kinesiology and Physical Education Academy praised the growth of data-based knowledge in some curriculum models (described later) and suggested a research agenda for the future. Major initiatives included the design and implementation of a variety of curriculums for different curricular populations, cultural settings, and subject matter; and investigating to what extent these various curriculums enhance or discourage learning of movement and associated processes such as enjoyment and motivation to participate, especially from the students’ perspectives. Although this agenda was noteworthy, it was guided for the most part by the promotion of lifetime physical activity as the primary purpose of physical education, a purpose widely shared by in-school physical educators and PETE faculty, but a contested issue in curriculum studies as reflected in the myriad purposes of curriculum models mentioned later.

This review paid some attention to issues of social justice and inequities in physical education curriculum and instruction, a point expanded by the recent inclusion of diversity and social justice



as standing committees and programs in both the National Association of Kinesiology and Physical Education in Higher Education and the National Sport and Physical Education Association of the American Alliance of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance.

### Curriculum Models Movement

The curriculum model movement was pioneered by Jewett and jump-started when Daryl Siedentop, a leading positivist scholar (who later became broadened in his work to include curriculum studies) observed that although the “technology of teaching”—including his work as well as many other research activities in PETE and sport pedagogy—was essential, it was insufficient to motivate middle and high school students. An attractive curriculum was also needed.

Thus began the era of physical education curriculum models. Curriculum models rapidly proliferated, each with a different purpose, different content, and different instructional strategies. The publication of a number of books, which began with one book in 1985, reviewed physical education curriculum models in detail. These books differed to some extent in interpretation and overlapped considerably as well, emphasizing the range of ideas and programs.

Part of the confusion can be attributed to philosophical forces both old and new. Fitness, now sometimes broadened to wellness, has been in and out of favor over the years, depending on social forces at the time. The current emphasis on health knowledge and childhood obesity has been instrumental in promoting the fitness-wellness curriculum model.

Interest in the whole child first emerged in physical education as education through the physical. Then, in the 1970s, it was reincarnated as humanistic physical education, and by 1980, its latest reincarnation, teaching responsibility through physical activity, is now viewed as a curriculum model, derived from the work of Don Hellison and others. Play education emerged as a counterpoint to emphasis on the whole child. It was a version of the earlier education of the physical approach—this time centered on the intrinsic virtues of play rather than fitness. The key point was that the subject matter of physical education ought to be

physical activity, and more specifically play, not for instrumental purposes as in the whole child rationale but as an intrinsic benefit. Play education led the way to another curriculum model, sport education.

Originating in England, human movement was first introduced in the United States by a few scholars who viewed it as a philosophical umbrella for the field of physical education. But its influence was arguably greater as a new way to work with elementary school children. Eventually, a new curriculum model, skill themes, was based on the human movement framework.

The early scientific emphasis in physical education influenced the fragmentation of the field into subdisciplines and provided a basis for requiring more scientifically oriented courses in the physical education major, such as exercise physiology, biomechanics, and motor learning. In turn, these courses began to be transformed into scientific lessons in in-school physical education, and this approach is sometimes known as the concepts model.

### Recent Models

Two recent books on curriculum models, one written by Mike Metzler and the other by Jackie Lund and Deborah Tannehill, detail many different curriculum models. The purpose of sport education is to teach youth the best of the organized competitive sport culture to introduce and inculcate positive youth sport practices in all school-age youth and teach students to be competent, literate (know the rules, rituals, traditions), discerning sports enthusiasts. According to this model, best competitive sport practices include providing an organized sport experience and playing time for all kids, not just athletes; keeping team but not individual statistics to emphasize the importance of the team rather than the individual and to promote teamwork; and teaching leadership by gradually shifting responsibility for carrying out team sport tasks to the youth, such as coaching, officiating, and keeping game statistics. In sport education, the typical physical education units are replaced by seasons that are longer than the typical physical education unit to conduct practices, preseason games, in-season games, a postseason tournament, and an end-of-season celebration.

Games for understanding is an orientation that originated in England as an alternative to the typical approach to teaching skills in physical education both in England and the United States and has been modified in the United States and called tactical games. The traditional approach begins with a focus on a specific sport such as soccer or volleyball. Basic skills are demonstrated, drills to practice the skills are conducted, and a game is played. Kids often show little enthusiasm for the demonstration, or drills, they want to play (or, for a few, sit out). Games for understanding, however, begin with a modified game or gamelike task based on a sport form, for example, small-sided games of soccer without goalkeepers or throw-ins. The teacher then builds on this experience either by introducing simple tactical strategies or integrating specific skills development, depending on observations of students' competence in game strategies and skills. This pattern continues as tactics become more complex, skills develop, and the game form begins to resemble the true game. Throughout this progression, students problem-solve situational and sometimes exaggerated tactical applications to learn the complexities of playing the game. Throughout, tactics are prioritized, and skill learning is integrated as necessary. Another departure from traditional practice is the use of game forms (or classifications) such as invasion games, net and wall games, and target games to teach transfer of tactics from one specific sport to another.

As noted earlier, the current emphasis on health knowledge and childhood obesity has been instrumental in promoting a fitness-wellness movement. In turn, exercise, once viewed by many physical educators as optional at best, has become wildly popular in the United States, giving rise to a wide variety of exercise forms and activities. These developments, coupled with the threat of reducing or eliminating the physical education requirement in schools, have spurred the development of fitness-wellness curriculum models. What once was calisthenics at the beginning of class has become a full-blown physical education program at some schools, whereas others often include fitness as part of the curriculum, for example, weight training and jogging units. When funding is available, some schools purchase equipment that resembles that of private health clubs, such as stationary bicycles with heart rate monitors, pedometers to

measure the number of steps a student takes in a day, and more recently video games such as Dance Dance Revolution. Another approach integrates concepts into the fitness-wellness curriculum, so students learn how to exercise, why to exercise, and the amount of time necessary in exercising for health.

Sport and physical education share a history of claiming character development and goals related to social and emotional learning, but these qualities have often been viewed as concomitant learning, that is, automatic when engaging in physical activities. Only recently has this gap between rhetoric and reality been meaningfully addressed. A number of curriculum and instruction designs have appeared in the literature. One of these approaches, teaching personal and social responsibility through physical activity (TPSR), has received considerable attention among physical education/activity scholars and in the literature, including books devoted to describing major physical education curriculum models. It further extends the intention of the education through the physical and humanistic physical education movements.

To use the terminology of the youth development movement with which it is aligned, TPSR embeds life skills in the program's curriculum, whether it is basketball, fitness, dance, or other activities. That means that, if taught effectively, students learn both life skills and physical activity skills and techniques. Those life skills, principles, and values are represented by a simple set of ideas (i.e., "less is more"). The purpose is to teach personal and social development through physical activity, so students are asked to take responsibility for a progression of five responsibilities—respect for the rights and feelings of others, effort and self-motivation, self-direction, helping and leadership, and exploring transfer to other settings. In addition, TPSR contains a daily format with five parts, which include an awareness talk to emphasize taking responsibility, a closing group meeting to evaluate the lesson, and reflection time where students self-evaluate their five responsibilities during the lesson.

Physical education has come a long way since the 1960s and before that. A number of the issues reported earlier continue to plague the field, including academic status and the relevance of practice. On the bright side, the growth and maturity of

physical education curriculum studies and the early steps in promoting diversity and social justice in the field are among the most promising signs for the future.

*Don Hellison and William H. Schubert*

See also Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Physical Education Curriculum, History of; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The history of physical education can be seen as an important dimension of the history of curriculum because it treats the story of responses to questions of what is worthwhile in the psychomotor realm. The psychomotor as such is not merely an alternative to the cognitive (intellectual), the affective (emotional), the social, and the spiritual domains of human functioning. Instead, psychomotor realm is an integration of all five, with a foregrounding of the physical. This history can be traced in ways that invoke many issues such as the influence of European sport and Puritan religious values, the role of physical activity for women, the emergence and popularity of sport, dueling versions of the purposes of physical education, and more recently, racial, ethnic, and gender issues. Evolution has certainly occurred, and physical education has established a foothold in schools, universities, and to a lesser extent youth agencies.

Nevertheless, its subject matter and purposes have remained contested.

Although physical education now has a number of curriculum models to choose from as well as a wide range of curricular content such as exercise, sport, dance, and outdoor/adventure activities, these developments occurred gradually over two centuries. Precursors to the field of physical education include the active games of early Greek and Mayan societies, which were often part of prevailing notions of education for life. However, physical education as a field was unknown until the 1800s. In the United States at that time, the dominant forms of physical education were imported from Germany and Sweden. The German system included gymnastics exercises, running, throwing, and rudimentary games, whereas the Swedish system emphasized “medical gymnastics,” which purported to have science-based therapeutic effects. Germanic and Swedish systems were called gymnastics, but were unlike gymnastics of today.

Another approach countered the prevailing notion that women were fragile and was illustrated by a book in the 1830s that focused on “calisthenics for young ladies.” Still another system combined the scientific gymnastics of the Swedes with women’s programs. Aspects of these programs and emergent fitness measurement, strength, and health training approaches were combined at Harvard into a comprehensive approach. During these early days, physical educators represented a variety of backgrounds: medical, YMCA, the ministry, and the Women’s Christian Temperance movement.

All of this activity preceded and contributed to what became known as the field of physical education (then referred to as physical training or physical culture). The Adelphi Conference of 1885 brought together the key contributors to organized physical activity programs from the various systems in vogue, including a representative group of women who were strong advocates of physical education, members of the news media, college presidents, and clergy. This conference is recognized as the birthplace of physical education. A new professional organization, the Association for the Advancement of Physical Education, was founded at the Adelphi Conference. This organization provided programs to prepare instructors of physical education, among the first being the Department of Physical Education at Amherst

College. The YMCA was also an early player in training physical education instructors, leading to the creation of Springfield College in Massachusetts. Soon, Springfield began to be recognized as a major professional preparation institution for the development of physical education, fitness, and sport practitioners, a reputation that has continued.

These and other activities solidified and extended a unified U.S. physical education influenced by John Dewey and others. The first doctoral program in physical education was also established at Teachers College, Columbia University in this era.

Gradually, building on the teacher education pioneer work at Amherst, Springfield, and elsewhere, physical education began to be considered a school subject. Near the beginning of the 20th century, California became the first state to require physical education in schools. Today's popular sports were not part of physical education until the 20th century, although sporting games did attract interest and spectators much earlier. The urbanization of the United States and the Civil War contributed to the rapid growth of organized sport. At first, students rather than teachers lobbied for sport programs, but soon games were being played on college campuses, and individual sports created organizations, standards, and rules. The rebirth of the Olympic movement in the late 1800s further fueled the sport movement.

When physical educators began to include sports, it led to a philosophical conflict between advocates of exercise for health and those for sports, which was exacerbated by a growing conflict between physical educators and coaches. This conflict became even more contentious as sport advocates, reminiscent of ancient Greece, began to argue for the social, emotional, and cognitive as well as physical benefits of sports, a movement known as education through the physical. Such attributions were not new. As the education through the physical movement gained momentum, health and fitness advocates argued for more emphasis on the physical outcomes of various forms of exercise and were skeptical of the holistic claims of the other side. Their view became known as education of the physical. This debate lingered into the 1950s and beyond, and in the 1970s resurfaced with the emergence of humanistic physical education, aided by the humanistic education movement.

It was the middle of the 20th century before a step toward integrating African Americans into sport programs was attempted, an event that by no means solved discrimination problems but did have widespread ramifications for the society and for other minorities that continue. Legislation known as Title IX also profoundly affected sports by mandating that women receive a more equal share of the resources supporting sport programs. Title IX also affected school physical education by requiring classes to be coeducational to receive funding, a law that was evaded in some, perhaps many, school districts until compliance gained a foothold.

Although the history of physical education curriculum has had ebbs and flows, rediscovering and re-naming previously enacted ideas and strategies, it has also evolved to a point in which contemporary models often address the place of physical activity in the context of life, not sport or exercise in isolation. As such, today's models of physical education push toward enabling conscious attention of teachers and learners on the development of better health in a holistic emphasis on self-realization and social responsibility.

*Don Hellison and William H. Schubert*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of; Physical Education Curriculum; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## PIAGETIAN THOUGHT

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Jean Piaget (1896–1980) was one of the 20th century's most influential educational theorists, with a particular emphasis on how children learn. He was not just a learning theorist though; he was also—and indeed foremost—a philosopher and logician, theoretical biologist, developmental psychologist, and cognitivist. His magnum opus is



*Biology and Knowledge*, followed by his *Behavior and Evolution*. In these, he lays out his “genetic epistemology,” where he talks of the process of cognitive development in terms of transformations. These transformations hold importance for curricularists.

For Piaget, transformative development in humans (children especially) was development that moved actions (and reactions to actions) from one stage or level to a new, higher stage or level. Such a hierarchal process was allied with (and indeed may have been heavily influenced by) his PhD study on how mollusks (snails) reacted to a change in their environment. Piaget observed the snails did not react immediately to a change in environment; rather they *assimilated* the environmental change into their own, patterned ways of operation. At a certain, undetermined point, though, enough environmental change encouraged the mollusks to *accommodate* themselves to the environmental change. This assimilation/accommodation process, *interactive* by nature, became the heart of Piaget’s epistemology. He called it “genetic epistemology,” referring to the fact that behavior, especially, deep-seated, genomic, lasting behavior (a change of schemas or ways of operation), could not be imposed as the Lamarckians/Skinnerians believed, nor was it random as the Darwinists/neo-Darwinists asserted but would develop via an *interaction* of environment and subject (animal/person). This interactionist approach was applauded by Ilya Prigogine, an early contributor to chaos and complexity theories, and is much appreciated by Dewey scholars who emphasize inter- (or trans-) action as the way children learn.

Piaget believed that children’s learning is organized around their ability, over time, to develop logical and abstract thinking—for him (as a logician), the epitome of adult thinking. His stages (really *schemas* or ways of operation) are *sensomotor* (0–2) where the child coordinates bodily reflexes; *preoperational* (2–6/7) where the child focuses on self; *concrete operational* (6/7–11/12) where the child/youth begins to develop a systems view, becoming aware of more than self but limited in this thinking to concrete instances; and *formal operational* (11/12–) where (ideally) mature, abstract, rigorous, logical thinking becomes operational. The sense of “progression” in this process captivated U.S. audiences, especially childhood

teachers and theorists. “Developmentally appropriate practices,” became a mantra for childhood educators. Childhood educators found themselves caught—they wanted to use operations that fit the stages the child was in; parents and often administrators want to “aid” the child to move through the stages quickly. The American way, as Piaget labeled it, was to move children as quickly as possible through the stages. Piaget, though, with his firm grounding in a biological, interactionist process—one where the genome has its own ways of operation, and maintaining his theory of genetic epistemology, affirmed that one could not “teach” a child out of one stage and into the next. Movement of this sort happens not by force or even by enticement but when the child’s cognitive structure “desires” such a change. The transformation happens individually, unspecified, and “tout ensemble.”

This sense of a sudden, total change of schemas/worldviews/ways of operation/structures is much akin to the work being done in complexity studies at the Santa Fe Institute, especially by Per Bak and Stuart Kauffman. Piaget’s interactionist approach—a *tertium quid* alternative to both (behaviorist) imposition and (benevolent) neglect—can be seen, along with Dewey’s inter- (trans-) actional approach as a forerunner of the complexity theory approaches being developed today. Curricularists utilizing the insights of complexity theory believe meaningful, lasting learning occurs not by imposition (direct instruction) nor randomly (benign neglect); rather, it occurs as the result of an interactive, creative, and dynamic tension occurring between subject and object, self and other, person and environment.

Within his genetic epistemology, Piaget labels his interactionist approach Equilibration. Here a child or young learner “seeks” a harmony within the operatory schema he or she is using. This zone of comfort is disturbed either by chance or pedagogical design and a sense of disequilibrium sets in; through the active process of assimilation/accommodation, a new, more comprehensive (and logical) stage/schema emerges. Equilibration occurs as the original stage/schema is re-equilibrated. Regrettably, few educators have seen the importance of this process.

Although in this process, it is disequilibrium that is “the driving force of development,” there

is overall a sense of active seeking, of *purpose* that Piaget posits to mollusks and humans. In one of his last writings, a book done with and finished by Rolando Garcia, Piaget explores this notion of *purpose*. Piaget believes that from an early age (when the child can distinguish relations), the young child is purposeful in his or her actions—he or she not only acts but acts with *intentions*. The “illogic” adults find in (and are often frustrated by) a child’s operations are, from another point of view, the child’s way of operating within his or her schema in a purposeful way. Over time, these operations become more and more “logical.”

For curricularists, the art is one of looking at not only the child or learner’s actions but also ferreting out his or her intentions. Further, it means allowing/encouraging the child/learner to utilize well the power of the schema present while also providing at the right time and in “just the right amount” those perturbations necessary for new and more comprehensive schema to emerge. Such is the legacy Jean Piaget has left us.

*William E. Doll, Jr.*

*See also* Curriculum Change; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Developmentalists Tradition; Learning Theories

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### Web Sites

Jean Piaget Society: <http://www.piaget.org>

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## PLACE-BASED CURRICULUM

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Place-based curriculum can be viewed as a holistic approach to education, conservation, and community development that uses the local community as

an integrating context for learning. Place-based curriculum seeks to foster a partnership between schools and communities. Historically, it has focused on environmental, social, and economic change, using a project-focused approach tailored by local people to local realities. It has been referred to as community-oriented schooling, ecological education, and bioregional education. The current notion is based on the concept that people should know and understand the historical, sociological, ecological, and political traditions of the places they inhabit. In the current atmosphere of schooling, place-based education is seen as a primarily rural concept. Ironically, the most successful and oldest forms of place-based curriculum are urban. This entry is a brief narrative of place-based curricula, a discussion of its philosophical underpinnings, and examples of place-based curriculum and their place within the current educational and social policies.

The 1959 Conant report was extremely influential in restructuring the small high school, calling for consolidation of small schools and teaching of subject-based lessons (to compete in science and math). James Conant advocated consolidation and graduating classes of 100 or more to have diversified curricula, effectively ending integrated subjects (crucial to place-based education) and focus on disciplines. In the 1960s, place-based curriculum was crucial to the foundation of Head Start in Mt. Beulah, Mississippi. Alongside this formal education, informal groups used place to drive social change. Freedom Schools in the South, civil rights workers and their organizations, and urban workers redefined the idea of place-based curriculum.

In New York City, urban plight and poverty led the city to allow schools to be run by local school boards (Brownsville), focus on ethnic populations, and allow alternative school within school buildings. Examples, such as Central Park East (founded by Deborah Meier), reinvigorated place-based curriculum in schools. In Berkeley, Chicano Studies emerged as a high school major; and the Black Panthers began running community schools in Oakland. In Texas and Louisiana, ethnic groups (Vietnamese and Mexican) founded language schools. In 1963, Coral Way Elementary (Miami-Dade, Florida, County Public Schools) became the first bilingual school (educating children in the day and parents at night). The North Dakota Study

Group (founded by Vito Perone) became a hub for place-based curricula and evaluation of place-based schools. However, in the 1970s, schooling became less focused on place and more on a de facto national curriculum. During this time, rural depopulation, the farm crisis (1980s), and the changing rural landscape led many schools to turn to place-based education. Consolidation and Hispanic migration led rural schools to rethink ideas of place and identity. Currently, place-based education has reemerged in urban areas through charter and neighborhood schools and in rural areas (especially in Appalachia and the Great Plains) of extreme poverty.

Currently, reformers and researchers make the case that rural universities should specialize in rural teacher preparation because preparing lessons anchored in community circumstances and dilemmas is sophisticated pedagogical work. Concurrently, urban schools seek total control of local or neighborhood schools and integration of local culture in the curriculum. Place-based education has been enlivened by the current push for environmental or green education. Local sustainability has become the driving force of local curricula based on local needs. For example, the state of Iowa has become involved in curricula that seek to improve water pollution from local farms. In West Virginia and rural Pennsylvania, there are current efforts to increase local studies of small communities, especially coke, steel, and coal industries. In California, an effort is underway to record and discover local languages (many of which are indigenous and disappearing) through school programs involved with local action groups.

Even with these unique nationwide efforts, four major issues persist. The first is the rigor of place-based curriculum that does not go through traditional curriculum adoption processes. Second is the conflict that studying the local at the expense of the global hurts learners who are more intimately tied to a global economy than to a regional one. Third is the place of certain groups within the local landscape and curriculum. Children of color or diverse ethnicities, religions, or exceptionalities find themselves not included. Ironically, the national curriculum (federal law) has borne the onus for curricular inclusion. Fourth is how to define the role of nonschool organizations such as community action groups, hospitals, clinics, 4-H,

Future Farmers of America, Rotary Clubs, and University Extension within the local curriculum. Also, and more importantly in an era where all curriculum in K–12 schooling (and in higher education) must be measured or assessed, how do we measure the impact of learning when all programs are unique to place?

Place-based curricula has thematic patterns that include (1) cultural studies, (2) nature studies, (3) internships and entrepreneurial opportunities (a chance to think about local vocational options), and (4) sustainability (examples include the Foxfire project, run by the teachers and students in Georgia in the 1970s). In general, contemporary schooling in the United States has been reformed to respond to the imperatives of globalization and economic growth. Curriculum developers proposed an industrialized factory model or urban model as the models of public education in United States—and this model has dominated not only 20th-century developments but continues to do so, thereby questioning the place of place-based curriculum.

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*See also* At-Risk Students; Ecopedagogy; Environmental Education; Family and Consumer Sciences Curriculum; Geography Education Curriculum; Life Adjustment Curriculum; Project Method; Social Context Research; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## *PLACE CALLED SCHOOL, A*

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John Goodlad's *A Place Called School*, published in 1984, is the chief fruit of what is generally

considered the most extensive on-site examination of U.S. schools ever undertaken. Deftly combining quantitative and qualitative data, Goodlad offers both a robust portrait of that place called “school” and a broad agenda for improvement. Goodlad’s account of the commonplaces of schooling, the competing functions of schools, the explicit and implicit curriculum, and the circumstances of teaching make it a landmark in curriculum studies.

The 4-year “Study of Schooling” was motivated in part by Goodlad’s concern that many prior efforts at school improvement had proceeded in ignorance of how schools actually function. In contrast, the study that Goodlad devised is legendary in scope, drawing data from 7 geographic areas, 13 communities, 38 schools, 1,350 teachers, 8,624 parents, and 17,163 students. Although the study generated many specific technical reports, *A Place Called School* is Goodlad’s synthesis of his key findings. Combining quantitative data—such as proportional measurements of time spent on instruction, behavior management, and social activity—with thicker, qualitative descriptions, Goodlad illuminates the characteristic features of U.S. teachers, classrooms, and curricula.

*A Place Called School* confirms much of our conventional wisdom about schools and their organization, but the documentation of these “commonplaces” (a term adapted from Joseph Schwab) is one of Goodlad’s achievements. He helps us to see, name, and understand the elements that make up the underlying “grammar” of schooling (to use David Tyack’s later term). For example, Goodlad reminds us that schools fulfill two fundamentally different functions, the custodial and the educational, and that the latter comprises competing academic, intellectual, social, personal, and vocational aims. He shows us teachers who are disconnected from each other, but at home in their classrooms; parents relatively pleased with their child’s school, while pessimistic about the status of schooling in general; dull, didactic instructional practices and disengaged students. It is not only that Goodlad brings such commonplaces into sharp focus, but that his study offers the data to establish them as generalizable features of schooling, rather than simply properties of this or that school. His careful mapping of the interpersonal, political, and phenomenological landscape of

schooling provides a crucial check against headlong school reform.

Goodlad also warned that reform must not be attempted in a piecemeal fashion, but must be mindful of the interactions among the many components of the whole. His notion of the school as a “total entity” has been important for curriculum studies. For Goodlad, curriculum must be considered in the context of the whole school culture. For example, a curricular reform may fail because it ignores how teachers are trained. Goodlad unapologetically delivers the bitter medicine that school improvement is necessarily a complex and extended undertaking.

Goodlad’s own proposals for reform have unfortunately been somewhat overshadowed by his comprehensive and perspicacious portrait of the school. Clearly tied to the study’s data, his proposals in fact merit careful consideration. Goodlad offers two kinds of proposals for reform. The first type involves adjustments to schools as they currently operate (for example, he suggests shifting more authority to local school personnel, and enabling teachers to spend more time preparing lessons during the school day), and the second type challenges basic assumptions of current schooling practice on a more fundamental level (for example, having children attend schools from age 4 to age 16, establishing nongraded classrooms where older students help younger students, and integrating school with other community educational institutions such as the home, television, and public library).

*A Place Called School* paints a detailed, data-driven portrait of school that outlines the common practices and stubborn structures in schools across the United States. Goodlad’s reform proposals flow from this portrait and from his insistence that we think of schools as integrated wholes. That this portrait resonates as much today as it did a quarter century ago is a tribute both to the robustness of Goodlad’s data and the resilience of his object.

*Chris Higgins and Ben Blair*

*See also* Commonplaces; Formal Curriculum; Goodlad, John I.; Grammar of Schooling; Hidden Curriculum; Intended Curriculum; Mixed Methods Research; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher Empowerment



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## PLANNED CURRICULUM

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*Planned curriculum* refers to documents that shape the content to be covered when teaching. These documents arise out of policy environments and reflect what is deemed required or necessary for students to learn at specific levels of education or educational settings. Typically, planned curriculum documents are created by governments, publishers of subject matter series, publishers of assessments, or boards of education. Planned curriculum can be categorized in two ways: curriculum that is prescribed or curriculum that is subscribed. Prescribed planned curriculum expects teachers to follow a defined set of objectives or outcomes, whereas a subscribed planned curriculum provides outcomes or objectives but allows for some teacher selection. Typically, planned curriculum is mandated at some level for teachers to use in their teaching and teachers are supervised in some manner to ensure their use of the planned curriculum.

In some countries or jurisdictions, the government mandates a planned curriculum that teachers are legally bound to implement. In other contexts, school boards or jurisdictions take up the published curriculum and expect teacher implementation. Implementation of planned curriculum places teachers within a policy conduit where curriculum is seen as something beyond the lives of teachers and learners and reduces the professional autonomy of teachers to choose curriculum that supports learners in a learning relationship.

The development of official planned curriculum may involve teachers, curriculum specialists in school jurisdictions, and government curriculum specialists. In the development of curriculum

documents, to connect planned curriculum to the field, teachers may be asked to “test drive” new curricula in their classrooms and suggest refinements. The inclusion of practicing teachers has located these curriculum documents in teacher practice; however, by nature, planned curriculum is generalized and treats learners as a homogenized group. Planned curricula are a purposeful progression of a generalized trajectory of concepts that build one on the other as learners become more sophisticated or knowledgeable in a subject area. The subject matter is fixed at different levels and subsequent levels assume knowledge gained at prior levels in the plan. This ties to evaluation and establishes benchmarks for assessing learners and monitoring teacher practice.

Because of this, planned curriculum is often narrow and rigid by nature and, because of the scope of a planned curriculum, cannot be responsive to specific learner and teacher situations. Historically, planned curriculum was couched in terms of objectives, which set direction for teaching practice, but there has been a shift to a language of outcomes. This is a significant difference in planned curriculum because it focuses on learners and what they will be able to produce at the end of a curriculum enacted by a teacher within the policy conduit. Planned curriculum is not relational in its structure beyond a vague expectation that teachers and learners in an educational relationship will achieve set objectives or outcomes. A planned curriculum by nature does not acknowledge the possibility of true relationship where teachers provide a curriculum responsive to the needs of individual learners. In tension with planned curriculum is the lived curriculum of the people involved in the curriculum making that arises out of educative situations.

Planned curriculum is transformed by the lives of learners and teachers in their realities and the decisions they make, within the context of the complexity of their lives lived alongside each other. Tensions of situation and continuity in classrooms shape the experience of teachers and learners and planned curriculum is but one part of these tensions. As an official document, it is often assumed that a planned curriculum can be mastered, and learners assessed on their mastery of the objectives or outcomes mandated in the document; however, there is much in the lives of learners and teachers that interrupts this concept of curriculum as

planned. Teachers as curriculum planners are the most responsive creators of curriculum as they negotiate the formal planned curriculum of governments and publishers within their practice alongside the lives of learners.

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*See also* Aoki, Ted T.; Child-Centered Curriculum; Formal Curriculum; Intended Curriculum; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Official Curriculum; Outcome-Based Education

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## POLITICAL RESEARCH

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Education is not a neutral, technical activity. Rather, as an act of influence, it must be seen as an ethical and political act. To understand this, we need to think *relationally*. That is, understanding education in general and curriculum studies in particular requires that we situate them back into both the unequal relations of power in the larger society and the relations of dominance and subordination—and the conflicts—that are generated by these relations. Thus, rather than simply asking whether students have mastered a particular subject matter and have done well on our all too common tests, we should ask a different set of questions: Whose knowledge is this? How did it become “official”? What is the relationship between this knowledge and who has cultural, social, and economic capital in this society? Who benefits from these definitions of legitimate knowledge and who does not? What can we do as critical educators to change existing educational and

social inequalities and to create curricula and teaching that are more socially just? These kinds of questions are not new. They have a very long tradition in education and are connected to a question that was put so clearly in the United States by radical educator George Counts when he asked, “Dare the school build a new social order?”

One of the most important steps in taking these questions seriously is to engage in what has been called in cultural theory an act of “repositioning.” Thus, the framework politically and educationally progressive educators have employed in essence says that the best way to understand what any set of institutions, policies, and practices does is to see it from the standpoint of those who have the least power. Seeing the world from the standpoint of the dispossessed asks that we also rigorously scrutinize the ways in which all of our dominant institutions function, including schools. Although this may be discomfiting, it is a crucial step if we are to move forward in understanding the politics of curriculum and the entire schooling process. It also redefines the role of the critical scholar as someone who is an *organic intellectual*—that is, someone whose work is meant to support the struggles of the dispossessed.

In terms of the curriculum, this act of repositioning has significant implications. The curriculum is itself part of what has been called a selective tradition. That is, from that vast universe of possible knowledge, only some knowledge gets to be “official knowledge,” gets to be declared “legitimate,” as opposed to simply being “popular culture.” There is a strong, but exceedingly complex, relationship between a group’s social and cultural power and its ability to set the terms of curriculum debates and to have its values, culture, and histories seen as the backdrop against which all other values, culture, and knowledge are to be measured. The results of this are not preordained, however. The curriculum is always the result of constant struggle and compromise. But this is not a level playing field; differential cultural and economic capital does count.

Second, this political structuring is not only seen at the level of content. It is also visible in the ways in which the curriculum is organized and evaluated. As a number of critical scholars have demonstrated, curricular *form* also represents the social and cultural glue, the ways of being in the world,

of particular classes and class fractions and of dominant race and gender relations. Indeed, most of the debates about the form the curriculum should take and how it should be evaluated are often really arguments within groups who already have considerable power.

Third, the larger politics in which the curriculum partakes, indeed the politics of education in general, is visible in the relationship between schooling as a set of institutions and the social, sexual, and racial divisions of paid and unpaid labor. Even though many educators actively work to promote the (individual) mobility of their students, it is still the case that education functions to roughly support or at least not actively interrupt these larger social divisions. As nearly three decades of research has documented, this is neither a mechanistic process in which education has no relative autonomy, nor are teachers and students passive in the face of this. Yet, this said, it is still absolutely crucial to remember that on the whole the education system works much more effectively for those social groups that already have cultural and economic capital and that are able to convert one to the other.

This may be the result of differential funding, the economic and cultural advantages affluent groups have in guaranteeing that the cultural “gifts” their children possess are those that are both recognized in school and are connected to the changing dispositions and knowledge needed by dominant institutions, the histories of mistrust and alienation that dispossessed peoples rightly have when interacting with dominant institutions, the intricate politics of popular culture, and much, much more. The reasons are historically and culturally complicated, but the results are visible in what have been so correctly called the “savage inequalities” in this society’s schools.

These social divisions go beyond the relatively essentializing categories of class, race, and gender, of course, to include sexuality, “ability,” age, nation, bodily politics, and so on—each of which is in constant interaction with the others. These kinds of “things” are often separable only at an analytic level.

And this point leads to the fourth way in which education, curricula, and teaching are political. This involves the ways in which the school participates as a workplace in the historic construction of

teaching as classed, gendered, and raced labor. Thus, in many nations of the world, the majority of teachers are women. This is especially the case at the elementary school level. We cannot understand why curricula and teaching are controlled in the ways they are unless we also recognize that work that is done by women is unfortunately often subject to lower pay, less respect and autonomy, and more social blame. The fact that historically working-class women and men saw teaching as a path to class mobility needs to enter into the argument as well. Also, the history of teachers of color, especially the fact that African American, Chicano/a, Asian American, Native American, and other populations were historically often excluded from teaching jobs or were placed in segregated underfunded schools, and had to struggle for decades to gain recognition as teachers—all of this documents the fact that schools exist as part of a racialized and racializing state, a gendered state, and a classed state. The fact that gay and lesbian teachers are still at risk of losing their jobs in many communities documents that the state is part of a political apparatus that polices sexuality in its employment practices as well.

Schools, then, are not separate from political and moral economies, but are very much part of them. In essence, the separation we make between the politics of education and the politics of the larger society is not all that useful. The separation is an artificial one, since schools are crucial parts of that larger society. Indeed, not only are they among the central institutions that make it up, they have played extremely important roles in providing arenas for the very formation of social movements that have challenged dominant power relations.

That this occurs in and through the state leads me to the next political realm. Formal schooling by and large is organized and controlled by the government. This means that, even aside from the role of schooling as an arena of class, gender/sex, and race mobilizations or as a place of paid employment, by its very nature the entire schooling process—how it is paid for, what goals it seeks to attain and how these goals will be measured, who has power over it, what and how textbooks are approved, who has the right to ask and answer these questions, and so on—is by definition political. Thus, as inherently part of a set of political

institutions, the educational system will constantly be in the middle of crucial struggles over the meaning of democracy, over definitions of legitimate culture, and about who should benefit the most from government policies and practices. That this is not of simply academic interest is made more than a little visible in the current attempts to institute neoliberal reforms in education (such as attempts at marketization through voucher plans) and neoconservative reforms (such as national curriculum and national testing, a return to a “common culture,” and the English-only movement).

This fact points to the final part of this discussion. Education is thoroughly political in an even more practical way. In order to change both its internal dynamics and social effects and the policies and practices that generate them—and in order to defend the more democratic gains that committed educators and activists have won over the years—we have learned that we need to act collectively. Multiple movements around multiple progressive projects surrounding education and its role in all of the complex politics to which I have pointed here are either already formed or are currently in formation. The lesson here is clear. Collective dilemmas warrant collective political responses.

Understanding these complex politics is crucial, but it is but a first step. Taking this understanding seriously asks us to then take up a series of responsibilities or “tasks” if we are to go further.

In general, there are seven tasks in which critical analysis (and the critical analyst) in education and in curriculum studies must engage:

1. It must “bear witness to negativity.” That is, one of its primary functions is to illuminate the ways in which educational policy and practice are connected to the relations of exploitation and domination—and to struggles against such relations—in the larger society. This can be summarized as a simple injunction: Tell the truth.

2. In engaging in such critical analyses, it also must point to contradictions and to spaces of possible action. Thus, its aim is to critically examine current realities with a conceptual/political framework that emphasizes the spaces in which more critically democratic (what might be called “counterhegemonic”) actions can be or are now going on.

3. At times, this also requires a considerable expansion of what counts as “research.” Here I mean acting as “secretaries” to those groups of people and social movements who are now engaged in challenging existing relations of unequal power or in building powerful educational programs that challenge our accepted ways of doing curriculum, teaching, and evaluation. This is exactly the task that has been taken on in the thick descriptions of critically democratic school practices in the United States that have been done by many curriculum scholars and activists. It is also found in the similar critically supportive descriptions of the transformative reforms such as the Citizen School and participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, one of the centers of impressive work in critical education internationally.

4. One of the tasks of a truly counterhegemonic education and research is not to throw out “elite knowledge,” but to reconstruct its form and content so that it serves genuinely progressive social needs. This is a key to another role “organic intellectuals” might play. Thus, we should not be engaged in a process of what might be called “intellectual suicide.” That is, there are serious intellectual (and pedagogic) skills in dealing with the histories and debates surrounding the epistemological, political, and educational issues involved in justifying what counts as important knowledge. These are not simple and inconsequential issues and the practical and intellectual/political skills of dealing with them have been well-developed. However, they can atrophy if they are not used. We can give back these skills by employing them to assist communities in thinking about this, learn from them, and engage in the mutually pedagogic dialogues that enable decisions to be made in terms of both the short-term and long-term interests of oppressed peoples.

5. In the process, critical research has the task of keeping traditions of critically democratic work alive. In the face of organized attacks on the collective memories of difference and struggle, attacks that make it increasingly difficult to retain academic and social legitimacy for multiple critical approaches that have proven so valuable in countering dominant narratives and relations, it is absolutely crucial that these traditions be kept alive, renewed, and when necessary criticized for their



conceptual, empirical, historical, and political silences or limitations. This involves being cautious of reductionism and essentialism and asks us to pay attention to movements that deal with multiple kinds of inequalities. This includes not only keeping theoretical, empirical, historical, and political curricular traditions alive but, very importantly, extending and (supportively) criticizing them. And it also involves keeping alive the dreams, utopian visions, and powerful critical reforms that are so much a part of these radical traditions.

6. Keeping traditions alive and also supportively criticizing them when they are not adequate to deal with current realities cannot be done unless we ask “For whom are we keeping them alive?” and “How and in what form are they to be made available?” All of the things that were noted earlier in this tentative taxonomy of the tasks of political research and researchers require the relearning or development and use of varied or new skills of working at many levels with multiple groups. Thus, journalistic and media skills, academic and popular skills, and the ability to speak to very different audiences are increasingly crucial.

7. Finally, critical educators and curriculum researchers must *act* in concert with the progressive social and educational movements their work supports or in movements against the dominant assumptions and policies they critically analyze. One must participate in and give one’s expertise to movements surrounding struggles over what schools do, how they do it, and how we evaluate it. It also implies learning from these social movements. This means that the role of what has historically been called either the “unattached intelligentsia” or someone who “lives on the balcony” is not an appropriate model. Of course, our intellectual efforts are crucial, but they cannot stand aside, neutral and indifferent, from the struggles in which the future of the world is at stake.

These seven tasks are demanding and no one person can engage equally well in all of them simultaneously. What we can do is honestly continue the attempt to come to grips with the complex intellectual, personal, and political tensions and activities that respond to the demands of this role. And this requires a searching critical examination of one’s own structural location, one’s own

overt and tacit political commitments, and one’s own embodied actions once this recognition in all its complexities and contradictions is taken as seriously as it deserves.

This will not be easy. But critical reflection and action in curriculum studies and in education in general has a long history of people who have devoted their lives to keeping this tradition alive inside and outside of education. Our responsibilities are the same.

*Michael W. Apple*

*See also* Cultural Production/Reproduction; *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*; Official Knowledge; *Savage Inequalities*

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## POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

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Postcolonial theorists write in different disciplinary areas such as political theory, cultural

studies, literature, history, and women's studies. Postcolonial theory engages issues of race, class, gender, culture, language, and nation in terms of empire and imperialism, popular culture and diaspora, identity, representation, and multiculturalism. Scholars writing in the field of curriculum studies who engage postcolonial theory have noted that education itself is deeply implicated in the project of colonialism and plays a role in transmitting colonialist structures and practices. For instance, a number of scholars (such as Philip Altbach, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Greg Dimitriadis, Cameron McCarthy, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Sofia Villenas, Gauri Viswanathan, among others) have critiqued Eurocentrism in education and spoken to the issues of disregard for and marginalization and loss of indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing, the internalization and reproduction of colonialist structures and practices, and the resultant contradictions and contestations in curriculum frameworks and teaching practices. Witness, for instance, the dominance of Eurocentric writings and perspectives in such subject areas as literature and history. As U.S. curricularists well know, peoples of color, women, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations have had to fight battles—and continue to do so—to have their struggles, stories, and perspectives represented in both the larger social context of the United States as well as in curriculum and teaching. In this process, various populations on the margins may form coalitions, and they may also find themselves in conflict with each other as they seek to create spaces of self-representation. Thus, the dynamics of rethinking and emerging from oppression and colonization also lead to new struggles and hierarchies in school and society.

Such scholars as Edward Said, Gauri Viswanathan, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, among others, reveal that colonialism has shaped discourse, disciplinary knowledge, education, and the use of language. Although the era of colonial rule has ended, its effects—such as poverty, illiteracy, “underdevelopment,” and transnational migration—continue to remain present. In the digitized, globalized 21st-century context, colonization may also be understood in terms of control and dissemination of mass media, technology, popular culture, and so on—for instance, the prevalence of U.S. popular culture in many parts of the world.

Specifically, then, postcolonial theory focuses on interrogating and unpacking such effects of colonialism as the exploitation of human and natural resources and the shaping of discourses, education, language, and identity. Postcolonial theory also addresses contradictions arising from colonization such as the internalization of the colonizer by the colonized, and the fact that the aftermath of colonialism is evident in the colonizing countries and peoples as well as in the former colonies. For instance, the colonized may acquire the language and behaviors of the colonizer and learn to hold them as “superior” to their own language and ways of being, and, even today, racial and cultural tensions are evident in such Western countries as the United Kingdom. Given that the colonized internalize the colonizer, it follows that, even as they resist colonization, the colonized submit to and participate in the realization of the colonial relationship. Furthermore, postcolonialists such as Gloria Anzaldúa and Homi Bhabha have talked about how, individuals, finding themselves in the “borderland” and at the “interstices” (in-between spaces) in (post)colonial contexts, negotiate hybrid identities and cultures. Finally, the logic of colonization is incomplete and self-contradictory, and the colonized express their resistance in direct and subtle ways. For instance, even as the colonized might be forced to adopt the language and ways of the colonizer, they adapt and modify them in subtle and even direct ways, thus subverting colonial authority and ensuring that it is never complete.

In an era of globalized capitalism and hyperdigitization, the twist in (post)colonial relations is that the formerly colonized others also consume and reproduce “Western” cultural, material, and curricular artifacts in their home countries, even as they continue to supply labor, services, “ethnic goods,” and “raw materials” to the former colonizers. For instance, although various electronic gadgets or garments may be assembled and manufactured in “third world” or “developing” countries and exported to the “West,” citizens of those countries also consume, emulate, and appropriate “Western” popular culture and ways of being.

Postcolonial theory also discusses how colonization operates at both the systemic and the individual levels. Following such scholars as Frantz Fanon and Kelly Oliver, for instance, we understand that both body and psyche are shaped by

colonization. In particular, feminist postcolonialists, such as Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks, Chandra Mohanty, and Trinh Minh-ha, among others, have discussed the affective, psychic aspects of colonization and related struggles in the process of decolonization. For instance, the struggle to unlearn internalized hierarchies of “superior” and “inferior,” rethink “us” and “them” binaries (in terms of race, gender, nation, and so on), and arrive at new understandings of self and other results in dissonance at the intellectual level and emotional conflict within the self.

Several education scholars have articulated similar critiques of the implicatedness of multicultural education itself within extant relations of power. For instance, researchers such as Cameron McCarthy and Nina Asher, among others, have argued that multicultural education discourse and practice will be truly effective in enabling students and teachers to rethink hierarchical, oppressive relations of power only when they emerge from perspectives that are rooted in Eurocentrism, cultural relativism, and cultural pluralism to move toward a critical frame premised on rethinking unequal relations of power in educational and social contexts. A major conundrum that emerges here, then, is this: If educators and cultural workers themselves are implicated in systems of education that are rooted in Eurocentric, colonialist, and oppressive traditions, then how can they rethink and break out of this frame? What are the implications in terms of theory, practice, inquiry, and policy?

Postcolonial theory offers curriculum studies workers useful ways to rethink curriculum and pedagogy. At the broader level, it pushes scholars and teachers to question and re-vision curriculum in terms of history, geography, literature, language, and so on. In terms of practice, it educates them about historically marginalized peoples, knowledge systems, and perspectives, and offers ways of engaging the same via pedagogies centered on dialogue and self-reflexivity. For instance, several of the publications available from *Rethinking Schools*, offer both critical analyses of issues pertaining to race, class, gender, immigration, globalization, and so on, as well as specific strategies and resources for classroom teaching. The increasing interest in engaging postcolonial theory to inform education is evidenced also by the formation, a few years ago, of the Postcolonial Studies and

Education Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association. Scholarship in the curriculum field that is informed by postcolonial theory engages questions of identity and representation; race, culture, and nation; gender; and class, in relation to historical and geographic contexts. Postcolonial theory—and especially feminist postcolonial theory—emphasizes the need for a self-reflexive engagement with difference(s) in curriculum, pedagogy, and inquiry. Thus the work of transformation, moving toward equity and justice needs to happen in both the social/exterior realm and in the individual/interior realm. Rather than contributing directly to large-scale policy efforts, curriculum work that engages postcolonial perspectives is useful in providing exemplars for successfully rethinking relations of power and serving as a springboard for building coalitions.

Recent work in the U.S. curriculum field has emphasized the need to engage worldliness and internationalization. This is particularly critical in the hyperdigitized, globalized, 21st-century context in which high-speed transnational exchanges—economic and informational—are the order of the day, even as actually crossing geographic borders is becoming increasingly difficult. Engaging postcolonial theory allows students and teachers to see that such binaries as “East” and “West” are not pure and that curricula, texts, and identities, including their own, are shaped by history, geography, and economics.

Nina Asher

*See also* Colonization Theory; Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Cultural Identities; Cultural Production/Reproduction; Subaltern Curriculum Studies

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## Web Sites

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## POSTMODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Postmodern historiography designates an array of approaches to historical inquiry that eschew modern historiographical assumptions. Modern historiographical assumptions rejected by postmodern historiography include teleology, coherence, totalizing (or “grand”) narratives, determinism, progress, truth, realism, objectivity, universality, and essentialism. Postmodern historiographical approaches have been described variously as counterhistory, metahistory, critical and effective history, new historicism, and new cultural history. Postmodern historiography is exemplified most notably in the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, Michel Foucault, Hayden White, and Stephen Greenblatt.

Postmodern historiography is relevant to curriculum studies for its influences on curriculum history and its contributions to theories of knowledge, particularly with respect to purposes of inquiry, foci of study, and epistemological commitments.

### Purposes of Inquiry

Postmodern historiography is generally not a truth-seeking endeavor. In that way, the purpose of postmodern historiography is different from modern historiography, which subscribes to the assumption that the purpose of scholarly inquiry is the search for truth (or truths), and truth is the proper basis for knowledge. The search for truth(s) in modern historiography is made apparent in its attention to methodological rigor, evidence, validity, documentation, and predictive power. In contrast, postmodern historiography is conducted and evaluated on criteria other than those that have been established for truth-seeking approaches to inquiry.

Postmodern historiography complicates the search for truth(s) by using parody, irony, complexity, poetry, deconstruction, narrative analysis, and political critique. One alternative to the search

for truth *Wirkungsgeschichte*, which Jürgen Habermas calls “critical history” and Mitchell Dean calls “effective history.” In Nietzsche’s version of critical and effective history, the purpose of historical inquiry is neither to establish a version of truth, nor to correct errors in the historical record, but rather to dismantle dominant claims to truth and incite critical questioning. The purpose of such postmodern historiography is to provoke, inspire, and galvanize readers, so the genre of postmodern historical writing is less expository and more evocative.

Some critical curriculum theorists regard postmodern historiography as nihilistic because it dismantles truths without offering any replacement truths. At the same time, critical and effective histories do not usually claim that there is no such thing as truth; rather, postmodern historiography raises the possibility that historical inquiry may have worthwhile educational purposes other than the search for truth. For example, postmodern historiography may pursue justice, cultivate aesthetic pleasure, generate moral values, explore uncharted intellectual territory, or awake a human spirit. For proponents of postmodern historiography, the critical value of the postmodern approach is that it expands historical inquiry beyond the search for truth, thereby undermining the basis on which dominant knowledge has become exclusive and limiting.

In general, postmodern historiography is critical and provocative rather than realistic or explanatory. By implication, postmodern historiography has posed challenges to curriculum studies. For example, from the perspective of postmodern historiography, curriculum history can be evaluated on the basis of its methodological rigor and fidelity to established facts and on the basis of its political effects, literary merit, and the degree to which the history generates critical thinking or provokes political activism. The shift of purpose from truth-seeking to critique also contributes to curriculum theories that seek to explain various mechanisms of knowledge production. For example, in curriculum theory, postmodern historiography pushes definitions of knowledge to extend beyond the realms of science and cognition, and into realms of literature, aesthetics, ethics, politics, and power.



### Focus of Study

Postmodern historiography differs from modern historical inquiry in its focus of study. Postmodern historical studies tend to focus on the local and particular, in contrast to modern historiography that tends to focus on the general or universal. Postmodern historiography emphasizes differentiation, discontinuity, and minority viewpoints, in contrast to modern historical inquiry that seeks to establish general patterns, overall similarities, and dominant trends. Because the focus of study is the particular and local, postmodern historiography places more emphasis on uniqueness, deviation, and individuality in history; relatively little historiographical importance is granted to generalizability, normality, and statistical models of regularity and prediction.

Tending to focus on the particular and to emphasize differences, postmodern historiography has provided a venue for histories of many marginalized groups and unrecognized perspectives. One example of this focus can be found in postcolonial histories, notably those written from the perspective of people from former colonies in Africa and the Asian subcontinent. Postmodern historiography generally works against modern tendencies to establish universal or comprehensive theories of history. Because of its focus on the local and particular, postcolonial historiography has extended the scope and focus of curriculum studies to include languages, ways of seeing, cultural sensibilities, and political nuances that had been disregarded or placed outside the realm of modern historiography.

### Epistemological Commitments

In general, modern historiography is characterized by an epistemological stance of scientific interpretation, discovery, or sense making. In contrast, postmodern historiography enacts epistemological commitments that are less fixed and more contingent on context and power relations. Some postmodern historiography can be regarded as interpretive, however, the interpretation may not aspire to approximate the truth as much as it strives to stimulate critical questioning and awaken fresh perspectives. Postmodern historiography

usually resembles invention and narrative more than discovery or recording. In addition, postmodern historiography has a complicated relationship to epistemologies of social constructivism. Some theories of social constructivism claim that truths are constructed through democratic and collective discourse; other forms of social constructivism claim that people construct their own unique paths to the truth. Various versions of social constructivism may or may not be regarded as postmodern, depending on which variety of postmodernism is espoused.

Representation is a crucial epistemological issue for postmodern historiography, just as it is for curriculum theories. In its departure from structuralism and realism, postmodern historiography rejects the assumption that history can be or should be a representation of the past. For modern historians in general, language represents reality, and from a modern perspective, it is possible to separate what happened in history from the historical record that has been written about what happened. However, in postmodern historiography, it is difficult or impossible to establish an ontological or epistemological difference between history and what we write about it. From the standpoint of postmodern historiography, history is precisely what we write and say about it. Most careful historians of any stripe acknowledge that history is always written from a particular perspective. Recognizing the inevitability of selective perception in history, postmodern historiographies are unapologetically perspectival, and they generally make no pretense toward objectivity or neutrality.

Concerning curricular theories of knowledge production, the relationship between empiricism and postmodern historiography is also complicated. If empiricism is understood as some kind of objectivity, then postmodern historiography is nonempiricist because it rejects claims to a neutral point of view and unmediated realism. However, postmodern historiography is usually also post-structural. In its rejection of structuralism, postmodern historiography focuses on perceptible phenomena rather than on underlying structural abstractions. Because postmodern historiography calls attention to worldly practices, in that sense it can be regarded as empiricist.

As a mode of inquiry that is more critical than truth-seeking, postmodern historiography is generally more closely related to literary studies than to social sciences. An influential example of this relationship can be found in White's work, especially in his historiographical position that analyzes history in terms of literary tropes such as tragedy, irony, and heroic myth. White's contributions to historiography have been mobilized in curriculum theories to challenge theories of knowledge production that are exclusively scientific, positivistic, or realistic. Postmodern historiographical approaches make it possible to regard knowledge as discourse and history as narrative.

Lynn Fendler

See also Foucauldian Thought; Historical Research; Postcolonial Theory; Postmodernism; Poststructuralist Research; Semiotics; Structuralism

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## POSTMODERNISM

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Postmodernism can be viewed not so much as an "ism" (which suggests something complete, totalized, unified) as a social, discursive, cultural, and political turn—a turnout of and away from the modern, from previously customary modes of thinking and living. Some argue that this turn was precipitated, in great part, by sociopolitical movements during the 1960s in the West, particularly theorized by French philosophers, historians, and linguists, that resisted and attempted to overthrow normalizing and often oppressive social mores,

structures, and practices. Such a turn became apparent in the 1970s and 1980s through a proliferation of new media, technologies, mass cultures, reconceivings of capitalism, consumer and information societies, urbanization, and cultural forms that questioned modernist Enlightenment ideals of rational, fully conscious humans and the quest for foundations on which to base claims of eternal truth and certainty.

The postmodern turn was evidenced most dramatically within U.S. curriculum studies during the 1970s and 1980s with the move by a group of theoretically diverse scholars to "reconceptualize" the field's technical-rational focus and prescriptive and managerial nature to encompass efforts to "understand" curriculum. Drawing on the Latin word *currere*, to run—as in running the course of a race—reconceptualized curriculum involved attention to processes of inward journeys to explore experiencings of educative activities as well as to examine larger social and cultural contexts and power relations that framed such experiencing. Reconceptually oriented curriculum scholars introduced psychosocial, humanities-based perspectives as well as neo-Marxist political analyses in response to the deficiencies of conceiving of curriculum and its design and development as another version of "truth and certainty"—as linear, sequential, predictable, and measurable versions of supposedly universally agreed-upon versions of content as well as pedagogical and learning processes.

#### Descriptions of the Postmodern From a Variety of Disciplinary Perspectives

One primary way of considering the "postmodern turn," however, is not so much a particular moment in chronological time but as more a moment in logic, or a rupture—a break—in modernist consciousness. The "postmodern" cannot be considered only in linear configurations, as in limiting the term to a stage following modernism. At the same time, the language of the burst in modernist consciousness must mention and call into question its antecedent before attempting to move into projects that interrogate the processes of naming, claiming, and representing.

That antecedent, modernism, was instilled by René Descartes's claims for the supremacy of

reason in discovering the truth about a rational universe; by Francis Bacon, John Locke, and Thomas Hobbes, who argued that reason be supplemented with experience in making knowledge claims; by Immanuel Kant, who developed theories of knowledge, of what is morally good, of beauty and the sublime—all based on reason and a conception of the mind as an active, organizing synthesizer of innate mental categories of sense experience.

In contrast, “postmodern(ism)” can be considered as an awareness of *being-within* a particular way of thinking, language, and a particular cultural, social, historical framework. Simultaneously, one irony of considering postmodernism as such is that one never can fully name the terms of this way of thinking. “Naming” assumes the one who names as being outside of a moment as well as outside language. From postmodern assumptions, however, there is no being “outside” of history or language and discursive constructions of identities and experiences from which to “objectively” name the present.

Further, Jean-François Lyotard, the French philosopher, argued that “the postmodern condition” triggered disbelief toward metanarratives, toward large-scale theories and philosophies of the world—such as the Western belief in linear time and the progress of history. Such grand stories offer explanations that attempt to make sense of the world through one universalized, totalized, overarching truth, based on foundationalism and essentialism. In contrast, postmodernism values local, contingent truths and identities; notes how reified versions of knowledge position subjects within certain discourses by enabling particular possibilities and repressing others; and focuses on issues and discursive constructions of difference.

Postmodernism, too, is a contradictory phenomenon, one that sets up and then subverts, that uses and exploits, the very concepts it challenges—be it in music, film, architecture, painting, literature, historiography sculpture, video, dance, TV, philosophy, aesthetic theory, psychoanalysis, or linguistics. Postmodernism questions all absolutes; juxtaposes high with popular culture; raids and parodies past art; peppers cultures with recycled, simulated, and replicated images—copies without originals. Postmodernism is not divorced from everyday

life, but is of it. Distinctions between “high” and “popular,” “secular” and “religious,” “past” and “present” are challenged and disrupted to think of the world in different ways, where hierarchies are not generated by universal transcendent values but by the ideologies and discourses that enable/persuade people to understand the world in particular terms and worldviews.

For example, much modernist fiction has a paradoxical aesthetic unity, as though art could contain life’s chaos and create an order, as in Henry James’s modernist pattern of the form and artistry of literature. Postmodernist writing frequently mocks this pretension to pursue order through language, and often instead is parodic, playful, carnivalesque, showing language breaking down or falling into exaggeration and aesthetics as reduced to spectacle. There are no immutable standards of judgment, only, as Roland Barthes notes, pleasurable responses to the spectacle.

Further, the assumption of a creative author/subject who gives a literary work its meaning is radically disrupted in postmodernism; rather, as Barthes and Jacques Derrida note, it is language that speaks the work, not the author. Meanings are constantly deferred; authors continuously are borrowing and alluding. Postmodern texts play with the idea that thought is basically linguistic, and often do this in open and subversive ways. Relatedly, the concept of intertextuality, coined by feminist theorist Julia Kristeva whose realm is that of semiotics, refers to how one or more systems of signs are transposed into another, resulting in a chain of differential references—the intertexts of a text.

Consequently, terms of intertextuality figure prominently in discussions of postmodernism: parody, copy, plagiarism, pastiche, palimpsest, simulation. In another example, “postmodern novels” both insert themselves self-reflexively in history, often blending fictional characters and real events, and also self-consciously discussing or alluding to the conditions of their own narration.

Conceptualizing postmodernism, then, is problematic, given that any attempted formulation must immediately involve a constant questioning of presumptions underlying the very conceptual efforts themselves as well as the discourses available to even challenge and interrogate.

### Influences on and Implications for Curriculum Studies

A number of curriculum scholars have been influential in the curriculum studies field through their illuminations of why educators necessarily must take into account the questions and inquiries that the postmodern poses. These scholars urge curriculum studies scholars/practitioners to question the field's grand narratives, its essentialist and foundationalist beliefs, and taken-for-granted and habitually conditioned assumptions. They also argue that postmodern conceptions reject versions of curriculum as a linear and insular field of design and development of predetermined and measurable content. They instead point to implications for curriculum of time as losing its neat linearity, cultural spaces as expanding, contracting, constantly morphing, and boundaries of disciplines, schools of thought, and methodologies as losing their stiff demarcations in favor of fluid, permeable, membranous contingencies.

Thus, postmodern influences point to a consideration of curriculum as involving attempts to understand what and how in- and out-of-school, conscious and unconscious curriculum choices and predispositions might mean differently in varying contexts and discursive constructions, and through the eyes of multiply positioned educators and students. Postmodern versions of curriculum studies have pointed to necessary examinations of the variety of discourses that posit certain meanings as well as subjectivities—and not others—as desirable in educative processes and encounters. And, in its decentering of the humanist subject, its challenging of any claims of full representation of self and others, and its insistence on plurality and on conceptions of difference that do not automatically work toward “sameness,” postmodernism encourages fresh conceptions of curriculum, ones that acknowledge complexities, contradictions, paradoxes, and unpredictable networks of relationships and ideas. Such versions of curriculum always will be in process, always subject to revisions, always in-the-making.

Postmodernism thus enables educators to view curriculum as both processes and content forever in flux and subject to multiple interpretations. Such conceptions acknowledge that all educators and students are involved with and in complex

interactions that may be classroom-based, but that are inflected with often competing discourses as well as differing and yet often normative social and cultural versions of “good teacher or student,” or what and who counts as knowledge worth knowing, for example.

Further, even when curriculum “must” be considered as “content” in relation to mandated accountability and achievement test scores, for example, postmodern perspectives enable educators to note that what contains also excludes. What appear to be universally accepted norms for subject matter content as well as “best” pedagogical practices are maintained in their apparent unity only through an active process of exclusion and hierarchies. Some postmodern curriculum theorists, for example, have examined social systems in education by paying close attention to constructions of margins, borderlands, and “outsiders” to highlight how positions of hierarchical power in individual and social configurations can only function through repression of the other.

From another perspective, William Doll takes up a postmodern worldview based on quantum physics, nonlinear mathematics, general systems theory, and Ilya Prigogine's nonequilibrium thermodynamics. As first evidenced in his work within the reconceptualization of the curriculum field, Doll does so to counter a Newtonian worldview, which is linear and reductionist. Doll describes the theoretical foundation of Ralph Tyler's notions of an orderly, linear, and sequential development of curriculum with ends preset, and of B. F. Skinner's conceptions of expressing learning in discrete and quantifiable units.

Doll argues that these conceptions assume the whole to be no more than the sum of the parts, and lead to a curriculum that is cumulative rather than transformative. He posits that Prigogine's notion of nonequilibrium in the process of becoming is a more accurate model for a curriculum than is Isaac Newton's physical, inert, mechanical structures. In particular, Doll argues that curricula should be structured as self-regulating “open systems” where internal, autocatalytic transformations are encouraged. To move from a curriculum based on the simple and separate to one based on the complex requires educators to adopt a radically new relationship with students and a more integrative approach to subject matter. A postmodern curriculum,



for Doll, will be transformative rather than incremental with respect to change, will accept students' ability to organize, construct, and structure, and will emphasize this ability as a focal point in the curriculum.

Patrick Slattery addresses the very notion of curriculum development—a modernist, technical-rational concept, according to most postmodern critiques—to take a sweeping view of the need to understand curriculum in relation to global religions, ethnic relations, multicultural communities, and sociopolitical interest groups. By situating his postmodern analyses of how curriculum “development” might be reconceived within a new public discourse for justice, Slattery posits that a visceral response to disequilibrium provoked by the postmodern turn can be generative in terms of directly dealing with contentious contemporary issues such as discursive and material constructions of gender roles and sexual orientation, academic freedom, ethnicities, and religion and prayer in schools. And in offering a range of postmodern perspectives and analyses in relation to interpretive processes, multiculturalisms, ecological sustainability, time and complexity, and aesthetic inquiry, Slattery demonstrates ways in which curriculum development within the postmodern must be approached from autobiographical, historical, socially, culturally, and discursively contextualized perspectives and goals—and then immediately questioned.

The postmodern condition, the turn, the moment(s)—however impossible it may be to sum up, there is nothing about postmodernism that enables a simple mapping of theory onto practice to reach any final version or closure. Postmodernism has influenced the contemporary field of curriculum studies by pointing to ways in which any version of curriculum and curriculum studies is an interpretation and thus a will to power, to dominate. Important implications of the postmodern for conceptions of curriculum and curriculum studies thus are found in its calls for caution, responsibility, and self-reflexiveness in searching for gaps, contradictions, and silences in one's own interpretations, and in making room for competing and contrary interpretations. These implications can be seen as gestures toward openness, toward creating spaces that enable particular awarenesses as well as interrogations, and toward potentials for diversity of thoughts and constructions of subjectivities that

resist positioning any one idea or person as permanently “other.”

Janet L. Miller

*See also* Baudrillard Thought; Deleuzian Thought; Derridan Thought; Foucauldian Thought; Lyotardian Thought; Modernism; Poststructuralist Research

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## POST-RECONCEPTUALIZATION

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Post-reconceptualization raises questions about the state of the field of curriculum studies after the reconceptualization movement of the 1970s. More specific, the term gained significance after a 2006 conference entitled “Articulating the (Present) Next Moments in Curriculum Studies: The Post-Reconceptualization Generation(s),” which focused on exploring contemporary scholarship within the field. What has become evident both at this conference and in journal articles and essays where the term *post-reconceptualization* is used is that although the reconceptualization movement has passed—and what remains are debates about its significance—post-reconceptualization is itself a site of debate and contestation because it is still under formation. Accordingly, the remainder of this entry is focused on various perspectives that have been developed thus far to describe post-reconceptualization.

The first perspective is focused on a generational change and in the scholars who make up the field and how events of a particular time period shape scholarly outlooks. Here, what has been written about involves the challenges that mark the reconceptualization and post-reconceptualization movements and scholars' reactions to them. During the initial reconceptualization of curriculum studies, scholars were reacting to the governmental intrusion of the 1950s and 1960s into curriculum issues under the rationale of economic competitiveness and national security. Citing *Sputnik* and the need to advance technology and science to compete with the former Soviet Union, policy makers became more central than curriculum scholars to conceptualizing school content. Scholars of the reconceptualization movement challenged their lessening authority in regards to school curriculum matters as well as the general institutional and bureaucratic nature of curriculum thought. During this post-reconceptualization moment, a new generation of curriculum scholars reacts to the continued imposition of government within curriculum matters, particularly with the No Child Left Behind Act, but with a more robust theoretical tradition from which to draw in conducting inquiry and analysis, due in no small part to the reconceptualization movement. Regarding this first perspective, post-reconceptualization has to do with the challenges that confront a new generation involving current events and available theories and their reactions to them.

The second perspective is attentive to a new phase in curriculum theorizing. Here, what has become evident is that the post-reconceptualization generation is producing scholarship in new and unforeseen ways. Some scholars are drawing together various discourses evident in the reconceptualization movement to craft their own hybrid orientations. This includes holding together seemingly incompatible ideas, such as those borrowed from queer theory and personal narrative or critical race theory and autobiography. Other scholars are continuing the tradition of importing theories and ideas from other fields to complicate the nature of curriculum scholarship. Some of these other bodies include critical geography, existential philosophy, and cultural studies. Still other scholars focus on reconfiguring existing curricular concepts to shed new light on familiar topics. Some of

these reconfigurations include a shift in focus from poverty to privilege and reconfiguring notions of space so as not to signify emptiness but places of relations and proximities. A few scholars are taking the ideas and concepts of the reconceptualization movement as a paradigm shift and exporting them to other fields to incite an intellectual reorientation. The disciplines of export in this process include math and art education. A select group has also concentrated on understudied and unstudied histories within the curriculum field. Here the focus is on rereading practices that shed new light on historical figures and concepts that have become important to the field. Lastly, some continue to attend to state of the field questions, but do so with a focus on multiplicity and proliferation rather than reduction to key principles and centers of curriculum scholarship.

Finally, a third perspective is focused on extending beyond the notion of paradigm shifts to think about advancement in the field in new and different ways. One approach has involved a focus not on new theories and ideas but on translations across differences or clusters of theorizing within the field. Here, the idea is not to create new theories but figure out how to make meaning across differences. The idea is to develop through-lines across clusters of theories that are seemingly incompatible to strengthen the network of relationships that make up the field. Another involves attention to the ways extant theories and ideas can be reinvented by way of new metaphors and frames of reference. Here, the idea is to find vitality in existing theories and ideas when new ideas are brought to bear on familiar ideas.

In contrast to the conservatism that has surfaced in the form of standardized national curriculum, post-reconceptualization is about multiple novel and creative ways for going about studies in teaching and learning. If the scholarship that has been associated with the term *post-reconceptualization* is any indication, curriculum scholars are confronted with two tasks. The first is finding ways to continue with curriculum theorizing in the face of the demise of traditional knowledge centers, the dissolution brought on by postmodernism and poststructuralism. The second, quite ironically, involves finding ways to continue given the rise of new orthodoxies in what will be recognized as valid educational research and curriculum

concepts. Curriculum scholars have approached these tasks through postempirical work that assumes the ground for human knowledge is neither rock solid nor unquestionable but rather conjectural and uncertain. Also, they have approached these tasks through reading practices that attempt to intervene within discourse to change what is thought about when one thinks about curriculum. As a concluding thought, it is important to acknowledge that post-reconceptualization is a relatively new idea. Whereas it will one day become a part of curriculum history, to be studied for its significance, it is currently under formation. That is, it is a site of debate and sign of vitality within curriculum studies.

*Erik Malewski*

*See also* Balkanization of Curriculum Studies; Curriculum, History of; Curriculum Change; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Reconceptualization; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## POSTSECONDARY CURRICULUM

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The postsecondary curriculum in the United States refers to the educational and academic courses of study offered by a variety of institutions, anchored by colleges and universities and extending to include community colleges, junior colleges, technical institutes, professional schools of law and medicine, seminaries, and academies. For U.S. colleges and universities and these related institutions at the start of the 21st century, the postsecondary curriculum exhibits a highly standardized structure, format, and lexicon. Across the expanse of more than 2,000 degree-granting institutions, which annually enroll more than 14 million students, there is consistent usage of such formal components as “major field of study,” “minor field of study,” “general education requirements,” “distribution requirements,” and “elective courses” as part of academic degrees. These terms also are homogeneous across institutions in the accounting

system of “units of credit” and calculations of “grade point average.” Whereas in England’s historic universities of Oxford and Cambridge, instruction in residential colleges is separated from the examinations and conferral of degrees by the central university, in the United States, virtually all institutions have settled on a practice in which faculty who instruct students in courses also formally evaluate student work and assign numerical grades for academic credit—and, subsequently, make decisions on student degree completion.

Furthermore, most institutions have distinct units named for curricular areas. The “College of Arts and Sciences,” “College of Engineering,” “College of Medicine,” “School of Architecture,” and “Graduate School” stake out subject matters. Within each academic unit, areas of study are subdivided into departments—ranging from astronomy to zoology. A small number of institutions depart from these conventions—but apart from these important exceptions, the standardization of the structure of the courses of study is remarkable in its homogeneity. One reason for this is ease of interinstitutional cooperation in making decisions about student transfers along with admissions decisions between undergraduate and graduate levels of study—along with demonstrating eligibility for federal student aid programs. This uniform structural façade, albeit important, tends to mask the lively and diverse deliberations about institutional mission, educational philosophy, budget allocations, and debates about what is to be studied and how it is to be taught in recent years.

### Development of Contemporary Postsecondary Curriculum

The hegemony of this academic structure has not been inevitable. Between 1965 and 1980, a number of academic leaders argued that reform of undergraduate education required rejection of conventional practices of institutional structure, grading, and size. For example, one slogan that united discontented undergraduates in the 1960s was that the “impersonality of the multiversity” had tended to denigrate undergraduate education by conveniently relying on large lecture courses and impersonal multiple-choice examinations in which professors and students had little conversation. Remedies included developing small undergraduate

courses, shifting seminar instruction from graduate programs to undergraduate programs. More drastic were innovations associated with the “cluster college” movement of the 1960s. Foremost in this category and energy was the new University of California, Santa Cruz—an experiment hailed as the solution to the riddle posed by Clark Kerr: “How do we make the university seem smaller as it grows larger?” The answer pursued by the University of California, Santa Cruz, and others was to find inspiration in the Oxford-Cambridge model of residential colleges. According to this plan, the curriculum came to be comprehensive: an architectural environment of a quadrangle in which living and learning, students and faculty, were brought together in a humane scale, limited to about 500 or so total students per college. Additional students were to be accommodated by adding new, small residential colleges—resulting in a honeycombed pattern of universitywide expansion. Instructors were to provide written commentaries for each student’s academic performance in place of the standard practice of assigning a letter grade or numerical score. Eventually such plans encountered problems: First, residential education and small courses were expensive. Second, many undergraduates were reluctant to sacrifice all the curricular and extracurricular choices of the large, sprawling university to gain a small, coherent residential collegiate experience. Third, most students did not relish the responsibility of designing their own course of study, especially if such a task demanded the discipline of building in coherence as well as choice. By default, familiar and conventional curricula were less demanding and more certain. Most important, the “cluster college” scheme faced difficulties in gaining acceptance of faculty at universities where rewards and prestige often were tied to achievements in research publications and grants, with less emphasis on commitment to undergraduate teaching and mentoring.

Therefore, pervasive contemporary reforms in postsecondary curricula take place within the conventional structure. The tradition of departments continues—but the innovations of new fields gaining departmental status represented a substantial change. Undergraduates were allowed to pursue independent studies and even to create their own major. A variety of options, ranging from honors seminars to special topic courses, incorporated some elements of the “cluster college” idea to the

conventional academic structure. In subject matter, “area studies” flourished to accommodate interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary cooperation in, for example, “American Studies,” “Asian Studies,” “Environmental Studies,” “Ethnic Studies,” ad infinitum. Whether such collaborations endured or perished varied from campus to campus, from topic to topic.

### Curricular Contraction

Although growth by accretion characterized postsecondary curricular patterns in the half century following World War II, there also were varied means and signs of curricular contraction. A watchword in the financially troubled years of the 1970s was “steady state growth.” This meant that a provost would not allow a dean to add new departments or programs unless equal shares of incumbent programs were eliminated. The net result was a constant number of academic programs. Departmental closings and mergers were part of the economies of scale and retrenchment that were integral to attempts at systematic academic planning starting in the mid-1970s. Today, from time to time, one learns that major universities have eliminated departments of German, Italian, and Rhetoric. Ancient languages including Greek and Latin—once pillars of liberal arts curricula—have declined and often survive in reconstituted forms via mergers and consolidation into new units called “Classical Studies.” Even high-profile professional schools are subject to scrutiny. Most conspicuous is the closing of several schools of dentistry, justified on the grounds that the programs are expensive to operate and that the market for graduates has been saturated.

### Criticisms of the Undergraduate Curriculum

Even though existing academic structures may have been intractable, there has been no lack of spirited reconsideration of the content and goals of undergraduate education. Volatile discussions in the public forum and national media as well as within departmental meetings have characterized curriculum trends in the humanities and social and behavioral sciences since the early 1980s. Precipitated by such books as Allan Bloom’s *The Closing of the American Mind* along with the



criticisms of undergraduate studies by then-U.S. Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, faculty in departments of history, English, sociology, and government have been prompted to deal with allegations that teaching perspectives have drifted toward an orthodoxy of “political correctness.” A distinct but related criticism is that the fluid structure of curricula have allowed many colleges and universities to allow a proliferation of courses and programs so that the principle of a shared educational experience or common body of knowledge associated with the undergraduate experience and the bachelor’s degree has been fractured and diffused. The subtext of this general lament often has carried the more specific criticism that political correctness combined with overexpansion of courses led to the neglect and erosion of what is termed the “Western Judean Christian heritage.”

Responses to these criticisms of curricular change are diverse and multiple. One prominent counterargument is that the academic disciplines ought to be introduced to students less as a body of knowledge to be mastered and more as a set of essential concepts and ways of knowing which, once understood, a student then incorporates into subsequent interpretations of readings and intellectual explorations. Another, perhaps more vehement response, has been that the curriculum in the arts and sciences ought to present undergraduates with topics, readings, and points of view that deliberately step outside the more-or-less conventional, familiar social, political, philosophical, and religious groundings of U.S. life. This impulse for expansion and diversification were manifest in the founding (and funding) of new departments of African American studies, women’s studies, and gender studies.

### Curricular Expansion

An irony of the intense popular and academic focus on what was called the “canon” debates and “curricular wars” in the liberal arts was that elsewhere within a typical university, curricula underwent substantial changes without debate or controversy. Illustrative of this quiet transformation was the evolution and formalization of such new disciplines as computer science. Statistics, once considered a support field, emerged not only as a distinct department—it often gained repeated

presence as each academic college or school added its own statistics faculty. In the natural and physical sciences, new alliances led to creation of interdisciplinary research institutes and, eventually, the creation of such new, permanent departments as biochemistry, biostatistics, and biomechanics. One corollary was that university medical centers increasingly became the institutional home for numerous biology degree programs. The attractiveness of these new courses of study was largely fueled by the prevalence of sponsored research and development funding via grants from federal agencies. In sum, the sponsored research agenda often drives the instructional dimensions of the curricula—whereas in an earlier era, the reverse pattern was the norm.

Institutional pursuit of prestige provides another impetus to curricular expansion: namely, “mission creep.” The pattern is that an institution that offers only a bachelor’s degree decides to “ratchet up” by adding a new master’s degree program. In similar fashion, comprehensive universities traditionally characterized by offering bachelor and master’s degrees often venture into proposals to offer new doctoral programs. This curricular drift upward was fueled unwittingly by the Carnegie Council on Higher Education Policy Studies’ announcement in the 1970s of a typology for U.S. postsecondary institutions. The format ostensibly was intended to be a neutral categorization of the numerous colleges and universities according to their highest degree conferred. Yet within the ranks of presidents, provosts, and professors, it was perceived as a hierarchical ranking. Hence, for an institution to be in the doctoral granting category was seen as more prestigious than the master’s degree granting category.

Curricular growth as a function of the expanding “knowledge industry” is not the only consequence. Curricular growth also has promoted an internal change within academic units: namely, the intensification of splits and rivalries within academic fields. A department of political science, for example, increasingly would be characterized by analytic and emotional tensions between those emphasizing statistical analyses versus faculty who favored contextual or area studies.

A substantial increase in the number and percentage of high school graduates who were willing and able to enroll in undergraduate programs after

1970 was accompanied by the upward drift of enrollments into degree programs beyond the bachelor's degree. Most prestige and attention accrued to the pinnacle of the academic curriculum: namely, advanced studies leading to the PhD in a growing number of fields. Less conspicuous but also important was the growing appeal of master's degree programs. The size, scope, and number of the MBA programs nationwide best illustrate this trend. The incentive for a student to gain expertise and credentials, and perhaps prestige, also tended to drive the appeal of master's programs in most disciplines associated with the liberal arts along with professional fields, including education, social work, and engineering. A substantial change has been in health-related fields, as advanced degree programs in nursing, physical therapy, and counseling experienced quantitative and qualitative change. Trends in the health-related fields were mirrored elsewhere as a growing number of professional fields sought to establish certification and degree programs offered by colleges and universities. The increase in professional fields of study were attractive to two influential constituencies: students and their parents who wanted the bachelor's degree to ensure employability, and employers who wanted recruits whose formal studies entered the professional ranks with job skills and even advanced certification. The irony of these influences was that they were not fail-safe for either students or employers. One economist, after analyzing the uncertainties of connections between campus and corporation, warned that the U.S. public and academia had been overzealous in embracing what was called "The Great Training Robbery."

### Fusion of Curriculum and Extracurriculum

Within the diversity and sprawl of postsecondary curricula, there persists one litmus of academic legitimacy: namely, does instruction or study or other activities associated with a topic result in a student receiving "academic credit"? Course credit and credit toward completion of a degree persists as the coin of the academic realm. Indeed, at many colleges and universities, reserving this decision exclusively by the faculty emerges as the major power of the professoriate within myriad

institutional rights and responsibilities. The boundaries of the postsecondary curriculum now are tested and contested by a new logic that, ironically, was fostered unwittingly by academics themselves. The customary wisdom was that the curriculum was indelibly linked to the instruction and evaluation under the auspices of the college or university faculty. At the same time, advocates for the benefits of going to college, ranging from presidents to professors, often emphasized that a student's experiences outside the classroom were, too, invaluable albeit unmeasured parts of a college education. Ultimately this led some deans of students or vice presidents of student affairs to describe (and justify) their myriad programs less as "extracurricular" activities—and more as "co-curricular" in nature. These both joined and blurred the strictly academic domain with student life writ large. A good example of this new ground came in the early 1990s as students took the initiative to create service learning activities. A subsequent juncture was when students petitioned the faculty and academic senate to have the activities eligible for receipt of academic credit toward the degree. Resolution of this and comparable initiatives has varied greatly from one faculty group to another.

Systematic evaluation of cognitive and behavioral profiles of students now is part of the fusion of curriculum and extracurriculum. Although course grades ranging from A to F—or the 4.0-point grade scale—is central to academic evaluation, the rise of psychological testing amended this by shifting to value added data for students. Evaluations were part of a demand for "accountability" in which legislators sought measures of the impact of the college experience. It includes accountability for instructors with the practice of students evaluating courses at the end of the semester. The origin of this was administrative initiative to document shoddy teaching. The unexpected finding was that students gave high evaluations to instructors—opposite of what administrators anticipated. The practice reinforced the importance of student consumerism in the U.S. academic market place. And, as a corollary, this increased disagreement about what constituted a sound college education.

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See also Adult Education Curriculum; Career Education Curriculum; Liberal Education Curriculum; Postsecondary Curriculum, History of; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## POSTSECONDARY CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The history of postsecondary curriculum in the United States refers to the continuities and changes in the formal courses of study offered by colleges and universities and numerous related educational institutions from 1636 to the present. Over five centuries, it has been characterized both by rigidity and resilience. A central part of the story is the requirements and options students face in completing the undergraduate bachelor's degree. On closer inspection, the richness of the curriculum—or, more accurately, the curricula—in U.S. higher education has been the number and variety of professional and advanced degrees, such as the MD, the MBA, the JD, the MA, and the PhD conferred by colleges and universities. And, since 1960, community colleges' 2-year associates' degree programs have become integral to the

national curricular profile. An obvious but incomplete source of historical information is the official catalogue of courses typically published by each institution annually. However, a complete conceptualization of the postsecondary curricula is to see the official course requirements and listings as the skeleton, which then is fleshed out by the actual teaching and learning that took place within this formal structure over time.

The rigidity of the typical collegiate course of study from the late 18th through the 19th centuries is illustrated by the endurance of a “classical course” to define a liberal arts education. It emphasized daily recitations in ancient languages, logic, rhetoric, and mathematics—as affirmed by the Yale Report of 1828. This collegiate pedagogy aimed to have undergraduates acquire the “furniture of the mind.” In contrast, the resilience and expansion of the postsecondary curricula in U.S. colleges and universities was best expressed in the motto attributed to the benefactor of the new Cornell University in the 1860s: “I would found an institution where any one could find instruction in any study.” The resulting dynamic has been a continual push-and-pull of action and reaction, often debated in faculty meetings across the country and ultimately resolved by the enrollment choices of new generations of students.

The absence of a centralized national ministry of education in the United States allowed each institution to add or delete subjects and courses. So, although by custom and inertia, most colleges offered similar topics in the bachelor of arts course of study into the early 20th century, one also finds on the margins a proliferation of innovations—both within and across institutions. Innovation often gravitated toward demands for utilitarian studies. Hence, one finds an increasing number of options, including “scientific schools” and its bachelor of sciences degree, or a liberal arts course that no longer required classical languages, leading to the new PhB, or “bachelor of philosophy” degree.

Since the early 20th century, the greatest source of innovation and diversification has been in the addition of new professional fields and advanced degrees. Absorption of medicine and law into the university degree structure, including coordination with the undergraduate studies and prerequisites,

was an exemplary development. Universities also added such new professional fields as agriculture, forestry, business, teacher education, and engineering. Many applied fields gained sustained support from the 1862 Morrill Act and subsequent federal legislation. The social and behavioral science disciplines of political science, economics, history, sociology, psychology, and anthropology were daring innovations in the late 19th century. Romance languages along with English and U.S. literature also signaled a revision of what constituted the arts and sciences core of the university. In recent decades, the development of such new fields as statistics, computer science, women's studies, African American studies, and biochemistry has extended this curricular process.

The U.S. tradition of generous license for curricular development fostered from time to time a countermovement to instill some approximation of national "standards" and "standardization." Illustrative of this effort was the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's agenda in the 1900s, which relied on incentive of a funded faculty pension plan for those institutions that agreed to comply with new standards for secondary and collegiate course accountability. Following World War II, responsibility for trying to ensure minimal standards of curricular legitimacy became the province of regional accreditation agencies.

Starting in the late 19th century, introduction of an elective system coupled with requirements for a major field and a minor field provided undergraduates a new set of ground rules for designing their courses of study. One result of this freedom and student consumerism was that by 1960, academic leaders spoke about the "cafeteria line" model of U.S. higher education. This U.S. compromise included both the strengths and weaknesses of relativism—leaving to adult decision makers and student applicants the subtle tasks of evaluating the academic worth of degrees and courses within this broad framework. One secondary consequence of this format was recognition of a so-called hidden curriculum in which students were socialized to acquire informal skills at navigating the course of study and deciphering the kinds of learning and academic socialization that were rewarded by their respective professors.

Historical emphasis on the cumulative names of fields and degrees attests to the expanding subject

matter offered by institutions. Also, numerous transformations in instruction accompanied new fields. Hence, the standard format of daily recitations came to be supplemented by lectures (with the professor as expert), access to a library plus seminars, laboratory sessions, field studies, independent research, internships, honors programs, and senior research theses. It has included correspondence courses in the late 19th century, televised instruction in the 1950s, and distance education interactive pedagogy associated since the late 20th century with the Internet. The structural beauty of the U.S. course catalogue was that it was able to accommodate each and all subjects and teaching approaches into a standardized manner, complete with assigning credits toward degree fulfillment. As for the substance within these frameworks, the U.S. curricular motto remains, "caveat emptor"!

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*See also* Career Education Curriculum, History of; Curriculum, History of; Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational History; *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Redbook); Postsecondary Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum, History of

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## POSTSTRUCTURALIST RESEARCH

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Curriculum poststructuralist researchers assume that varied conceptions of what and who shapes and constitutes curriculum are embedded in and



enacted through historically, socially, and culturally situated discursive practices and constructions. Poststructuralist research focuses on the local, the fragmented, the ambivalent in knowledge creations as well as research processes and interpretations. Poststructuralist researchers acknowledge contradictions and instabilities in all assemblages of human knowledge, most especially their own. They especially consider under what historical, social, and cultural conditions particular discourses—and those who have most direct access and power in relation to those discourses—come to shape what gets conceived, built, and enacted as curriculum. This entry discusses the general foundations of poststructuralist investigation, examines the poststructuralist theories that inform curriculum studies, and provides examples of poststructuralist research in curriculum studies.

### Foundations of Poststructuralist Investigation

These curriculum researchers challenge what Jean-François Lyotard would term a “grand narrative”—an ultimate, decontextualized, universalized way of conceiving, constructing, and conducting any curriculum inquiry, conception, content, design, development, or evaluation. Poststructuralists research such curriculum narratives by investigating ways that meanings, “content,” experiences, and selves are, in part, discursively constituted—that is, they “exist” in, rather than outside, language. The self and its objects of perception are effects of a language that always is in process, always modifying itself.

Refusing unitary positivist educational research ideals of rationality, causal explanations, and generalizations, then, these researchers denaturalize and destabilize what seems “natural” as well as interrupt essentialized educational thought, practices, and identities. They investigate how, and under what conditions, particular discourses—what Michel Foucault refers to as written or spoken words that are grouped according to certain rules established within those discourses—come to shape what gets put forth as knowledge, who counts as being able to generate knowledge, and what shifting power relations influence and frame any one curriculum or research interpretation.

Specifically addressing issues of power, poststructuralist researchers examine not only what and whose determinations and creations of knowledge count but also how those creations are produced, how they function, and how they are regulated as well as regulate. Poststructuralist curriculum researchers often investigate what cultural and social practices, embedded in and constructed by particular discourses, constitute, replicate, or call into question subject-matter content—or what many educators often generically refer to as “the curriculum.” They also might research social and cultural effects of particular versions and conditions of curriculum constructions and practices on students, teachers, administrators, and parents. And because these researchers doubt the ability of language as well as themselves to perfectly report an external reality, or to convey an ultimate meaning about events, people, or conditions framed by that particular reality, they grapple throughout their inquiries and writing with the crisis in representation.

Influenced by scholarship in literary theory, the arts, philosophy, anthropology, architecture, linguistic and cultural studies, and in the name of various political agendas, including feminism and postcolonialism, poststructuralist curriculum researchers attempt to work in generative ways with, rather than against, the complexities of human existence. They attempt to trouble various reductionisms that are an inherent part of traditional curriculum conceptions as well as positivist and postpositivist educational research paradigms. At the same time, others, many working from critical neo-Marxist positions in curriculum theorizing, argue that a central tenet of poststructuralist theories—that there can only be incredulity toward metanarratives—is itself a grand narrative.

However, poststructuralist curriculum researchers investigate inconsistencies, ironies, incoherencies, and intertextualities of the discourses used in any contention or positioning, including their own. They do so through their researching of how particular discourses create rules that govern what and how something can be conceived, claimed, and acted upon, as well as gaps and silences in such rules.

Poststructuralist researchers therefore assume curriculum conceptions, developments, and inquiries to be political acts in and through their

discursive constructions. As such, they are filled with incomplete, fractured, and deferred meanings that have the potential to subvert standardized and dominant curriculum constructions and principles. With fissured meanings, there always exist possibilities, then, to create fresh versions of particular content knowledges, practices, and inquiries.

Poststructuralist curriculum theorists also argue that educators' and students' subjectivities—the unconscious and conscious emotions and thoughts of individuals, their senses of themselves—are always in process, contradictory, produced historically, and reconstituted in discourse each time they think or speak. Indeed, poststructuralist theories posit that subjectivities, rather than being considered inherently part of a constant essence in humanist conceptions of the individual, are socially constructed in language, and thus can be considered sites of both struggle and potential change.

Researchers influenced by poststructuralist theories thus often examine subject positionings in relation to normative constructions of gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and ability, for example. Within these framings, the individual is a subject and is subjected to dominate discourses that often impose predetermined meanings. At the same time, in relation to content that might be studied as well as to others with whom the teacher or learner might interact, the individual also is a potential site for a wide range of subjectivities, and thus might generate fresh and unanticipated versions of knowledges and identities that cannot be predicted or controlled.

Poststructuralist theories that inform curriculum studies, then, do make possible, in differing ways, de-naturalizing critiques and forms of research. They do so by explicitly refusing humanist notions of universality and transcendence as well as of human subjects as always autonomous, unified wholes, separate or distinct from those discourses and cultural practices that regulate social activity and knowledge production. Poststructuralist theories enable curriculum researchers to reject versions of educational inquiry that assume an always-rational subject who can “discover” and then convey, through language that mirrors reality, versions of objective, decontextualized, and already-structured knowledge that then can be measured, predicted, controlled, generalized, and fully represented.

### Poststructuralist Theories That Inform Curriculum Research

Poststructuralist theories are impossible to totalize within one overarching definition, and such attempts to do so would be contrary to a poststructuralist's insistence on the instability of meaning, the arbitrariness of language, the power of discourses to control and limit. Rather, poststructuralist theories may be considered as bundles of differing discourses, methodologies, and practices that are by no means always related or compatible.

A wave of philosophers primarily emanating from France in the late 1960s, including Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, although differing in their theoretical and disciplinary foci, became known collectively as poststructuralists because of their major and sustained critiques of structuralism.

Structuralism, the intellectual movement and philosophical orientation most often associated with the Western discourses of Claude Levi-Straus, Karl Marx, and Louis Althusser, and especially the work of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, attempted to explain how certain cultural content could be considered models of invariant structures. Drawing on Saussurean linguistics and the subsequent development of language as a field of study, structuralism extrapolated language to be a metaphor for understanding, for intelligibility itself, through which societal regularities reveal themselves and are taken as constituting reality. Those associated with structuralism claimed that cultural phenomenon could be examined according to the underlying formal systems out of which those phenomena emerged.

Structuralism, in great part, is situated in Saussurean linguistics. Saussure claims the arbitrary nature of the sign, wherein there is no “natural” relationship between the concept and the sound image. The only connection is convention—an underlying system of usage and tradition—that connects the sound image to the concept. Further, a sign is not a thing in itself. Instead, its identity springs from its difference from all other signs that surround it. Once a sign is isolated from its system, it “falls apart.” All systems of intelligibility, according to Saussure, operate as systems of difference without positive terms.

Structuralism did challenge the humanist and Enlightenment projects, which regarded history

as progress, placed humans at the center of creation, and privileged rational thought and Western culture. However, although poststructuralist theories incorporate structuralism's attack on humanism, a major poststructuralist break with structuralism involves theories that highlight how underlying systems that structuralism analyzed were themselves caught up in language and in discourses that were socially, historically, and culturally contingent.

Derrida criticized structuralism's presumption that language could be described as a static set of rules, instead demonstrating how those rules could be examined for their contingency and temporality. Taking Saussure's conception of language and differences, Derrida introduced the word *différance*, a word that does not exist in French spelled this way, a word that Derrida only provisionally called a "word" or concept. *Différance* combines the sense of the English verbs "to differ" and "to defer." Meaning is produced via the dual strategies of difference and deferral. Signifiers (sound or written images), which have identity only in their difference from one another, are subject to an endless process of deferral. Thus, any representation, in which meaning is apparently fixed, is only a temporary retrospective fixing.

Further, deconstruction, according to Derrida, is only what happens if it happens because it is not a philosophy, a doctrine, a knowledge, a method, a discipline, or a determinate concept. If it does happen, deconstruction enables one to critique structures that are held together by identity and presence, concepts that in Western philosophy represent transcendental order and permanence, manifested in beliefs such as the unified subject, the essence of an individual, and consciousness. Derrida used deconstruction, not to dismantle or reject or take things apart, but rather to reinscribe them in another way. In particular, deconstruction allows one to challenge any notion of foundational center that creates binaries—in which the first term of the binary most always indicates presence and power—and then to attempt to reconstitute that which has been previously inscribed. And that reconstitution must, in turn, be deconstructed.

Foucault's work, in particular, conceptualizes discourse—discursive practices that themselves form the objects of which they speak—as consisting of written or spoken words that are grouped

according to certain rules established within the particular discourse. Unlike structuralism's foundational sets of relations and systems, Foucault asserts that discourse is historically, socially, and culturally contingent, and that major analyses should focus on investigations of how it works, under what conditions, and how discursive formations and practices are part of nondiscursive practices. Discourses thus have both disciplinary and disciplining effects. Discourse, according to Foucault, defines fields of inquiry and knowledge as well as how rules within those fields govern what can be said, conceived, and acted upon.

Foucault's analyses of power/knowledge, the micropractices of power relations and their effects in the creation of subjects, includes his contention that power, rather than being hierarchical, proceeds in every direction at once. Power is not "owned," or deployed. Rather, it is exercised in that subjects are constituted within power relations, always within discourse. Indeed, there is no access to "reality" that is not necessarily mediated through semiotic systems, the most powerful of which is language.

### Poststructuralist Research Tracings in Curriculum Studies

The translation and dissemination of the work of Foucault and Derrida in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s enabled some curriculum scholars to take up major aspects of French poststructuralist theory by addressing the central roles of language, power, and discourse in any model or conception of curriculum theory, development, design or research. The further worldwide dissemination of French poststructuralist theory, including the work of French feminists Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva, encouraged curriculum researchers, within a variety of social and cultural contexts, to pursue poststructuralists' particular goal of troubling discursive and material structures, policies, and practices that limit or reify conceptions and enactments of curriculum or of educational "selves."

Some of the earliest poststructuralist work in curriculum, especially theorizing in the United States that grew from the initial movement to reconceptualize the curriculum field in the 1970s, drew on the theories of Michel Foucault, Jacques

Derrida, and Jacques Lacan to challenge essentialist notions of gender identity and to examine various gender discourses that often were linked to those same oppressive discursive systems these theorists sought to pull apart. Explorations of ways that discourse creates and is substantiated by the body and the unconscious followed; for example, some curriculum researchers drew from the psychoanalytic work of Lacan, especially his decentering of the humanist subject through his construing of the conscious and unconscious mind as products of language, of the symbolic.

Poststructuralists continue to exert major influence in qualitative curriculum research methodologies and practices. These researchers theorize the subjectivities of both researcher and researched as split, situated, and contradictory; advocate for textual practices of self-interrogation; simultaneously both use and immediately trouble typical categories of qualitative research, such as “validity” and “generalizability”; foreground the crisis of representation in their work; and move toward methodologies that foreground ambiguities, uncertainties, contradictions, and incoherences.

A number of feminist scholars, especially in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, have drawn on the work of Foucault, in particular, as they work to understand and then to critique how modernist, humanist conceptions of “woman” have been constructed through and by dominant discourses in societies, in general, and in the field of education, in particular. Many, in their analyses of gender, rely on Judith Butler’s notion of an undesignatable field of differences within the category and the performance of “woman.”

Further, in investigating woman’s subjugated positioning within educational discourses that focus on binaries such as normal/abnormal or active/passive, many feminists use Foucault’s insistence on historical analyses as well as attention to the ways in which attempts to assert legitimate claims to knowledge often are caught up in the essentializing and patriarchal discourses that women want to combat. Exploring additional ironies to which poststructuralist theory points, feminist curriculum scholars also have investigated how radical discourses in education, including feminist pedagogy, paradoxically operate as regimes of truth, to use Foucault’s conceptualization. Some feminists especially have used aspects

of Foucauldian poststructuralist theory to challenge essentialist and unitary notions of voice and dialogue, two prominent components of critical as well as some versions of feminist pedagogy.

Poststructuralist curriculum researchers thus investigate discursive practices and relations of power that reify any educational processes or identities, or that underlie any one answer to the classic curriculum questions, what and whose knowledge is of the most worth.

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*See also* Butlerian Thought; Derridan Thought; Foucauldian Thought; Lacanian Thought; Lyotardian Thought; Performativity; Postmodernism; Structuralism

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## PRAXIS

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The term *praxis* (from the Greek word *praxis* meaning “practice, action, doing”) relates to the



transformative possibilities afforded by reflective action. To understand how praxis has and continues to influence the field of curriculum studies, it is important to examine the dialogue related to praxis in curriculum, in the relationships between students and teachers, and in educational research and how, particularly in this field, praxis is tied to education as a form of democracy.

Historically, in curriculum studies, there exists tension between theory and practice, and praxis seeks to bridge that gap. The intersections between theory and practice officially began with Aristotle who explained that praxis is action taken by an individual who has been informed by knowledge and wisdom. During the Enlightenment, practice and theory became sharply divided, and they were considered as separate entities. For Karl Marx and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and others influenced by Marxist thought, praxis became not just the action of an individual but the actions of a collective group. This shift to collective action opened up possibilities for the continuation of transformation on a global scale. Freedom, which is the ultimate goal for praxis, according to Hegel, can only be achieved through collective action; however, who is included in that group is closely tied to who controls the power. Antonio Gramsci charged those engaged in praxis to be attentive to the historical context in which they live. John Dewey believed that action influences theory and theory influences practice leading to the idea that praxis was a fluid motion between these two entities because all knowledge is experience.

The potential for empowering students is a notable contribution of praxis to curriculum studies. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire contends that words contain both reflection and action. If, for example, reflection is sacrificed for the action, both suffer. In the discussion that foregrounds his explanation of the banking system, Freire states that to speak a true word is the combination of action and reflection—and that is praxis. To find that true word is the work of change, the naming of the world is to transform it and be transformed by it. Authentic words make dialogue possible, and dialogue leads to humankind naming and renaming their worlds together through meaningful interactions. Therefore, for education, students should look to their own worlds and transform their own

situations. Those interactions result in a democratic curriculum.

Those engaged in curriculum studies extend Freire's notion of praxis from classroom interactions to inquiry and research in the field. Patti Lather, for example, challenges researchers to design praxis-oriented methodologies and methods that may produce social change and knowledge that would generate more opportunities for research that empowers both researcher and participant. Like Freire, she urges researchers to share their work with their participants to enable them to employ praxis in their own situations. Finally, praxis is also a component of critical pedagogy research, and scholars such as Elizabeth Ellsworth question whether this research really results in transformative action and whether this type of research sustains antidemocratic practices.

For Joseph Schwab, the practical is the duty of the teacher as well as the researcher, and he challenges educators from all disciplines to gather and address the important questions regarding curriculum, namely focusing on the success and failures of our schools. Some call for the increased involvement in students in creating school curricula. For example, Kenneth Sirotnik points out that including students in conversations about the curriculum enables them to play a part in transforming it. In her discussion of curriculum as product or praxis, Shirley Grundy questions the idea that curriculum itself can be praxis. Grundy and Ted Aoki agree, however, that praxis encourages a negotiation with the curriculum that results in unpredictable outcomes. The dialogue concerning praxis in curriculum studies has helped shaped the way scholars discuss some of the fundamental issues in education.

Interestingly (and perhaps ironically), Praxis is the name of the national teacher certification test used in the United States, which is written and administered by the Educational Testing Services.

*Jacqueline Bach*

*See also* Critical Praxis; Neo-Marxist Research; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher as Researcher

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## PRAYERFUL ACT, CURRICULUM THEORY AS A

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Curriculum theory as a prayerful act is a postmodern approach to curriculum studies as theology where spirit is the life force within us. Prayerful in this sense is evoking the spirit to contribute to our empowerment, to our going beyond the strictly scientific process searching for evidence in the normal sensual domain. Curriculum theory in postmodern times gives a proper recognition of the spirit in curriculum studies.

In 1956, *Sputnik* brought caustic criticism of schools, prompting scholars to study and to develop appropriate practices and concepts to answer the critics. This led to a 50-year journey of teaching, researching, reflecting, serving, theorizing, and even praying/hoping for firm answers. At first, scholars found only glimpses and tentative ways to conceptualize curriculum theory as a prayerful act. Now in postmodern times, curriculum as a prayerful act is an appropriate conceptualization for a complex process.

In retrospect, scholars were looking for a curriculum theory appropriate for the postmodern age, an inclusive theory, one based on “both/and” rather than “either/or” orientations and where curriculum is theology, not where curriculum is technology. The need to be inclusive, to consider spirit and aesthetics as well as intellect and emotions, and to include science, literature, folklore, and religions in the curriculum led to the concept of “curriculum as theology.” Mythology and archetypal psychology contributed to understandings and needed to be part of curriculum studies and theories. Educational myths that are considered the truth, but are not, are dysfunctional myths and call for study and replacement. Mythopoets’ research goal or approach is known as *demythologizing*. Including the search for “spirit” and

“spiritual” in curriculum studies has led to the concept of “curriculum as a prayerful act.”

Curriculum researchers/mythopoets are guided by, at least, the following principles. Getting into and out of the spirit; this process is often called *transcendence*. An example is “losing” oneself when experiencing an inspiring piece of art or literature, or the “aha” of making a scientific discovery. The myth of spirit as ineffable yet representable is replacing the “scientific” notion that because the spirit cannot be measured, it is not appropriate for the curriculum. Spirit, albeit not measurable, is represented and experienced in good literature, art, theology, and scientific studies. Mythopoets most often study and represent the spirit/spiritual in presentations and publications, poems, stories about transcending, nurturing, practicing, criticizing, self-studies, therapy, and experiencing awe-inspiring works of art, sermons, music, and letter writing. An all-inclusive term for their work is *narrative*. In qualitative research, *narrative* means telling or writing stories and analyzing them for meaning.

Although the goal of the mythopoets’ research is known as demythologizing, the methods, ways of doing their research, are *hermeneutics*, *heuristic inquiry*, *autoethnography*, and *autobiography*. Using a number of research methods in a study is called *bricolage*, and the researcher, besides being a mythopoet, is a *bricoleur*. (A bricolage is a name and metaphor for a patchwork quilt; the bricoleur is the quilter. The patchwork quilt where the patches are held together in meaningful ways is the metaphor for demythologizing using a patchwork of appropriate research methods for the tasks at hand.)

Curriculum theory as a prayerful act, then, is a curriculum theory inspired by the spirit/spiritual in the curriculum and in curriculum studies and research, by being appropriate for the postmodern era, by being inspirational not religious in the sense of violating the separation of church and state in the United States, and by being able to join with the students who are motivated by school spirit. Many students are mythopoets who engage in demythologizing dysfunctional myths and represent their discoveries in poetry, art, science, volunteering, and in athletics. One such dysfunctional myth is that youth cannot grasp complex studies such as economics or anthropology. Scholars develop economics and anthropological curricula

for first graders and good teachers teach them. If curriculum theory as theology can lead to transcendence, to beauty, to understanding, or to behavioral change, why can it not be considered a prayerful act?

*Nelson L. Haggerson, Jr.*

*See also* Autobiographical Theory; Curriculum as Spiritual Experience; Ethnographic Research; Mythopoetics; Qualitative Research

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## PREPARING INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

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*Preparing Instructional Objectives* by Robert F. Mager was first published in 1962 as *Preparing Objectives for Programmed Instruction* by Pitman Learning. The publication describes the importance of being explicit when writing instructional objectives, the qualities of useful objectives, and the components of effective instructional objectives. Instructional objectives can be valuable tools for perceiving and guiding curriculum studies. They reveal instructional expectations to students; help the teacher select instructional methods, materials, and procedures; and help the teacher determine appropriate assessments.

Mager, an influential researcher and learning theorist who viewed learning experiences through a behaviorist or objectivist approach, developed the concept and value of behavioral instructional objectives. As a behaviorist, he saw learning as occurring only when student behavior was changed in concrete, observable ways. In *Preparing Instructional Objectives*, Mager describes his view of effective instruction through the measurement of specific outcomes. This book assisted many instructors in formulating and writing objectives. In this book, Mager explains that instructors can

best help students learn when they know what the students' current instructional needs are and what the result or goal is for a particular lesson or learning experience. For example, if the goal is for a student to learn to write his or her name, knowing what the student already knows and the intended result will help the instructor determine what materials are needed, what method will be most effective, what steps to take to help the student reach the end goal, and how the instructor will know the student has reached the designed goal.

In *Preparing Instructional Objectives*, Mager defines instructional objectives as specific outcome-based statements of measurable student behaviors that result from instruction. They are specific and outcome based in that they explicitly state what the student is expected to do as a result of instruction. They provide means to measure student behaviors that can be heard or seen as evidence the student has successfully achieved the objective. Instructional objectives do not describe the process or instruction but rather the results of instruction.

This book made a significant contribution to curriculum studies. In the 1960s and 1970s, many public school teachers were required to create behavioral objectives as a critical part of their daily lessons. Workshops taught teachers Mager's model for writing behavioral objectives, which were seen as a way to increase learning and retention through specific and measurable curriculum design.

Critics of this book debated the value of objectives as related to planning and delivering curriculum and instruction. These critics objected to using behavioral objectives to shape instruction because they saw learning not as changes in behaviors that reflect conformity with measurable outcomes but as a process. Critics said that behavioral objectives disregarded diverse ways of knowing, behaving, and learning. They view learning as less structured and predictable than the perspective of learning represented in behavioral objectives. They see learning as more self-directed and child-centered than objective-directed and teacher-centered.

*Preparing Instructional Objectives* has had lasting importance in the field of curriculum studies. Educators are still writing and using behavioral objectives as part of their curriculum design when behavioral changes are the curriculum outcome. However, given more progressive views of learning, learning objectives are being stated less

in behavioral and prescriptive terms and more in terms of learning as a process.

*Cynthia A. Lassonde*

*See also* Accountability; Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Curriculum Design; Curriculum Development; Curriculum Evaluation

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## PRIVATIZATION

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Privatization, generally, is the withdrawal or shifting of the government's assets, functions, activities, and possibly entire institutions to the private sector. In education, privatization occurs when local, state, and national policies are enacted that support free market entry into the public domain of schooling. Four types of educational policies can result in privatization: (1) the cessation or disengagement of the government from responsibilities in providing educational goods and services, (2) the explicit transfers of public school assets to private ownership, (3) the financing of private educational services through contracting-out or vouchers, and (4) the deregulation of entry into activities, previously restricted to public providers, to private entities. Although the various forms of private reforms fall under the heading of privatization, there is no single privatization plan throughout the United States as a result of the history of local and state control in public schooling.

Milton Friedman, a free market economist of the Chicago School, first proposed privatization for public schools in 1962 via government-funded vouchers for parents to choose and purchase the services of private schools for their children. By 1998, provoucher corporations and foundations had committed substantial funds to establish

voucher programs in 41 cities. In 2003, Congress passed the District of Columbia School Choice Incentive Act, which provides vouchers for low-income families to send their children to private schools of choice, including religious schools. Research on the effectiveness of private school choice has focused on students' scores on standardized tests and has been hotly contested.

Privatization of public school services increased through the 1990s and is included in the policy provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), such as policies and funding for charter schools and for the contracting of outside providers for the supplemental educational services.

Charter schools, as defined by the NCLB, are essentially public schools that are exempt from significant state or local regulations. They are designed to foster innovative teaching, curriculum and school organization, are funded publicly, cannot be affiliated with a religious institution, and cannot discriminate on the basis of age, race, gender, religion, ethnic origin, or disability. They vary from state to state, can contract with private corporations to provide services within the school for instruction and management, and can do private fund-raising. They also are granted waivers from their respective states in regard to state educational requirements; for example, in Pennsylvania, charter school legislation does not allow for teacher tenure and requires that only 75% of the employed teachers be certified teachers. As with the research on private school choice, results regarding student academic achievement for charter schools are mixed and vary greatly because of the wide variety of different forms of charter schools.

The contracting with a private corporation or a not-for-profit entity to provide supplemental services, such as managing public schools; custodial, transportation, or food services; and curriculum and assessment resources is also increasing. For example, the Success for All Foundation, a not-for-profit entity, provides scripted curricula and an assessment, 4Sight, that is aligned with a state's assessment system as required by NCLB. For-profit corporations such as Huntington Learning Center and Sylvan Learning Center provide after-school tutoring paid by federal NCLB monies. Public school districts and charter schools can also contract with for-profit and nonprofit educational management organizations to operate and manage



the whole school. Edison Schools is the most well-known and largest of these companies; others include National Heritage Academies, Mosaica, and White Hat Management.

An additional form of privatization includes the sale to private corporations of access to public school children as a form of increasing school revenue or providing student services. Examples include Channel One, a broadcast service of news features with commercials in approximately 25% of U.S. middle and high schools; Pizza Hut's BOOK IT! reading incentive program; and computer purchasing incentives.

Privatization of education has fueled extensive debate in the United States and internationally. Policy debates for and against privatization have centered on four criteria: (1) freedom of choice for parents to determine their children's form of schooling; (2) the efficiency of private forces to produce better results given the resources; (3) the question of equity in educational resources, opportunities, and results according to gender, social class, race, language origins, and geography; and (4) the social cohesion that results from a common educational experience. Advocates for privatization generally tout the importance of parents' choosing the kind of school or service that best represents their values, educational philosophies, religious teachings, and political views for their children and argue that student achievement will be higher per capita expenditure in private schools. As for equity, advocates contend privatization provides superior opportunities for students locked in failing schools. Opponents, on the other hand, argue that privatization reforms are limited to small numbers of students and that private school vouchers and charter schools rob resources from existing public schools and exacerbate the current inequity in educational resources according to social class, and so forth. Opponents also contend that a marketplace of private schools and private entities within public schools undermines a major public purpose of schooling; that is, the provision of a common educational experience accessible to all children that reinforces national political, economic, and social structures. They also contend that privatization eliminates the transparency that is a function of public accountability.

*Cheryl T. Desmond*

*See also* Commercialization of Schooling; No Child Left Behind; School Choice; Vouchers

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## PROBLEM-BASED CURRICULUM

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Problem-based curriculum is designed to experientially engage students in processes of inquiry into complex problems of significance and relevance to their lives and learning. It is intended to challenge students to pursue authentic questions, wonders, and uncertainties in a focused way, which enables them to construct, deepen, and extend their knowledge and understanding. Problem-based curriculum steps away from typical notions of curriculum in that it positions students as stakeholders, and as knowers, in both teaching and learning processes. It organizes curriculum in holistic ways, around problems that are messy and multiple, foregrounding the development of processes of learning, attitudes, and dispositions as well as the acquisition of content knowledge.

The four curricular commonplaces conceptualized by Joseph Schwab—teacher, subject matter, student, and milieu—help make visible the structure and interaction within a problem-based curriculum. The teacher examines subject matter to determine what big ideas are central to one or more disciplines, have the potential to fascinate students, will connect to students and their lives in a variety of ways, and have enough richness and tension to hold students' curiosity for an extended period of investigation. Examples of big ideas might include such concepts as pressure and force, identity, and freedom and conflict. Using situations

arising in local contexts and the lived experiences of students, the teacher, parents, family, and community members, the teacher then shapes a particular problem-based curricular unit. Defined learning outcomes and curricular standards are pursued within this unit through student-initiated and choice-driven inquiries.

Problem-based curriculum begins with an initial experience in which students are challenged with a problematic situation, one that prompts their thinking and causes them to ask a multitude of questions. It then leads to a series of central experiences in which students decide what is personally meaningful to them, plan their inquiries, engage in their explorations, compile their information, think hard about their findings, and determine what they have learned in relation to the problem they first posed. Throughout this central time, the teacher is an active facilitator of student inquiries, leading discussions; teaching problem-solving, thinking strategies, or process skills; providing responses; asking probing questions; directing students to resources; and teaching or supporting group and collaborative skills. Rather than being preplanned, the teaching is responsive and contextual, sometimes done individually, at other times in small groups or with the whole class. Problem-based curriculum concludes with a culminating experience in which students share their inquiries with one another and, typically, with a broader audience of vested interest.

Thoughtful presentation of the problem is critical to problem-based curriculum. Problems must be complex enough that there is a need to seek many perspectives on the issues, to engage in collaborative inquiry, and to generate multiple possible solutions. The problems have an authenticity that holds meaning for the students, enables them to assume ownership of the problems, and results in findings of significance in the broader context of their lives. Problems must invite a deep approach to learning—to inquiry, thinking, and reflection—which leads to shifts or changes in students' knowledge. At the same time, they leave room for students to discover that knowledge is tentative, always reflective of a moment in time, and open to continued shifts and changes. Rich problems invoke in students both the motivation and the ability to think in integrated and integrative ways with a high degree of sophistication.

Problem-based curriculum reflects an epistemological stance rooted in experience. John Dewey, a proponent of progressive education, argued for education that prepared individuals for life, not solely for work. He believed in situating learning in the context of community and in problems of significance that demanded thinking, sense making, and problem solving. As with Dewey, the emphasis on reasoned activity within problem-based curriculum positions curriculum content as important *in relation with* the activeness of the inquiry. Problem-based curriculum invites students to apply the knowledge they gain and, in so doing, extend and enhance it, moving beyond their initial conceptions to the generation of new possibilities and innovations.

*Debbie Pushor and M. Shaun Murphy*

*See also* Commonplaces; Dewey, John; Intended Curriculum; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Schwab, Joseph; Standards, Curricular

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## *PROCESS OF EDUCATION, THE*

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Authored by cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* is a report of the Woods Hole Conference of 1959, a watershed event in the history of curriculum studies. This educational classic's stated intent was to discuss new efforts in curriculum design that had been spurred by federal funding in reaction to Russia's success with *Sputnik*. However, despite the meeting's focus, only three educators attended, the principal participants being scientists, mathematicians, and psychologists. Emphasizing the structures of academic disciplines

as the organizing principle for the curriculum, Bruner's interpretation of the conference proceedings quickly became the foundational statement for a new national curriculum reform movement. In effect, the movement represented the transference of responsibility for curriculum development from curriculum professors and K–12 educators to scholars in the academic disciplines. As a result, the curriculum field went into crisis, leading to a transformation that has variously been termed its reconceptualization or renaissance.

Other consequences of the new reform movement were equally dramatic. As Bruner interpreted the importance of the movement, educational psychologists reasserted a place in curriculum planning that they had deserted earlier in the century for the study of aptitude and achievement. With their focus on the learning process, however, psychologists' foray into curriculum tended to cast educational problems in terms of learning theory. Long-standing curriculum scholarship on the implications of balance among learner needs, societal needs, and subject matter was neglected. In addition, the movement's impetus—the *Sputnik* crisis—provided a rationale for the federal government to assume broad new responsibilities in education. Congress allocated massive funds for curriculum revisions, especially in math, sciences, and foreign languages. However, control of this money did not fall to curriculum professors, who had been scapegoated along with professional educators as the cause of U.S. technological shortcomings. Rather, much of the money went to discipline-based scholars, who assumed that curriculum could be generated centrally and disseminated to teachers who would be trained to use them. Such curricular efforts were already underway in physics, biology, and chemistry when Woods Hole participants met to compare their efforts and discuss further possibilities.

The conference was organized and financed by the National Academy of Sciences, the U.S. Office of Education, the Air Force, the National Science Foundation, and the Rand Corporation, with additional support from the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Carnegie Corporation. Bruner's summary of the proceedings laid out the hypothesis that any subject could be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any age. The goal of curriculum and

instruction was to be intellectual development. The central themes for proceeding in curriculum work were “structure of learning,” “readiness for learning,” and the “spiral curriculum.” The appropriate pedagogy would mimic the investigative strategies of discipline specialists.

Bruner recounted the sense of a profound scientific revolution that the country was experiencing at the time. In 30 years, everyday life had been transformed by the wonders of radio, television, and the automobile. Hopes ran high that education would be substantially transformed now that scientists were involved. This new optimism was premature, however. Scholars within the same discipline did not always agree on its basic structure or that the concept of structure as an organizing principle was valid. Many teachers rejected the new curricula because they were too difficult for the great number of students of average ability or because they challenged traditional pedagogical practices. In addition, in the mid-1960s, politicians began to call for evaluation studies to prove that federally funded programs were accomplishing their goals. The results undermined confidence in programs based on top-down models that ignored teacher input. Writing in 1971, Bruner recalled that discipline-centered reform had made sense framed by the cognitive revolution in psychology and the military and technological emphasis of the cold war. It became clear, however, that the approach erroneously assumed that students lived in a sort of educational vacuum, shielded from larger community and social concerns. In later years, he went on to investigate the role of culture in learning.

Nancy J. Brooks

*See also* Discipline-Based Curriculum; Man: A Course of Study; Moribund Curriculum Field, The; Reconceptualization

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## PROFESSORS OF CURRICULUM

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The organization known as the Professors of Curriculum (POC) had its beginnings in 1944 when Hollis Caswell of Teachers College, Columbia University, invited a group of colleagues to meet informally to discuss their work. They began their meetings close to the time that the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) was formed and began meeting formally at the annual ASCD Conferences in 1945. These individuals were seriously committed to informality (with no president or secretary). They did, however, decide to select a “factotum” each year to call the group together, and to be in charge of handling any issues or problems the group might have in coming together each year, such as hotel meeting space and refreshments. Attendance was extremely important, and failure to come to at least one meeting every three years would result in that member being dropped from POC. Initially, membership in POC was around 35, but grew to 75 by the 1970s and was more than 100 by the late 1990s. This somewhat informal group has as its basic criteria for membership that each individual actually teach a curriculum course at a college or university. In more recent years, a number of international members have been asked to join POC based on their teaching and scholarly work. As members leave the organization, a membership committee yearly recommends potential new members and invites them to the yearly meeting. At the close of each annual meeting, current members hold a business meeting to elect a new factotum for the next year, vote on potential new members, and discuss any financial issues.

The group continued meeting in conjunction with ASCD until the late 1970s when the annual American Educational Research Association (AERA) conference began attracting college professors of curriculum and supervision. The POC decided to hold a second formal meeting at AERA in 1977, with the ASCD meeting still identified as the main meeting and where the formal business meeting took place. By the late 1990s, a third organization—the American Association for Teaching and Curriculum (AATC)—began attracting curriculum and supervision professors, so a third meeting place was identified in 2000. By

2000, the POC members could meet at any of three conferences—ASCD, AERA, or AATC—to keep their membership active in POC. Informal business meetings were being held at both the AERA and AATC conferences, with the formal business meeting remaining at ASCD until 2006. In 2006, the membership of POC voted to sanction only one meeting per year, and that meeting would be held in conjunction with the annual AERA Conference.

Membership for 2008 was limited to 125 regular members with emeritus status upon request. At the 2008 meeting, there were 111 regular members with an additional 54 identified as holding emeritus status. Membership continues to be by invitation only with a panel of POC members reviewing teaching responsibilities and supporting scholarly documentation.

*Robert C. Morris*

*See also* American Association for Teaching and Curriculum; American Educational Research Association; ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Collectives of Curriculum Professors, Institutional

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## PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, CONCEPTIONS OF

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The term *progressive education* proves to be as amorphous as the term *curriculum* itself. Little consensus exists, and the concept, although often not specifically defined, leads to much misunderstanding. When used in the field of curriculum studies, progressive education adopts more of an ideological definition, representing a dynamic, transactional view of learning, and a focus on the interests of students. Such a working definition, however, provides little clarity when the term is so widely and casually used to describe a wide array of educational practices.

In *The Transformation of the School*, Lawrence Cremin warned against formulating any capsule definition of progressive education, maintaining that no common description exists nor could exist partly because of the character of the movement that necessitated conceptual diversity and differences. At the 1938 annual Progressive Education



Association (PEA) meeting, a committee reported on its efforts to define the term and, although a statement was produced, nearly the entire group objected, explaining that *progressive education* is not a definition but “a spirit.” At times too focused and at other times too comprehensive, the term was viewed by Herbert Kliebard as vacuous and mischievous and carefully avoided in the writing of *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*. Even in the final report of the PEA’s Eight Year Study (viewed as a defining progressive education document), Wilford Aikin never used the term *progressive education* except once in reference to a quotation.

Nonetheless, a vague and widely shared definition of *progressive education* emerged during the 1950s (continuing to today), oriented toward elementary education practices and defined by a “child-centered education” moniker focusing on the interests of children. With “learning by doing,” “teaching the whole child,” and “fostering creative expression” slogans characterizing progressive education, the practice was brutally criticized by educational critics who felt the “movement” had eliminated academic standards and fostered a generation of self-indulgent children.

One crucial issue pertaining to how progressive education is conceived stems from whether the term represents a distinctive set of beliefs or whether the definition arises from historical fiat; that is, whether progressive educators are defined by a set of beliefs, or whether progressives are defined as those educators who lived through the Progressive Era. Cremin, for example, situates the genesis of progressive education in the years immediately following the Civil War. Like him, most educational historians view progressive education as an outgrowth of the U.S. Progressive Era. From this perspective, the movement comes to fruition in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, beginning with Frances Parker’s school in Quincy, Massachusetts (and then Chicago’s Parker School), continuing through John Dewey’s laboratory school at the University of Chicago, and followed by developments at the Gary, Indiana, schools, Winnetka, Illinois, schools, and Lincoln School and Dalton School in New York City and with the (diverse) writings of Ellwood Cubberley, William Wirt, Marietta Johnson, Caroline Pratt, and Margaret Naumburg. Progressive education seems,

then, to have been codified into an ideology before the formation of the PEA. These practices differ strikingly from progressive education work of the 1930s and the secondary schools of the Eight Year Study, as portrayed at the Denver public school district, Des Moines public school district, Ohio State University (public) School, Tulsa public school district, and reflected in the diverse practices of Caroline Zachry, Alice Keliher, V. T. Thayer, Harold Alberty, Eugene Smith, Harold Rugg, and Boyd Bode.

One of the many difficulties in describing the term is that progressive education was often viewed as “a spirit” of reform, placing itself in opposition to traditional practices, rather than as a unified educational practice. Eugene Smith, one of the founding figures of the PEA, described true progressive education as constantly changing and adapting to present-day conditions and needs and drawing on new research and discoveries in the field of education. Another complicating factor for a clear description is that anyone could proclaim himself or herself as a progressive educator, thus aligning with the beloved Dewey. Both Ralph Tyler, the developer of the seemingly unprogressive education Tyler Rationale, and Ben Wood, the founder of the Cooperative Testing Service that has led to the current nonprogressive, high-stakes testing movement, maintained that they were progressives whose work was guided by the writings of Dewey. Yet, neither Tyler nor Wood would be considered exemplars of progressive education practices in the field of curriculum studies.

Throughout the years, various educational and curriculum historians have provided more specific designations for the different orientations and ideological collectives that formed under banner of progressive education. Cremin classified progressive educators as “scientists, sentimentalists, and radicals.” Kliebard used the descriptor “social meliorists,” David Tyack developed the configuration of “administrative progressives” and “pedagogical progressives,” and Rugg distinguished between “scientific methodists” and “project methodists.” Craig Kridel and Robert Bullough, attempting to bring attention to progressive education’s experimental efforts at select secondary schools, have identified a group of “Eight Year Study progressives.”

Students of the field of curriculum studies should look for whatever idiosyncratic definition is being used by authors and, most importantly, should not assume that all progressive education is based on simplistic conceptions of either child-centered curriculum, the project method, or social efficiency.

*Craig Kridel*

See also Eight Year Study, The; Social Meliorists Tradition

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## PROJECT-BASED CURRICULUM

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Project-based curriculum represents an ideological framework and a practical approach to how classroom inquiry may be enacted. Within project-based curricula, students engage in studying authentic problems or issues centered on a particular project, theme, or idea. Often the term *project-based curricula* is used interchangeably with *problem-based curricula*, especially when classroom projects focuses on solving authentic problems. The nexus for the project may be suggested by a teacher, but the planning and execution of contingent activities are predominantly conducted by students working individually and cooperatively over many days, weeks, or even months. This type of curricular method is inquiry-based, outcome-oriented, and associated with conducting curriculum in real-world contexts that are related to naturalistic endeavors rather than focusing on curriculum that is relegated to book or rote learning and memorization. Assessment of

project-based curricula is commonly performance-based, flexible, varied, and continuous.

Project-based curriculum challenges the often-prescribed scope, sequence, direct-instruction, and disciplinarity commonly linked to traditional schooling. As a result of its reliance on actual context in natural settings, project-based curriculum is often hands-on, emergent, evolutionary, and focused on integrated endeavors that are interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary. The organic and experiential aspects of project-based curricula promote knowledge, skills, behaviors, and dispositions through rigorous learning structured in such ways that it may be transferred to other situations and contexts in school, or in one's own life. As a result, project-based curriculum is relevant to the immediate participants in classroom endeavors as it resists banking conceptualizations of education. Project-based learning nurtures student-centered environments that are outcome-oriented, yet situated in learners' lives, and learners are focused more on understanding than on regurgitation. In this sort of curriculum, students confront an issue where there is more than one possible solution. Once a project or an issue is identified, students are provided the space and opportunity and challenged with the responsibility to analyze, discuss, and work together to solve a problem or work through a multidimensional project that ties multiple or all the disciplines of knowledge into one cohesive unit of study. Because of the comprehensive nature of project-based curricula, the issues associated with a particular project provide rigorous content that can be aligned to state standards, but is taught while focusing on what interests and motivates students in a low-stakes setting.

Within the field of curriculum studies, the trajectory of ideas related to project-based curriculum began with the concern of how teaching and learning should be conducted in schools. Both the framework and teaching method stemmed largely from the broad question of what was or should be the role of school in society during the Progressive Era. Project-based curriculum, therefore, is rooted in the U.S. progressive education movement of the 1920s and 1930s because during this time the great debate of how school curricula should be enacted was at full force. Questions surrounding progressive educational ideals, whether school should be reflective of these ideals, and societal

demands during this time pushed multiple dimensions of how project-based curriculum could serve communities and the needs of the U.S. public through schooling.

Early theorists in the field of curriculum studies provide much guidance for current conceptualizations of project-based curriculum, although these practices have certainly flourished beyond the curriculum studies field in many realms of education. John Dewey notably discussed the importance of experiences in learning and the progressive nature of subject matter that focused learning beyond a traditional, simplistic, and subject-area relegation. William H. Kilpatrick contributed to this teaching phenomenon through his proposal of “The Project Method” in the early part of the 20th century. Kilpatrick sought to discover a concept that would interconnect various elements and processes of education and life while focusing on students’ actions through what he deemed purposeful acts that furthered moral responsibility. Other curriculum studies scholars’ work in the areas of how best to enact curriculum had a great affect on current incarnations of project-based curriculum. Some of these scholars include L. Thomas Hopkins, Joseph Schwab, Paulo Freire, and James Beane.

From the 1930s to the 1980s, Hopkins’s work on integrative curriculum; his distinction between a living or alive curricula compared with one that focused on issues, topics, and people of the past; and placing the behavers (students) at the center of learning experiences had a profound affect on how project-based curriculum could and should be enacted within the curriculum studies construct. Schwab’s ideas during the 1960s and 1970s related to practical inquiry and the interaction between what he called the commonplaces of education (teachers, students, subject matter, milieu) supports foundational ideas related to project-based curriculum because it places actual classroom participants as key components to how the learning environment is or should be constructed. Similarly, Freire’s ideas of a problem-posing curricula that focused on having those that have been oppressed reading their world rather than prescriptively being told what is important to learn and how to learn lends itself to the sort of problem solving associated with project-oriented approaches to classroom practice. In more recent decades, building on the theoretical guidance of Dewey,

Kilpatrick, Schwab, Hopkins, and Freire, Beane suggests that project learning in classrooms can be achieved through an integrated curriculum—learning that highlights the interdisciplinarity and interconnectedness of subject matter—related to the social concerns of students and the environments in which they learn. Beane argues that this sort of curricula allows the interests of the students to be at the forefront of learning, while arbitrary compartmentalization that decontextualizes curriculum and learning will be lessened. Overall, many current educational practices have been strongly influenced by the curriculum studies literature and its theoretical basis for project-based learning.

*Brian D. Schultz*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Instructional Design; Problem-Based Curriculum; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Project Method

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## PROJECT METHOD

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The project method first appeared in 16th-century Western Europe, but its origins in the United States are found in the fields of industrial and agricultural education during the late 19th century. In its most fundamental form, the project method represents a curricular-instructional practice where classroom experiences focus on activities planned and implemented by students. Attributed partly to reconciling the importance of students’ interests and engagement in learning, the project method was also oriented toward displaying real-life experiences as a component of the school curriculum.

In 1918, a little-known university professor at Teachers College, William H. Kilpatrick, published a detailed description of the project method in the *Teachers College Record*, and the article became a national sensation. Though Kilpatrick later saw the need to redefine aspects of the project method, partly because of the criticism of Boyd H. Bode and William C. Bagley, the 1918 essay defined a project as having two necessary components: (1) a hearty, purposeful act and (2) an activity conducted in a social context. Critics questioned this conception of the project method if the participant's interests in an activity waned and the act was no longer purposeful. Further, what constituted a social context proved unclear as described by Kilpatrick.

Kilpatrick categorized four types of projects, those oriented around concepts, experiences, problems, or knowledge/skills (also at times described as problem, learning, construction, and enjoyment projects). Later, in describing his "method," Kilpatrick added distinctive instructional phases of purposing, planning, executing, and judging. At a time when many elementary and secondary school teachers were interested in incorporating aspects of progressive education and focusing the curriculum on the concept of experience, Kilpatrick's guidelines provided observable and tangible progressive practices. Further, with attention on child-centered curriculum, the concept offered clear justification for changing practices in the classroom. The project method received its greatest practical support from case study research conducted in Missouri by Ellsworth Collings, a doctoral student of Kilpatrick, whose dissertation research was published as *An Experiment With a Project Curriculum*. Popularized by Kilpatrick, Collings documents the success of this curricular method as he later expanded his conception to include exploratory, construction, communication, play, and skill types of projects. The contemporary German scholar, Michael Knoll, painstakingly reconstructed Collings's case study and concluded that the research never took place as it was originally described in the 1923 publication. Nonetheless, the project method was implemented and adapted in many forms throughout the United States during the 1920s to 1940s and remained one of the most popular and distinctive practices of an experience-based curriculum and progressive education school.

Within the history of curriculum studies, other distinctive conceptions of the project method were described by John Dewey, Harold Alberty, David Snedden, and W. W. Charters; however, the most extensive and contrasting view was published in 1922 as a full-length book entitled *The Project Method of Teaching* by John Stevenson. Although the curriculum for Kilpatrick's project method could take any form as long as the activity was embraced with "purposefulness," Stevenson (and others) confined the topics of a project to those of "a problematic act carried to completion." And although Kilpatrick's method called for an element of social context for which its definition seemed all encompassing, Stevenson defined the educational context as "the natural setting" for the problematic act. Though Stevenson's definition and description of the many other conceptions of the project method prove equally problematic, what appears quite evident is that many authors and many forms of the project method were underway in classrooms throughout the United States. Even though Kilpatrick distanced himself from the project method at the end of his career, the method, similar to the use of the term *progressive education*, was applied and misapplied to the point where no distinctive set of concepts or practices provided a unique and commonly accepted definition of the term. The project method and Kilpatrick's writings were rediscovered in the 1960s in Western Europe, notably Germany, and during the 1970s and 1980s, the British primary school movement popularized this instructional method in Britain and the United States.

Craig Kridel

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs; Kilpatrick, William Heard; Progressive Education, Conceptions of

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## PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

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Like the signifier “education,” psychoanalytic theory may be associated with a wide range of events, histories, ideas, people, practices, arguments, hopes, failures, fears, fantasies, institutions, and cultural (nonclinical) applications. Although both are an experience and a means to modify it, psychoanalytic theory signifies deconstruction of the subject’s intentions. This theory takes apart and then reconstitutes explicit or intended meaning to reach what is latent and implosive in any utterance: something unsaid and unintended, something unconscious that exerts and pressures, in negated form, the fantasies, anxieties, and desires of the speaking subject. How words come to matter, lose their object, signify lack, and then resist this thinking are all met by its method and goal of free association, that is, speaking whatever is in one’s mind with an interest in narrating what stops it short: censorship, judgment, or moral anxiety. Free association is the capacity to make a clearing from that which is its poor relation: neurotic symptoms, nagging thoughts, obsessions, inhibitions, compulsions, and ruinous, repetitive acts. From this estranging material, the accidental speaking subject becomes curious about her or his inner world and its play of affect. Simply stated, psychoanalytic theory is a language, a structure, a method, and a practice for listening and interpretation. It approaches language as both a momentous event and the means for symbolizing the reverberations of its excesses and revenants. Psychoanalytic theory opens the study of curriculum to what is most subjective and unconscious in knowledge and our attachment to it. This entry discusses the role of psychoanalytic theory in learning, the schools of psychoanalytic thought and their application to curriculum studies, and the role of psychoanalytic theory in literacy.

### Learning and Psychoanalytic Thought

Learning is presented as the means to change not only what is in one’s mind but the mind’s structure. The mind’s content, however is seen through a psychological prism, expressing, though displacement and condensation, the drives and idiomatic desire. Ideas are erotically linked to images, people,

fantasy, fragments of lost events and relations, and to pieces of the body, all named “objects” or “imagos.” The ongoing problem of learning entails learning to live with others on the way to becoming an “I.” Education is presented as both needed and as subject to its own pathologies. Any learning is learning from uncertainty and conflict and therefore becomes the capacity to tolerate the mental pain of thinking from the unknowable and the incomplete. Yet this means that learning is inextricably tied to anxiety, a signal of danger that links the external and internal worlds. The interest is in moving from frustration to symbolization. Although this view of the human leans on what is tragic in the human condition, it is also concerned with what is beyond the tragic, namely processes that may bring one to a larger truth: creativity, imagination, aesthetics, and the desire for symbolization.

The primary concern is with the trauma of human suffering and its congealed expressions that animate problems within the demand for happiness and then reverberate in experiences of unhappiness, melancholia, and mourning. It proposes that the human suffers from meaning through a series of developmental losses, all affecting the fantasized body: loss of the breast, the genitals, the other, one’s own body. These losses the finite erotic human must suffer and then signify what these losses come to mean in relations of love, hate, knowledge, and how they seamlessly blend into work, sociality, and political life. Although the body and its oral, anal, phallic, and genital phases are the raw material of symbolization, these metaphorical phases coexist throughout life and are found in situations of aggression and fantasy expressed in behaviors such as stealing, hoarding, copying, name-calling, and more devastating orders of social destruction. Psychoanalytic theory emerges then from problems of eros in human understanding and misunderstanding and opens questions into the ways the external world is internalized and, too, how the internal world is externalized through both language and bodily symptoms. It asks the question, from where does misery come? Its theory addresses such issues as the human’s enigmatic resources of existential life such as dreams, art, and music, to speculations on human development and its psychic life, to paradoxes of self/other relations, to that which resists or escapes the anchor of meaning, and then, onto questions of

the theory itself: how its theory affects therapeutic action, or the transformations of both the theory and its subject. Its boundaries are as porous as the imagination.

Psychoanalytic theory is an affected theory, in the sense that the key problems of concern focus on the human's capacity for unity and destruction and for incoherence and paradox. Further, psychoanalytic theory includes the idea that the theorist is subject to and embodies every one of its concepts, including resistance to psychoanalytic theory. Just as educational theory must draw from the childhood of the theorist's education in the sense that the theorist is never a stranger to education, so, too, does a psychoanalytic theory lean upon the thinker's intrapsychic and interpsychic projective identifications, ego defenses, wishes, and unconscious life. What separate psychoanalytic theory from educational theory, however, are the former's involvement in the subject's madness, breakdowns, incoherence, and unconscious life, with the view that because the human's condition is a nervous condition, it is subject to fantasy, to projections, and to the confusion of pleasure and pain or good and bad.

### Schools of Psychoanalytic Thought

Psychoanalytic theory began with the research of Sigmund Freud; during the 20th century, psychoanalytic theory evolved into a post-Freudian cacophony of contemporary schools: Classical Freudianism or ego psychology, British object relations, and French psychoanalytic traditions. These dominant orientations, revised by clinical practice, new schools of psychoanalytic thought, contemporary cultural theory, and the pressures of the talking cure, posit universal dilemmas in becoming human. They include a view of the formative impressions of infancy, which give both the capacity for anxiety and the need to become a speaking subject. The developmental progression is from primal dependency and helplessness to need, to demand, to pleasure, and to sublimation. Each phase constructs historical reality and fantasy. This temporality is recursive and defies linear and binary reason, although narrating chronology by situating its causes and catalysts are the means for the human to order what is essentially a chaotic universe. Social, historical, cultural, and political

experiences carry traces of human natality and its neoteny and infantile sexuality that founds group psychology in the form of parental, cultural, and institutional life. Psychoanalytic theory can be understood as a means for approaching existential questions of life and death, and aggression and Eros in the work of learning to live. These affective dynamics are the basis of the transference: the exchange of love and authority with desire and knowledge. The transference is the basic mechanism of learning and not learning.

Although each of these three schools of psychoanalytic thought may be considered as variations on the theme of the relations and nonrelations between psychological reality and historical reality, all schools are interpretive variants on Freud's insight that humans suffer from meaning and convey what is missing through the symptom. There is concern for the uses of the conflictive, nonsensical, and enigmatic features of emotional life, and a curiosity toward the structure of intersubjective development with stress on its most vulnerable relations. All psychoanalytic theory posits the formative power of childhood to extend, as remnants, its constitutive conflicts throughout the life cycle. It pushes curriculum theory to consider as primary the breakdown of meaning, the refusal of knowledge, the problem of censorship, and anomie in learning. Psychoanalytic theory proffers ways to understand these subjective and social processes that defend against what is most unknown and subjective in knowledge and insight.

Ego psychology evolved from Freud's change of therapeutic direction from making the unconscious conscious (id- psychology) to the analysis of ego defense and resistance to the resistance to change. The ego is the seat of anxiety and defenses against it such as ultraistic surrender, identification with the aggressor, intellectualization, denial, splitting, reversal into its opposite, idealization, and disavowal of reality. Anna Freud, whose work crosses the fields of psychoanalysis, education, and law, is known for introducing the ego's mechanisms of defense into the discussions of parents and teachers. Whereas many consider ego psychology as a psychology of adaptation to reality, a closer look at this field will reveal its contemporary transition from adaptation to questions of sublimation of instinctual life. Contemporary figures such as Erik Erikson and his work on identity crisis and society,

cultural change, old age, and his colleague Peter Blos, have shaped the field of adolescent development and teacher learning. From a different vantage, the work of Roy Schafer on narrative and psychoanalysis opens ego psychology to postmodern preoccupations with the fluidity and construction of meaning from the vantage of symbolizing anxiety and therefore working through the problem of loss.

The British object relations school begins not with the solitary ego but with the relation between infants and mothers and within its three primary developments of the theory, proffers variations on the relations of fantasy, environment, thinking, and aesthetics. Although the problem of innateness was essentially displaced from the ego to the object, this object relation theory supposed the mind as a crowded world of object relations and moved psychoanalysis from biology to psychology. Beginning with the work of Melanie Klein and her analysis with very young children, the supposition is that rather than consider the ego as beginning in pleasure, the ego always seeks objects that are introjected (taken inside) and projected (sent outside) into the world of others, first as a defense against anxiety and as a way to determine good and bad, and later as a means to repair the self/other relation. The first object is the mother's breast, which causes both frustration and gratitude. In the beginning of life, need and hunger are fused with anxiety and depression; these positions Klein named as the paranoid/schizoid position and the depressive position. Both create the mind and the desire for symbolization; both express the tension between actual other and the one hoped for. Whereas in the paranoid/schizoid position, anxiety and splitting dominate, the depressive position ushers a new kind of love and desire for reparation. In Klein's view, symbolization allows these positions their enigmas and so is created not so much from the technical work of putting things into words as it is from its own imaginative force that allows for greater abstraction, love of metaphor, metonymy, and fantasy and so a greater freedom of expression where one need not choose between reality and imagination.

A second development of object relations theory emerges from the work of Donald Winnicott, a psychoanalyst who was also a pediatrician, and in his work with infants, children, and adults, laid

stress not on the infant's fantasies, anxieties, and defenses but rather on the relation of play between mother and infant, where the mother lends her mind and subjective resources for the child to use as she or he will. The infant's destruction of these resources, he felt, were signs of hope that mother and infant could survive the fragility of being. He emphasized the maternal environmental provision: the mother's capacity for reverie and containment of the infant's ruthless qualities. Winnicott's most-known contribution to education concerns the relation between playing and reality and the measure of the "good enough mother." He defined health as the capacity to play with things, ideas, people, and the sense of the self. A third development within object relations is the work of Wilfred Bion, who moved Kleinian thought into a theory of thinking, where thinking is an apparatus for digesting thoughts and so the means to tolerate emotional pain.

Jacques Lacan and the post-Lacanian are the dominant representation of the French tradition. The theory is known for its critique of psychoanalysis with a radical return to Freud. Its theory moved away from the innateness of biology and psychology onto questions of language and culture. Feminists such as Jacqueline Rose, Shoshana Felman, and Juliet Mitchell have been central to the translation of Lacan into fields as diverse as cultural studies, literary and film studies, feminism, and social thought. Whereas ego psychology and the British object relation theory focus on the problem of loss, Lacan believed the question is best presented through the subject's lack, by which he means the division of the subject, necessary for the creation of the subject's desire for the other. And, although the work of language is the *sine qua non* of psychoanalytic practice also known as "the talking cure," with his theory of the signifier (a sound, a sign, a mark, a signal, or a word), Lacan places language and therefore difference into the heart of becoming a subject. His contribution is to open the analyst's listening to the otherness of the signifier.

Lacan brought the problem of desire to the subject's problems of autonomy, freedom, and ethics and situated desire in the gap of its structure rather than in the meaning of language. In his return to Freud, Lacan highlighted a social problem of the human: having to have language to express its

inner world and its sense of desire for others. Rather than focus on a psychical apparatus as an innate or consider psychoanalysis as developmental correction for parental failure, Lacan turned to the agent's relation to truth and knowledge. He proposed an ethic of psychoanalysis that resides in three dimensions of human life: the real, or that that is traumatic and escapes symbolization; the imaginary, or the image of a thing which supposes unity, wholeness, and completeness of both ego and other; and, the symbolic or the dimension of law and language that awaits the subject and constitutes it through lack, demand, and desire.

Felman's writing on Lacan, so influential in curriculum theory, presents a style of teaching—the teacher teaches the ways in which she learns and so teaches both a relation to knowledge and to what she does not know. Counterintuitively, learning is learning one's ignorance. Perhaps more than any other psychoanalytic theory, Lacanian thought provides education with a new understanding of its discourses, or linguistic structures, from which to understand what it is that we do with our lack in the name of knowledge, desire, and the other's demand. The interest is not in better knowledge but rather in opening the subject to the enigmas, paradoxes, and truth of her or his desire. The road is littered with obstacles fused with the subject's wish for completion. Lacan moves discourse away from communication and into its signifiers and problems of misrecognition. He argues that understanding is not a punctuation of knowledge but a desire. Yet the teaching is difficult because Lacanian thought leans on algebraic symbols, made to loosen anticipatory knowledge that closes the subject inside the prison of certainties. Thus, in Lacanian thought, learning may be defined as the capacity to be surprised by what one does not want to know.

### Literacy and Psychoanalytic Theory

Psychoanalytic theory is an index of what the social excludes. It would thus be curious about censorship, gaps in memory, fear of ideas, and symbolic impoverishment. Given that any curriculum presents signifiers of learning and ignorance, psychoanalytic theory may be approached as positing, inviting, and rectifying our original literacy. Learning to freely associate with this paradoxical

theory, which in fact may question why we have theory at all, requires a revision of knowledge, an open mind, and an ongoing curiosity about why we feel we must shut up.

*Deborah P. Britzman*

*See also* Freudian Thought; Lacanian Thought

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## PUBLIC PEDAGOGY

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Public pedagogy is a theoretical construct focusing on various forms and sites of education and learning occurring beyond formal schooling practices; in institutions other than schools, such as museums, zoos, libraries, and public parks; in informal educational sites such as popular culture, media, commercial spaces, and the Internet; and in or through figures and sites of activism, including “public intellectuals,” grassroots social activism, and various social movements. Public pedagogy theorizing and research is largely informed by the contributions of cultural studies; accordingly, public pedagogy is concerned with both the socially reproductive and counterhegemonic dimensions of pedagogical sites that are distinct from formal schooling. In taking up curriculum studies' core epistemological question of “what knowledge is of the most worth,” public pedagogy interprets educational institutions as fluid, open systems that are themselves nested within multiple, overlapping, and contested sites of learning. Public pedagogy research thus investigates social contexts for informal pedagogical practices that



advance either dominant oppressive structures or possibilities for democratic resistance and reconfiguration, yet much of the work that has occurred focusing on the public pedagogy of popular culture, in particular, has focused mainly on its hegemonic aspects. Multiple and distinct articulations of public pedagogy exist within the literature, with various scholars emphasizing its feminist, informal, critical, performative, and activist dimensions. Additionally, some strands of public pedagogy inquiry seek to broaden and deinstitutionalize conceptualizations of teaching, learning, and curriculum across the discipline of education.

### **Feminist Constructions of Popular Culture and Everyday Life as Public Pedagogy**

Early conceptualizations of public pedagogy originated in the 1990s with feminist theorists' efforts to understand popular culture and the practice of everyday living as sites of pedagogy. Carmen Luke conceptualized public pedagogy in these ways in her 1996 edited volume, *Feminisms and Pedagogies of Everyday Life*. In this text, authors addressed how gendered identities are constructed and circulated through a variety of sites and activities that constitute "everyday life," as well as how these identities are negotiated by individuals within these various sites. Contributors to the book focused on popular culture-based sites, such as computer games, comic books, magazines, billboards, television, children's toys, parenting magazines, and food marketing, examining how identity formation is connected to the ways in which gender, family, childhood, parenting, and mothering are represented and reproduced. Luke advanced the project by envisioning public pedagogy in a broader way that moves beyond popular culture, explicating everyday life itself as a pedagogical project. Thus, even though including popular culture as a site of pedagogy, she also includes other arenas of public pedagogy, including women's friendships and parenting. This strand of everyday-practices-as-public-pedagogy has been taken up in more recent work, including Bryant Keith Alexander's research on the performative act of buying condoms and Andrew Hickey's work on the street as a discursive site of learning.

Working within a feminist politics of ethics, curriculum theorists Jeanne Brady and Audrey

Dentith theorized public pedagogy in the mid- to late 1990s as a curricular notion oriented toward subverting dominant ideologies. Regarding media as a predominant site in which identities are constructed and aware of the processes of hegemonic cultural reproduction inherent within media representations, Dentith and Brady assert that media localities also carry the potential to serve as pathways for liberatory discourses and the (re)creation among women and other marginalized populations of collective identities oriented toward activism for justice. Requiring critical examination of daily experience and the complex interactions of government, media, and popular culture, public pedagogy creates sites of struggle in which images, discourses, canonical themes, and commonly accepted understandings of reality are disputed. Dentith and Brady thus express explicit interest in public pedagogy as a grassroots and communal phenomenon situated beyond institutional structures that fosters movement from positions of social inequality to ones of informed activism by pursuing concrete advances in neighborhoods, health and social services, education, and basic human rights.

### **Informal and Formal Institutions and Public Spaces as Sites of Public Pedagogy**

Scholars in a broad range of fields including education, anthropology, communications, performance studies, history, and even some of the sciences further widened the meaning of public pedagogy to include other informal yet institutionalized sites of learning—which are not necessarily "popular culture"—as spaces of learning, including museums, public monuments, cemeteries, public parks, and so on. This work is sometimes, though not always, informed by the theoretical constructs of cultural studies; however, other scholars working in this area embrace diverse theoretical perspectives, including a/r/tography, postcolonialism, and queer theory.

As Elizabeth Ellsworth argues, learning occurs in diverse sites and modalities, in ways that we may not consider "pedagogy" for lack of a broader understanding of that word's implications and possible meanings. Within these formal and informal sites, learning often takes on a more subtle, embodied

mode, moving away from the cognitive “rigor” commonly associated with educational experiences. Scholars who focus on sites of learning explore and explicate these sites, their formation, and their role in developing people’s relationships to their world and lives. This work focuses, for example, on the public pedagogies of art installations (see the work of Elizabeth Ellsworth, Stephanie Springgay, Debra Freedman, and Rita Irwin), museums and ethnographic collections (see the work of Craig Kridel, Lisa Lee, Tony Bennett, Elizabeth Ellsworth, Brenda Trofanenko, and Crain Soudien), industrial and educational films (see the work of Ronald Greene), historical monuments (see the work of Peter Carrier), film and video exhibits (see the work of Karyn Sandlos), 19th- and early- 20th-century fairgrounds (see the work of Kathryn Hoffmann), cemeteries (see the work of Elizabeth Yeoman), performance art (see the work of Stephanie Springgay, Debra Freedman, Bryant Keith Alexander, and Vivien Green Fryd), and performance ethnography (see the work of Norman Denzin).

### Critical Constructions of Public Pedagogy as Reproduction and Resistance

A more widespread usage of public pedagogy was developed by Henry A. Giroux, who popularized the linkage of public pedagogy with the study of popular culture, a strand of public pedagogy scholarship that has, in various forms, dominated the field since the mid-1990s. Giroux perhaps most clearly articulates his utilization of cultural studies and public pedagogy in his discussion of the relationship between culture and politics in the essay “Public Pedagogy as Cultural Politics: Stuart Hall and the ‘Crisis’ of Culture.” Rejecting right- and left-wing theorists who criticize inquiry into culture as tangential to any real humanist or political curriculum, Giroux instead takes up Stuart Hall’s notion of culture as central to political discourse. Giroux argues that inquiry into culture provides theorists with a possibility for locating political agency within totalizing institutional structures; however, this possibility is both made remote and consistently obscured by the pedagogical, hegemonic moves of culture, which collectively provide a limited, normalized language and imagination for political citizenship. In his early work, Giroux provided specific examples of popular culture’s

hegemonic pedagogy through his analyses of Disney, and films such as *Fight Club*, *Ghost World*, and *Dangerous Minds*. Other scholars took up this strand of work, producing critical analyses of popular culture sites such as Barbie (see Shirley Steinberg’s work), McDonald’s (see Joe Kincheloe’s work), and Oprah (see Janice Peck’s work).

However, curriculum scholars such as Jennifer Sandlin, Jennifer Milam, Jake Burdick, Michael O’Malley, and Glenn Savage, among others, have argued that scholarship focusing on the public pedagogy of popular culture should expand beyond what Savage calls the “enveloping negativity” that surrounds much work on public pedagogy and should try to explore more resistant forms of public pedagogy. Taking up this call, researchers interested in popular culture as public pedagogy have begun to focus more attention on the ways in which popular culture acts as a terrain of contestation and have explored the notion of cultural resistance—or resistance within the realm of culture—as public pedagogy. Although some researchers use the term “public pedagogy” to refer to such resistance, others use the term “*critical* public pedagogy,” explaining that they seek to move past the focus on the reproductive aspects of popular culture and are explicitly conceptualizing popular culture as site where hegemony is fought against, and are framing popular culture as a critical and emancipatory pedagogy. John Weaver and Toby Daspit, for instance, urge curriculum scholars to pay more attention to alternative readings of popular culture texts in an effort to uncover the more provocative and resistant uses of popular culture. Scholars who take this route focus on how popular culture operates as an arena of resistance. Through a focus on resistance, they thus seek to expand the concept of *critical* public pedagogy as it specifically relates to the ways in which cultural resistance located within the realm of popular culture can be a force for progressive social change (e.g., see the work of Kevin Tavin, David Darts, Robin Redmon Wright, and James Gee and Betty Hayes).

Giroux began to move beyond solely examining popular culture, per se, and began examining the broader culture of neoliberalism as public pedagogy, examining hegemonic aspects of the culture of neoliberalism such as ways that militarization operates as a public pedagogy using Humvee, paintball, and armed services recruitment advertisements

to reinforce a military aesthetic linked to performances of hypermasculinity. The overarching concern of this strand of Giroux's work is the articulation of the global, extensive operation of neoliberalism as a public pedagogy that reproduces identities, values, and practices, all under the sign of the market.

To counteract this hegemonic culture of neoliberalism, Giroux proposes the possibility of educators and other cultural workers as oppositional public intellectuals acting collectively to create critical, democratic public spaces that engage and transform social problems. This radical public pedagogy conceptualizes public intellectuals as educators, community activists, actors, public health employees, journalists, and others who work within institutions and informal sites of learning to counter hegemonic constructions and to advance democratic transformation. Giroux's understanding of public intellectuals and intellectualism largely centers on the Gramscian and Saidian discourse that he employs throughout his writing. In this position, the role of the intellectual is established as a critical response to the pervasive and predatory culture that emerges from media and political discourse. Giroux's figuration of the intellectual—related in his eulogy for Edward Said—however, still is an artifact of the institution, a construct of and from the academy, gifted with the capacity to somehow stand apart from culture and reinscribe its meaning. Said's metaphor of the exile then becomes a central figure in the work on public intellectualism—a figure who transcends the discursive boundaries of public and academic spheres, and in doing so, is no longer “at home” in either.

### Public Pedagogy as Performative Social Activism

Giroux's emphasis on the public intellectual as a key site of contestation against neoliberal ideology has been reconceptualized toward a more communal, decentered sense of activism in recent scholarship. In advancing public pedagogy as a challenge to neoliberalism that is oriented toward democratic projects and politically engaged communities, Brady focuses on activist individuals and community groups as public pedagogues who collectively interrupt inequality in public and private institutions and within everyday practices. This

public pedagogy is framed by the strategy of constructing alternative discourses focused on alliances rather than identities and recognizes critical self-examination as integral to democratic social action. Articulating this dynamic further, Brady suggests that research efforts should take seriously the pedagogical nature of sites that neither necessarily employ nor require the intervention of an institutionally or hierarchically located public intellectual to maintain their efforts toward realizing a more just social order. Working from feminist and cultural studies perspectives, Brady explicates her conceptualization of performative and activist public pedagogy through analysis of the *Guerrilla Girls* project, self-identified as a group of anonymous females who work to expose sexism and racism in politics, art, film, and culture at large through activist interventions within public space. Dentith pursues similar themes in her study of how girls and young women growing up on the Las Vegas strip negotiate and resist a prevailing tenor of exploitation based on gender and sexuality. A growing number of curriculum studies scholars are exploring the performative and activist dimensions of public pedagogy as possibilities for advancing democratic projects, and in so doing continue to locate the public intellectual in grassroots collective alliances formed beyond defined institutional roles and structures. Examples include Sandlin and Milam's study of the anticonsumerist activist interventions of Reverend Billy and the Church of Stop Shopping; O'Malley's exploration of Chilean secondary school students' strike for educational equity; and Donyell Roseboro, Michael O'Malley, and John Hunt's study of the pedagogical possibilities of organized parent resistance to educational inequity in the East St. Louis, Illinois, School District; and Brian Schultz's work with Chicago students-turned-neighborhood-activists.

### Public Pedagogy's Contribution to Educational Inquiry

Beginning largely with Ellsworth's 2005 book, *Places of Learning*, public pedagogy research and theorizing has been conducted with a conscious effort to extend commonplace notions of learning, curriculum, and pedagogy as a means of illustrating the limitations of educational research and theory's sole focus on schools as the epicenter of

educational activity. Ellsworth's work illustrates the ways in which public sites, by the power of their materiality, act as pedagogies that inform or are informed by the body and the affect, rather than the cognition. One of Ellsworth's key examples of this species of learning is illuminated in her discussion of the Washington, D.C., Holocaust Museum's architecture as itself a pedagogical element of that space. The extension of pedagogy in this manner is made to draw attention to the reduction of "learning" to a common set of practices and performances that typically occur in school and to broaden educational scholars and researchers' conceptualization of what *counts* as pedagogy in the greater field of culture. Curriculum studies scholars have taken up this work as a means of connecting public pedagogy inquiry's interests and positions to the broader considerations of educational research. For example, Burdick and Sandlin call for a nonreductive research ethic that resists simply translating critical public pedagogy into the discourse and criticism of the academy and the institution of schooling. They argue that such practices subvert researchers' ability to convey and promote pedagogical practices that differ radically from the known and knowable world of schooling and potentially diminish public pedagogies and intellectuals' transformative potential. In this manner, public pedagogy inquiry, coupled with Giroux's approach of integrating cultural studies into the study of pedagogies, could provide curriculum and educational scholars with new ways of understanding their practice, both within and outside traditional schooling.

*Michael P. O'Malley, Jennifer A. Sandlin,  
and Jake Burdick*

*See also* Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies

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## PYGMALION EFFECT

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The Pygmalion Effect, also known as the self-fulfilling prophecy, signifies a positive impact in the field of curriculum studies and raises the issue of whether high educational expectations by school personnel (i.e., teachers, staff, and administrators) and school partners (i.e., parents/guardians and others in the community) make the outcome of student success in school more likely to occur than would otherwise have been true. The term, *Pygmalion Effect*, as it relates to schooling, was coined by the Harvard psychologist Robert Rosenthal and the elementary school principal Lenore Jacobson in their book, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, published in 1968. The implications of their study, which took place in a low-income San Francisco neighborhood, suggest that compensatory education needed to be centered on the induction of positive expectancies in teachers where there previously existed negative expectations.

The Pygmalion theme of *becoming educated* has regularly reoccurred in English literature. English playwright, George Bernard Shaw's play, *Pygmalion*, is probably the most familiar version of the original classical myth contained in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The Pygmalion Effect represents not merely an idea, but also a uniquely U.S. *mythos*: Despite our race, social class, gender, our previous experiences, and even our test scores, the road to success is ultimately paved with the power of positive thinking.

Students bring a collection of dispositions to the curriculum. Backgrounds, values, standards, linguistic codes, and worldviews of middle-class and upper-class children are often more analogous with those of the curriculum. The hidden curriculum,



namely, the socialization of oppression and sense of inferiority or defectiveness in the minds of students, underscores academic and educational evolution.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, school personnel and school partners inform students what their curricular expectations are by exhibiting thousands of cues from the language they use to the body language they communicate with. If expectations can create reality, there is an enormous incentive to have high curricular expectations of the students in school personnel's and school partner's spheres of influence. By communicating in a manner that will enable students to be their best, school personnel and school partners affect students, and it does not matter if the child is actually "smart."

Within curricular discourses, the Pygmalion Effect has been widely understood (if not practiced) by educators for decades. During the civil rights era of the mid-20th century, school desegregation activists realized that simply changing the social organization of schools and the curriculum would have little effect on the achievement of students of color and working-class poor students unless a concomitant change occurred in the minds of school personnel and school partners. Moreover, activists pointed out that disadvantaged children did not possess some problem or have some deficit that needed remediation, but that changing the attitude of school personnel and school partners toward disadvantaged children would be more effective.

The Pygmalion Effect in schooling and curriculum suggests that compensatory education needs to be centered on the induction of positive expectancies in school personnel and school partners. The notion that school personnel's and school partners' low expectations for minority students cause them to do poorly in school and the notion that the creation of a highly positive attitude about

students in the minds of school personnel and school partners causes positive effects has been widely researched. As a result of this research, interesting curricular patterns of student behavior and learning resulting from the Pygmalion Effect include students volunteering more answers, initiating more contact with their teachers, raising their hands more often, and having fewer reading problems than their low expectation peers do.

School personnel's and school partners' expectations are just one piece, albeit an important piece, of the complex cultural puzzle. That is to say, there are two sides to the Pygmalion Effect: those that are self-imposed and those that are imposed by others and these impositions can influence both positively and negatively a person's self-concept. Students should have a clear understanding that there is no question of them performing well. But we must be cognizant of the positive and negative ramifications of expectations—focusing on weaknesses will not bring out potential.

*Susan Schramm-Pate*

*See also* Caring, Concept of; Hidden Curriculum; Learning Theories; Multicultural Curriculum; Social Justice

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## QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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Qualitative research in curriculum studies, as the field of qualitative research, is highly contested with diverse traditions, complicated tensions, and irresolvable contradictions. Qualitative research, as Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln state, and curriculum studies, as William Pinar contends, are interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary. Many researchers in curriculum studies challenge traditional ways of engaging in and interpreting curriculum research, and they choose qualitative research as a form of radical democratic practice. This radical democratic orientation of qualitative research vitalizes heated debates and complicated conversations among curriculum inquirers.

William Pinar, William Schubert, and Michael Connelly perceive curriculum studies as a diverse and interdisciplinary field replete with paradigms, perspectives, and possibilities, as Schubert described in 1986, demanding multiple understanding, and with commonplaces (teachers, learners, subject matters, and milieu), as Joseph Schwab described in 1969, acting together in educational situations. In *Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, Michael Connelly, Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Candace Schlein contend that the breadth, diversity, and complexity of the field and its practical relevance are central to a wide array of educational thoughts reflected in contested curriculum theories, practices, and contexts.

In addition, another significant aspect of qualitative research in curriculum studies is the broad conception of what counts as inquiry. In 1993 in his presidential address at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Elliot Eisner envisioned the future of educational research and emphasized that a recognition of multiple forms of inquiry led to a broadened understanding of how to transform educational research into significant educational practice in schools and societies. Researchers engaged in qualitative inquiry in curriculum studies have not only questioned whose knowledge should be considered valid and how experience should be interpreted, theorized, and represented but also have confronted issues of equity, equality, social justice, and societal change through research and action.

### Research Traditions

Qualitative research in curriculum studies draws on a wide array of research traditions, approaches, methods, and techniques such as ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics, deconstructionism, grounded theory, case studies, survey studies, interviews, participant observation, action research, teacher research, activist feminist inquiry, self-study, life history, teacher lore, autobiography, biography, memoir, documentary studies, art-based inquiry, ethnography/critical ethnography, autoethnography, participatory inquiry, narrative inquiry, fiction, cross-cultural and multicultural narrative inquiry,

psychoanalysis, queer inquiry, and personal–passionate–participatory inquiry. Sometimes they use statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers to support the thick description, a term created by Clifford Geertz, an anthropologist in his *Interpretation of Cultures* in 1973. The main focus of the most prominent qualitative research in curriculum studies is on an in-depth exploration of the diversity and complexity of experience of individuals, groups, families, tribes, communities, and societies that are often at controversy, underrepresented, or misrepresented in the official narrative.

Before the 1970s, Schwab created three important concepts for curriculum studies: the practical, the four commonplaces of curriculum (learners, teachers, subject matter, and milieu), and two forms of inquiries: stable inquiry and fluid inquiry. Ambiguous, incomplete, and fluid aspect of inquiry that focuses on changing real-life situations and contexts, rather than on preestablished, often unfit, theories, is central to qualitative research in curriculum studies.

In the 1970s, qualitative approaches in curriculum studies flourished as the field was reconceptualized. Dwayne Huebner was the first to introduce phenomenology to curriculum studies. Huebner called for an exploration of experience of curriculum through five value frameworks: the technical, the political, the scientific, the aesthetic, and the ethical. Like Huebner, James Macdonald provoked the Reconceptualization Era, influencing generations of curriculum scholars to come. Macdonald perceived education as a societal pivotal point to explore oneself and the broader human condition in a meaningful context.

As early as 1979, drawn on John Dewey's theory of experience, aesthetics, and education, George Willis perceived phenomenological inquiry as a form of interpretative inquiry into human perceptions and aesthetic quality of human experience. Ted Aoki explored the experience of curriculum through phenomenology, poststructuralism, critical theory, and cultural criticism. In the 1980s, David Jardine further developed the phenomenological inquiry as a way to help understand the world and to change the way we live. Since the 1970s, Max van Manen has used hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry to research lived experience. Rather than rely on abstract generalizations and theories, van Manen offered detailed

methodological explications and practical examples of inquiry to demonstrate how to study human experience, evoke a sense of wonder, and make meaning of experience. Phenomenology became central to currere—a driving force for the Reconceptualization Era.

Instead of using curriculum as a noun, William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet advanced currere as a verb and as an autobiographical inquiry method to study one's experience in the past, present, and future, and the impact of social milieu on experience. Pinar and Grumet were the first curriculum scholars who linked phenomenology with autobiography. Pinar and many others further reconceptualized the field by bringing an array of educational theorists in curriculum studies and some of these theorists engaged in a variety of qualitative inquiries and critically examined social and political forces enacted on curriculum. In 1977 Paul Willis, a leading British cultural theorist, established critical ethnography to portray the experience of poor and working class youth rebelling against school authority who prepared them for working class jobs. Paulo Freire, pioneering critical participatory inquiry, explored how the oppressed Brazilian peasants liberated themselves by becoming literate through telling their own life stories. Drawing from critical theories of the Frankfurt School spanning from Karl Marx to Jürgen Habermas and Paulo Freire, Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, and later on, Peter McLaren and Jean Anyon engaged in critical and participatory inquiries to study the life in schools, communities, and societies. Elizabeth Ellsworth countered the repressive myth of critical inquirers led by critical pedagogists and advocated critical feminist inquiry that perceives curriculum, teaching, and learning as contradictory, partial, and irreducible knowledge. Madeleine Grumet and Janet Miller developed activist feminist research to study women teachers and women curriculum makers' knowledge and democratic practices.

William Watkins, building on the work of W. E. B. Du Bois and James Anderson, advanced Black protest thought and developed Black orientations to curriculum studies that focus on Blacks' experience of inequities, racism, racial subordination, oppression, discrimination, White supremacy, marginal curriculum, and practices of scientific racism. Patricia Collins, Kimberle Crenshaw, and Angela Davis used the intersection of race, gender,



and class as a framework to explore the education of the Blacks because they believed that sexism, class oppression, and racism are inextricably bound in experience.

Since the 1970s, multicultural theorists such as Geneva Gay, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Sonia Nieto, and critical multicultural theorists such as Christine Sleeter, Peter McLaren, and Cameron McCarthy have influenced qualitative researchers in curriculum studies by bringing issues of race, gender, and class to the center of concerns in educational inquiries. Kathryn Au, Geneva Gay, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Jacquelyn Irvine have been engaged in qualitative inquiries and have developed conceptions of a culturally congruent, relevant, and responsive curriculum for disfranchised and underrepresented individuals and groups. Jean Anyon, Lois Weis, Michelle Fine, and Laurie Olsen have brought in critical inquiry into classrooms and school-based research.

Since the 1980s, Jim Cummins has been leading a group of qualitative researchers who engage in critical inquiries into the experience of language, culture, identity, and power of marginalized and disfranchised individuals and groups. Since the 1990s, Lourdes Diaz Soto, Guadalupe Valdés, Angela Valenzuela, Chris Carger, Grace Feuerverger, Stacey Lee, Kelleen Toohey, JoAnn Phillion, Ming Fang He, and Guofang Li have been exploring the experience of language, culture, identity, and power—the key curriculum issues faced by immigrants and their children in families, communities, and schools. Many of these researchers speak the languages of their participants, hold similar ethnic, cultural, and linguistic heritages, and share similar experiences of injustice.

Since the 1980s, there has been a major transition in the field as some researchers began to study students' experience of curriculum from multiple perspectives. Frederick Erickson and Jeffrey Shultz examined students' experience of curriculum from an anthropological perspective that focuses on students' everyday life experience and its cultural contexts. As teachers of immigrant and minority students, Elaine Chan, Michelle Boone, and Cristina Igoa studied their own teaching practices with the intent to improve curriculum to meet the needs of diverse students. Sofia Villenas focused on the perspective of immigrant parents on their children's education. In the research conducted by Alison

Cook-Sather and Jeffrey Shultz, students acted as researchers or participants to explore their school experience.

Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan Lytle have identified five trends that characterize the teacher research movement in the United States in the past three decades: (1) teacher research and inquiry communities in preservice teacher education, professional development, and school reform represented in the works of Marilyn Cochran-Smith, Susan Lytle, Sandra Hollingsworth, and Hugh Sockett; (2) teacher research as social inquiry in the work of Gary Anderson, Kathryn Herr, and Ann Nihlen, ways of knowing in communities in the work of Hollingsworth, and practical inquiry in the work of Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin; (3) dissemination of teacher research at and beyond the local level in the work of Hollingsworth and Sockett; (4) critique of teacher research on epistemological as Gary Fenstermacher described in 1994, methodological as in the work of Michael Huberman, and critical grounds reflected in the work of Anderson, Herr, and Nihlem; and (5) transformative possibilities of teacher research as in the works of Jobeth Allen, Marilyn Carry, Lisa Delgado, and Virginia Richardson.

In 1991, Edmond Short featured diverse forms of curriculum inquiry including conventional disciplinary forms of inquiry, interdisciplinary forms, and qualitative inquiry forms. In the same year, George Willis and William Schubert, drawing from arts and humanities, called for curriculum inquirers to reflect upon their understanding of curriculum, teaching, and learning through the influence of arts in their lives. In the 1970s, Maxine Greene brought to the field of curriculum studies her work on social imagination, the place of activism, the importance of the arts, progressive school change, the role of culture, and the meaning of freedom. Greene's work inspires generations of qualitative curriculum researchers to connect the arts to cultural diversity, to making community, to becoming wide-awake to the world, to moving beyond schooling to the larger domains of education, where there are multiple openings to possibility. In the 1970s, drawing from the works of Dewey on art, experience, and education, Eisner brought the significance of arts, aesthetic knowing, and imagination to curriculum, teaching, and learning and perceived artistic-aesthetic dimension of experience as

an enlightened eye of qualitative inquiries. For Eisner, an education that neglects the aesthetic meaning making is impoverished. In the 1980s, Elliot Eisner and Tom Barone formulated arts-based educational research as a form of qualitative inquiry in education. Arts-based research influences generations of qualitative researchers and expands an unfolding orientation to qualitative curriculum research that draws inspiration, concepts, processes, and representational forms from the arts as Gary Knowles and Ardra Cole advocate in their work since the 1990s.

Self-study in the teacher-research movement parallels the development in the life history research of Cole and Knowles and teacher lore of William Schubert and William Ayers in which the teacher is perceived as researcher engaged in deeply reflective practice to change the curriculum and the world as also shown in Donald Schön's work. Participatory inquiry, originated in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, has been closely associated with adult education and literacy movements represented by Paulo Freire, Donaldo Macedo, and Budd Hall. The explicit aim of participatory inquiry is to work with oppressed groups and individuals to empower them so that they take effective actions toward more just and humane conditions.

### A Turn to Narrative and Contested Methodologies

In response to the contradictions, diversities, and complexities of human experience, as Robert Coles called for in 1989, qualitative researchers in curriculum studies incorporate narrative, story, autobiography, memoir, fiction, oral history, documentary film, painting, and poetry into inquiries. Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin, pioneering narrative inquiry, have developed extensive narrative research on curriculum, teaching, and learning. Narrative work can also be found in the following: Kathy Carter, Katherine Casey, Susan Florio-Ruane, and Sandra Hollingsworth in teaching and teacher education; Carol Witherell and Nel Noddings in *teaching and learning*; Freema Elbaz-Luwisch in teacher development; William Schubert, William Ayers, Michelle Foster, and Gregory Michie in teacher lore or teacher narrative; Lily Wong Fillmore and Jim Cummins in language, culture, identity, and power issues; Jill

Sinclair Bell, Chris Carger, and Guadalupe Valdés in language and culture issues; Frederrick Erickson, Jeffrey Schultz, Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Elaine Chan in students' experience of curriculum; Grace Feuerverger, Lourdes Diaz Soto, Sofia Villenas, Stacey Lee, and Guofang Li in family and community narrative; Elaine Chan, Freema Elbaz-Luwisch, Sandra Hollingsworth, and JoAnn Phillion in multicultural teaching and learning; Geneva Gay, Sonia Nieto, Christine Sleeter, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Jacquelyn Irvine in multicultural teacher education; Carola Conle, Ming Fang He, and Candace Schlein in cross-cultural teaching and learning; bell hooks in race, gender, and class; Paokong John Chang and Jerry Rosiek in science education; Cheryl Craig in teacher knowledge and school reform; Diane Larsen Freeman in language education; Donna Alvermann in reading; William Ayers, Patricia Ford, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Pedro Noguera in teacher and student stories and poetry; William Ayers, Anna Neumann, and Penelope Peterson in autobiography, memoir, and fiction; Louis Smith, Craig Kridel, Brian Schultz, and Patrick Roberts in biographical and documentary studies; Gary Knowles and Ardra Cole in art including painting and poetry; Noreen Garman, Maria Piantanida, and Judith Meloy in qualitative dissertation studies; and Ming Fang He and JoAnn Phillion in life-based literary narratives drawn upon narrative or literary imagination in the works of Maxine Greene and Martha Nussbaum.

Narrative is also becoming prevalent as researchers such as Gloria Ladson-Billings, Laurence Parker, Donna Deyhle, Sofia Villenas, Sandy Grande, and David Stovall draw on critical race theory to tell hidden and silenced narratives of suppressed and underrepresented groups to counter the preconceived metanarrative represented in scientific-based research that often portrays these groups as deficient and inferior.

In the midst of divergence and convergence of research traditions in qualitative research in curriculum studies, there are emergent methodologies that move beyond boundaries, transgress orthodoxies, and build an activist movement to promote a more balanced and equitable global human condition that encourages participation of all citizens, guarantees respect, innovation, interaction, cohesion, justice, and peace, and promotes cultural, linguistic, intellectual, and ecological diversity and

complexity. Through a reflexive and reflective inquiry into one's personal experience, queer inquirers explore the contestations of the categorization of gender and sexuality because they believe that identities are not fixed and cannot be categorized or labeled. This fluid aspect of identity and sexuality connects with the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson on body and mind connection, Martha Nussbaum's work on literary imagination and love's knowledge, and Ruth Behar's work on vulnerable observer. This complex and fluid quality of experience influences generations of qualitative researchers in cultural studies such as Marla Morris in psychoanalysis, Patti Lather in postmodern feminist research; Pauline Sameshima in pedagogy of parallax, John Weaver in postmodern science and narrative, Greg Dimitriadis in performing identity/performing culture, and Hongyu Wong in the third space to honor the fluidity and complexity of bodily knowledge in curriculum studies.

There are emergent critical and indigenous methodologies led by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Sandy Grande, Teresa McCarty, and Tsianina Lomawaima. Indigenous inquirers connect critical theory with indigenous knowledge and sociopolitical contexts of indigenous education to develop transcendent theories of decolonization and advocate the liberty of indigenous language and cultural rights and intellectualism. There is also an emergent form of postcolonial feminist inquiry, led by Trinh T. Minh-ha, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Uma Narayan, Kwok Pui-lan, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Chela Sandoval, that explores various experiences endured during colonialism such as migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, place and responses to influential discourses of racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism. Some postcolonial feminists engage in ecofeminist inquiry that explores the intersectionality of repatriarchal historical analysis, spirituality, racism, classism, imperialism, heterosexism, ageism, ableism, anthropocentrism (i.e., human supremacism), speciesism, and other forms of oppression.

More researchers, such as William Ayers, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Therese Quinn, Jeannie Oakes, Marilyn Cochran-Smith, Nathalia Jaramillo, and David Stovall, engage in activist and social justice oriented research in curriculum studies. Drawn on W. E. B. Du Bois's work, Edward Said, Paulo

Freire, and William Ayers, Ming Fang He, and JoAnn Phillion call this form of research personal-passionate-participatory inquiry. Researchers engaged in this form of inquiry join one another to critically reflect on experience, move beyond boundaries, raise challenging questions, transgress orthodoxy and dogma, and work with underrepresented or disfranchised individuals and groups to build a long-term and heartfelt participatory movement to promote a more balanced and equitable human condition in an increasingly diversified world.

*Ming Fang He*

*See also* Critical Theory Research; Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies; Curriculum Inquiry; Ethnographic Research; Feminist Theories; Gender Research; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Indigenous Research; Narrative Research; Neocolonial Research; Phenomenological Research

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## QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

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Quantitative research, in the context of curriculum studies, is defined as research about curriculum that collects and analyzes information and data that are represented by numbers. In this entry, quantitative facts, claims, and data are contrasted

with qualitative information. Research methods and designs that are commonly used in quantitative research are identified and described. The last section of the entry addresses five central concepts that are used in the design and conduct of quantitative research: internal and external validity, hypothesis testing, and reproducibility and generalizability.

### Quantitative Versus Qualitative Facts, Claims, and Variables

Research studies, whether they are described as quantitative or qualitative, involve the use of facts, claims, and variables. Facts, claims, and variables that are represented by numbers are regarded as quantitative information. Facts, claims, and variables that are presented in narrative, categorical, or nominal forms are regarded as qualitative information. In most research studies, both qualitative and quantitative information are presented and analyzed. For example, many qualitative studies include numbers to describe phenomena of interest, such as numbers of times particular events occur, time periods or dates that document when an event occurred, or the amount of time devoted to particular activities. Many quantitative studies include qualitative variables in the form of constructs that are the object of study, categories or kinds of phenomena that are being examined, or descriptions of the contexts in which the interventions take place. Thus, the distinction between quantitative and qualitative data and studies may be overdrawn.

Mixed-methods designs are used when it is important to include both qualitative and quantitative data. For example, case studies often use mixed-methods designs and include qualitative data from interviews and focus groups and quantitative data in the form of test scores, counts of behaviors that occur in settings of interest, or summarized survey data.

### Overview of Methods Used in Quantitative Research

In conducting quantitative research, several kinds of activities constitute the methodology of the study. The following section identifies and briefly describes these methods; clearly the treatment is

not exhaustive and more sources about quantitative research are specified in the Further Readings section.

Two critical activities that a researcher encounters when conducting quantitative research are the identification of the study purpose and the selection of an appropriate research design (e.g., survey, experiment, quasi-experiment). The choice of design is shaped by considerations such as the economy of the design, the strength of the inferences that can be made, and how quickly the results may be available. After selecting a research design, the researcher has to identify the population to be studied and the sampling procedure needed to conduct the study. The sampling procedures required may include determination of the size of the population, the use of a random or convenience sample, use of probability or nonprobability samples, and stratification of the population before selecting the sample. If there will be random assignment of participants to treatment and comparison groups, the researcher must establish the size and comparability of the groups to be compared. As part of planning quantitative research study, the dependent and independent variables must be identified and the instruments used to measure these variables must be developed or purchased. It is advisable to choose “off-the-shelf” instruments with established evidence of reliability and validity. However, if such instruments are not available, it is important to follow a systematic process of instrument design, development, and pilot testing. After the logistics of the data collection are complete, it will be necessary to conduct appropriate statistical analyses of the quantitative data. These analyses might make use of contingency tables, correlational techniques, regressions, analyses of variance and covariance, and more recently use of multilevel analyses, such as hierarchical linear modeling.

### Overview of Research Designs Used in Quantitative Research

Historically, quantitative data have been analyzed using a variety of research designs. The purpose of this section is to identify and briefly describe three widely used designs: experiments, quasi-experiments, and surveys.

A true experimental design is one in which participants are randomly assigned to treatment and



comparison conditions. There are three true-experimental designs—(1) the pretest-posttest control group design, (2) the Solomon four-group design, and (3) the posttest-only control group design. These designs are characterized by either the random selection or random assignment of participants (whose performances are being evaluated) to at least one treatment and one comparison group. After the study is implemented, one or more criterion measures are administered after the treatment (possibly before the treatment, as well). Differences between the treatment and comparison groups are compared to determine the effectiveness of the competing treatments. For example, a true experiment might be used to document the effectiveness of a fully developed, inquiry-based science curriculum. In this design, the new science curriculum might be implemented in a specific educational setting under ideal conditions to a set of classrooms that have been randomly assigned to receive the new curriculum. The performances of the students receiving the “inquiry-based science curriculum” will be compared with those of a group of classrooms that have been randomly assigned to the “business as usual” or standard science curriculum. The use of the true experiment will permit the researchers to make causal inferences about the effects of the inquiry-based curriculum on middle school students’ knowledge of science content and inquiry skills in the district. The true experiment is judged to be the most useful for demonstrating the impact of a program or intervention. However, to conduct a true experiment, the design must include randomization in selection of participants and in assignment of participants to treatments. The question of whether an experimental design should be used rests in large part on the feasibility of random assignment of participants to treatments. In curriculum studies, it may not be feasible for researchers to randomly assign participants to a particular curriculum or instructional program.

Quasi-experiments contrast with true experiments. Four quasi-experimental designs that are commonly used include regression-discontinuity, matched “constructed” control groups, statistically equated constructed controls, and designs that use generic output measures as controls. In quasi-experiments, the treatment and comparison groups are formed nonrandomly. For example, in a quasi-experiment, the statewide mathematics

scores of a group of 10th-grade students who volunteer to use a new technology-based math curriculum might be compared with the average statewide math performance of all 10th graders in the school. Students in the treatment group are self-selected; thus, the study, unlike an experiment, does not control several extraneous variables—students’ interest in mathematics or prior mathematics knowledge or achievement—that are likely to affect the outcomes of the program. Because many curricula are complex, the use of quasi-experimental designs supplemented by surveys and naturalistic inquiries is often the design approach of choice.

A survey design involves drawing a sample of subjects from a population of interest and administering a questionnaire or interview (or both) to make inferences about the population on the topic of interest. For example, a random sample of science teachers who implemented a particular curriculum might be drawn from the population of all teachers who used the curriculum. The survey instrument will be used to document their satisfaction and familiarity with the components of that particular science curriculum and generalized to all science teachers who had used the curriculum.

### Key Concepts in Quantitative Research

Quantitative research typically relies on the use of rigorous designs and statistical analyses to establish its findings. Five basic concepts that are central to applications of quantitative research are internal and external validity, hypothesis testing, and the importance of reproducibility and generalizability. These five concepts are described here.

#### *Internal and External Validity*

Quantitative research in all subject areas, including curriculum studies, is typically designed with considerations of external and internal validity in mind. The strength of the inferences that a researcher can draw depend on the degree to which the potential flaws in study design have been avoided. Threats to the internal and external validity of the proposed quantitative study must be considered. *Internal validity* refers to the extent to which the results of a study, often an experiment, can be attributed to the “treatment” or “intervention”

rather than to limitations and flaws in the research design. Another way to express this is the degree to which one can draw valid conclusions about the causal effects of one variable on another. The internal validity of a study is often described in relation to the study's external validity. *External validity* is defined as the extent to which the findings of a study are relevant to subjects and settings beyond those in the study—another term for this quality is generalizability. True experiments have strong internal validity, but this advantage may come at the cost of lower external validity, which is one reason why the curriculum researchers may choose to use quasi-experimental designs.

The decision about whether to use an experimental design has to address the issue of whether there is adequate power in the design to detect the effect of the treatment. Another key issue is treatment-related attrition, such that the initial comparability of treatment groups achieved through random assignment is lost by the end of the study. In cases where differential attrition occurs, a non-equivalence may result that may be the true reason for any significant differences in outcomes. Thus, the research needs to plan analyses to discount the possibility that treatment-related attrition has occurred.

### *Hypothesis Testing*

Hypothesis testing is the classical approach to evaluating the statistical significance of quantitative research findings. The approach permits an empirical comparison of observed findings from the study sample with findings if the null hypothesis were true. Hypothesis testing allows the researcher to compute the probability that the observed outcomes could have been caused by chance alone.

For example, a researcher might study the effects of a calculus curriculum that uses simulations on the performance of high schools students compared with the performance of students in a calculus class that did not use simulations. Fifty 10th-grade students volunteer to participate in a summer school program to learn calculus. The researcher assigns them randomly into two groups: those who will use the calculus with simulations curriculum and those who will use the calculus curriculum without the simulations. The researcher provides the students with a large number of

calculus problems to solve and records the number they get correct in a given amount of time. The research hypothesis is that students who used the calculus curriculum with simulations would be more efficient and accurate in solving the problems than their counterparts would be.

To test the research hypothesis, the researcher tries to find evidence that allows the null hypothesis of no difference between the groups to be rejected. The empirical data is examined and the difference between the observed mean values on the calculus test is obtained. The researcher then asks, "What is the probability of observing a difference equal to or greater than the one obtained by drawing samples at random from the groups involved, when it is assumed that the null hypothesis is true? If the probability is small, the researcher may reject the null hypothesis; if the probability is not small, then the researcher must conclude that the observed difference in the average test scores of the two groups could be accounted for by variations in sampling in the two groups. If the researcher rejects the null hypothesis, then the alternative hypothesis may be accepted. This implies that the observed difference between the average calculus test scores of the two groups is a result of the calculus curriculum that incorporated simulations. Statistical inferences about performances are based on hypothesis testing and are fundamental to the conduct of quantitative research.

### *Reproducibility and Generalizability*

A key purpose of many research studies is to arrive at valid inferences about whether an intervention or program is producing significant net effects in the desired direction. Quantitative data, which can be collected systematically and uniformly, are more likely to yield relatively precise estimates of such effects. The validity of inferences about the phenomena or effects being examined in such studies is strengthened when the findings are reproducible and generalizable.

The reproducibility of a research study depends on the research design. If the research design produces findings that are sufficiently robust, another researcher using the same design in the same setting and keeping the essential features of the study intact, should achieve about the same results. To reproduce findings, the research design has to have

sufficient statistical power and a sample size large enough to detect effects, the intervention or treatment has to be faithfully implemented, and the statistical models used to analyze the data have to be appropriate. Studies that meet these conditions are likely to produce similar results regardless of who conducts the research. Thus, a randomized, controlled experiment is likely to produce reproducible outcomes, whereas study designs that are cross-sectional, or rely on qualitative judgments, or have an intervention that is not structured and difficult to faithfully implement, are less likely to be reproducible.

Repeating studies using different individuals or different settings is valued because it increases the external validity of the findings. Generalizability is defined as the applicability of the research findings about the program being examined to related programs or settings. When considering the generalizability of a research design, several issues need to be considered. For example, the target participants of a particular program should be an unbiased sample of the participants who will use the program. Thus, if a researcher is studying the effectiveness of a U.S. history curriculum for use with regular high school students, then it should not be studied using a sample of only gifted students. A curriculum that works well with gifted children may not confer the same benefits on students with less ability. Another aspect of generalizability to be considered involves unintended variations in the program caused by the quality of implementation. For example, a program being studied must be a faithful reproduction of the program as it will be implemented. Dedicated and informed researchers who possess substantial information and commitment to a particular curricular program will implement the program differently than will the classroom teachers responsible for implementing the program in a large, urban school district that has few resources to support its teachers. For results of quantitative studies to be generalizable, they must be faithful to programs and tested with individuals that are truly representative of their intended use.

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See also Mixed Methods Research; Qualitative Research; Quasi-Experimental Research; Validity, External/Internal

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## QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

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Quasi-experiments are research experiments that involve interventions or treatments, have criterion or outcome measures, and units (e.g., participants, classrooms, schools). However, unlike true experiments, quasi-experiments do not make use of random selection or assignment to create the comparisons that will be used to infer that treatment-caused changes have occurred. Rather the nonequivalent groups that are compared in quasi-experiments are likely to differ in many ways other than the particular treatment whose effect is being examined. To separate the effects of the treatment from those due to the noncomparability in the groups is the challenge the researcher faces. Quasi-experiments are particularly important to the field of curriculum studies as the impact of a particular curriculum on student outcomes often has to be studied in complex field settings, which makes the conduct of rigorous true experiments difficult. Therefore, when studies of curriculum are needed, it is often quasi-experiments that are the research design of choice. In this entry, the logic behind quasi-experimental designs is set forth, four kinds of threats to the validity of quasi-experiments are described, several types of quasi-experiments are introduced, and implications are drawn about the use of quasi-experiments in curriculum studies.

### Logic of Quasi-Experimental Designs

A quasi-experimental research design is intended to approximate a true experiment in real-world settings where complete control or manipulation of some variables is not possible. The critical distinction between true experiments and quasi-experiments is that the units being evaluated are not randomly selected or assigned. An example of a study that cannot construct groups randomly is found in cases when all individuals who meet the eligibility criteria for a social program are required to receive the program. This situation occurred in some evaluations of the Head Start Program, which was targeted at preschool children from low-income families. In many local Head Start Centers, all of the children who met the eligibility criteria were enrolled in the program, which eliminated the possibility of randomly assigning some eligible preschoolers to a control group. Another example occurs when all students performing below a specified proficiency level on an assessment are required to take a remedial course or curricular program. When control groups cannot be formed randomly, there are likely to be several threats to the validity of the causal inferences that can be drawn between the treatments or interventions and the outcomes. Less confidence is placed on the inferences drawn from quasi-experiments than on inferences drawn from true experiments. However, quasi-experiments are more flexible than true experiments and can be more easily implemented in field settings, thus, the results of the studies are often more generalizable. These qualities suggest that quasi-experiments are likely to be a desirable choice for use in curriculum studies.

### Threats to Validity

The identification of threats to the accuracy of causal inferences between treatments and outcomes in experiments and quasi-experiments was a significant advance in the social and behavioral sciences. Initially, researchers focused on issues of internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the confidence the researchers have that the study findings are attributable to the treatment alone. When the researcher can eliminate rival hypotheses that might produce the observed relationship, the internal validity of the study is

strengthened. External validity has to do with the generalizability of the study findings to other populations. Quasi-experiments vary in the degree to which they limit the internal and external validity of the studies. Over time, the kinds of validity that could threaten the inferences drawn from experiments and quasi-experiments were expanded to include statistical conclusion validity and cause and effect construct validity. However, experts in research design do not agree on that so many types of threats to validity are valuable.

### *Internal and External Validity*

Threats to internal validity include history, maturation, testing, instrumentation, statistical regression, selection, mortality, interaction of selection with maturation, history and testing, ambiguity about direction of causality, diffusion of treatments, compensatory equalization of treatments, and demoralization of respondents in groups not receiving the treatment. Researchers need to consider to what degree the quasi-experimental design they propose to use covers these threats. For example, if there are differences in study participants before receiving the intervention, then there is a threat to the internal validity of the study. The difference between the treatment and control groups might be explained not by the interventions, but by the prior differences. If different individuals scored the pretests and the posttests, the difference in the performance of students from pretest to posttest may not be a result of the intervention, but result from the change in personnel scoring the outcome measures. There are numerous threats to internal validity, and they each need to be considered during the design of the quasi-experiment. Not all the threats can be eliminated, but they can be reduced.

Threats to external validity include interaction of selection and treatment, interaction of setting and treatment, and interaction of history and treatment. Basically, the researcher asks if the treatment can be generalized beyond the group studied. The researcher has to determine if the cause and effects that are being studied in the quasi-experiment can be generalized across individuals, locations, learning settings, and occasions.

Overall, in identifying threats to internal and external validity, the researcher's goal is to choose



a design that minimizes the effects of extraneous factors that might make it difficult to interpret the effect of the treatment.

Replication of the quasi-experiment can improve the validity of the findings by permitting the effects of a treatment to be examined over time. Thus, the use of replications strengthens the extent to which the findings about the treatment's effects can be generalized.

### *Statistical Conclusion Validity*

Statistical conclusion validity is another type of validity that researchers consider when designing experiments and quasi-experiments. Determining whether a causal relationship exists between an independent variable (presence of treatment) and a dependent variable (outcome measure) is the central focus of internal validity. This relationship is typically quantitative and depends on statistical evidence. The researcher is concerned with whether the study was sufficiently sensitive to be able to detect covariation in the variables. Threats to statistical conclusion validity include low statistical power, violated statistical assumptions, error rate, reliability of measures, reliability of the treatment implementation, random irrelevancies in the setting (environmental effects), and random heterogeneity of respondents (characteristic of participants correlates with the dependent variables). If the size of the sample is small, it becomes difficult to detect a statistical effect.

### *Construct Validity of Cause and Effects*

A fourth type of validity that is considered is the construct validity of cause and effects. After a causal relationship has been established between the independent and dependent variables, it is important for the researcher to be certain that the theoretical or latent constructs that were measured are correct. Merely labeling or calling an observable variable by the name of the theoretical construct it is intended to measure is insufficient. Establishing construct validity is a complex activity. The idea is to be able to claim that the variables being measured extend beyond the particular operational definition used in the study and represent a more abstract construct. Thus, the researcher is interested in ascertaining to what other individuals,

settings, and occasions the variables apply. Threats to the construct validity of cause and effects include poor definitions of constructs, measurement of a single dependent variable, measurement of the dependent variable using only one method, hypothesis guessing, evaluation apprehension (fake well to make results look good), experimenter expectancies, all levels of a construct are not well implemented (confound construct and the level of a construct), interaction of different treatments, interaction of testing and treatment, and restricted generalizability.

## **Types of Quasi-Experimental Designs**

Many study designs consist of nonrandomized quasi-experiments in which comparisons are made between groups created by participants who volunteered or were administratively selected to partake of a particular program or treatment and nonparticipants who are comparable in critical ways to the participants. Although both groups are compared, the groups are not formed using the randomizing procedures required for true experiments. Four types of quasi-experiments that are widely discussed include matched "constructed" control groups, statistically equated constructed controls, interrupted time series, and regression-discontinuity designs. The first three types are frequently used, but regression-discontinuity is more difficult to implement and is not as widely used as the others, though it has qualities that make it a desirable research choice, if possible.

### *Nonequivalent Control Group Design*

The most commonly used type of quasi-experiment has been the nonequivalent control group design. Within this type of design, the variant referred to as "nonequivalent control group design with a pretest and posttest" has been, by far, the most popular.

As with all quasi-experiments, a researcher needs to be aware of the threats to validity that are associated with the design being implemented. In the case of the "nonequivalent control group design with a pretest and posttest," the greatest sources of invalidity in this design are differential selection, differential statistical regression, instrumentation, the presence of differential growth

rates among the participants in the two groups, the interaction of selection and history, the interaction of pretesting with the treatment and the interaction of any group differences present during selection with the treatment.

### *Interrupted Time Series Design*

Several quasi-experimental designs involve multiple measures of outcomes both before and after an intervention. Such designs are like the non-equivalent control group design except that several pretest and posttest methods are present. With several pretest measures, the reliability of the baseline data is greater and when several posttest measures are taken, one can determine the sustained effects of the treatment. This type of interrupted time series can be valuable in determining the long-term effects of various curricula. The primary threats to designs of this type are history, instrumentation (if it follows directly on the treatment), the interaction of testing at various points with the treatment, and the interaction of the dissimilarity in the groups (nonrandom selection) with the treatment.

### *Regression Discontinuity Design*

Within the class of quasi-experiments, the regression-discontinuity design is the closest to the randomized experiment in its ability to provide unbiased estimates of the effects of an intervention. These designs provide an opportunity to detect whether the treatment group shifts on an outcome measure, compared with a group of untreated individuals, holding constant the factors that resulted in their placement in the treatment group. The application of the design requires that individuals be selected for membership in the intervention using rules that are precise and uniformly administered. Outcome measures must be valid and reliable. If these criteria are followed, the effects of the program or intervention can be detected statistically by examining the performances of individuals who are at the cutting points used in the selection process. Although the rigor of this quasi-experiment is greater than others, it has limited applicability because few programs select participants in such a careful manner. In addition, the statistical analyses that are required to analyze the data require high levels of expertise.

## Implications for Use of Quasi-Experiments in Curriculum Studies

Researchers designing studies of curricula face the same decision-making processes as all behavioral and social scientists. The practicing researcher first needs to establish the following: (1) Is there a relationship between the independent (treatment) and the dependent (outcome measures)? (2) Is the relationship between the variables causal? Did one variable affect the second or would the same relationship have occurred in the absence of any treatment? (3) If the relationship is likely to be causal and proceeds from one variable to the other, is there evidence that the variables measured are cause and effect constructs? (4) How generalizable is the relationship among individuals, settings, and occasions? These four concerns are closely associated with the four types of validity addressed earlier. Statistical conclusion and internal validity are addressed in concerns 1 and 2. Construct and external validity are addressed in concerns 3 and 4. All four concerns have to be addressed regardless of the research topic or whether the researcher is designing an experiment or quasi-experiment. The primacy of issues of internal validity applies to researchers whether their focus is theoretical or applied. For the curriculum researcher, the fundamental question is likely to be whether the treatment or curriculum as implemented had the desired effect (e.g., increased achievement in the subject area of interest), thus, issues of internal validity are important.

The decision to conduct a quasi-experiment rather than an experiment is often driven by the inability to implement the “very best” design. For example, it is well known that in some circumstances carrying out a randomized experiment with students in an educational setting is nearly impossible for ethical and practical reasons and a less powerful, quasi-experiment needs to be conducted. Time and resources also limit design choices. Often the best design is the costliest. The choice about whether to do a quasi-experiment or an experiment is also shaped by the importance of the program being examined. If the intervention to be studied holds the possibility of affecting the stakeholder community in serious ways, then there is an argument for applying a more rigorous design. The choice always includes trade-offs, and there is no

single perfect design approach. Curriculum researchers are likely to find it a challenge to gain and maintain access to research populations in educational settings, formal or informal. Thus, using random assignment and withholding a valuable resource, such as a new curriculum from a control group, is not likely to occur. Quasi-experiments may be the best possible design from a methodological point of view, given the practicality and feasibility of available designs. For the curriculum studies researcher, the choice of a quasi-experiment may be the best research investment for producing both useful and credible results.

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*See also* Quantitative Research; Validity, External/Internal

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## QUEER THEORY

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The aim of queer theory is to destabilize symbolically and materially based notions of normalcy in regards to human relations (sexual and nonsexual) and binaries, such as heterosexual/homosexual, which foster the status quo and deny people the space to fashion their own sexualities. *Queer theory* is an academic term but has its origins in social movements that took place within the lesbian, gay,

bisexual, transgender, and ally (LGBTQA) communities, ones that attempted to remain inclusive by assuming difference as the terms for relationships and also to dissolve the dominate/subjugate hierarchies within sexuality by discomposing the logic that maintains them. Within the U.S. academic scene, queer theory emerged during the mid-1980s as a form of cultural and material criticism and has its intellectual roots in feminist, critical, and post-structural theories. Transferred to the scene of curriculum studies, queer theory has been employed to examine the very possibility of education. That is, the possibility of teaching and learning when difference is read as a disruption to the normalcy and routine of schooling. Earlier work in curriculum studies focused on destabilizing gender and sexual identity categories; examining reproduction of and resistance toward the conventions of male-to-male relations; challenging sanitized representations of LGBTQA issues, concerns, and figures; and, of course, homophobia and heterosexism within public education. More recent scholarship has interrelated queer theory with longer-standing discourses in the field, including autobiography, place studies, and questions regarding educational research methodologies, to create innovative and unique forms of curriculum theorizing, ones that attempt to intervene within dominant narratives at the crossroads of sexuality and teaching and learning.

Queer theory has provided curriculum studies with mechanisms to name and make meaning of knowledge deemed unworthy and those thoughts it finds difficult to think. Extending a key question within the field of curriculum studies (Herbert Spencer's question, What knowledge is of most worth?), queer theory has been employed by curriculum scholars to illustrate the ways in which knowledge and ignorance, far from being in opposition, are intricately interrelated with each other. Here, ignorance is not the absence of knowledge but a constitutive force that structures and authorizes what becomes intelligible and what becomes taboo. That is, what is too unsettling or too risky to think about as knowable. Therefore, knowledge (and curriculum content) is examined as an effect of ignorance—always already caught up in the politics of knowledge production—and not merely something that is discovered. To examine the interrelationship between knowledge and ignorance, curriculum scholars have investigated the

production of normalcy both within and outside of school-related discourses, and examine the relationship between those productions and cultural, material, political, and educational violence toward those ideas and persons marked abnormal or deviant. Knowledge of most worth is never neutral or natural within queer theory, and it returns us to how bodies are made to practice and the practice of making bodies. That is, it returns us to questions about how certain human relationships and forms of thought become naturalized and mundane while others become abnormal and exotic.

Whereas the terms *gay* and *lesbian* have been conceived as nouns or identities, queer theory signifies actions more than actors and the destabilization of both heterosexual and homosexual identity more than the search for an authentic sense of self within a heterosexist world. Similar to the use of curriculum theorizing in place of curriculum theory—to connote teaching and learning as continuously in the making—queer theory can be thought of as a verb that signifies something in excess of its signifier: a politics in the making that subverts and disrupts the hegemonic discourse of normalcy. The aim, however, is not to merely invert the heterosexual/homosexual binary and courageously uphold the latter term, even if only temporarily, but instead to question the stability of categories implicated in the ways curriculum studies organizes its knowledge. Of course, questions about the usefulness of queer for unsettling these frameworks are embedded in curriculum scholarship itself. For this reason, it might be more helpful to think of a multiplicity of queer theories within curriculum studies. Here queer theory is refashioned in relation to global capitalism, participatory democracy, grassroots insurgencies, generational differences, hip-hop culture, contemporary literature, and so on. It is also refashioned in relation to activism within educational communities, including the work of the Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Alliance and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Whether it is intervention into academic discourse or activism within educational settings, queer theory involves re-signifying practices. That is, it symbolizes attempts by those who have been atomized because of calcified, rigid gender and sexual categories and roles to redeploy the discourse and terms that sought their subjugation.

The remainder of this entry focuses on various queer theories that are significant within curriculum studies. Although it is not possible to account for complete character of all queer scholarship, it is feasible to highlight various through-lines or tentative orientations toward queer theorizing within curriculum studies. In doing so, it is important to note that curriculum scholars continuously reinvent queer theory in unique and as of yet unknown ways, ones that reflect their intellectual dispositions and the force of the ideas under study. Here, with the ongoing reconceptualization of the field, any attempt at demarcating the ways in which queer theory has been put to use will eventually become queer as well.

### Reconceptualization of Curriculum

If queer theory has its beginnings in cultural criticism and media studies, within curriculum studies it has been put to use to reconceptualize the history of curriculum. A movement with significant implications, queer theory has offered different ways of reading and intervening within the discourses of education's past. For example, traditional research on gays and lesbians has traced the construction of homosexuality within various educational domains, from policy and psychology to curriculum and media; in essence, this research has further added nuance and detail to the discourse on gays and lesbians. Curriculum scholars have used queer theory to critique these traditional approaches for the ways they essentialize sexual identities. More specifically, queer theory is used to invert the logic of curriculum inquiry that focuses on subjugated groups outside their relationship with dominant groups. One might say curriculum scholars have queered the focus on homosexuality by examining the ways it is deployed to fabricate heterosexuality as normal. It then becomes possible, once the categories have been queered, to illustrate how homosexuality (ignorance) as a marginal concept has been used to maintain the centrality of heterosexuality (knowledge). Finally, with the categories inverted (that is, scholars have shown that the category of homosexuality is central and necessary for heterosexuality to exist), curriculum scholars have used queer theory to highlight the conditions that have made the categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality possible, including the continued



dominance of the former over the latter and their contingent nature within history. Scholars might, for example, explain how in the 19th-century sexual norms were unrelated to identity or how in ancient Greece sexual relations among men of a higher social standing were, indeed, considered quite normal. The aim is to illustrate how what is considered natural at this point in time is unique to the historical moment and subject to change. This makes it possible to discompose or queer the very terms for heterosexual/homosexual or straight/gay classifications.

When the assumed correlation between sexual activity and identity is disarticulated, it becomes possible to show how gender roles and social roles complicate identities, particularly when common sense has, in recent scholarship, assumed that sexual activity and identity make certain inevitable demands upon the other. These queer perspectives are particularly important when traditional research has repeatedly focused on the development of the terms *gay* and *lesbian* since World War II and assumed that the gay and lesbian “public” identities that exist today have their origins in the Stonewall Riots of 1969. Queer theory has exposed the logic underwriting traditional research as containing partial if not altogether problematic assumptions. More specific, queer theory has questioned the assumptions that undergird gay and lesbian research based in modernist notions of an increasingly more authentic or truer sense of self, identity development theories that reduce complex sexualities to stages, and the search for the historical truths of gay and lesbian experience. To complicate sexuality and identity and to show its contingency, curriculum studies scholars have queered norms within gay and lesbian studies through research that explores the following: (a) contemporary and historical alternate conceptions of same gender relationships, such as males or females who have affectively-inclined relationships with others of the same gender in seemingly mundane settings (involved in same gender organizations for example) and those who have sexual relationships with the same gender but do not publicly or personally identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual; (b) understudied periods of history where same gender relationships held public status before World War II or the Stonewall Riots, such as in New York City between the late 1800s and early 1900s;

and (c) how identity and sexuality are performed in ways that challenge the idea of an autonomous self and highlight the ways identities are enacted, particularly how identity and sexuality are made and remade in different contexts.

### Alternate Interpretations of Life Histories

Not unrelated to attempts to reconceptualize curriculum history, curriculum scholars have also used queer theory to craft alternative feasible readings of life history. Similar to other queer theories, curriculum scholars who work on life history reject modernist notions of rational, autonomous subjects or theories that assume there is an underlying foundation that needs to be accessed or employ discourses that privilege synthesis over disjunction. Accordingly, curriculum scholars who use queer theory find little value in one-dimensional interpretations of historical events, seeing them almost always already interpreted through lenses shaped by heterosexism, patriarchy, and sexism, among others. Here the concern is that the search for the one correct interpretation leads to the reproduction of privileged groups, particularly because it is most often their ideas, values, and beliefs that shape disciplinary knowledge. Therefore, they focus on creating alternate interpretations of educational figures, ones that account for the uncertain, complex, and contradictory character of identity and the role both readers and actors play in constructing the meaning of the text. Perhaps four of the most important contributions queer theory has made to curriculum studies have involved questioning the agenda that drives the text, the truth embedded in the text, the author who constructs the text, and the reader who interprets the text. That is, queer theory made it possible to analyze issues of language, culture, power, and knowledge in relation to normalcy, both within and outside of sexuality respectively.

Curriculum scholars who use queer theory to study lived histories accept the innumerable forces at play in the creation of texts and attempt to reveal them rather than gloss over them. The purpose of a text depends on a series of contextual issues including the political elements at work and the knowledge available at a particular time. Similarly, textual truth depends on how authors conceptualize veracity and the meaning they make

from their reading practices. The author of the text chooses the theories that are explored, the questions asked, and ideas recorded, and also shapes the way meaning takes shape on the written page. The reader takes meaning from the text according to his or her lived experience, worldview, and systems of beliefs and values. Instead of framing gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender peoples as either deviant or normalized, life histories informed by queer theory always begins with the belief that identity is partial and contradictory and that power and knowledge are inextricably linked. In the most mundane lives and events there are queer moments just as in the most exotic lives there are elements of familiarity. What becomes possible with queer theory is the de-conceptualization of normality for people who have experienced intellectual, spiritual, or physical violence because they had been previously positioned as abnormal.

### Additional Applications

Of course, curriculum scholars have used queer theory in other ways as well. Curriculum scholars have examined the controversies surrounding the inclusion of gay and lesbian issues within the curriculum as the politics of normalcy reasserting itself. They have noted that the issue is not assimilation or further reification of what is normal and abnormal, for both of these approaches reinforce structures of knowledge that privilege some while silencing others. Instead, they ask readers to move beyond efforts at inclusion, ones that seem common to the controversy regarding what should and should not be in the curriculum, and begin to critique and challenge the various structures (cultural, political, financial, educational, and so on) that oppressive organizational practices make possible.

Other curriculum scholars have used queer theory to challenge queer scholarship itself. More specific, they have critiqued queer theory as primarily the domain of privileged White education scholars who, regardless of their biological sex or affective relations, write in language far removed from its origins in activism. Here the aim is to use queer theory's focus on destabilizing categories to shake up what authors find are problematic binaries that have developed in the very movement intended to discompose such binaries. Arguably the most important work in curriculum studies

involving queer theory has to do with scholarship on HIV/AIDS education. This work has focused on what the HIV/AIDS virus has taught us about bodies and boundaries, specifically the ways in which bodies are less discreet entities than porous, inter-related, and connected across time and space. These scholars are interested in what vulnerability might mean for new ways of thinking through intersectionality and subverting us/them positions and scenarios. Others have used queer theory to examine youth politics, particularly the site of adolescence as contested and provisional, a site of debate. Because such a site is contested, it must be studied as a place of learning where youth both reinforce and contest the mainstream adult world through their bodies, languages, and cultures. Following the same lines of thought curriculum scholars have used queer theory to examine media images of LGBTQA people. Of particular interest has been the ways these representations desexualize same-gender male relationships to make them more palatable while oversexualizing female-to-female relationships, presumably to fulfill the desires of straight male audience members. Not to be overlooked, these studies of media images have explored the ways in which gay and lesbian representations have been used as tools to enhance and recenter heterosexual characters and relationships.

### Queer Theory in Curriculum Studies

In closing one might ask, what is queer theory in curriculum studies? It is the effort to decenter, eroticize, and establish relationships between bodies of knowledge and knowledge of bodies in ways that disarticulate the binaries that lead to atomized or dejected identities. The concern is not with filling out the history of gay and lesbian experiences or establishing identity development models in ways that translate the normalcy of heterosexuality into gay and lesbian communities. For queer theorists, these efforts at assimilation just will not do. Instead, queer theory attempts to discompose the binaries themselves—straight/gay, normal/abnormal, healthy/sick—through a range of mechanisms that attempt to queer what is thought to be normal or natural. The strategies might include highlighting the inability of categories to hold, such as the queer character of many heterosexually identified activities. It might also involve offering

alternative feasible readings that queer straight histories and historical figures. Indeed, the possibilities are many. In curriculum studies, if one is willing see the irony in identifying themes, queer theory has involved studies of ignorance, limits, and untold histories.

*Erik Malewski*

*See also* AIDS Education Research; Butlerian Thought; Foucauldian Thought; Postmodern Historiography; Poststructuralist Research; Race Research; Subaltern Curriculum Studies; Transgender Research

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## RACE RESEARCH

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The multiculturalists have brought race research center stage in the field of curriculum studies. They argue that the U.S. experience is not exclusively European. They have demanded rethinking and redoing of the texts, the pedagogy, and the power arrangements of schools and classrooms. Exclusion and hegemony are central to their concerns.

Race “research” has historically been dominated by those trying to establish hierarchy and genetic inferiority. Educational policy and curriculum theorizing were shaped by the early “scientific” research on race. “Justifications” of the “inferiority” of colored peoples and eugenics were sown into the school curriculum and especially the testing movement. The recent demands of urban education, civil rights, and multiculturalism have given rise to new research paradigms. Race research cannot be examined apart from its sociopolitical, economic, and cultural context. Slavery, mercantilism, and the conquest of subaltern people coincided with the “scientific revolution” in the Western world. The new scientism demanded research and quantification. As Darwinism generated interest in biological study, natural scientists, anatomists, biologists, physicians, anthropologists, ethnologists, social theorists, and politicians turned their attention to race study. If “proof” could render Whites superior, colonial plunder could be justified. The entry explores the history of race research and its influence on education and curriculum studies, especially with regard to defining and measuring intelligence.

### Scientific Racism: Early Research and Writings

Race research began in Europe. Biological taxonomist Carolus Linnaeus was among the first to classify human beings by race, claiming each exhibited different mental and moral traits. In 1781, physiologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach added aesthetic judgments to race writing that White people are as beautiful as Mount Caucasus. In 1799, British surgeon Charles White asserted that Blacks were a separate species, intermediate between Whites and apes.

French intellectual Arthur de Gobineau is called the “father of racism.” Christian doctrine had always linked virtue with faith. Gobineau began to associate virtue with blood. Gobineau developed a notion of racial determinism claiming scientific objectivity. His *Essai sur l'inégalité des Races Humaines* (An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races) argued the inequality of races explained all destiny and human history. His hierarchy placed the Caucasian people at the top and the Hamites or Blacks at the bottom. Miscegenation, he believed, would be the undoing of advanced civilization.

The writings of German zoologist and physician Ernst Haeckel in the mid- to late 1800s situated Blacks on an evolutionary tree below gorillas and chimpanzees. He hypothesized that each individual, in the course of its development, relives its evolutionary history, that is, ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny.

Profitable U.S. slavery and racism brought White supremacy and scientific racism across the

Atlantic. Edward Jarvis, president of the American Statistical Association, wrote in 1840 that insanity for Blacks in the North was 10 times greater than for Blacks in the South. He concluded that slavery had a salutary affect on the Blacks, sparing them the problems that free self-acting individuals faced.

Physician John H. van Evrie offered, in 1853, a “scientific” justification of slavery, positing dark-skinned people were diseased, unnatural, and possessed impeded locomotion, weakened vocal organs, coarse hands, hypersensitive skin, narrow longitudinal heads, narrow foreheads, and underdeveloped brains and nervous systems. He argued that even the animal kingdom recognized Negro inferiority and said that a hungry tiger was more likely to prey on Blacks than Whites.

In the 1850s, U.S. physician Samuel Cartwright wrote of the diseased and debased Negro possessing insufficient supply of red blood, smaller brain, and excessive nervous matter. The physical exercise provided by slavery would help increase lung and blood functions. Some slaves, he argued, were afflicted with “drapetomania,” a disease of the mind making them want to run away.

U.S. “scientific” racists included monogenists who believed there was but a single species of people originating from a single source and polygenists who claimed the human races were separate species. Both developed views of racial inferiority that fueled the emergent curriculum of anthropology and the race literature.

Respected Harvard biology professor Louis Agassiz argued the races were created as separate species differing in culture, habit, intelligence, and ability. Miscegenation was a sin against nature and would create feeble-minded offspring. He added charged adjectives and adverbs to his discussion of various race groups such as submissive, cunning, tricky, cowardly, and apathetic. Agassiz commented on the education of Black people, saying they should be trained for manual labor rather than intellectual cultivation.

Physician and scientist Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia advanced the cranial capacity thesis, that is, bigger skulls, more brains. Measuring the cubic inches of skulls from around the world he reported his “findings” in *Crania Americana*, *Crania Aegyptiaca*, and *Observations on the Size of the Brain in Various Races and Families of Man*.

Agassiz and Morton opened the floodgates for race “research.” Peter Browne’s hair “studies” in 1852 found the “canals” in White people’s hair provided “perfect hair.” Others developed the “cephalic index,” a mathematical calculation of skull ratio concluding rounded skulls were superior. French anatomist Etienne Serres “found” that belly button height variance, and flattened labias in Black women were signs of inferiority and closer kinship to apes. Internationally renowned Paul Broca, professor of clinical surgery and founder of the Anthropological Society of Paris in 1859, upheld the cranial capacity thesis long after others.

Political figures Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Rush joined the discourse. A medical doctor and signer of the Declaration of Independence, Rush joined his interest in morality and virtue with “diseases of the mind.” He wrote that idleness, intemperance, masturbation, and sexual excess were associated with mental diseases. Rush examined the “savage” Indian given to “uncleanness,” “nas-tiness,” “idleness,” “intemperance,” “stupidity,” and “indecenty.” Opposed to slavery, his writings about Black Americans held they were pathologically infected as their coloration was disease driven. Blacks would have to be civilized and restored to morality and virtuosity through righteous living. Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* noted that differences in the races were fixed and found in nature. A new wave of early 20th-century scientists and anthropologists argued biological determinism could not be proven, however, cultural explanations of difference remained popular.

### The Eugenics Movement

The eugenics movement advanced by Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, and Sir Cyril Burt was built on the platform of “scientific” racism. Galton’s *Hereditary Genius* asserted man’s character and capacities were primarily shaped by heredity and that the current generation shapes the future by how it breeds. Eugenics was promoted as human betterment and social reform. Purifying society has come to have a permanent place in the long-term view of refining civilization.

Eugenicists attributed poverty, ignorance, infirmities, intemperance, incompetence, “feeble-mindedness,” and criminality to genetic explanations.

Nascent U.S. eugenicists labeled the dependent, insane, ill, and criminal as genetically inferior. These eugenicists proposed restricting propagation. Organized eugenicists later advocated custodial care and sterilization as solutions for “defective” types. There existed a popular belief that Blacks were biologically moribund and would die off. People of color, (Southern) Europeans, and other immigrants became targets of eugenic discourse. Notions of human intelligence, IQ, and development were profoundly influenced by the field.

Ernst Haeckel called for the destruction of abnormal newborns. He opposed institutionalizing as it prolonged the lives of the diseased and deformed. He wanted to eliminate the lives of the “utterly useless.”

Educational psychologist and Columbia professor Edward Thorndike was a member of the Galton Society. He saw the United States in deep genetic decline composed of “robbers,” authoritarian personalities, and misfits led by a few intelligent, benevolent, impartial, sympathetic, and good people.

Eugenicists argued that their conclusions were validated by the utilization of large databases. They frequently pointed to the massive samplings in the Army Alpha and Beta tests. Princeton psychologist Carl C. Brigham in his work *A Study American Intelligence*, published in 1923, used that data in concluding Blacks were deficient in “native or inborn intelligence.”

Frederick Hoffman, detractor of Black intellectuals and educators, wrote in *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* that poverty, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and other ailments would always plague the Blacks because of their inherent immorality. Hoffman argued that no social or political reform could alter these hard scientific facts.

### Scientific Racism, Eugenics, and Testing: A Sampling of Views

Notions of difference in the social order have long been a part of the Western intellectual tradition dating to Aristotle and Plato. Measuring and defining intelligence created an industry.

French psychologist Alfred Binet understood intelligence to mean the tendency to maintain a definite direction in thinking and to make adaptation for

the purpose of a desired end. He assembled a large series of short tasks aimed at problem solving, reasoning, ordering, comprehension, and invention. David Wechsler, U.S. psychologist and architect of widely used tests, defined intelligence as capacity to act purposefully, think rationally, and deal effectively with one’s environment. W. Stern, a German psychologist, formulated that mental age should be divided by chronological age thus creating an “intelligence quotient.”

By World War I, a proliferating and interconnected eugenic and “scientific” racist movement in the United States went far beyond Binet, offering hereditarian explanations of IQ and racial hierarchy. Supporters translated heritable to mean inevitable. Racial and intellectual differentiation was presented as part of the *natural* order. These views influenced intellectual thinking, legislation, public schooling, the curriculum, race relations, and notions of social welfare. A glimpse of several central actors and their views informs us about the omnipresent discourse on IQ, heredity, and race.

H. H. Goddard insisted scores on the Binet tests represented measures of intelligence, something Binet had not intended. Goddard helped popularize the terms “idiot,” which meant having a mental age below three and the inability to master speech, and “imbecile,” which meant a mental age 3 to 7 and the inability to master writing. The “morons” were the criminals, alcoholics, prostitutes, ne’er-do-wells, and other misfits. At the highest end of the low group were the “dull.” The “dull” were blue-collar working people engaged in drudgery and uninspired labor. Goddard’s famous family “study” of the Kallikaks was an attempt to demonstrate hereditarian theses.

Stanford professor Lewis M. Terman developed the now-famous longitudinal study on hereditary intelligence. He was interested in the IQ of great leaders, past and present. Terman was also interested in identifying “high-grade defectives.” He wrote that the ability to handle mathematics was an important barometer of racial progress. Expanding Binet’s scale, Terman insisted “feeble-minded” people were disrupting society. He favored universal testing and removal of all “sociopaths” from society. Individuals in the 70–85 IQ range should be given vocational training. He and colleagues assigned IQs to people who had never even been tested.

Harvard psychologist Robert M. Yerkes administered the Army Alpha test to readers and the Beta to nonreaders. Yerkes claimed his large sample, which included prostitutes, plus the two million soldiers tested provided the data base to support his hereditarian claims. His data “showed” that African Americans scored an average mental age of 10.41, placing them at the bottom of racial groups.

Harvard professor William McDougall wrote that all personality traits were racial and fixed during the prehistoric period. He claimed Blacks were inferior, submissive, and a biological threat to the United States. He argued for a rigidly segregated society with confinement of Blacks to ghettos. McDougall feared mass participatory democracy and concocted a plan where everyone in the population would receive an identifying letter of A, B, or C. A’s would be full citizens holding the franchise. B’s would be candidates for A status, such as children; however, their attainment of A status was not guaranteed. C status meant you lacked education, were mentally defective, and to be denied voting privileges.

The wedding of “scientific” racism to Taylorist management principles created a legacy for public education. That legacy is characterized by testing, IQ designations, ability grouping, tracking, and sorting.

### **The Movement Reborn: Latter-Day Eugenicians and “Scientific” Racists**

Although eugenics and “scientific” racism have maintained adherents, they have been organizationally in disarray since the defeat of international fascism. The so-called White backlash from the civil rights movement of the 1960s had an impact at many levels. Scattered “scientific” racists across the country reopened the genetics dialogue. Dwight J. Ingle, a University of Chicago physiologist, was joined by Nobel Prize-winning engineer William Shockley of Stanford, totally untrained in genetics. Shockley began to write and speak out on “genetic defects,” “damaged genes,” “inferior strains,” and “bad heredity.”

Shockley revived the old themes of Negro genetic inferiority. He argued their poor intellectual performance was irremediable by environmental factors. The “War on Poverty” was a

Shockley target. He became an assertive supporter of sterilization advocating financial bonuses to people who would agree to sterilization. He and Ingle would soon be joined in partnership by Berkeley psychologist Arthur Jensen.

Unlike Shockley and Ingle, Jensen studied race, culture, and intelligence with Cyril Burt, the eugenicist. Jensen’s hard-line hereditarian views exploded onto the U.S. scene in the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1968. Here, he lambasted compensatory educational programs, claiming nothing in the environment can influence inherited intelligence. His catchword, like that of Shockley, was genetic “enslavement.” And he viewed those individuals with low IQs as a burden to society and to themselves.

Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray represent more recent attempts to resurrect hereditarian arguments. Financially supported by the Bradley Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute, their book *The Bell Curve*, published in 1994, ignited a firestorm of controversy for its ideological bias and its conclusions. Herrnstein and Murray equated intelligence with the IQ test score. Intelligence, for them, was the measure of efficiency, productivity, social conduct, criminality, school success, mental well-being, and a host of other behaviors. They believed people were appropriately fitted into those slots mandated by their “intelligence.” They argued that the gap in intelligence was becoming more critical in our technological society as the demand for higher skills was intensifying. They insisted that government policies aimed at equity are wasted on people who are *forever* crippled by their mental capacities. Intelligence is equal to destiny. Natural superiority is the order of the world.

### **Race Research: New Directions in Science and Curriculum Study**

“Scientific” racism undergirded the architecture of Black education as the “naturally inferior” Black would always occupy a socially subservient position. Industrial education was promoted as right for the Blacks and they for it. It was marketed as progressive democratic reform. Mid-20th-century social movements for civil rights, school equity, social justice, and cultural understanding contributed to re-thinking race. Most biologists, although



not all, now believe that the differences between White, Black, and Brown people are no greater than the differences within those same groups. Emerging research in curriculum study removes race from the boundaries of science and biology and locates it within history, political economy, and sociology.

*William H. Watkins*

See also Eugenics; Intelligence Tests; Multicultural Curriculum

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## RADICAL CAUCUS OF ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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The Radical Caucus of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) constituted an informal network of members who met periodically between 1970 and 1976. The intent of the group, numbering more than 100 ASCD members, was to radicalize the organization and its membership through staged “counter convention” events at the national ASCD conferences. Radical Caucus coordinators included Steven Mann, William Pildar, and Richard Kunkel, who organized planning meetings and prepared periodic newsletters and mailings. Topics of importance to the membership included the issue of student rights (and whether constitutional rights could be extended to students without drastic changes in the educational structure and school curriculum) and class

analysis in relation to educational reform. The issue of student rights was seen as a way to ascertain ASCD leadership and whether the organization would be willing to publicly censure any school system that did not tolerate students’ freedom of speech and right to assemble. The Radical Caucus also attended to women’s, racial, and men’s issues as well as to matters of “internal consciousness-raising” (defined as exploring one’s relationship to ethnic minorities, examining the extent to which individuals are political educators, and questioning why individuals associate with the Radical Caucus). A 4-day forum, sponsored by the Caucus, on class analysis and education was staged at the 1975 ASCD Conference.

Through informal discussion and newsletter correspondence, the Radical Caucus viewed itself in opposition to ASCD and specifically objected to the then-popular “humanizing education” movement, which was viewed as obscuring the administrative structures and bureaucratic commitments on which objectionable current practices were based. The group considered how it would interact with ASCD leadership and decided to define itself as a pressure group and to generate resolutions and requests to ASCD central administration, participate actively in organizational committees, and maintain a visible presence at the annual conventions, consisting of setting up information booths and selecting specific sessions as “potential worthwhile targets” to attack as a way of raising levels of consciousness.

In relation to the ASCD practice of maintaining a broad constituency of professional educators, the Radical Caucus concluded that its efforts should be oriented toward (a) building a limited yet politically active constituency of professional and non-professional educators, (b) developing public policy positions that serve to identify educators who accept traditional educational practices, and (c) enacting political strategies to challenge the power and jurisdiction of ASCD and established school systems. The *Albuquerque Connection* newsletter reported that the group agreed to work closer with the Women’s Caucus and the Black Caucus of ASCD. The activities of all three caucuses have not been examined and call for further study by today’s curriculum historians.

*Craig Kridel and Paul R. Klohr*

See also ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); *Educational Leadership*

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## RATIONAL HUMANISM CURRICULUM IDEOLOGY

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Within professional and public sectors, many recognize the normative function of education as a deeply value-laden social enterprise by which particular visions of and values for education and human life are conceptualized and cultivated, and this, largely occurs within the curriculum. Thus, in the study of curriculum, attending to ideology—the implicit or overt system of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape a particular way of seeing and being in the world—is an enduring matter of significance. Rational humanism is one such ideology that Elliot Eisner posits informs current curriculum thought and practice. Expressing faith in the power of reason and capacity of intelligence to direct human growth and progress, this orientation has enjoyed a long history; avidly defended and opposed, and subjected to complex transformations and differing interpretations over time, it continues to exert, if only latently, an abiding influence with which curriculum scholars must reckon. The following discussion proceeds with further description of rational humanism issuing from Eisner’s analysis, entertaining key arguments for and against it, its distinguishing historical roots and routes, and some persistent questions kept alive by the curriculum commitments it bears.

Although Michael Apple, in *Ideology and Curriculum*, is best known for drawing attention to the import of ideology in directing and reproducing what is attended to and affirmed in curriculum, and educationally valued, Eisner has sought

to identify major curriculum ideologies shaping contemporary discourse and direction in the field. In Eisner’s typology, rational humanism finds its place among and in relation to the contrasting curriculum ideologies of religious orthodoxy, progressivism, critical theory, reconceptualism, and cognitive pluralism. For rational humanism, the heart of the educational enterprise is found in cultivating our humanity through the development of human reasoning (i.e., in inquiry, observation, study, questioning, dialogue, and reflection).

For educational advocates strongly allied with the ideological underpinnings of rational humanism such as Mortimer Adler, Robert Maynard Hutchins, E. D. Hirsch, William Bennett, and Alan Bloom, the selection of and emphasis on curriculum content is of utmost importance, engaging the young with that which represents the best of our cultural heritage and wealth, and artifacts of highest human achievement. The *Great Books* programs of Hutchins and Adler (in the 1930s and 1950s) and Hirsch’s *Cultural Literacy* curricula guides identifying what all U.S. children should know are examples reflecting this tenet. It is argued that for a society to be strong, for people to intelligibly converse and come together across differences on equal footing to solve shared problems, a common intellectual culture—and thus, it follows, a core curriculum, built on authentic primary sources—is required.

Proponents of this view generally oppose the provision of vocational or elective courses in grade school curriculum, such choice or specialization not unimportant but more suitably provided elsewhere. The philosophical, artistic, literary, and historical have as much place as, if not more than, those studies deemed most work-related or practical, including the scientific and mathematical. Pedagogical methods must not be didactic either, but rather provoke analysis, criticism, interpretation, discussion, and debate. Higher-order thinking is promoted by searching for evidence, articulating reasons, and entertaining oppositional views. Paramount is nourishing the rational powers of every child through engagement with the liberal traditions and disciplines—critical understandings, humanistic values, modes of inquiry, forms of discourse—that constitute the height of human knowledge.

Much of the criticism aimed at this perspective questions the criteria, and the value judgments

upon which they are based, by which what constitutes this height of human knowledge is determined. Traditionally wed to human works and forms of understanding of Western civilization, rational humanism has been accused of endorsing education and constructing curriculum that is exclusionary and elitist; that is, Eurocentric, ethnocentric, patriarchal, classist. Such scholarship elucidates the ways in which—along such lines as race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ability, and culture—many are marginalized or devalued through this monolithic frame. Some visions and views of human culture, history, achievement, and imagination are privileged over others, it is argued, without acknowledgment of the workings of politics and power relations in the production and perpetuation of what counts as and constitutes curriculum.

Indeed, philosophers have posited humanism as the foundational leitmotif of Western civilization, albeit expressed in diverse ways throughout this history, and in relation to rationalism. Sharing an epistemology rooted in the human struggle to understand and act within the world via the possibilities inherent to the human mind or spirit humanism and rationalism also lend much importance to education in cultivating these possibilities and such values as freedom, equality, moral responsibility, and social reform.

The inhumanity and violence of modern times have challenged these foundations of Western thought, having shaken this faith in the rational intelligibility of the world and the human capacity via reason to grasp and order it in pursuit of truth and goodness. Though rationalism maintains the primacy of human reason, despite its limitations, certain humanistic objections are made in affirming the value and influence of nonrational human powers and emotions. The critique of rational humanism, though, as a paradigmatic ideology of modernity, is further advanced along these lines through myriad lenses (i.e., [post]structuralism, phenomenology, postcolonialism, ecofeminism) from within and outside the curriculum field—in privileging an unquestioned, normative conception of rationality/reason, and in advancing abstract and individualistic views of human beings that fail to account for constitutive factors like time, context, culture, language, irrationality, and the unconscious.

As scholars have sought to identify differing curriculum orientations, rational humanism can be tied to other formulations, such as Herbert Kliebard's "humanists," which advances ancient cultural legacies, via the disciplines of study. Other similar curriculum orientations included the traditionalist and academic rationalist, and although differences exist among these too. From this scene, rational humanism is affiliated in the United States historically with agents seeking to clarify and systematize school curriculum via emphases on the liberal arts or subject matter study and the development of the student's mental powers and discipline: that is, Charles Eliot and the Committees of Ten and Fifteen reports of the late 1800s, the curriculum revision projects issuing from the 1958 National Education Defense Act, the structures of the discipline interests of the 1960s, and even the standards and accreditation movements from the 1980s into the present day. Complications arise when the use of humanist terminology is sometimes alternatively applied in affiliation with developmentalist, critical, or reconceptualist conceptions of curriculum, or in contrast to rationalistic ones. Some argue that initiatives such as those of Hirsch or as set forth through the standards movement, often identified with the position of rational humanism, are in fact distortions of—even antithetical to—such, reflecting orthodoxy more than rationality.

How advocates of rational humanism respond to these critiques is that even if it has been rooted in Western civilization, it must not necessarily be so, but ought draw globally on all the best of human achievements and riches of cultural wealth, and offer them through the curriculum to all children, and for the sake of human freedom, democracy, equity, and ethics. For rational humanists, cultivating human reason, which includes critically questioning and debating the ways in which it is understood, is still our best hope for moving beyond tribalism and other "isms" at the root of much of the violence and dehumanization present in the world today. The problem is deemed that although many of the ideals of rational humanism have been lauded, little of what it endorses has actually been realized, and is not likely to be so, given contemporary attachments to instrumental and technical conceptions of education, wherein success is defined largely through testing and assessment of only that which can be measured.

Questions central to a rational humanist frame continue to confront curriculum scholars concerning how such things as reason, intelligence, and knowledge are conceptualized, positioned, and addressed via schooling, and the ways in which particular curriculum content is selected, organized, engaged, and legitimated based on assessments of human purpose and worth. Recent developments aimed at encyclopedic and canonical knowledge of the curriculum field itself reflect the swaying power and importance, and heightened via globalization, of this tradition.

Molly Quinn

See also Academic Rationalism; Core Curriculum; Eisner, Elliot; Humanist Tradition; *Ideology and Curriculum*

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## READING

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Reading is a dynamic and complex process with a curricular history that stretches back more than 1,000 years. The practice of teaching reading has changed across the centuries as cultures moved from primarily oral traditions to written textual communication (1000 CE) to present concerns of a 21st-century technological era. During the last century, the field of reading has been driven by debates about how reading takes place and how best to teach reading in schools. Recent curricular shifts are the result of vast technological changes, the increased role of federal policy in education, and the development of diverse reading theories.

The field of reading has shifted also as a result of a greater inclusion of curricular studies because of the need to broaden theoretical conceptions that encompass language and cultural diversity in teaching and learning. As the changing school demographic in the United States becomes more heterogeneous and linguistically diverse, curricular studies is a natural inclusion in broadening the reading theory lens. The complexity of teaching, studying, and learning to read now requires multiple theoretical models and approaches. As notions of literacy and reading practices continue to expand, curriculum researchers increasingly explore the salience of gender, language, socioeconomic status, family participation, and cultural considerations in shaping reading practices and theories. Reading is a tool of communication in cultures dominated by print and a political and symbolic issue tied to power, social mobility, nationalism, and citizenship. Indeed, curriculum scholars consider the capacity to read a fundamental component of democratic citizenship and human agency.

This entry first presents policy initiatives that have affected reading education and literacy. Next, the theories that have shaped reading curricula, along with current reading approaches and related controversies, are discussed. Then, the assessment of reading curricula is considered. Lastly, the future direction of reading curricula is addressed.

#### Policy Initiatives Affecting Literacy

Governmental policy initiatives have shaped U.S. reading education significantly. For example, federal policy establishing the Federal Housing Authority in the 1950s led to institutionalized racial discrimination in the housing market and affected the property taxes that fund schools. This discrimination led to major inequities in school facilities and materials that affected children's literacy education. Although Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 provided funding to elementary school libraries to remedy such inequities, they persist today, even among schools within the same town. Events such as World War II, the Russian launch of *Sputnik* in 1957, and the *A Nation at Risk* report in 1983 increased public perception of a national reading "crisis" and spurred legislative focus on reading



instruction. In 1997, Congress established the National Reading Panel (NRP) to review “scientifically based reading research” and make recommendations for practice and policy. The NRP’s report essentially ignored a large body of rigorous and seminal qualitative research, and at the expense of other vital components of reading instruction, highlighted five key areas: phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. This report was used to develop the highly influential No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which touted the goal of every child becoming a reader by Grade 3. Moreover, many states now require schools to provide “English-only” instruction, creating hurdles for English language learners (ELLs) that may diminish and marginalize their native language literacy.

### Theories Shaping Reading Curricula

Various reading theories shape contemporary reading curricula, each positing different ideas concerning the roles of readers and authors in the reading process, the nature and sequence of learning to read, and the role of culture in literacy learning. The *cognitive processing model*, which emerged in the late 1920s, asserts that all meaning resides within the text. In this model, the reader’s job is to understand the author’s message on a literal level, without question, often through memorizing minute details of the text and conducting painstaking literary analysis. In contrast, *sociocognitive approaches* that emerged in the 1940s posit that meaning arises from the interaction between the text and the reader’s background knowledge and experiences. David Rumelhart’s interactive reading theory was the first to suggest that the reader brought background knowledge and personal purpose to the text. The interactive theory later evolved into the transactional reading theory, also known as reader-response theory, with a deeper consideration of the reader’s stance. The transactional theory suggests that each reader experiences a unique reading of a text that is an amalgam of the writer’s intentions and the reader’s experiences, cultural background, subject knowledge, and historical and situational context. The reader is located front and center in the reading process with consideration for differences in language and cultural background.

*Sociocultural theories* of knowledge development, such as the work of Lev Vygotsky, emphasize the role of social forces and culture in language learning, particularly relevant issues for instruction of ELLs. *Critical theory* has also shaped reading education, primarily through the work of Paulo Freire, who advocated for the emancipatory power of “reading the word and the world.” Freire asserted that people should read all texts critically, connecting the messages to their socially situated contexts and making personal decisions about their actions for social change, or *praxis*. *Postcolonial theory* has been used to analyze how governments manipulate formal curriculum and language to colonize the cultures of those they invade. As the Internet has emerged as a primary print medium, *postmodern* and *semiotic approaches* to the reading process emphasize the variety of texts people “read” and the myriad of communicative modes available. Unlike previous centuries in which printed, linguistic text was the dominant site for reading practice, present-day readers must include sign systems such as visual images, art, audio, and moving and hybrid texts in their reading repertoire. Multimodal reading acts, considered *new literacies*, are typically found within Internet social networking sites, student-created digital videos, blogs, and Web pages. These developments have changed the nature of what we define as texts and have spurred changes in what people read, how humans interact with text, and thus, reading curriculum.

### Current Approaches

Current reading approaches encompass what scholars term the four-cueing systems of reading. These language systems assist the reader in processing the text: the grapho-phonemic system (print knowledge), syntactics (grammatical systems of language), semantics (word meanings), and pragmatic systems (knowledge of the situational purposes and functions of language). However, instructional design using the cueing systems differs depending on the teacher’s theoretical lens. For example, if one views reading from a cognitive processing perspective, then one assumes that the reader brings no knowledge to the reading event, and comprehension instruction will likely consist of reading a passage and answering literal-level

questions. But a teacher with a transactional theoretical perspective would acknowledge that the reader brings a mosaic of texts previously read and his or her personal background, such as one's cultural and religious beliefs, to bear on his or her understanding. This teacher might employ literature discussion circles and provide multiple options for reader response, leaving room for individual interpretations of the text. These theoretical developments in reading have also required teacher education programs to consider new approaches to reading curricula, moving from their historically narrow focus on reading instruction to a broader conception of literacy that encompasses language arts/writing and children's literature instruction. However, many reading/literacy programs still address writing and children's literature pedagogy in a cursory manner.

To comply with No Child Left Behind (NCLB) requirements for *scientifically based reading instruction*, many schools use *basal readers*. These readers, which are mass-produced by textbook publishers, are characterized by student anthologies of stories at controlled reading levels and teacher's manuals with explicit lessons for skills instruction. They were popularized in the late 1950s with the Dick and Jane series and have evolved to include more high-quality children's literature from respected authors. Basal readers offer teachers instructional support, provide leveled texts with limited vocabulary for easy reading, facilitate instructional planning, and increase uniformity in instruction. However, publishers may excerpt original literature and alter illustrations, which can damage the integrity and cultural authenticity of the literature. Teachers' overreliance on basals may also lead to a "one size fits all" curriculum with ineffective fill-in-the-blank type assessments and little room for individualized instruction or student-relevant inquiry.

NCLB mandates scientifically based reading research methods that include the five components of reading, whole-group instruction with basal readers, and the use of standardized assessments as measures of progress. Although many have celebrated the spirit of NCLB's far-reaching effort to increase U.S. citizens' reading skills, data reports from 2008 indicate that NCLB measures were not flexible enough to accommodate all learners, especially those of cultural and linguistic difference.

Critics also point out the policy's limitations in using standardized testing as the sole measure of teacher and institutional effectiveness, in its effects of undermining teacher agency and professionalism, in tying monetary and organizational sanctions to student test scores, and in compromising the aesthetic aspects of reading for children.

As an outgrowth of NCLB policy, contemporary educators commonly identify phonics, phonological awareness, fluency, vocabulary and comprehension as essential, interrelated components of instruction. *Phonological awareness*, an auditory process, is the ability to hear and orally manipulate language sounds and is an essential skill for successful reading. When reading instruction starts to incorporate the graphic symbols of letters, helping students understand how the sounds map onto printed letters, phonics instruction has begun. Phonics curricula vary in approach. *Synthetic phonics* methods focus on sequential mastery of letters and sounds and word building with mastered letter-sound combinations. More discovery-based, *analytic approaches* lead students to investigate spelling patterns in words and incorporate tentative spelling knowledge in their writing. All effective reading curricula include explicit phonics instruction, but they differ in the degree to which the phonics instruction is embedded in whole, authentic text or taught through isolated words and skills.

Across instructional approaches, comprehension is the ultimate goal of all reading and should be at the forefront of curricular design. A child's reading fluency and vocabulary knowledge are related to reading comprehension. *Fluency* consists of prosody (smoothness, tone, and expression), the rate or speed of reading, and accuracy. Researchers have discovered that, in the primary grades, assessment of a child's fluency as measured by reading rate can predict early reading success; however, overuse of reading rate as a measure of ability may lead to "word calling" in which students read quickly and accurately but do not comprehend the text.

Although traditional vocabulary instruction involves writing words, their dictionary definitions, and a sentence using the target words, experts currently recommend more varied and contextualized approaches to increase effectiveness. Humans have no upper limit in the number of new words they can learn from reading, but

wide reading must be supplemented with vocabulary instruction that includes clear, child-friendly definitions, rich discussion of new words, exploration of their varied contextual uses, and study of the *morphology* (roots, bases, and affixes) of words. Because a wide variety of texts, volume of reading, and assistance with reading affect a reader's success, these needs put families and schools with fewer resources at a disadvantage that can have long-term effects on their economic opportunities and cultural knowledge. Researchers have investigated ways to lessen the negative effects of poverty on reading development through summer reading programs, family literacy practices, and incorporating children's lived experiences in literacy curricula.

Reading experts and educators have referred to debates about the best approaches to teach reading as the "reading wars." During the late 1980s, a dichotomy arose between whether reading development should be fostered as a *top-down process* emphasizing meaning through whole, authentic reading contexts, or a *bottom-up process* emphasizing systematic and sequential mastery of skills, including phonics, before exploring whole texts. Discontent with this false dichotomy resulted in the development of new philosophies, such as balanced or comprehensive reading, which include both bottom-up and top-down processes. Effective practice acknowledges that readers come to the reading act with different experiences and incorporates the five reading components through instruction with both whole texts and systematic, explicit skills instruction. Classroom teaching takes place in both small, flexible-group and in whole-group arrangements. Early balanced reading instruction often includes read-alouds, shared reading and writing, and expressive language play. Curricular materials may include basal texts, extensive classroom libraries with multicultural children's literature, leveled texts for individualized or small-group instruction, and word walls for phonics and vocabulary development. Teachers may also provide opportunities for *sustained silent reading* (monitored independent reading practice) and highlight the reciprocal nature of reading and writing in "reading workshop" and "writing workshop" curricula.

Technology influences the curriculum and practice of teaching reading in schools today. Though

some argue that new technologies exacerbate issues of access for children from low-income families, recent research indicates that children access the Internet and various technologies at the homes of friends or extended family members and at public libraries. Early literacy computer programs emphasize the grapho-phonetic side of the reading process (i.e., letter and sound identification). Computer-based fluency programs often focus on cognitive processing and rate of reading; some support the reader by suggesting missed words or by providing other prompts. Students can record their own reading and measure their pace to self-assess their fluency or create podcasts of stories they have written to be shared with a wide audience. Additionally, whole books can be downloaded on electronic media for children to listen to at their leisure, and the potential for composing original texts in multimodal ways for a global audience is endless.

### Assessment

Assessment is key to evaluating the effectiveness of reading curricula and instructional strategies, but how best to evaluate what constitutes "progress" and "competency" have been deeply contested issues. Questions arise regarding how to balance the assessment of individuals at varied developmental levels and group progress in classrooms. Educators use a variety of assessment tools, including teacher-directed *formative assessments* that measure a child's progress and help design instruction, teacher or district developed *summative assessments* to evaluate a child's skill acquisition or performance, and outsider-developed *standardized assessments* that seek to measure performance on a standard set of skills in a uniform manner. Standardized assessments often use benchmarks or set developmental goals for mainstream readers—those without cultural or linguistic difference (from middle-class Anglo-Americans). Additionally, technology-based assessments support frequent, large group administration.

Response to Intervention (RtI) is the latest approach that the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act 2004 (IDEA) has mandated to reduce the numbers of children who have reading difficulties and who are referred for special education. Indeed, 80% of learning disability referrals

are for children needing support with reading and language. Most of these readers do not have cognitive impairments but rather need extra, specialized support. In the RtI instructional model, this support takes the form of differentiated instruction with frequent progress monitoring (classroom-based assessments) provided by a collaborative team of teachers including the speech, regular classroom, special education, and English language learning teachers. Ultimately, the goal of effective assessment should be to inform instructional decisions and design, in which case classroom-based, teacher-directed formative and summative assessments provide the most direct, efficient, and individualized data to use in making prompt instructional modifications.

### Future Directions

Reading is a complex and dynamic process central to curriculum studies. Although some scholars have prescribed particular types of reading as imperative to forging knowledgeable citizens and maintaining “cultural literacy,” others have argued that individuals’ solitary experience of reading expands and enriches their humanity. Future comprehensive reading curricula will consider the multifaceted nature of reading for a diverse society. In the end, however, it is not the curriculum materials that make good readers; it is autonomous, knowledgeable teachers within the living curriculum that make the difference.

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*See also* Freire, Paulo; New Literacy Studies; Phonics/Reading Issues; Reading, History of; Whole Language/Reading Issues

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## READING, HISTORY OF

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The history of reading curriculum encompasses political and ideological forces as well as research and theory on fundamentals of the reading process. Although adults have used varied techniques to help children interpret symbols and language for thousands of years, U.S. educators did not develop formal, systematic reading curricula until the common schools emerged in the 1820s. The expansion of public education, technological advancements in printing, and the growing importance of print culture in the 19th century increased opportunities to read and advanced reading as a field of study. Despite these advancements, sharp inequities in reading opportunities and access to materials endure today; social prescriptions of who can and should read have been linked to race, socioeconomic class, gender, citizenship, and nationality. Historically, reading curricula have shifted from an eclectic mix of rote memorization, Biblical reading, and “whole word” instruction to systematic, research-based and assessment-driven reading practices. Throughout these changes, the goal of reading curricula has remained the same: to create a literate U.S. citizenry.

Most U.S. citizens had limited access to printed materials or reading tools before the 19th century. In the 1700s, while social elites had financial resources and leisure to access texts, most farming families of rural United States perceived reading, beyond basic facility with contracts and knowledge of religious texts, as utterly wasteful. As a budding “U.S.” identity emerged in the wake of the American Revolution, citizens began to idealize the potential of public education to forge a “civilized” nation and assimilate diverse immigrants into a shared culture. Changing beliefs about the purpose and value of reading, and the emergence of literature written specifically for children, spurred the development of systematic reading curricula. Literacy rates increased steadily throughout the 19th century, albeit with significant differences across race, gender, and class, and



by the 1860s, more than 90% of Northern European Americans were literate.

Technological developments and economic forces were integral in the shift from localized reading curriculum to more systematic and widespread practices. The cost of paper and printing decreased, the efficiency of producing texts increased, newspaper circulation blossomed, and the advertising industry began to promote texts as consumable products. Publishers seized opportunities to market their wares for profit, producing varied texts that facilitated literacy, including textbooks, youth magazines, hymnals, and popular fiction. Whether an advertisement or a Bible, any printed text available became important literacy tools for people of color, immigrants, and women with limited access to schooling.

Approaches to school-based reading instruction varied from holistic teaching of classical literature to segmented skills and grammar exercises. Young children's reading instruction focused on articulation, pronunciation, and elocution, and later instruction included handwriting, oral recitation, reading primers, and reading aloud as a primary way to demonstrate knowledge. During the 1800s, basal readers, such as the popular McGuffey series with its subtle moral dictums, became the norm for reading instruction. The 1840s and 1850s witnessed a major shift in reading pedagogy with Francis Parker's advocacy of the whole-word instructional method in which students memorized sight words before learning letter-sound correspondences. These instructional advances were not available equally; through much of the century, teaching Southern slaves to read remained illegal.

Reading curricula changed in the 20th century in two important ways: More schools became available for poor and minority children, including females, and the advent of IQ testing placed readers in distinct categories for instruction. Scholars began conducting research on reading practices and processes that focused on fluency, eye movement, and short-term memory. In the 1920s, reading readiness, or the early literacy experiences and prerequisite skills that prepare a young child to read, became a focus of education and remained so throughout the century. By 1924, researchers increased attention to ameliorating reading difficulties, developing assessment strategies, and exploring the idiosyncrasies of individual learners.

Educators advocated silent reading over oral reading, worked to increase reading rate and automaticity to enhance comprehension, and began exploring how readers' background knowledge influences meaning construction.

The post-World War II era ushered in interest in reading motivation and increased attention to vast racial differences in educational access and literacy achievement. The civil rights movement of the 1960s spurred policy changes that increased opportunities for African Americans. Subsequently, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 provided funding through Title I for supplemental programs to support readers in high-poverty schools. Reading clinics sprang up around the country to research and provide best practices for struggling readers.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the language experience approach became a common instructional method. Teachers created new experiences for students (such as watching a chick hatch), wrote texts with students about those experiences, and used them to teach reading and writing skills. The "back to basics movement" in the 1970s, a phonics-first approach, developed in resistance to previous whole-word methods of instruction and later gave way to a more comprehensive view of reading as a contextual and meaning-based process. In the 1980s and 1990s, new paradigms of emergent literacy and whole language philosophy highlighted the developmental nature of knowledge about how print works for readers and the importance of whole, meaningful contexts for reading and writing, respectively. Educators began to view readers as active constructors of meaning, emphasizing social and cultural influences on literacy development. Educators also began to realize that homogeneous ability-grouped reading instruction led to what is known as the Mathew Effect in which the good readers improved greatly while poor readers fell further behind. This curriculum structure, also called tracking, typically led to poor teaching for minority children and those of low socioeconomic status.

More recently, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, reading curriculum has been influenced by vast technological changes, federal policy, diverse reading theories, research into the reciprocity of writing and reading, and interest in reading instruction for adolescents. Educators are also

studying effective practices with English language learners. National concerns about global competitiveness and a perceived reading crisis has intensified the federal role in education, in general, and reading curriculum, in particular, with the creation of the National Reading Panel (NRP) report in 2000 and the introduction of No Child Left Behind legislation in 2001. Although contemporary reading requires one to explore multimodal texts, federal legislation has narrowed, instead of widened or deepened, ideas about curriculum and instruction. Many educators hope the 21st century becomes a time of progressive curriculum change that leads to rich, engaging, reading instruction for diverse learners.

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See also Freire, Paulo; New Literacy Studies; Phonics/Reading Issues; Reading; Whole Language /Reading Issues

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Woods Hole conference that yielded Jerome Bruner's *Process of Education* was held in 1959. It was a time of anxiety over our scientific and technological competitiveness. In curriculum studies, the watchwords were "disciplinarity" and "the structure of knowledge." Against this backdrop, Philip Phenix published his comprehensive philosophy of the general curriculum, *Realms of Meaning*, in 1964.

Responding to the new interest in the epistemological foundations of curriculum, Phenix attempted to counter the narrow emphasis on science and instrumental rationality. ("Empirics" was to become only one of six of his realms of meaning.) Indeed, his defense of meaning as an educational aim can be read as a response to the existential predicament of modernity itself, to its skepticism, alienation, and fragmentation. In an era of exploding information and hyperspecialization, Phenix offered a vision of a whole curriculum for the whole person.

In the tradition of Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Phenix analyzed the myriad subjects and disciplines into six fundamental modes of human meaning making. Moral, aesthetic, and personal ways of knowing thus joined the more familiar logical and empirical modes. In this respect, *Realms of Meaning* could be said to have anticipated the basic argument of Howard Gardner's much celebrated *Frames of Mind* (1983) by some two decades.

For Phenix, meaning has both a subjective side, in the (1) experience of reflective self-consciousness, and an objective side, as it is (2) organized by logical principles into a variety of patterns, (3) elaborated into scholarly disciplines, and (4) expressed in symbolic forms. In Phenix's analysis, these myriad experiences, patterns, disciplines and forms fall into six primary "realms of meaning": (1) symbolics (ordinary language, mathematics, and nondiscursive symbolic forms), (2) empirics (the sciences), (3) aesthetics (the arts), (4) synnoetics (intra- and interpersonal meanings), (5) ethics (moral meanings), and (6) synoptics (comprehensively integrative meanings).

A curriculum organized around these realms of meaning, Phenix argues, would still include the disciplines, but would approach them differently. Disciplines would be presented not as bodies of knowledge already constructed, but as groupings of representative ideas and distinctive methods of

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## REALMS OF MEANING

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*Sputnik* was launched in 1957; the National Educational Defense Act was passed in 1958; the

inquiry. For example, in mathematics, students might first learn about sets, elements, functions, and rules of combination; all specific mathematical knowledge learned subsequently can therefore be seen to grow out of these fundamental concepts of knowledge formation. Thus, what is unique about each discipline is presented, but the stress is on the unity of meaning across disciplines. In this way, Phenix suggested, it should be possible to craft a curriculum of general education at once comprehensive and unified.

Phenix suggests that learning should begin in symbolics, followed by empirics and esthetics once language is learned. Ethics and synnoetics should wait until the child is older and has acquired the necessary experience to undertake inquiry in a free, self-directed manner. Finally, study should culminate in synoptics, because this realm encompasses all of the others. The idea is only that the realms be introduced in this order; Phenix acknowledges that strict sequential study is neither possible nor desirable.

Finally, Phenix stressed the importance of imagination in the teaching of meaning, unapologetically placing the importance of wonder before that of practicality. For Phenix, the desire to learn grows first and foremost from a desire to awaken one's own inner life as opposed to satisfying some set of external, social demands.

*Realms of Meaning* is no longer in print, and some of Phenix's specific claims about the disciplines may appear dated. However, when one considers his radical reconstruction of the school curriculum around the fulfillment of meaning, and when one considers that the threats to meaning identified by Phenix have only increased, *Realms of Meaning* might well be ahead of its time and ours.

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*See also* Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Educational Foundations; Curriculum Theory; Synoptic Textbooks; Teachers College Collective of Curriculum Professors; Ways of Knowing

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## RECONCEPTUALIZATION

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The concept of “reconceptualization” refers to a paradigm shift during the 1970s in the academic field of U.S. curriculum studies. This cataclysmic event occurred after the field's crisis at the end of the 1960s when, it became clear, curriculum development was no longer its primary province. The field was reconceptualized from a largely bureaucratic and procedural field to a theoretically sophisticated field devoted to understanding curriculum. This paradigm shift reflected both changed circumstances external to the field and intellectual developments internal to the field. As a consequence, not only the professional identity of curriculum studies scholars changed, but the research they conducted, the character of the courses they taught, and the very concepts scholars employed to speak about curriculum changed dramatically and in a relatively short period of time.

By the late 1960s, it is clear that the field was in crisis. The Tyler Rationale had reached the end of its intellectual legitimacy, partly for conceptual reasons, and partly for historical ones. Critics of the rationale pointed to its technicism—that is, its emphasis upon procedure to the exclusion of ethics, and so on—and its political naiveté, as if procedure could resolve ideological differences. Historically, the field had been bypassed during the Kennedy administration's national curriculum reform movement of the 1960s. That was a blow not only to the prestige of the traditional field, as it co-opted the primary professional preoccupation of curriculum professors from the time of the field's inception earlier in the century. That blow, coupled with declining student enrollments in curriculum courses, politically ascendant departments of educational administration and educational psychology, the replacement of retiring curriculum generalists with subject matter specialists (such as science educators), and the paradigmatic instability

within the field itself (i.e., dissatisfaction over the Tyler Rationale) combined to send the field into crisis. Internally, the scholarship of James B. Macdonald and Dwayne E. Huebner laid the ground for the reconceptualization.

Historical events prompted the reconceptualization of the field in another way. The worldwide student revolt of the late 1960s, in the United States linked especially to the antiwar and the civil rights movements, reached beyond even those profound issues to challenge conventional ideas of American culture generally. In addition to political and racial dissent, the 1960s gave rise to the so-called counterculture, to notions of cultural revolution, enacted perhaps most seriously in the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong. In the United States, "heightened consciousness"—which included the practice of Eastern religions—reflected a shift in ideological struggle from conventional street politics to the domains of culture. Nearly every academic discipline associated with the social sciences, humanities, and the arts underwent self-critique and profound change. The curriculum field would be no exception.

Before the reconceptualization of the field, the concept of curriculum had been understood as the equivalent to what the school district office required teachers to teach, or what the state education department (or, in Canada, ministries of education) published in scope and sequence guides, or, for nonspecialists, simply the syllabus. After the reconceptualization, the concept of curriculum still conveyed those literal and institutional meanings, but it was by no means limited to them and was understood as not only institutional, but, as well, a highly symbolic concept. Now broadly understood, curriculum is what older generations choose to tell (and what they decide to censor) younger generations. So understood, curriculum is understood as historical, political, racial, gendered, phenomenological, autobiographical, aesthetic, theological, and international. These became the central categories of research and scholarship that emerged in the post-Reconceptualization period (1980–1995).

Such a fundamental shift in the disciplinary structure of curriculum studies did not occur without controversy. There has been, for instance, controversy over the use of the term "reconceptualization."

Here the primary questions became, Was the shift in the field that occurred during the 1970s a "paradigm shift" or merely an extension of earlier scholarship? Certainly it was true that the themes of much 1970s scholarship could be linked to the scholarship of progressive scholars such as John Dewey in the earlier part of the century. So-called humanistic approaches and the initial interest in autobiography could be linked to the child-centered Progressives; others pointed to 19th-century Romanticism as an antecedent. The explosion of Marxist, neo-Marxist, and other political perspectives during the early years of the reconceptualization recalled the earlier interests of George Counts and the social reconstructionists. In their adherence to Marxian categories, however, these differentiated themselves from Counts and other social reconstructionists. What became clear was that while the themes of 1970s scholarship echoed earlier ones, the function of the new scholarship was not to change curriculum practice; it was to understand curriculum as political. Because its function was different—not curriculum development, but understanding curriculum—this 1970s scholarship functioned to reconceptualize the character of the U.S. curriculum field, both conceptually and methodologically.

By the early 1980s, the movement to reconceptualize the curriculum field lost the cohesive bonds that had maintained the coalition during its first years of struggle and enthusiasm. Opposition to the traditional field was no longer powerful enough a force for coalition, as the movement had succeeded in de-legitimizing the ahistorical, atheoretical field of the pre-1970 period. Its success was its demise. The reconceptualization had occurred.

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*See also* Bergamo Conference, The; *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*; Post-Reconceptualization; Tyler Rationale, The

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## RECONSTRUCTIONISM

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Reconstructionism is a group of related curriculum proposals that, although evolving from the social reconstructionist ideas of George Counts, Harold Rugg, and Jessie Newlon, developed a distinct rationale and proposal for advancing education as an agent for social reform. This movement differs from social reconstruction in its promotion of a rationale for a social issues curriculum, its use of psychology and sociology to inform this rationale, and in providing specific curricular and instructional guidelines. The developed proposal for reconstruction education was developed by Theodore Brameld with variants presented in the influential synoptic curriculum text, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* by the B. O. Smith, W. O. Stanley, and J. H. Shores, all from the University of Illinois.

Brameld developed his proposal in the 2 decades following World War II. Brameld's philosophy of education sought to effect the transformation of economic, political, and cultural institutions through education. Presenting his philosophy as a social progression from John Dewey's experimentalist philosophy, Brameld incorporated into Dewey's epistemology the insights of utopian thinkers and the contributions made by 20th-century inquiry in the social sciences.

Brameld accepted Dewey's model of deliberative scientific thinking as the means to social progress. The limitation of experiential thought, Brameld contended, was its inability to project social ends for which means can then be designed. Utopian thought, for Brameld, provided these ideal goals and motivated inquiry. Brameld expanded the experientialist understanding of human nature to include the insights of Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, as well as of sociologists such as David Reisman and W. Lloyd Warner. In his description of contemporary society, Brameld criticized the failure to meet basic human needs,

with social analysis evidencing limited control of essential resources and Dewey's scientific deliberation providing a method for social problem solving to reconstruct the social order.

Key elements of the curriculum theory Brameld developed included (1) an inductive approach to determining social values, (2) the mandate to build consensus on social policy, (3) the use of "defensible partiality" in teaching, and (4) the organizing of the curriculum around social problems or spokes of a "wheel curriculum." The inductive approach for determining social values introduced an "unrational" or subconscious basis for determining social values, a "prehension" of basic human needs. Immediate experience provokes recognition of 12 intrinsic values or "prehesive urges" such as food, shelter, vocation, and recreation.

Gaining consensus on social policy was how Brameld interpreted Dewey's proposal for public democratic deliberation. In education, this meant bringing before students a significant social problem, interpreted as an unmet fundamental need. Using the analogy of a jury trial, social consensus worked through stages, beginning with assembling evidence through social research in a climate of discussion and criticism. When viable hypotheses emerge, they are publicly scrutinized for possible outcomes. A course of action is decided and refinement, analysis, and dialogue continue to evaluate the solution in addressing the social problem.

The teacher is facilitator in this consensual deliberation, but also advocates for solutions he or she believes are most effective. In stating a "defensible partiality," a teacher is welcome to promote social causes and state philosophic convictions but only if she or he is also willing to engage in critical and unrestricted debate. According to Brameld, indoctrination is avoided because the learner is free to accept or reject the explicitly stated convictions of the teacher.

Brameld considered the frame from junior year of high school to the second year of college as the optimal time for implementing a curriculum for reconstruction through a wheel curriculum. The hub of the wheel is group consideration of a social issue, based on the prehensive urges. The spokes are groups of students concentrating on different aspects of the issue, coming together periodically to share research and proposals following Brameld's steps for gaining social consensus.

Brameld's personal commitment to his ideas extended to efforts to develop both a collegiate and a high school course that followed a reconstructionist design while Brameld was a professor at the University of Minnesota. Brameld's influence extended, while a professor at Boston University, to Puerto Rico, Japan, and Korea.

In their influential synoptic curriculum, *Foundations of Curriculum Development*, Smith, Stanley, and Shores arrived at the same value construct as Brameld, citing his list of human needs. Their rationale, however, was the contention that realizing these human needs are accepted goals of a democratic "cultural core," the rules, knowledge, and skills by which a social group conducts itself and envisions its future. The task of curriculum building, they contended, was to consider simultaneously cultural elements and social realities, noting where the cultural core is dissonant from lived social experience. Students consider social problems which evidence the contradictions in the culture core and work to resolve the value conflict, refashioning democracy through direct participation. The social problems core was akin to Brameld's wheel curriculum, although employing a time frame more practical for immediate inclusion in the U.S. secondary school.

Other scholars who contributed to elements of reconstructionist thought include John Childs, with an emphasis on the individual's responsibility to contribute in social problem solving, and Kenneth Benne, who emphasized using a social problem solving method developed from Dewey's social philosophy.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also* Social Reconstructionism; University of Illinois Collective of Curriculum Professors

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## RELIABILITY

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*Reliability* refers to the consistency and repeatability of a measurement when the testing procedure is repeated on a population of individuals or groups. Knowing the reliability of particular assessments is particularly important for instructors who use standardized measures to assess the curriculum. Curricularists should ask about the reliability of measurement tools that they are expected to use in the classroom or within the school to determine its applicability. The usefulness of this score presupposes that individuals or groups exhibit some degree of stability in their behaviors. However, behaviors among the same person are rarely the same. Scores from an instrument should be stable; a higher degree of stability indicates higher reliability because the results are repeatable. The American Psychological Association has defined reliability as the degree to which observed scores are "free from errors of measurement." The measure of error that results limits the extent to which results are generalizable. Different types of reliability estimates can be calculated through specific methods.

Reliability is merely an estimate rather than an exact calculation; thus, it is not possible to calculate reliability exactly. Reliability estimates rank along a continuum on a scale from zero to one. A reliability estimate of zero indicates that the measure is completely unreliable. A reliability estimate of one indicates that the measure is completely reliable. The reliability estimate represents the proportion of variability of a measure that is related to the true score. For example, a reliability estimate of .7 means that the measure is about 70% true and about 30% random error.

The critical information that should be reported on reliability includes the identification of major sources of errors, the size of those errors and the degree of generalizability of scores across alternate forms, administrations, or relevant dimensions. Variance or standard deviations of measurement errors, in terms of one or more coefficients, or in terms of item response theory-based test information functions should also be reported. Generally, three types of reliability estimates are reported: test-retest, parallel forms, and internal consistency. Test-retest is used to assess the consistency of a

measure when it is administered at different times. Parallel forms, or alternative forms, are used to assess the consistency of tests that are designed in the same way from the same content domain and are administered during independent testing sessions. Internal consistency is used to assess the relationships across items or subsets of items within a test during a single test administration. A widely used reliability estimate is Cronbach's alpha, which provides an index of internal consistency.

Each type of reliability estimate has its own strengths and weaknesses. Those factors need to be considered when designing a study because of their potential impact on the reliability estimates chosen. Test–retest reliability is often used in studies with a pretest and posttest design with no control group. However, one disadvantage of this experimental design is that reliability is not estimated until after the posttest has been conducted. If the reliability is too low, this result will affect the meaningfulness and usability of the scale. Parallel forms are used when a researcher is administering two similar instruments. However, the administration of two similar instruments for more complex or subjective constructs can complicate interpretations. Coefficients based on calculating the relationships between test items and subsets of items are not without limitations. Reliability coefficients are typically useful in comparison tests of measurement procedures. However, these comparisons are not usually straightforward. Although a coefficient may show error because of scorer inconsistencies, it may not reflect variation that is indicative of succession of examinee performance or products. A coefficient may demonstrate the internal consistency of the instrument but may not reflect measurement errors associated with the examinee's motivation, efficiency, or health. Thus, when assessing constructs using multiple measures that result in reliability estimates, testing should be conducted in a short period in which individuals' attributes are likely to remain stable.

Reliability estimates are often used in statistical analyses of quasi-experimental designs. A goal of statistical research is to have measures or observations that are reliable. Results from varied reliability estimates will affect the statistical analyses. In test development, researchers should investigate reliability as fully as is practical. When a measure is not repeatable and consistent, it is not

trustworthy or dependable. Reliability can be improved through a variety of methods. For example, internal consistency in a test can be improved by substituting more reliable for less reliable items. Also, increasing the number of reliable items on the test will increase the total reliability of the scale. Reliability can also be improved by standardizing the data collection process because this will reduce random error. However, although standardization refers to the data collection process, it also applies to the raters, forms, and occasions (times). Training the raters to use systematic procedures can help reduce the errors caused by individual differences and how the raters make judgments while using identical test instructions. The use of similar test environments will also help standardize the process for the use of parallel forms when calculating test–retest reliability.

Establishing reliability does not solely pertain to quantitative research. Although it is not referred to as "reliability" in qualitative research, it can be established through confirmability, triangulation, and extensive time in the field. *Confirmability* refers to having more than one person analyze the data. Triangulation is the process of gathering and corroborating evidence from different individuals, types of data, and methods of data collection in descriptions and themes, whereby the researcher looks at the data from multiple perspectives. Triangulation increases reliability because it ensures the accuracy through multiple sources. For example, a researcher who is interested in studying self-regulated learning in middle school mathematics classrooms may interview teachers and students and may conduct observations in the classroom. In addition, the researcher may collect textbooks or lesson plans. The data from multiple perspectives assists in corroborating or refuting findings within a data set. The use of multiple data sources can help establish reliability and enhance the accuracy of the study. Extensive time in the field is also used to establish reliability. Spending extended time in the field ensures that the researcher acquires repeated opportunities to obtain data and can enhance the consistency among the data.

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*See also* Validity, Construct/Content; Validity, External/Internal

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## RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY CURRICULUM IDEOLOGY

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The work of education via schooling largely concerns socializing a generation into the norms, values, traditions, and practices of a society or culture, and curriculum is a central agent in this work. Many have suggested that education, explicitly religious or not, reflects what a people deem to be sacred. Here, too, the curriculum, in addressing what knowledge is of most worth, must be recognized as ever ideologically laden: endorsing and inculcating specific, normative ways of knowing and acting in the world in relation to self and others, however tacitly or overtly. Because of this, strengthened by the existence of conflicting values and aims, ideology is an important and ongoing object of address in the field of curriculum studies. Moreover, nowhere is this address more critical perhaps than where matters of religion are concerned; thus, in Elliot Eisner's analysis of current leading curriculum ideologies, he begins with religious orthodoxy. Issuing from the conviction that education is responsible for initiating children into a faith community and belief system deemed to be true and sanctioned by divine authority, this position compels curriculum scholars to confront questions of ultimate and enduring concern regarding the meaning and purpose of human life and how it ought to be lived, and the role of education in asking and answering such questions. This selection continues, through Eisner's work, with a discussion of religious orthodoxy, considering its central claims and challenges, its historical influences, and its abiding implications for contemporary curriculum concerns.

Religious orthodoxy is one of six curriculum ideologies that Eisner posits direct current thought and practice in the field, including rational humanism, progressivism, critical theory, reconceptualism, and cognitive pluralism. Religious orthodoxy is distinctive in its central belief in the existence of God and understanding of education rooted in "his" authority in directing human affairs, largely through divine commandment as interpreted via a sacred text or texts by a faith community. Education works in the service of attending this divine call upon humans by inculcating the young into such—a particular value system, way of living, embraced as right and true, even as the path to eternal life. Curricular decisions are made with respect to and reflect this higher address; that is, examples of Eisner: the Jewish devotion to the study and interpretation of religious texts; the Jesuit Catholic tradition of activism for social justice via education; and the anthroposophic commitment of the Waldorf schooling to the cultivation of spiritual cognition in the young.

Proponents of religious orthodoxy acknowledge the ideological underpinnings to any conception of knowledge and values inherent in any educational purpose, explicitly endorsing their own as truth and avidly working to realize such truth via educational policy and pedagogical practice. The capacity of religious orthodoxy to enact its philosophy is an enviable strength aspired to by nearly all other curriculum orientations. A position on the rise and of increasing political influence in the United States, advocates also ground their claims in humanistic and democratic commitments—those to which few would object—to religious freedom and pluralism that guarantees them the right to the practice of religion, and to affirm their own cultures, traditions, and values to their children via education.

Here, legal proceedings have been initiated by parents and groups who complain that public schools are unconstitutionally indoctrinating students in what they call the "religion of secular humanism." Constitutive features of schools as philosophical mission, curriculum content, and pedagogical practice have been brought under scrutiny regarding the values and understandings they endorse and exclude. Eisner cites the court case *Smith v. the Board of School Commissioners of Mobile* of 1987, in which evangelically religious parents sought to indict the education system for



discriminating against and compelling students to challenge their family's traditions, excluding culturally relevant material from the curriculum, and inhibiting the free exercise of religion and speech, promoting doctrines in direct conflict with the religious beliefs of its students. Debates and charges related to censorship and the curriculum canon, sex education in schools, and the teaching of evolution in science classes or of issues around gay rights, for example, abound and are ongoing.

Critics of this orientation contest the educative purposes of any approach that rests on certainties, discourages questioning, and seeks to indoctrinate the young into a particular worldview deemed definitively true and exempt from critical interrogation. The dogmatic postures against questioning a religious orthodoxy's core tenets and basic beliefs seem to many to be in opposition to the meaning and process of education itself. Eisner particularly raises the question about how much license is possible in a democracy for groups to isolate themselves—that is, via homeschooling, school choice, voucher system, or privatization advocacy—and inculcate their children in unquestioned doctrines that undermine the principles of democracy and may jeopardize its freedoms should they gain political control. Some scholars have linked the position of religious orthodoxy with the political right, and with “conservative modernization,” what Michael Apple has identified with a larger coalition of forces that has shown increasing political dominance. Eisner also suggests that religious orthodoxy in curriculum may be understood to be of even greater scope if dogmatism of other sorts is included therein, like those views of the ultraleft as well as right who are certain of the singular correctness of their own views.

Beyond historically explicit relationships between curriculum and religion—that is, the “Old Deluder Satan Law” of 1647 requiring the teaching of reading for students to embrace biblical truth in colonial America—religion has exerted and continues to exert a powerful yet oft unrecognized influence in the educational purposes, schooling practices, and curriculum materials that become endorsed, established, and contested in society. David Hamilton has outlined a history of curriculum of absolutist and critical forces oppositionally at work and linked with the demands of religion. He traces the first use of the word *curriculum* in an

educational context to attempts of 16th-century Protestant universities to map out a course of theological study for students to follow—in concert with a biblical conception of life as a course to be run, a race of endurance, eternal life to be gained. Hamilton's work suggests that religious ideas and values issuing from a Judeo-Christian tradition have been foundational to the concept of curriculum itself, in the least in its early constitution as an officiating construct in education and schooling.

Abiding tensions exist between the orthodox and unorthodox in curriculum: the work of socialization and countersocialization, of initiating the young into the status quo, or that which is normative, and engaging them in its criticism and transformation. The field of curriculum studies has an history itself of challenging unquestioned orthodoxies and assumptions through a variety of intellectual traditions. Via postcritical analyses, the dominance of rationalistic, scientific, and secular discourses of education and knowledge have been brought under scrutiny, often through a return to the claims of religious traditions—also in response to a perceived moral crisis in education, and a social movement Philip Wexler has described as a widespread effort toward the “resacralization of culture.” Growing bodies of scholarship have also drawn upon hermeneutics, founded in the religiously committed interpretation of sacred texts; sought to understand curriculum theologically, as in the relationship between liberation theology and critical pedagogy; and elucidated how education is inherently a spiritual if not religious enterprise, including efforts at integrating traditions of East and West, and science and religion. Addressing the challenges of religious orthodoxy in curriculum studies is today seemingly all the more relevant in a context of religious war and violence, wherein politics intersects powerfully with religious belief and tradition on a global scale.

Molly Quinn

*See also* Curriculum as Spiritual Experience; Hermeneutic Inquiry; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Secular Values in the Curriculum: Case Law; Theological Research

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## REPRODUCTION THEORY

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Reproduction theory was developed by Herbert Gintis in 1972 in his critique of Ivan Illich and was expanded by Gintis and Samuel Bowles in their seminal text *Schooling in Capitalist America* published in 1976. Although reproduction theory (also called correspondence theory) now applies to the social and cultural fields, Bowles and Gintis first approached this theory through the lenses of capitalism and the economy. Their work exerted great impact on the field of curriculum studies and provided curriculum theorists with a foundation from which to critique and analyze schools and cultural reproduction. These ideas also reach further back, pulling from the theories of Karl Marx in *The German Ideology*. In what follows, this entry defines reproduction theory in its earliest form, highlights the important contributions of this theory to the field of education, notes the criticisms of reproduction theory, and discusses how the theory has changed since Bowles and Gintis's seminal text.

As Bowles and Gintis illustrated, reproduction theory provided a foundational model illustrating the direct relationship or correspondence between the ways in which the U.S. hierarchical class system functions and the ways in which U.S. school systems operate. In other words, the school corresponds to the capitalist system and then works to help reproduce the current economic system. Bowles and Gintis viewed schools as microcosms of the capitalist system. Thus, schools are institutions that reproduce hierarchical divisions of labor, meaning that there are a majority of docile, passive, economically disadvantaged workers and a

smaller, elite group with the control of supervisors. Educational institutions act as microcosms of the larger economic system in that they reproduce hierarchical relationships within the walls of the school—including the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and so forth—and schools reproduce unequal relationships outside of their walls by preparing the majority of children from low socioeconomic backgrounds for occupations in the same economic strata as their parents, thus maintaining the hierarchical economic cycle and capitalist system. In addition to maintaining unequal relationships, the school system perpetuates the current class system through its daily practices and procedures such as tracking, sorting, and testing and through the use of overt and covert curricula including both content and pedagogy. The classes a child takes, the content of books and lessons, and access to materials and knowledge, then, differ depending on a child's current economic status and projected economic track.

Although scholars and critics have expanded and transformed Bowles and Gintis's initial definition and development of reproduction and correspondence theory, the theories that emerged in *Schooling in Capitalist America* were significant because they illustrated that U.S. education is linked directly to capitalism and to the economic functions and goals of the nation. Bowles and Gintis highlighted the importance of class, particularly its correspondence with education in terms of reproduction of the current economic system, in a way that theorists before them had failed to do and thus moved educational theory away from former, limited functionalist standpoints. In addition, Bowles and Gintis proved that education is not an impartial or unbiased field. Rather, education is, in part, the result of biases and power struggles. They brought to light the inequalities in capitalism and in education. With their seminal text, then, Bowles and Gintis catalyzed an important and much needed theoretical dialogue about the relationship between economics and education and opened the door for a new generation of theorists, both those who expanded the work of Bowles and Gintis and those who argued against the reproduction and correspondence theory.

With these important theoretical findings in mind, critics have since shown the shortcomings of a

reproduction theory as well. One of the most significant limitations was that reproduction theory initially presented a view of society that was far too simplistic on multiple levels. For one, the theory failed to realize that people have agency, although agency is often limited depending on one's environment or situation. Indeed, as critical theorists and intersectionalists have shown, there are multiple, often simultaneously occurring factors that can affect and limit one's agency, such as race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, age, and so forth. At the same time, though, reproduction theory assumed that people from lower socioeconomic classes had no agency at all and merely accepted and followed dominant ideologies without question. In this sense, then, reproduction theory left no room for change or rebellion against dominant ideologies or dominant class structures. With the working class as passive and completely receptive, there was no room for Antonio Gramsci's working-class rebellion or the fight against hegemony. In addition, the theory failed to note that dominant society is not static, although it presents itself as such, and that dominant groups have to work consistently to maintain control. To adequately represent people and institutions, then, reproduction theory had to examine Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony and ideology or the development of knowledge. Using the past and the present, proponents of reproduction theory had to look at the ways in which control is developed and maintained, both individually and institutionally, and the ways in which people react. As Judith Butler noted of gender, identities are performative in that people both perform a specific gender and a specific gender is performed on them by society. The same ideas of performativity apply to reproduction theory. People have to examine how society simultaneously produces and consumes ideologies and identities.

Along these same lines, the theory was too simplistic in terms of its narrow view of class. For one, reproduction theory, in its early form, imagined a dual class system with no middle. As we know, however, the class system is complex and layered. Although it is more difficult to move up in the class system, class designations are not set in stone, and these designations are not limited strictly to one's economic value. Indeed, since reproduction theory initially emerged, scholars have realized the

importance of recognizing and examining social, political, cultural, and historical contexts as they relate to class and status. As theorists might note, it is vital to examine class, and some scholars might argue that class is a salient factor in certain situations, but theorists and scholars cannot examine class by itself and have the entire picture. In moving toward cultural production/reproduction as a theoretical basis, scholars and researchers must look at institutional development through what Michael Apple terms a "parallel position" or what feminist theorists might term an intersectional position to discover relationships between class, race, gender, sexuality, and other measures of difference. Also, feminists, postmodernists, and other theorists have since noted the importance of moving the theoretical to the level of the individual, or examining the individual and identity development and engaging in self-reflection. It is important to take into context the ways in which different people view the system and its functions. These scholars have shown how reproduction theory has changed to include the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, but theory has also evolved to illustrate that education is individual as well as institutional, and it is necessary to examine identity and identity development in relation to schools and schooling. As noted previously, a major downfall of reproduction theory, in its earliest form, was its failure to view humans as agents of change. Educational theories have since moved in the direction of examining the individual's relationship to the institutional on multiple levels. This is seen as a necessary step to move beyond theory as elite and bridge the theory-practice gap in an effort to move toward praxis.

This said, the school as an institution has come to be viewed as much more complex than reproduction theory initially indicated. As presented by Bowles and Gintis in 1976, reproduction theory did not view the school as a place for political or social action. Just as with the individual, the school lacked autonomy and was simply a mirror image and a tool of the capitalist system. As noted earlier, however, schools are highly political arenas and are undoubtedly places where change occurs. Scholars and philosophers such as Gramsci have argued, in fact, that education and schooling are the results of conflict between the classes rather than simply tools of the elite used to maintain

control. Since the initial development of reproduction theory, scholars have worked to define and understand the position of schools in maintaining and resisting class, political, and social ideologies, and scholars have expanded to focus on how schools reproduce current economic, social, and political ways of being in both overt and covert ways, such as through the hidden curriculum. With the examination and deconstruction of dominant ideologies along with the examination of the individual and identity development and through inquiry and critical dialogue, educational institutions have the potential to become places where social justice and change can occur.

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*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Cultural Production/Reproduction; Equity; Gramscian Thought; Hegemony; Hidden Curriculum; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Performativity; Political Research; Resistance and Contestation; Resistance Theory; *Schooling in Capitalist America*; Social Control Theory

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## RESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS

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Resegregation is the reinstatement of segregation after a period of desegregation. Although desegregation spurred the multicultural education movement, which has been critical to interrogating, complicating, and broadening the work in the field of curriculum studies, resegregation brings to bear more critical challenges for the field to consider, not the least of which is its impact on the promise of quality education for all children. More than 30 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which mandated school desegregation, educational scholars have noted a disturbing trend toward the resegregation of U.S. schools. Since the late 1980s, the number of Black and Latino students attending schools with a 90% to 100% minority population increased significantly, just as the number of White students attending predominately White schools did. Research also confirms that the schools with predominantly minority populations are typically located in central cities, are underfunded and therefore are also under resourced compared with predominately White schools in suburban districts. The impact of resegregation on the development, implementation, and study of school curriculum has been significant.

In 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the “separate but equal” mandate established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, and in a follow-up decision ordered U.S. public schools to desegregate “with all deliberate speed.” As many school districts and public institutions of higher education began to implement desegregation plans, students and scholars began to recognize that access was but one challenge in the struggle for equal educational opportunity. Another challenge dealt with the lack of minority representation in school curricula, which was either altogether absent or projected in a negative light. By the 1960s, many underrepresented groups began to push for more and better representation



in school curricula. Their protests rendered the rise of ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities, which eventually became the basis for the multicultural education movement, which has not only called for more representation of minority groups but has also sought to rethink school curricula in ways that support a pluralistic democracy. Beginning in the 1970s, multicultural education was implemented in school districts and institutions of higher education across the nation. At the same time, many public schools were also implementing desegregation plans, which were far more successful in the South, where residential segregation was less of a problem, than in the North. For nearly three decades following the 1954 decision, the notable achievement gap between White and Black students began closing. According to many researchers, this was a sure sign that equal educational opportunity was being realized.

By the late 1980s, however, scholars began to notice a disturbing trend toward resegregation of U.S. schools, a trend that steadily increased throughout the 1990s in major metropolitan areas across the country. Researchers have noted that one of the key factors driving the resegregation trend has been White flight, which is the tendency of White residents to move out of neighborhoods that have been integrated by minority families for fear of a decrease in property values and school quality. In various communities, the result was the reestablishment of racially segregated urban neighborhoods and consequently racially segregated neighborhood schools, which often face a decrease in necessary funding because of decreases in property value and thus, the property taxes, which are important sources of school funding. Financially strapped school districts in urban communities with high rates of poverty have been shown to have multiple curriculum-related problems, such as high rates of teacher turnover, high rates of teachers teaching in areas for which they are not credentialed, significantly less college preparatory courses, and less resources and updated materials. These also are shown to be the schools where the curriculum tends to be dominated by rote learning materials and strategies in lieu of critical engagement and thinking. Since the late 1980s, U.S. public schools have grown more racially isolated, and for some researchers this correlates with the widening

achievement gap between Black and Latino students and their White counterparts.

Besides funding, the phenomenon of White flight reveals another primary dynamic that adversely affects the development, implementation, and study of school curricula as a whole. The idea that a minority presence is a negative presence whether on property values or school quality reinforces many of the traditionally derogatory images and ideas that cast some minority groups as lazy, uncivilized, and intellectually inferior. The circulation and reinforcement of these ideas result in a number of other problematic dynamics, including low teacher expectations and tracking students in remedial and noncollege prep courses among others. In some instances, tracking has also led to patterns of resegregation that take place within desegregated districts or schools. Magnet schools and programs, for instance, which are usually associated with high academic standards and quality curricula, began emerging in the 1960s as a way to deal with racial segregation. They were placed in many urban districts or particular schools to attract White students into majority minority districts and schools. However, although most of the White students are tracked into the magnet programs, most of the minority students are tracked into the general school curriculum. What results is an isolated White magnet school drawing curricular resources from the already struggling larger minority school or district in which it is located.

Although White flight has been an important contributor to resegregation trends, recent decisions in the U.S. Supreme Court are causing far more concern among educational scholars. In June 2007 with a 5–4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the efficacy of two desegregation plans in Louisville and Seattle, noting that no student could be assigned or denied a school assignment based on race, not even for the purposes of integration. Many scholars are convinced that this historic reversal of *Brown v. Board of Education* contention that separate is inherently unequal will only exacerbate the resegregation trend in U.S. schools, therefore continuing the drastically unequal educational curricula offered to majority minority schools.

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*See also* Desegregation of Schools

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## RESISTANCE AND CONTESTATION

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In curriculum studies, *resistance* and *contestation* refer more generally to the cultivation of dissenting positions on what is taught, the perspective from which it is taught, how it is taught, and how learners might be inculcated into challenging or refusing to accept dominant perspectives and ideologies.

In working toward a theory of resistance that informs curriculum studies, Henry Giroux makes the crucial distinction with oppositional behavior that he regards as being located too much in individual acts of contestation and defiance, and as such, miss the larger political sources of causation. The genesis of oppositional behavior is seen as residing in individual pathologies and deficits students bring with them to schools personally or as a result of family background or upbringing. Resistance, on the other hand, takes a much wider and deeper view of the reasons for success and failure in schooling. Particular groups are considered to be differently equipped to respond to the hidden curriculum of schooling.

Giroux points to three ways in which resistance is more complicated than it might appear at first glance. First, subordinate groups are not caught up in schools in a static web of hapless exploitation, which dooms them to inevitable failure. Rather, they often bring rich and diverse experiences that enable them in various ways to creatively subvert the reproductive agenda of schooling. Second, the point has to be acknowledged that power never

operates only in a downward direction—there are always moments and spaces from within which marginalized groups can effectively push back through their creative responses. Third, thinking about resistance in this way and how it might be given expression through curriculum studies, provides a more hopeful and optimistic way of regarding schooling for the most marginalized groups, rather than dwelling only on aspects of pessimism and despair.

As part of his attempt to present a theory of resistance, Giroux proposes the need for clarity of criteria against which the existence of resistance can be properly judged. The major criteria proposed is that resistance should exhibit as its guiding principle the notion of emancipation or the extent to which there is evidence of a refusal to accept forms of domination and submission. Envisaged in this way, resistance displays elements of criticism, challenge, revelation, and exposure of contradiction, along with active plans for personal and social reconstruction.

When applied to schools, and curriculum studies in particular, resistance can also often take on a fuller meaning. It refers to a systematic unwillingness by some young people, especially those from minority or class backgrounds different from that of the middle class institution of schooling, to accept as legitimate the authority structures of schooling. There is an interesting history to this struggle over legitimacy, particularly as it relates to high schools. This genesis goes back at least as far as Willard Waller's classic work, *The Sociology of Teaching*. Waller argued that because of the nature of authoritative relationships built into schools, conflict was inevitable. On the one hand, Waller said, there was the adult culture of which teachers are the bearers or the relay, and on the other hand, there is the much more indigenous culture of youth, students, and young people. The two of these are continually in a state of uneasy tension over the struggle for supremacy. Phillip Cusick's study *Inside High School* sought to cast light on a deeper understanding of how high school students make sense of schooling. He found that students actively define an identity for themselves, and this is often against the formal organizational culture and the identity made for them by the school.

In a similar vein, Paul Willis's seminal study in England entitled *Learning to Labour: How*

*Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* also shows how working-class adolescent culture rests uneasily with the middle class norms underpinning schooling, and rubs somewhat abrasively against that schooling. The norms of what are expected in schools—punctuality, passivity, obedience to rules, deference to hierarchy, application to abstract academic learning—can be potent and continual points of contention, contestation, and friction. This nonacceptance, defiance, or refusal amounts to the assertion of quite a different culture based on norms that value living for the moment, having fun (having a “laff”), and generally forming an identity around things adolescents believe to have relevance and meaning for their lives and that matter to them, such as popular culture.

Robert Everhart’s study of a U.S. junior high school entitled *Reading, Writing and Resistance* is a further example in this same genre of the workings of forces that act to define, legitimate as well as contest, and resist what transpires in high schools. In this case, Everhart labels what the school officially valued as reified knowledge, and it was often of a narrow, instrumental, passive, or inert kind that excluded students and their lives. This was in direct contrast to the kind of knowledge students manufactured from their interpersonal relationships, out of connections with families and communities, and out of a sense of their developing selves, which Everhart labeled re-generatively based knowledge. The latter was seen as something young people did in the making of their own history and that to an extent gave them power and made them powerful people, despite the oppressive structures of schooling. The problem in this for Everhart was that the very processes that gave young people independence and power in shaping their identities also acted to deflect their collective attention away from the institutional structures and regularities that were disempowering them in the first place.

Moving away from forms of contestation no matter how well intentioned but that nevertheless collapse down to forms of individual acts of resistance, it is crucial to conceive of resistance quite differently. We might take our lead here from Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tully who, in *Dynamics of Contention*, coined the term *contentious politics* to describe what really amounts to the form of collective political struggle necessary to challenge and supplant what passes as knowledge,

culture, curriculum, and pedagogical processes in schools. The kind of contention they have in mind, as it relates to curriculum studies, is of a kind that engages wide coalitions of groups and constituents in schools and beyond, around agenda common to all of them. Jean Anyon in her book *Radical Possibilities* says that when resistance is conceived of in this more expansive way, then what is really embarked on is a form of political mobilization that no longer allows resistance to remain hidden away in the private grumblings of schools, classrooms, and educational bureaucracies. Rather, resistance must become more pervasive in the way it brings together diverse constituencies in families, communities, and other social groupings. For curriculum studies, this means that the force for change has to emerge from forms of resistance based in the collective struggles of students, teachers, unions, and other community movements and organizations around what serves the interests of improving the life chances of the most excluded and marginalized students.

*John Smyth*

*See also* Class (Social-Economic) Research; Hegemony; Neo-Marxist Research; Resistance Theory

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## RESISTANCE THEORY

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Resistance theory draws on an understanding of the complexities of culture to define the relationship

between schools and the dominant society. It gained attention in the educational literature of curriculum studies during the 1980s, largely as an outgrowth of theories of cultural reproduction that preceded it. Resistance theory expanded social analyses of schools as sites where dominant ideas, values, norms, and practices reflective of the social division of labor in capitalist society were transmitted to youth through the curriculum and the organization of learning. Questions about how social class mediated learning and social group formations within schools were of central concern. In resistance theory, schools were considered social sites that structured the experience of both dominant and subordinate groups and that served as contested terrain for marginalized youth to manifest their resistance to prevailing cultural formations. Theorists of resistance sought to understand youth labeled as “marginal” and “deviant” in contextually and historically specific ways, focusing their analyses on the root causes, origins, and meanings that youth attributed to their behavior. Specifically, theories of resistance examined how youth generated meaning of their social location in a society marked by social class divisions and how they formed social practices to both cohere as a group and to challenge external forces of domination. Resistance theory builds on notions of cultural reproduction, but breaks away from the more determinate thesis that considers schools as predictable and impermeable sites that reproduce the social order. For resistance theorists, a critical examination of the link between social structures and human agency is essential.

A thorough understanding of resistance theory requires an analysis of theories of cultural reproduction, especially in regard to the principles of cultural formations. Theorists of cultural reproduction defined culture as the level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life. The meanings, values, and ideas found in social institutions and customs were considered a reflection of how social groups responded to their life experiences. Here, culture was connected to material existence, and questions about the changing dynamics of family, institutional, and social life within an evolving capitalist society were considered. Importantly, theories of cultural reproduction emphasized the possibility of more than one cultural group existing at any one historical moment,

thus leading to an analysis of various social group formations and their relationship to one another. Key to theories of cultural reproduction was the concept of “dominant” cultural formations and “subcultures.” Subcultures were defined as a response to the dominant culture; a relatively autonomous social space with its own meaning structure, activities, and values. Researchers and theorists interested in gaining a better understanding of marginalized youth in schools and other institutional settings investigated the ways that youth articulated their position within the wider social order. Central to these analyses was an understanding that both dominant cultures and subcultures were necessary for capitalist social systems to reproduce themselves. In other words, cultural reproduction theory emphasized the structural determinants of social life, and the meaning that youth generated about their class positions and gendered and racial identities, in group formations identified as subcultures.

Missing from theories of cultural reproduction, however, was an understanding of how youth conformed to or symbolically contested dominant cultural formations, and how they exercised human agency and experience to mediate their relationships to home, school, and the workplace. Resistance theorists began to investigate youth whose behavior was considered “oppositional” in school settings and examined the underlying factors that characterized “deviance.” Resistance theory stressed the structural causes and personal meanings attributed to oppositional behavior and discussed the moral and political indignation felt by marginalized youth subcultures. The central categories of resistance theory include intentionality, consciousness, the meaning of common sense, and the value of nondiscursive behavior.

Work on resistance focused on the formation of street corner identities and rejected the notion of marginalized youth as docile subjects who reproduced their social position within a society marked by hierarchical class relations. The body was considered a site of struggle whose gesturing allowed youth to negotiate and articulate their existence as social, political, and cultural beings. In resistance theory, domination is considered an open and incomplete social phenomenon, both contested and mediated through youth subcultures. Domination is rejected as a unidirectional process



that communicates norms, values, beliefs, and expectations to the subordinated group; rather, this complex process is subject to change and reinterpretation by those in the subordinate group. The interaction between structure and human agency is considered dialectically, as a mutually constitutive and contested ideological terrain. In this sense, behavior such as clowning and other so-called rituals of resistance were studied as forms of communication that allowed youth to invert dominant social meanings. Clowning and rituals of resistance indexed new forms of student communication and brought attention to the complex forms that culture takes within the cultural reproduction process. Considered an alternative outcome at the level of cultural reproduction, resistance theory confirmed the identity of youth as a subculture to itself, to other “cultures” and to the productive process of capitalist society.

Over time, resistance theory has borrowed from various theoretical and disciplinary traditions, in an attempt to evaluate the potential of youth opposition in schools. Neo-Marxist, neo-Gramscian, feminist, and race/ethnicity studies and postmodern theories have shaped both empirical and theoretical studies of student resistance. This helped bring attention to the dynamics of the hidden curriculum and to the unequal divisions of learning in schools. Importantly, theories of resistance provided a new language for understanding youth who experienced indignation as subordinate subcultures, and it opened the analytical pathways to restore a critical notion of agency in studies of school cultures.

*Nathalia E. Jaramillo*

*See also* Cultural Production/Reproduction;  
Marginalization

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## RESOURCE UNITS

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Resource units are accumulated and nonprescriptive packages of curriculum materials and information that can enhance a given teaching-learning situation. It was a boon to teaching in larger more integrated units of instruction, rather than in isolated and discrete daily lessons. A teaching or curricular resource unit is a set of lessons on a topic with a unified purpose, set of learning content or activities that elicit learning experiences to facilitate the purpose(s), organizational plans to translate the purposes into practice, and evaluation to determine the success of the plans to meet or revise the designated purposes. Harold Albery and Ralph Tyler each contributed much to the development of the idea of resource units that facilitate instructional units, by collecting or designating sources of information that teachers could use to elaborate the instructional unit or plan through the teaching process. Hilda Taba helped to refine the resource unit, as did Roland Faunce and Nelson Bossing in the 1950s and 1960s.

The resource unit was derived as a response to the development of the core curriculum, elaborated by Albery in the 1940s. Core curriculum was a form of curriculum integration that relied on teacher–pupil cooperative planning. It would be developed around common student interests and concerns, contemporary problems and issues, and at the most sophisticated levels, it would be centered within the conscious development of individuals or learning communities by those individuals or communities themselves. The evolving nature of such a curriculum orientation was partially based on the philosophy of John Dewey and other progressives, such as George Counts, William Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, L. Thomas Hopkins, and Boyd Bode. Such a philosophy eschewed extensive advance planning, which was characteristic of instructional or teaching units. Therefore, the resource unit was devised to facilitate the evolving nature of teacher–pupil planning.

Preordained patterns and procedures were replaced with provision of a vast array of possibilities (e.g., files of ideas, approaches, media, resource persons, print materials, inventories, illustrative projects) that teachers and learners could consider as a basis for imagining what they could do to learn and grow most effectively. With the advent of computerized storage today, the resource file has immeasurably increased potential. This emphasis on flexibility allowed for variation that responded to different abilities, needs, interests, attitudes, background characteristics, and situational exigencies of students.

The content of most resource units, according to Albery initially and promoted by others over the decades, can be categorized as follows: introduction and orientation; purposes and underlying philosophy; scope of the unit to be facilitate; suggested activities; bibliography and resource lists, including teaching aids; alternatives for evaluation; connections to other units; and diverse uses of the unit. Harold Albery and Elsie Albery provided samples of resource units and emphasized the need for facilities, released time, and professional development to develop and to frequently revise them. The consistency, ease of use, and relevance of the previously mentioned components of resource units serve as criteria for evaluating them. More specifically, Faunce and Bossing indicate that resource units should recognize student needs and interests; offer diverse and specific strategies for involving students in planning, developing, and evaluating their curricular experiences; enable socializing activities; present relevant community resources; embody sound principles of learning; spur professional growth through democratic interaction; stimulate reflective thinking in students as well as in educators; provide for easy and efficient use; reflect a consistent philosophy of education; present many more suggestions than any situation can use; and adapt to the range of student maturity levels.

Recently, curriculum books for teachers and curriculum designers by such authors as John McNeil and by George J. Posner and Alan N. Rudnitsky have built on the legacy of these early authors. Moreover, middle school scholars such as James Beane have developed contemporary perspectives on the core or integrated curriculum that give salient practical recommendations for

contemporary curriculum creation that involves teacher–pupil planning.

*Brian D. Schultz and William H. Schubert*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Core Curriculum; Teacher–Pupil Planning

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## RICOEURIAN THOUGHT

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Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005), a French philosopher in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions, offers insights into research methods for curriculum studies and issues of curriculum and ethics. His work has influenced research method through the development of hermeneutics as affecting the conceptualization and practice of qualitative inquiry and narrative inquiry. His work on self-hood (how we become a self and what are the characteristics of that self), while less taken up in curriculum studies, offers important counterweights to curriculum work that focuses on the cognitive/rationalist aspect of being human rather than on a more complete image of the human being as the basis for curriculum thinking and making.

Ricoeur’s work in method falls into three areas: the potential of hermeneutics, the practice of hermeneutics, and the practice of narrative. Ricoeur confronted the question of whether “meaningful action” (taken from the work of Max Weber, the German sociologist who helped establish the “human sciences” as distinctive from the “natural sciences,” laying out the groundwork for qualitative inquiry). Ricoeur asked if such

action could be treated as a text, the original hermeneutic object of inquiry. He argued that meaningful actions are “documents of human actions” transcending the meaning we ascribe to the action as it is occurring. These actions also reveal the contexts within which the action occurs, thus making the larger world present to us (even when we are not aware of this). Hermeneutics offers the possibility of unearthing such hidden meaning. Ricoeur developed the distinction between the hermeneutics of suspicion and the hermeneutics of the restoration of meaning as different practices for unearthing meaning. He called Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Sigmund Freud the “masters of suspicion” because their work was devoted to tearing away the veils of illusion about how society really works. “Tearing away” bears directly on all the hidden curriculum work. The hermeneutics of the restoration of meaning, on the other hand, offers the counterweight to such analysis, without which the work of interpretation is only half complete. One example of tearing away/restoration is William Reynolds’s book applying Ricoeur’s “hermeneutic arche” (“reading” texts and action naively, reading in systematic detail, and connecting the naive reading and the detail to the world to which it refers, seeing how the action/text orients us to live in a certain way) to curriculum studies scholars. Donald Blumenfeld-Jones enacted a critical hermeneutic reading of three iconic dance curriculum texts using ostensive, personal, and historic meanings that intersect in the text. For narrative inquiry, Ricoeur’s three-volume work *Time and Narrative* set important parameters for narrative thinking. Ricoeur distinguishes between plots of narratives and emplotment. Plots are simply the chronological telling of a story and are not yet narratives. For plots to become narratives, they must become emplotments. Emplotments present the particulars of the story as not one thing after another (a plot) but one thing because of another (emplotment). The narrator will offer the details in an order that builds up understanding of the inner and underlying meanings of the narrative and not be as concerned with pure representation.

Ricoeur developed a philosophical anthropology that began in the weakness of human beings and concluded in the development of the self as an ethical being. Ricoeur’s early work on fallibility

and what we are able to do and what is involuntary can inform curriculum studies through an analysis of schools and curriculum as sites of imperfection rather than sites in which we work to perfect children and society. *The Symbolism of Evil* proposes the origin of contemporary guilt and remorse can be found in archaic notions of defilement through contact with taboo objects and sin as internalized defilement. This work can help inform studies of the hidden curriculum of classroom discipline and all forms of ethics education. Lastly, in the later works, Ricoeur turned explicitly to the ethical self. In *Oneself as Another* Ricoeur offers a synthesis of his hermeneutic, narrative, and ethics, providing an alternative to the cognitivist/intellectualist approaches to ethics and ethics education.

Donald S. Blumenfeld-Jones

See also Hermeneutic Inquiry; Narrative Research; Qualitative Research

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## RUGG, HAROLD

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Harold Rugg (1886–1960) is one of the most prominent and controversial figures in the history of U.S. education. Rugg was a strongly outspoken central figure in the politically oriented branch of the progressive education movement during the first half of the 20th century. Rugg’s legacy may be seen primarily as that of a pioneering advocate for the public school curriculum as a tool for reconstructing society in a manner that would enhance social justice within the larger U.S. society. During his long career, Rugg made significant contributions in

at least four areas of the curriculum field: (1) in promoting a scientific approach to curriculum development; (2) in advancing the cause of a Deweyan-style progressivism; (3) in remaking the social studies curriculum; and, perhaps most significantly, (4) promoting a brand of social reconstructionism through the public school curriculum.

### Rugg as Educational Psychologist

Rugg's early educational accomplishments were in the field of educational psychology. These were partly the result of his formal training at Dartmouth College as a civil engineer and in teaching engineering at Millikin University. He received a doctoral degree in education from the University of Illinois in 1915 and began teaching at the University of Chicago. During World War I, Rugg worked with Edward L. Thorndike on a project that resulted in the development of the first aptitudes and intelligence tests for adults. Moreover, Rugg's early work in the field of curriculum betrayed his tendencies toward an empirical approach to curriculum development, attempting to scientifically select the content to be included in the social science curriculum.

### Rugg as Deweyan Progressivist

In 1920, Rugg was hired by Teachers College, Columbia University, where he remained on faculty for more than 30 years. Early on at Teachers College, he shifted from his early interest in the possibilities of science for improving education to the second phase of his career, during which he advocated for child-centered forms of progressive education. Rugg's progressivist leanings were also evident in his work as one of the founding members of the John Dewey Society. Moreover, in 1928, Rugg (with Ann Schumaker) wrote a groundbreaking book about progressive education (arguably his most influential) entitled *The Child-Centered School: An Appraisal of the New Education*.

Rugg shared Dewey's belief that the general curriculum should honor the interdependence of the interests of the child, the content of the curriculum, and the surrounding society. Rugg's concerns about an overemphasis on the subject matter in the curriculum resulted in the landmark *26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study*

*of Education*. Edited by Rugg, Part I of the yearbook provided a lengthy history of curriculum development with emphasis on the importance of the position of the child in the process. Part II, also edited by Rugg, consisted of the proceedings of two yearlong deliberations regarding fundamental curriculum issues. Participants in these deliberations, chaired by Rugg, were most of the outstanding leaders and scholars in the field of education at the time.

### Rugg and the Social Studies

Rugg's progressivist leanings could also be found in his work as a cofounder of the National Council of Social Studies. His interest in the social studies would remain with him the remainder of his career. Rugg is credited with developing the first series of school textbooks in the social studies. They represented a first for any subject matter area. His curriculum materials in that area at the middle (junior high) school level began as a set of booklets that were later combined into an extraordinary popular series of textbooks, editions of which were published for 11 years. This series, *Man and His Changing Society*, established a model of textbook publishing that still presently exists. The books also reflected an attempt to synthesize the various disciplines of the social sciences into the more unified notion of social studies.

### Rugg as Social Reconstructionist

Rugg may be best known as one of the founders of the social reconstructionist branch of the progressive education movement. This movement, born within the social ferment resulting from the Great Depression of the 1930s, sought to enhance the role of the public school curriculum in reconstructing society. These reconstruction efforts were to be aimed toward the redressing of social, economic, and political ills that were seen as threatening the foundations of U.S. democracy.

Three of Rugg's most prominent books contributed greatly to reconstructionist thinking. These were *Culture and Education in America*, *The Great Technology*, and *American Life and the School Curriculum*. These books, along with his other writings, revealed Rugg's continuing beliefs in the contributions of curriculum and the schools



in social engineering. In later years, however, Rugg turned to the role of the imagination and creative self-expression in producing the kind of personal integrity needed by citizens of a genuine democracy. However, some historians have suggested that the major difference between Rugg and other social reconstructionists was the fact that his ideas were disseminated far beyond the pages of his scholarly books. Woven into the texts of his popular and influential textbook series, his ideas were widely available to public schoolchildren. It was apparently this fact—along with his general outspokenness—that provoked vociferous attacks on his work from the American Legion and other politically conservative groups.

*Tom Barone*

*See also* Fundamental Curriculum Questions, The 26th NSSE Yearbook; National Society for the Study of Education; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Social Reconstructionism

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## **SAGE HANDBOOK OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION, THE**

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*The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction* (2008) is 604 pages in length, divided into three parts and six sections. The editor of the handbook, Michael Connelly and the two associate editors, Ming Fang He and JoAnn Phillion, organized the book around practical issues in curriculum studies:

Part 1: Curriculum in Practice

Section A: Making Curriculum

Section B: Managing Curriculum

Part II: Curriculum in Context

Section C: Diversifying Curriculum

Section D: Teaching Curriculum

Section E: Internationalizing Curriculum

Part III: Curriculum in Theory

Section F: Inquiring Into Curriculum

Each part has an introduction, written by Ian Westbury, Allan Luke, and William Schubert, respectively. In all there are 26 chapters. The intent of *The SAGE Handbook* is to create a working vision of curriculum studies that respects its diversity; provide a comprehensive and inclusive set of

authors, ideas, and topics; and incorporate an international, global, and comparative outlook. The book aims to represent the curriculum field without delving into specific subject areas such as math or social studies. Also, to follow-up on Philip Jackson's *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, *The SAGE Handbook* focuses on post-1992 curriculum policy, practice, and scholarship. Reading this text along with Jackson's earlier volume provides a comprehensive view of curriculum studies. The target audience for the book is curriculum and instruction practitioners as well as graduate students and university researchers.

Four aspects of *The SAGE Handbook* stand out. First, the editors note that the curriculum field may be characterized by its "intellectual energy." Earlier declarations of the curriculum field suggested it was "moribund," as Joseph Schwab indicated in 1969, or "confused" as described by Philip Jackson in his 1992 handbook. "Energetic" provides the reader with a sense that the field of curriculum studies is lively, hopeful, and productive.

Second, the editors of *The SAGE Handbook* asked all of its writers to consider global and national cultural intermingling and its impact on curricula. Some chapters focus on issues of diversity within particular countries. Others focus on international and global issues. Some chapters bring into relief racial issues that cause student disappointment, unresponsive teachers, and disempowering curricula. Other chapters reveal the ways in which curricula are meaningful and teachers who are at the forefront of positive educational change. In general, the tone of the handbook is

forward-looking and hopeful. The handbook ends with a call for comparative curriculum studies to explore cultural resources, social development, and the mutual sharing of ideas and knowledge.

Third, this book is dedicated to practical matters related to schools, communities, and governments. Influenced by the ideas of Joseph Schwab, the editors created a book that addresses issues of practice at theoretical, organizational, and scholarly levels. The editors divide education into several areas: curriculum subject matter (e.g., science, language arts), curriculum topics (e.g., gender, diversity) and preoccupations (e.g., implementation, evaluation), and general curriculum theory. One implication of this approach is that along with university professors and their students, the book is aimed to appeal to policy makers, curriculum developers, and other educational practitioners.

Fourth, in the last chapter, Connelly and Shijing Xu summarize *The SAGE Handbook* by noting that each chapter offers a different window and mapping of the curriculum studies field. Yet, with their Confucian way of examining curriculum studies as a whole, the authors view the field as continuous, made up of various layers of perspectives that form and melt away only to create new perspectives. The authors do not see the curriculum field as discontinuous, filled with starts and stops.

Almost all of the major names associated with curriculum studies can be found in *The SAGE Handbook* as author, as consulting author, or in the author index. Although it would not be fruitful to list all of the chapters and its authors, the naming of a few of the chapters might provide readers with the breadth and character of subjects discussed in this handbook. Here are approximately one-third of the titles with their corresponding authors: "Curriculum Planning: Content, Form, and the Politics of Accountability" by Michael Apple; "Curriculum Implementation and Sustainability" by Michael Fullan; "Curriculum and Cultural Diversity," by Gloria Ladson-Billings and Keffrelyn Brown; "Immigrant Students' Experience of Curriculum," by Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, Elaine Chan, and Shijing Xu; "Cultivating the Image of Teachers as Curriculum Makers," by Cheryl Craig and Vicki Ross; "Community Education in Developing Countries: The Quiet Revolution in Schooling," by Joseph

Farrell; "Curriculum Development in Historical Perspective," by Wesley Null; and "Curriculum Theory Since 1950: Crisis, Reconceptualization, Internationalization," by William Pinar.

*P. Bruce Uhrmacher*

*See also* Curriculum Inquiry; Curriculum Policy; Diversity; *Handbook of Research on Curriculum, The*; International Perspectives; International Research; Schwab, Joseph

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## SAT (SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST)

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The SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) is one of the most commonly used standardized college placement tests in the United States. The College Board, developer of the SAT, reports that nearly 2 million students take the test each year. The SAT is typically taken by college aspirants during the junior or senior year of high school. Examinees may register, at cost, to take the SAT Reasoning test and/or one or more of the SAT Subject tests. Most recently revised in 2005, the SAT Reasoning test yields two scores (Critical Reading and Mathematics) that are usually added together to yield a decision score, along with a Writing score. College and university officials use this decision score, along with other student profile data (e.g., high school grade-point averages [GPAs], writing samples, interviews, letters of recommendation) when making admission decisions. Some postsecondary institutions also require or accept SAT Subject test scores. The College Board offers 20 different subject tests in five categories—English, history, mathematics, science, and languages.

SAT Critical Reading, Mathematics, Writing, and Subject tests are each scored on a standardized metric where  $\mu = 500$  and  $\sigma = 100$ ; thus, the



decision score (combined Critical Reading and Mathematics scores) is standardized with a mean of 1,000 and a standard deviation of 200, and scores range from 400 to 1,600. This standardized metric makes scores easy for students and college officials to understand and interpret.

The SAT is administered on established testing dates at hundreds of group-testing sites in the United States and abroad, most of which are located at secondary or postsecondary institutions. The SAT Reasoning test is divided into 10 sections. Sections range in administration time from 10 to 25 minutes for a total testing time of 225 minutes (exclusive of time for examinee check-in, coding of personal information, and other logistical procedures). SAT Subject tests take one hour to complete, and examinees may take up to three subject area tests in a single testing day.

A plethora of research has been conducted on the predictive validity of SAT scores. Studies typically indicate that test preparation activities such as practice testing and coaching tend to increase SAT scores. Low-to-moderate positive correlations have typically been found among SAT scores, high school grade-point averages, and various college success indicators (e.g., GPA, persistence to attainment of degree), with correlations lower for minority than for White students. Males tend to score better on SAT Reasoning, and English-as-first-language students tend to outscore language minority students. SAT Critical Reading and Mathematics scores tend to underpredict success of female students and overpredict success of language minority students. High school GPAs routinely outperform SAT scores in predicting college GPAs; however the advantage of SAT is the added predictive ability (beyond high school GPA) it affords college officials. Although SAT scores moderately predict first year college GPAs, predictive accuracy of college GPA tends to diminish as students move further in their college careers perhaps because of both attrition and differentiation in courses of study and grading policies across majors.

Despite its wide scale popularity, the SAT is not without its critics. Over the last decade, concerns about the length of the SAT Reasoning test, content biases for certain demographic subgroups (particularly minority and poor students), and College Board scoring errors have prompted many institutions to reconsider use of the SAT and other similar

admissions tests resulting in SAT-optional admission policies, and in some cases, elimination of the SAT from consideration in admission decisions.

Larry G. Daniel

See also Achievement Tests

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## SAVAGE INEQUALITIES

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In the mid-1960s, Jonathan Kozol, a public elementary school teacher, published *Death at an Early Age*, a riveting account of teaching 4th grade in Boston. He documented in detail the banal humiliations, mistreatment, and injustices endured by poor Black students in Northern schools. The book won a national book award and helped to galvanize the movement for full human and civil rights as it moved into the cities of the North. Kozol later marched with Martin Luther King Jr. and became widely recognized as a pivotal figure in the struggle for equity in education. In his book, *Savage Inequalities*, Kozol illustrates the hypocrisy in all claims of equal opportunity and access by comparing schools for the privileged with schools for the marginalized and the disadvantaged.

Kozol recognized that schools serve societies, and that in many ways all schools are microcosms of the societies in which they're embedded—they are both mirror and window onto social reality. If one understands the schools, one can see the whole of society; if one fully grasps the intricacies of society, one will know something true about its schools. Apartheid schools would highlight apartheid reality, and racist schools would indict the society that built and maintained them. In an

authentic democracy, we would expect to find schools defined by equality, cooperation, inclusion, and full participation, places that honor diversity while building unity.

Kozol has issued a steady stream of important books for over four decades now: *Illiterate America*, *Children of the Revolution*, *The Night Is Long and I am Far From Home*, and the runaway best-sellers: *Rachel and Her Children*, *Amazing Grace*, and *Shame of the Nation*, each filled with lyrical description, arresting metaphors, and dialogue that is heartbreaking.

His laser-like examination of the class and racial fault-lines haunting American democracy has served for a long time as a kind of atlas from the classroom to the larger society, and with *Savage Inequalities*, he added a new phrase to the American vocabulary. Throughout this book, Kozol reminds us that while many have implicitly settled for the obscene logic of separate but equal—the new apartheid—the promise of *Brown v. Board of Education* was always a moral promise, an affirmation of the full humanity of the descendants of enslaved people, of all people, and the requirement that everyone in a democracy be granted equal education, equal opportunity, and full respect and dignity—nothing less. The right to a decent education is a fundamental human right.

School has always been and will always be contested space—What should be taught? In what way? Toward what end? By and for whom?—and at bottom the struggle is over the essential questions: Who is to be included in the family of the fully human? What does it mean to construct a meaningful, purposeful, and valuable life in the world, here and now? What demands does freedom make? We live in a time when the assault on disadvantaged communities is particularly harsh and at the same time gallingly obfuscated. Access to adequate resources and decent facilities, to relevant curriculum, to opportunities to reflect on and to think critically about the world is unevenly distributed along predictable lines of class and color.

A curriculum built in opposition to our savage inequalities would rest on three pillars: (1) *Equity*, the principle of fairness, equal access to the most challenging and nourishing educational experiences, the demand that what the most privileged and enlightened are able to provide their children

must be the standard for what is made available to all children. This must also account for equitable outcomes, and somehow for redressing and repairing historical and embedded injustices. (2) *Activism*, the principle of agency, full participation, preparing youngsters to see and understand and, when necessary, to change all that is before them—a move away from passivity, cynicism, and despair. (3) *Social literacy*, the principle of relevance, resisting the flattening effects of materialism and consumerism and the power of the abiding social evils of White supremacy, patriarchy, homophobia, militarism—nourishing awareness of our own identities and our connection with others, reminding us as well of the link between ideas and the concentric circles of context—economic condition, historical flow, political power, and cultural surround—within which our lives are negotiated.

Kozol's message, harsh and unyielding, angry and yet profoundly hopeful, demonstrates that idealism, moral conscience, and outrage might be useful for recovering our voices and our bearings in the long trudge toward freedom.

William C. Ayers

See also Class (Social-Economic) Research; Cultural Production/Reproduction; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Social Justice

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## SCHOOL CHOICE

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The topic of school choice refers to programs that offer parents an opportunity to choose the school they believe is best for their children. This is a hotly debated topic in the field of curriculum studies that affects school performance and curriculum goals. Most public school districts assign children to schools in their residential area. Today, many school districts offer families with children in poor-performing schools the option to enroll

their children in other education programs. School choice offers a number of alternatives to public school. There are magnet schools, charter schools, open enrollment programs, specialty schools, vouchers, tax credits, alternative schools, and homeschooling.

What lies behind the current school choice movement is a neoliberal view that favors small government and market control in education. That is, what programs are offered and which schools provide them should be decided by the economic principles of supply and demand, rather than being regulated by government. In this model, education is a product to be sold, school is the supplier, and parents and children are consumers.

This neoliberalist view in education stems from the belief that consumers should have the freedom to choose a product they want, and this exercise of choice drives schools to improve through competition. As business advances and companies compete for consumers, high-quality education comes from schools striving to supply education programs and curriculum that satisfy students and their parents. In fact, proponents of school choice often justify their beliefs with criticisms of government-regulated public schools. They claim that U.S. public schools are often bureaucratic and unresponsive to parents and that they fail to educate children to meet the challenges of the modern industrial world. Labeling public schools as inefficient and unproductive, proponents of school choice point to public education's monopoly as a roadblock to reform, suggesting that, to improve education, schools should provide options to entice students and force other schools to compete for students.

The promise and allure of school choice has gained many supporters. The current education act, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), adopts choice as one of its major school reform strategies. School choice is steadily spreading across the country. At the same time, school choice has invited unusual opposition and debate among educators. Opponents suggest that study results on the effects of school choice on students' academic achievement have been mixed, and that it is hard to conclude that school choice ensures the academic advantage it promises. Further, they argue that school choice tends to marginalize education for the poor while draining high-performing students from community-based public schools.

A provision of the NCLB Act provides vouchers and school choice to families in failing schools. In some schools, entire populations have moved to alternative schools while local schools are reconstituted or converted to a charter school programs. What these practices have revealed so far is that school choice program results in further marginalization of socioeconomically disadvantaged students. This contradicts the argument that choice gives poorer families equality in access to quality education among students. Another problem poor families face is that vouchers issued to parents that choose to opt out of public schools and move to private schools find that the voucher covers only a portion of the cost of tuition. Further complications arise with issues of transportation, meals, uniforms, and books. Economics often provide poor families few options to send their children to private and parochial schools.

When parents are able to get their child into an alternative program, they find that schools are not obligated to take in or retain any child, and many schools have admittance requirements as a way of controlling their learning environment. With selective acceptance, those most in need of authentic curriculum experiences and additional support may be the ones least favored by schools. Although choice may be feasible for some parents, familiar with the system and financially able, it is more difficult for socioeconomically marginalized families. Often, the local school dubbed as failing is the only viable option for children of the disadvantaged. For these families, vouchers and other choice programs mean financial hardships and a decreased chance at reaching their educational goals.

Another problem educators point out in relation to school choice is the limiting effect it has on curriculum programs and students at under-achieving schools. Under the NCLB act, scores on standardized tests are used as the tool for assessing school performance. Schools that meet the standards are labeled successful, but those that do not are designated as failures. This circumstance tends to lead schools to focus on raising test scores rather than on learning. Teachers drilling information and using instruction time for test preparation, and testing strategies replace exploration and learning experiences in the classroom. Such practices are more frequently present at low

performing schools that are most affected by choice and its consequences.

School choice tends to leave families without any options but public schools to face shrinking support for their children's school systems. This leaves many schools in inner-city poor areas underfunded and unengaged in learning. Thus, some critics suggest that a true educational reform has to begin with curriculum improvement rather than turning to market forces, privatization, and competition to bring about effective learning.

The difficulty of trying to provide the customized education in a competitive learning environment continues to confound school policy makers and planners. The promise of school choice may be possible, but it must meet the needs of the general population while offering support for students with special needs.

*Terrence O'C. Jones and Youngjoo Kim*

*See also* Charter Schools; Magnet Schools; No Child Left Behind; Privatization; Vouchers

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## SCHOOLING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA

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In 1968, in the midst of national upheaval over social equity and educational authority, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis began work on what would later become *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. Economists and social theorists, Bowles and Gintis set out to understand the growing body of contradictory evidence regarding the efficacy of educational reform. By

the time they completed their landmark work, they had become convinced that there was a much deeper contradiction in U.S. society: that between our egalitarian goal of democratic participation in schooling and the inequalities implied by the continued profitability of capitalist production. Challenging the liberal faith in the school as the great agent of equalization, Bowles and Gintis argued that the hidden curriculum of schooling was precisely the reproduction of inequality. Their analysis of the correspondence between curricular variation and social stratification alone constitutes a major contribution in the history of curriculum studies.

Contrary to a primary assumption of liberal reform, Bowles and Gintis argued that democratizing schools alone would not democratize society. To bring about any genuine change in the order of schools would require an accompanying change in the social relations and economic order of society at large. This is because schools not only impart knowledge and skills (the official curriculum) but at the same time acculturate students into the existing capitalist social order (the hidden curriculum). Schools prepare students for unequal social roles by developing their consciousness and capacities into more or less the forms expected by future employers.

For Bowles and Gintis, variation in school curricula correspond to stratification of social roles: Some schooling emphasizes rule-following and discourages creativity as would befit low-level jobs; some promotes dependability and moderate autonomy as befits mid-level jobs; and a small portion of higher education mirrors the need for high-level professionals to internalize the aims of an enterprise in a deep way. For this reason, Bowles and Gintis proposed that only in a socialist democracy could schools truly develop the full human capacities of all children, in preparation for a future in which students would take their place in a society of equals.

Retracing the history of U.S. schooling from the early 19th century through the present day, Bowles and Gintis demonstrated the incompatibility between the democratic mission of schools and the specific demands of capitalism. For example, they showed how even as workers were able to win more schooling, most of the curriculum was kept out of their reach, and how higher education, once



a luxury for the few, became more accessible precisely as capitalist industry required more knowledge workers.

Bowles and Gintis also critiqued the liberal assumption that economic success in the United States is based on cognitive ability. To the contrary, they cited evidence demonstrating that economic success bears little relationship to conventional measures of cognitive ability such as IQ. Rather, the transmission of socioeconomic status from one generation to the next operates by noncognitive mechanisms.

*Schooling in Capitalist America* also addressed existing educational alternatives such as free schools, in which Bowles and Gintis found more of the same debilitating assumptions about the role of schools in economic life. The socialist alternative envisioned by these scholars imagines neither a coup nor a revolution led by an elite vanguard. In their vision, educational reform must be part of a broad popular movement to transform social relations of production outside and inside schools.

Revisiting their work in 2002, Bowles and Gintis reaffirmed their findings about the inefficacy of liberal reform and the contradictions between U.S. schooling and economic life. In their view, the greatest shortcoming of their book was the lack of a clearly stated program for how socialist democratic schools could better achieve the aims of full human development in a socially equitable world. Nonetheless the analysis and findings of this text continue to reverberate through contemporary educational research, and *Schooling in Capitalist America* remains a classic in the sociology of curriculum, speaking to all those interested in how school curricula could become more genuinely democratic.

*Chris Higgins and Séamus Mulryan*

*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Praxis; Hidden Curriculum; Intelligence Tests; Meritocracy; Neo-Marxist Research; Praxis; Reproduction Theory

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## SCHOOL PRAYER IN THE CURRICULUM: CASE LAW

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Case law regarding school prayer provides direction for understanding the constitutional boundaries of both staff- and student-initiated religious speech. Under most circumstances, prayer as part of the school curriculum is illegal. Several legal challenges to prayer in schools have helped define the role of prayer in public school curricular and extracurricular settings. School officials may allow private prayer by providing a moment of silence as a structured feature of the school day. Moments of silence provisions, however, have met with mixed success when challenged in court. As the study of curriculum history shows, the evolution of public schooling from teaching religious-based literacy to a comprehensive curriculum was challenged in classrooms and courthouses. The role of prayer in the curriculum continues to be a source of contention.

The idea of separation of church and state guides school prayer case law. The Establishment Clause of the First Amendment reads, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .” A three-part test established in *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971) was used by the courts in deciding school-based Establishment Clause cases for a quarter century, although its influence is considerably weaker under the current Supreme Court. The Lemon Test asks three questions. First, does the state’s action have a secular purpose? Second, is the primary effect of the state’s action either to advance or inhibit religion? Finally, does the state’s action create an excessive entanglement between religion and government? To pass the Lemon Test, the state must show that it can answer yes to the secular purpose question and no to the primary effect and entanglement questions.

Religious speech and study may be part of the public school curriculum if it has a secular purpose and does not have the intent or effect of inculcating religious belief or practice. Lessons on comparative religion, religious imagery in art, or biblical symbolism in literature are common examples of how religion may be introduced in the formal curriculum while still passing the Lemon Test. Even the use of Christian hymns in school choir has been upheld because they historically represent such an important element of choir music. However, case law shows that the courts have consistently ruled against school-sponsored prayer in the curriculum.

Prayer at graduation and extracurricular events is, like prayer introduced during the traditional school day, unconstitutional. In *Lee v. Weisman* (1992), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that although both attending the graduation ceremony and standing to pray at the ceremony were voluntary, there is injury to students who feel compelled to make the choice to abstain from the prayer or not attend their graduation. Social conventions, the Court argued, must be considered when considering the practical implications of not participating in state-sponsored prayer. The opinion of the Court affirms, “The Constitution forbids the State to exact religious conformity from a student as the price of attending her own high school graduation.” Moreover, the environment of the graduation ceremony is “directly analogous to the classroom setting” when considering the risk of compulsion.

Student-initiated prayer at graduation is also a violation of the separation of church and state. In *Lassonde v. Pleasanton* (2003), the Court ruled that school officials are within their rights to limit free speech of students when necessary to uphold the Establishment Clause. The *Lassonde* case turned on two central points. First, the school controlled the forum and was therefore compelled to monitor the nature of the speech. Second, the Court rejected the argument that there should be a lower standard for prohibiting sectarian speech because graduation ceremonies are voluntary. Attendance at graduation, for example, is not required to receive a diploma if all other graduation requirements have been met. The Court’s view on the optional nature of graduation was that the ceremony itself was a significant rite of passage in the lives of teenagers and no student should have to forgo that privilege in exchange for avoiding

state-sponsored promotion of religion. Only in those cases where it can be clearly shown that the person speaking was acting as a private person, rather than an agent of the school, is prayer or religious speech allowed.

Extracurricular activities, particularly sporting events, have been fertile battlegrounds for prayer in school cases. This is largely because of the popular practice of prayer or invocation preceding school sports, particularly football games in the South. The prefootball game–prayer is also an interesting legal issue because it pushes the boundaries of the definitions of the school-controlled forum and the voluntary nature of both attendance and participation. The issue of school prayer was addressed by the Supreme Court in *Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe* (2000). In the *Santa Fe* case, a school policy created a mechanism by which a student would be named by a majority vote of the student body to deliver an invocation before every home football game. The Court ruled that although the pregame prayer was student-led and student-initiated, it remained an extension of school policy, under school supervision, and on school property. Regardless of the voluntary nature of attendance, “a pregame prayer has the improper effect of coercing those present to participate in an act of religious worship.”

A moment of silence that provides an opportunity for quiet meditation and serves the purpose of creating a venue for individual students to pray is allowable if the policy does not have the primary effect of endorsing religion. In Alabama’s *Wallace v. Jaffree* (1985) case, the state changed a policy endorsing a meditative moment of silence for one that explicitly promoted the use of that silent time for student prayer. Although the original legislation was allowed, the amended legislation violated the Establishment Clause because the only substantive change in the law was to promote prayer.

*John Pijanowski*

*See also* Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices; Prayerful Act, Curriculum Theory as a; Religious Orthodoxy Curriculum Ideology

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## SCHWAB, JOSEPH

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Joseph Schwab's major contribution to curriculum studies is the concept of "the Practical," a unique orientation based on educational commonplaces coordinated by traditional problem-solving methods that use arts of the eclectic for modifying and coordinating competing theories to formulate and teach curriculum. From 1969 until 1988, Schwab wrote six articles, beginning with his scathing attack in Practical 1 on the ineffectual state of the curriculum field because of overreliance on limiting theories, often drawn from statistically based social sciences models. The cogency and energy of his presentations opened the curricular field to a greater range of research focusing on issues of praxis, teacher narratives, teacher scholarship, and cultural concerns.

Schwab's Practical articles were the culmination of a career that affected many important curricular innovations of the 20th century—including general education programs at the University of Chicago in the 1940s, the "disciplines" movement and Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS) in the 1950s, religious curricula at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTSA) in the 1960s, and the foundation of the Institute of Research on Teaching (IRT) at Michigan State University in the 1970s.

### Curriculum Innovation

At the University of Chicago, Schwab graduated with an English major, and went on to a PhD in Zoology (genetics). As chairperson of Chicago's Natural science sequence, he developed discussion methods in place of lectures, introduced primary sources in place of textbook accounts of scientific discoveries, and worked to integrate the sciences with the humanities. In the Examiner's Office under Ralph Tyler, he worked to separate testing from teaching so that the learning bond with the teacher would not be compromised by competition for grades.

As a faculty colleague, dissertation advisor, and classroom teacher, he challenged interlocutors to think through real problems on the spot, without slipping into sloppy anecdotes or vague generalities. He taught nearly every course in the special undergraduate program designed by Robert Hutchins at the University of Chicago and was twice winner of the outstanding teacher award. Exploiting the freedom to explore a variety of subjects and their connections, he developed an impressive scholarship to support his teaching. He represented this in extended essays, such as "What Do Scientists Do," for which he read more than 4,000 books and articles. In both activities, Schwab insisted on dynamic incarnations of ideas because any plausible solution must show the need to know more and know it from more than one perspective.

In 1952 when the University of Chicago program conceived by Hutchins was beginning to alter its curriculum and organizational structure, Schwab shifted his pluralistic view of subject matters to the structures of scientific disciplines. These he examined as modes of inquiry rather than rhetorics of conclusions because most scientific conclusions and methods were obsolete within a few decades. He focused this attention in a series of articles and, as chairperson of the BSCS Committee on Teacher Preparation, edited three widely used versions of its teachers' handbooks.

### The Practical

At the same time as he began work on The Practical, Schwab produced a quasi-practical version of it in *College Curriculum and Student Protest*. This focused his intellectual and character-building orientations on the problems of campus unrest. Using a medical model, he diagnosed the students' turmoil as symptomatic of failings in their schooling, and his prescriptions were curricular changes and innovative teaching methods. The proposals involved eclectic modifications of academic structures and nontraditional uses of traditional liberal arts that would enable students cogently to explore their concerns—a curriculum to improve student protest. He later elaborated the philosophical foundations for these recommendations in extended essays on polity such as "Freedom and Liberal Education."

The six Practical papers (Practicals Five and Six are not yet published) provide a conceptual summary of Schwab's experience in curriculum. As teacher and scholar, he had pulled together such wide experience that he had become a genuine polymath in education. This is evident in his mastery of principals and methods or the five bodies of disciplines necessary to curriculum deliberation, which he called the commonplaces of education, commonplace because their use or neglect always affects curricular planning and execution. The five commonplaces are learner, subject matter, teacher, (social/cultural) milieu, and curriculum making. In any curriculum group, each person needs an experienced representative to compensate for his or her weakness in relation to the expertise of the others. Curriculum making requires a specialist who brings experience as well as wisdom to the deliberation. This specialist must work with the other representatives to ensure proper coordination of the commonplaces because changes in one have consequence for the others. Domination by a single commonplace leads to a theory-based curricula with parochial concerns such as child development, teacher needs, subject matter innovation, or social change.

Each commonplace also has its own commonplaces. For instance, consideration of literary subject matter involves consideration of theories concerning the author, the audience, and the world of the work, as well as the work itself. Consider, for instance, how the collective scholarship that the group brings to a problematic curricular situation—such as reading problems in a precollege remedial program—enables it to formulate the problems in different ways. The reading specialist can provide stimulating books with suitably challenging vocabulary. The milieu expert can tackle such social factors as the dysfunctional model of semiliterate parents. The teacher expert can consider the need to start from a potentially successful base of readings provided by the reading specialist, rather than a standardized one. At the student commonplace, discussion can center on how such media distractions as television can be exploited by using scripts of programs that interest the students.

Schwab envisions another set—arts of the eclectic—to join theories where only one is inadequate for grasping the full import of the problem. The group considers which combinations could be

most effective. As they discover and develop their capacities in the fluidity of discussion, the members particularize the commonplaces in an incremental, local, and ongoing process. The problematic situation evolves into a situation of problems that develop in a spiral rather than a serial progression of connecting and testing problems with solutions.

The Practical is a formidable vision for education that integrates its various realities and activities from Schwab's 60-year engagement with them. Discovery of the commonplaces, development of the arts of problemation, and invention of arts of the eclectic to bridge the theory-practice divide present a unique set of tools for curriculum making. Schwab's vision is set forth in prose that is compact, knowledgeable, and passionate. However, although much quoted in accounts of praxis, it has yet to be fully realized in actual settings.

Schwab pointed out how practical exigencies are endemic to schooling and that those who are closest to the problems, not remote curriculum czars, can become the best problem solvers, given adequate resources. However, when *The Practical* is used, it appears piecemeal, as in the research of Schwab students on various aspects of teacher knowledge and narrative. The need for complex collaborations across disciplinary lines to reform existing school systems helps account for the lack of holistic realizations.

An unsettled aspect of Schwab work is the considerable amount of unpublished material in papers and recordings. The contrast between live deliberations and the more schematic ones in the Practical articles is instructive, especially where he dramatically throws away his curricular script to confront a pressing learning difficulty.

Schwab's Socratic challenge to educators is for questions rather than answers, for use—rather than discipleship—of predecessors like Aristotle and Dewey, and for the widest possible base for education, which is a way for living in a democracy as set forth in the long essay, appropriately named "On Community."

*Thomas W. Roby IV*

*See also* Arts of the Eclectic; Commonplaces; General Education; University of Chicago Collective of Curriculum Professors



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## SCIENCE EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Science education is concerned with the discipline of science, as well as with how science is taught and how it is learned, and includes the aims, the policies, programs, and practices that support teachers in their efforts to teach and students as they endeavor to learn science. Since the 1990s, science education is often called science, technology, engineering, and mathematics education or STEM education. Science or STEM education is an important curriculum study because of its connection to the general education of citizens and because of its contribution to an understanding of the natural world.

An understanding of science/STEM education is based on knowing about its aims, about the efforts by national and local governments to develop policies supporting science education, and about the programs and practices implemented by national and local governments, universities, professional organizations, districts, schools, and teachers to ensure that science/STEM education is implemented effectively.

### Aim of Science/STEM Education: Science Literacy

Science literacy is the outcome of science education and has two dimensions. The first is the general

education necessary for a fully realized life. Science literacy also reflects a deep and rich understanding of the natural world as revealed through science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Scientific literacy enables one to examine experience reflectively, draw conclusions and to make judgments about the dilemmas, enigmas, and problems posed to the individual, the community, the nation, and the world by nature, including health of individuals, populations, and the natural world itself.

Perhaps the most important policy influence on STEM education as it touches on students and teachers has been the conceptualization and then the legislative mandates for the implementation of academic standards, both for science and the other “core” subjects, English language arts, mathematics, and social studies.

The publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 attributed the weakness of the U.S. educational system to its failure to identify in a clear and compelling way the specific objectives for student learning. The remedy was to be the development of clear and measurable statements of what all children should know and be able to do in both the core content areas as well as in the visual and performing arts, health, and physical education.

The science education community responded to the standards movement positively. The American Association for the Advancement of Science, the world’s largest general science society, initiated Project 2061 in 1985. The explicit aim of the founders of Project 2061 was to make it possible for all U.S. citizens to achieve science literacy. Project 2061 initiated collaboration with scientists, educators, universities, and school districts that resulted in a series of documents that culminated in the publication of the *National Research Council of the National Science Education Standards* in 1996. Other documents included *Science for All Americans* published in 1989, *Benchmarks for Science Literacy* published in 1993, and the *Atlas for Science Literacy* published in 2001 and revised in 2008.

When states began to create accountability systems during the decade of the 1990s, the National Science Education Standards were used as the model for the development of individual state standards. The state standards then became the basis for the development of the state accountability

tests. By 2008, all but one state (Iowa) had academic standards along with an accountability testing system.

### **Programs and Practices Supporting STEM Education**

The National Science Education Standards set forth a vision of STEM education consistent with the philosophical foundations laid by John Dewey and progressive educators. STEM education should be parallel with the practice of science as inquiry. Inquiry begins with observation. Reflection on the observation reveals inconsistencies and discrepancies that result in the development of questions to guide the inquiry, the questions lead to speculations that are focused by what is already known. The focused speculations are tested using various strategies to design experiments. The experiments yield results that feed back to the initial observations. The inquiry cycle is often termed “the learning cycle” in the STEM education curriculum materials.

The Lawrence Hall of Science at the University of California at Berkeley was a pioneer institution in the development of curriculum materials that support the inquiry focused standards-based science education. The Full Option Science System (FOSS) kits provide teachers with both the materials and the story line with which to engage their students in STEM education. These materials were developed as research projects funded by the National Science Foundation. They are now commercial products that compete with more traditional textbook-based programs. The influence of these “exemplary” programs is shown by the presence of science and mathematics kit materials that are now a part of nearly all commercial curriculum materials.

### **Challenges to STEM Education**

The implementation of science as envisioned by the science education community since Dewey’s time poses many challenges to states, districts, schools, and teachers. The theory behind the standards movement was simple. If teachers have a clear understanding of what students are to know and be able to do and if the teachers and their schools were held accountable, the teachers would be able to create classroom experiences that would

result in student outcomes that fit the expectation. Unfortunately, the reality has not fulfilled the predictions of the theory.

In the international comparisons such as the Third International Mathematics and Science Study and its successor comparison studies, the International Mathematics and Science Study have shown that U.S. students lag behind “competitor” nations in their understanding of both mathematics and science. On the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the measured achievement of U.S. students has remained flat and the gaps in achievement between White and children of color have been persistent.

The response to this challenge has been to develop strategies to provide professional development for inservice teachers that is more consistent with the tenets of science education. Where teachers in traditional schools work in isolation, professional organizations such as the National Staff Development Council (NSDC) have advocated for professional development beyond the traditional after-school or summer workshop. The NSDC has become an exponent of the development of professional learning communities in schools. These “communities of practice” apply the principles of inquiry learning to the teachers in a school except that the content is teaching and learning in the school’s classrooms.

### *The Standards Challenge*

The development of state standards in the content areas has ironically created an unforeseen difficulty for teachers. Because the standards development process has ensured that the content of the standards in question is accurate and consistent, the standards documents for each of the content areas are large and often overly difficult for teachers to translate into effective instruction. Elementary teachers who generally are responsible for the four core areas may be overwhelmed by the number of standards that their students must master in a 180-day school year.

### *The Testing Challenge*

The passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 was a mixed blessing for science education in that the law required annual testing of English and

mathematics, but science was to be tested at two grades in Grades K–8 and once in high school. The science education community is concerned that because science is not tested at every grade, teachers at the grades where there is no test will neglect science instruction.

Another challenge posed by both federal and state accountability testing has been the tendency of teachers, especially in schools that are under scrutiny for persistent low performance, to attempt to substitute testing for teaching. Schools purchase “test preparation” materials and use valuable instructional time to use these practice materials.

### *The Evolution Challenge*

Right at the heart of science lies the understanding that truth means something quite different than what it means in most religions. In biology, the centrality of evolution has been viewed as a threat by some religious groups. In Kansas, Ohio, and South Carolina, various groups have challenged both the science standards and the work of individual teachers by demanding, for example, “equal time” to the teaching of content that reflects a more “Bible friendly” perspective or that language be incorporated that is “friendly” to those who do not accept evolution. Although the Supreme Court distinguished between religion and science in the *Epperson v. Arkansas* 1968 case, new challenges claiming not to be based on religious beliefs have emerged. In particular, “Intelligent Design,” the idea that the natural world is “irreducibly complex” and therefore could not have been produced by the processes of evolution has become a new way to raise the old challenge about science education. The courts have generally been supportive of the science education perspective, as in the *Dover v. Kitzmiller* lawsuit.

Whatever happens in courts, teachers know that polling data show that as many as 60% of all U.S. citizens either believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible or have ascribed to the notion that children should be taught both sides of the controversy so they can make up their own minds. Such knowledge has a dampening effect on the teaching of biology in many communities.

Contemporary science education is part of a rich tradition extending back to the work of the progressive educators at the beginnings of the

20th century. An alliance of university professors, high school teachers, professional associations, businesses, and industries have continued to work from two central ideas. The first is that all children should have a deep understanding of how the natural world is investigated and that this deep understanding is necessary for a full and rich life whatever one’s career. Second, the United States needs well-prepared students to study the sciences and to become teachers of science.

*John T. Holton*

*See also* *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Redbook); *Mathematics Education Curriculum*; *Mathematics Education Curriculum, History of*; *Nation at Risk, A*; *No Child Left Behind*; *Science Education Curriculum, History of*

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## SCIENCE EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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Science education curriculum includes textbooks, instructional materials, and complete instructional programs designed to help students master the content and processes of science. Learning science requires that students acquire a rich understanding of both the science facts about the natural world as well as how science explains these phenomena. Such rich learning requires an equally rich set of instructional experiences. The history of science education curriculum has been defined by the tension between what is known to be good instructional practice and the difficulties that arise when attempting to implement such practices widely in U.S. schools.

When the study of science was recognized as a legitimate school subject during the last half of the 19th century, science education curriculum reflected the current understandings of how children learned; that is, by reading (or being read to) and by recitation of the facts. At the secondary level, students were to study chemistry, physics, and astronomy with a strong laboratory component. However, contemporary evidence suggests that most students were taught science by reading textbooks and reciting what they had read.

The last quarter of the 19th century saw the development of new psychological insights into learning that should be applied to schooling. The most widely cited formulation of the relationship between the mind and learning science is that of John Dewey. In Dewey's formulation, human evolution selected for adaptive intelligence; that is, humans have the ability to learn from experience. Central to Dewey's formulation of that learning as a natural human capacity is the understanding that learning is the result of active investigation of experience.

During the last decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th century, much thought went in to the development of science curriculum that reflected the psychological foundations of student learning. Work at Francis Parker's Cook County Normal School, at the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago (under the direction of John Dewey), and the development of "project method," as promoted by the Teachers College professor

William Heard Kilpatrick, showed that it was possible to engage students in the crucial activity of investigation even within the context of a traditional school. The experimental spirit in science curriculum with its emphasis on student investigative and reflective activity contrasted with the experience of most students whose science instruction consisted of textbook reading and recitation of facts and vocabulary.

The first systematic attempt at formalizing what should be taught and learned about science was done by the National Education Association's Committee of Ten in 1893. The work of the Committee of Ten standardized what was to be taught in the elementary and secondary schools. During the elementary years, children were to engage in "nature study," while in high school, students would study botany, zoology, chemistry, and physics with the goal of learning the facts and principles of those subjects in a laboratory setting. The work of the Committee of Ten was primarily about practice. If one were to operate a school, what would be done in the school?

World events of the 1930s and 1940s brought new imperatives for science education curriculum. Efforts to improve science curriculum were largely local before World War II. By the end of that conflict, U.S. citizens had become acutely aware of the power of mathematics, science, engineering, and technology and how important these disciplines were to the successful outcome of the war to the nation. The sense of urgency continued into the postwar world.

The first test of the atomic bomb by the Soviet Union in September of 1949 defined the scientific and technological nature of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The rapid development of both an atomic and a hydrogen bomb by the Soviets reinforced the idea that preparation of U.S. students in mathematics, science, engineering, and technology was a national priority.

Jerrold Zacharias, a professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a member of the National Science Advisory Committee, focused on the apparent lack of preparation for university-level science work by his students when he and colleagues created the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) in 1956 to create a new physics curriculum. Although the perception



of an external threat mobilized resources (from the National Science Foundation among others) for curriculum development, the curriculum development work was done by first-rate scientific minds that were intent on ensuring that students would have the opportunity to learn science.

The model curriculum set by the PSSC was soon emulated by the Biological Science Study Committee (BSCS), CHEM Study, and a similar effort to support the study of the earth sciences. When the new programs were implemented, it became clear that teachers also needed to learn the new content and pedagogical skills to effectively teach in new ways. In part, this need was filled by National Science Foundation–funded summer workshops for teachers.

Elementary school curricula also emerged at this time. The development of the elementary programs also addressed the issues of providing science experience in classrooms that are not set up for students to work; for example, many classrooms do not have running water. The elementary programs were built around the development of understanding of the big ideas in science by giving young students experiences with observation, data collection, and the drawing of conclusions from evidence. The elementary programs all explicitly build the instructional sequence around a “learning cycle.”

The notable outcome of the elementary work was the development of a “kit-based” science curriculum. A science kit is an instructional unit including the materials and apparatus needed for the instruction that provides students with the opportunity to study science content in ways consistent with findings from cognitive sciences. A number of kit-based programs are in use. The use of science kits requires more professional development and logistical support than do traditional textbook-based programs. For example, kits need to be restocked with the consumable materials after each use. The National Science Resource Center at the Smithsonian has provided leadership to assist states and districts with the implementation of high-quality science curriculum as has the Association of Science Center Managers (ASCM). Following along, the commercial publishers have developed kit components to accompany their traditional textbook-based programs.

Barriers to the implementation of high-quality science curriculum include low levels of teacher

understanding of science content, state standards that attempt to cover too many topics, too little time devoted to authentic science instruction for many children, and instruction that fails to help students reevaluate their own preconceptions of natural phenomena.

*John T. Holton*

*See also* Mathematics Education Curriculum; Mathematics Education Curriculum, History of; Project Method; Science Education Curriculum

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## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

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Scientific management is a systematic approach to organizing and controlling activities in business and industry that emphasizes efficiency as its primary goal. The brainchild of industrial consultant Frederick W. Taylor in the early part of the 20th century, scientific management became a movement that quickly spread to many fields and institutions in U.S. society. Educator Franklin Bobbitt was most responsible for introducing the approach to, and popularizing it within, the field of curriculum development.

Taylor’s most extensive discussion of the use of scientific method is found in his book *The Principles of Scientific Management*. In the first decade of the 20th century, Taylor became convinced that rampant waste could be eliminated from the industrial process and efficiency maximized through the careful application of four principles:

1. The development of scientific studies that analyzed the tasks of workers, the methods they employed, and the tools they utilized
2. The scientific selection of the workers in accordance with their potential to implement the scientifically validated methods

3. The education and training of workers in the methods
4. Careful planning and supervision that emphasized cooperation between managers and workers in the application of the methods in worker performance

In industry, these principles had the effect of separating planning through the analysis of task and tools from the execution of work. In education they had the effect of separating the process of curriculum planning from the activity of instruction.

As adopted and adapted by Bobbitt, these principles served as the foundation of what came to be called “scientific curriculum making.” This approach to curriculum development was introduced primarily through his two books *The Curriculum* and *How to Make a Curriculum*. In his work, Bobbitt also emphasized the elimination of waste by attempting to ensure that the greatest number of students would learn the maximum of amount of content and skills in the smallest amount of time.

This could be brought about, according to Bobbitt, by first analyzing the tasks and activities of adult life, and then ascertaining the current knowledge of students in regards to those tasks. The gap between the two would then become the source of objectives within the school curriculum. These objectives would serve as precise performance standards for learning that Bobbitt literally likened to the specific and exact physical standards for steel rails used by the railroad industry. The work of Edward Thorndike and others in the newly emerging field of psychological measurement had suggested that such precision was possible through educational testing.

The scientific management approach was appealing to members of the general public who yearned for more efficient uses of school funding. Proponents claimed that the precise measurements made possible by this approach allowed for clear comparisons in educational achievement between students, teachers, schools, school districts, and administrators. Educational and psychological experts were assigned the task of determining with some precision the most efficient method for teaching each standard. Like their counterparts on the factory assembly lines, teachers, in collaboration with

administrators/supervisors, were to be selected and trained in the use of these scientifically validated methods. Bonus plans were designed to reward monetarily highly efficient teachers and administrators. Inefficient educators whose students failed to meet the standards could be more easily removed. Advocates also envisioned that the plan would allow for reduced costs through increasing class size and decreasing the number of teachers needed. One of the most prominent advocates was the Newton, Massachusetts, superintendent of schools, Frank Spaulding.

Needless to say, some educationists were strongly opposed to this approach, not the least of whom was the educational philosopher John Dewey. Dewey and others objected to the application of the approach to education on several grounds. Some critics deemed it too mechanistic an approach to the practice of teaching and learning. Others suggested that it was born out of a need for certainty in a field that was inherently filled with uncertainty. Some complained that the approach devalued the work of teachers. Others suggested that the system failed on its own terms: They claimed that, with the large bureaucracy required for planning and supervision, the scheme was, in actual practice, too costly and inefficient.

Tom Barone

*See also* *Curriculum, The*; *Fundamental Curriculum Questions*, The 26th NSSE Yearbook; *How to Make a Curriculum*

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## SCOPE AND SEQUENCE, IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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The design of a curriculum has an organizational dimension to it that accounts for what content

and skills should be taught and for how they should be instructionally presented over time. Among curriculum developers, the overarching organization of the curriculum is embodied in a concept known as *scope and sequence*. *Scope* specifically refers to the breadth of the curriculum—the organizing threads that constitute the skills and content that teachers are expected to include in their instruction. *Sequence* refers to how these skills and subject matter should be ordered. The two concepts work in synchronization because decisions related to scope have implications for sequencing and decisions related to sequencing have implications for scope. In each case, wider concerns about the coherence and continuity of the curriculum are at stake, as are the efficiency and educative power of the school experience.

Decisions related to the scope and sequence of a curriculum usually account for the developmental and maturational patterns of learners and a normative (state-directed) construction of what is worth teaching—what many teachers might see as the full range of skills, ideas, and content that need to be taught to learners at different stages of development. In this way, the scope and sequence of a curriculum provides teachers with a blueprint of age-appropriate learning outcomes. The end result is a carefully calibrated expression of skill development and subject matter knowledge that the teacher can usefully build lesson plans around.

Scope and sequence decisions are commonly worked out within grade levels, through a process known as horizontal articulation, and across grade levels, through a process known as vertical articulation. As a horizontal articulation concern, scope and sequence has to do with how school experiences offered early in an academic year will logically and coherently flow into experiences offered later in the year and to how the development of various skills (reading skills, thinking skills, and so forth) might change during an academic year to reflect increasing developmental capacities. Horizontal articulation also concerns itself with how grade level coursework is integrated and harmonized across subject matter. Thus, if calculus is taught simultaneously with physics, how do the two articulate? If the elementary school classroom is learning about early explorers in the social studies, how does such an undertaking articulate with the teaching of reading?

The vertical articulation of scope and sequence sets its analytical sight on cross-grade concerns. It is the tool used to build coherence in the educational experience of children during their entire school career. Thus, it asks how the teaching of, say, mathematics in 7th grade is related to the teaching of mathematics in 8th grade, or how mathematics instruction in the elementary school will provide a basis for learning mathematics in the middle school? In the science curriculum of the elementary school, vertical articulation concerns might result in a cross-grade curriculum that coheres around key principles and concepts, normally expressed as living things, earth and space, and matter and energy space. Similarly, reading instruction will follow a course of identifiable skills across grade levels related to, say, phonemic awareness, vocabulary development, narratives gauged by readability variables, and so forth.

Various curriculum scholars have identified some organizational principles that can be used to design the scope and sequence of curriculum content. George Posner and Alan Rudnitsky describe world-related sequences, which organize the content of the curriculum around the characteristics of space, time, or physical attributes. The use of a chronological sequence, which would likely be favored in, say, a history class, is an example of a world-related sequence because it uses the attribute of time (from earliest-to-latest) to organize the content. Sequencing content around spatial relations means that the organization of the content can be broached from the standpoint of, say, closest-to-farthest, bottom-to-top, or east-to-west. The vertical articulation of social studies education in the elementary school, for instance, commonly uses an expanding horizon design that starts with a focus on the self in the kindergarten, and expands outward (as children grow and mature) into community, town, city, state, national, and international affairs. The study of the food chain in science might be approached using a bottom (of the food chain) to top sequence, and the study of the regions of the United States using an east to west approach. Physical attributes, such as size, shape, and range of physical complexity, might also be used. So, in biology class, the study of simple cells could precede the study of more complex ones; the study of elements might be preliminary to the study of compounds in chemistry; the

study of the Civil War can be organized around the size of the major battles; and in geometry, lines might get taught before shapes.

But world-related sequences may not always be appropriate. Posner and Rudnitsky also point to the use of a concept-related approach, in which content and skills are organized around the structure of ideas. This could include approaches that sequence subject matter by logical prerequisites, by levels of sophistication, and by categories of class relations. A logical prerequisite approach is built on the assumption that some ideas are preliminary to others and need to be taught first. Skill-based content areas, such as reading education, mathematics education, and foreign language education tend to use this structure because of the highly defined and hierarchical nature of the skill structures. The content of the curriculum can also be patterned after the principle of sophistication, which gives justification to arranging or sequencing content by using a simple-to-complex or a concrete-to-abstract pattern, both of which demonstrate the idea of using simple tasks as subordinate parts to more complex tasks. *Class relations* implies a deductive (whole-to-part) pattern of sequencing that starts with class characteristics and moves to specific examples of the class. Thus, democracy is studied as a concept and followed by particular examples of working democracies. In science, the classification systems used to organize living things (amphibians, reptiles, mammals, fish, and so forth) might be studied first and then followed by examples of types representing each class.

Scope and sequence are the two main building blocks used to chart what the school intends to teach and the order in which they will be taught. One can find scope and sequence charts worked out for the design of textbooks, schoolwide or districtwide curricula, and even state (as well as national) content standards. The idea behind such organization is always led by two key questions: What is the proper sequence of content, skills (and other key learning attributes) that needs to be integrated into the school experience? And how exactly should this sequence be organized to advance the teaching and learning of children at varied levels of cognitive, social, physical, and emotional development?

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*See also* Curriculum Design; Curriculum Development; Tyler Rationale, The

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## SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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The secondary school curriculum was a definitive priority in the emergence and development of the field of curriculum studies in the United States. From the opening decades of the 20th century into the 1970s, the task of generating a viable theory of secondary education for a democratic society occupied a central place in the work of curriculum scholars. Since the 1970s, the curriculum field largely has abandoned interest in the secondary school curriculum per se for the pursuit of a conception of theorizing that often defines curriculum all-inclusively, as the course of one's life experience. Subsequently, discourse about and policy making directed toward the secondary school curriculum became dominated by academic traditionalists, policy entrepreneurs, and politicians. In what follows, a synopsis of the history of the secondary curriculum in the United States precedes a consideration of problematic aspects of current perspectives on the secondary school curriculum.



## History of the High School

During the 17th and 18th centuries, in the American colonies the curriculum of the Latin grammar school stressed formalistic instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew language and literature for socially elite males. From the late 18th century into the 19th century, the academy movement expanded the secondary curriculum; subjects such as surveying, navigation, and bookkeeping, as well as English, modern foreign languages, geometry, and algebra, were offered often alongside the classics. This curriculum remained relatively constant, with local variation, for the remainder of the 19th century, as publicly supported high schools became the dominant form of secondary education, especially after 1870. By 20th-century standards, however, the curriculum of the late 19th-century public high school was relatively narrow, composed nationally as it was of only about 16 separate subjects. This curriculum evidently was suitable for the elite secondary student body that in 1890 represented only about 5.6% of the population of 14- to 17-year-olds.

With the expansion of secondary school enrollments during the first three decades of the 20th century and the invention of the comprehensive high school, the secondary school curriculum began to expand, especially in vocational offerings. By 1930, high school enrollments represented about 50% of 14- to 17-year-olds. By 1934, the secondary school curriculum included about 204 separate subjects nationally. At that time, approximately 62% of enrollments were in academic subjects and 38% of enrollments were in vocational subjects. This ratio of academic to vocational enrollments remained relatively stable until the early 1980s, after which time enrollments in academic courses steadily increased as enrollments in vocation courses slightly declined.

Both change and continuity over time can be discerned in the history of the secondary curriculum in the United States. Expansion of access to, enrollment in, and curriculum offerings of the secondary curriculum represent major changes over time. For example, as the proportion of enrollments in academic subjects remained stable, and the proportion of adolescents enrolled in high school expanded from about 62% of 14- to 17-year-olds in 1934 to about 94% in 2000, more

adolescents had access to the academic curriculum. The enduring dominance of the traditional academic, that is, college preparatory, program in the secondary curriculum represents continuity over time.

The field of curriculum theory and development responded to the changing demographics of the secondary student body. The year 1918 is often identified as a convenient starting point of the curriculum field in the United States because of the appearance that year of four influential publications: the Commission on the Reorganization of Education's *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, Alexander Inglis's *Principles of Secondary Education*, Franklin Bobbitt's *The Curriculum*, and William Kilpatrick's "The Project Method." The content of these works represented the two central projects of the emerging curriculum field: identification of general techniques for curriculum development and generation of a theory of secondary education. During the next six decades, dozens of books and reform proposals and hundreds of articles appeared that attempted to develop and refine a theory and practice of secondary education suitable to a modern industrial democracy. These efforts engendered ideas and practices for secondary education such as the comprehensive high school model, general education, common learnings, core curriculum, the homeroom, and schools-within-schools, to name just a few.

During the 1970s, as the academic curriculum field began to shift its attention and energies toward the problem of understanding an all-inclusive conception of curriculum that transcended the institution of schooling, the problem of developing school curriculum all but disappeared from the agenda of curriculum scholars. The resultant void in theorizing about the secondary school curriculum subsequently was filled by reform proposals proffered by academic traditionalists, policy entrepreneurs, and politicians. Eventually, efforts to develop systematic, comprehensive conceptions of the secondary curriculum gave way to an eclectic parade of proposals for reforming particular aspects of the secondary school curriculum at the expense of viewing the curriculum as a whole.

Initially, these proposals, such as Ernest Boyer's *High School* (1983) and John Goodlad's *A Place Called School* (1984), came from educators with a

strong interest in curriculum, and addressed generally the problem of secondary education. Over time, however, proposals increasingly emanated from blue ribbon commissions, such as the National Commission of Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and the Task Force for Economic Growth's *Action for Excellence* (1983). Later, proposals increasingly sought to reform only particular dimensions of secondary education, such as workforce training, school size, choice, specialized subject standards, or high-stakes testing for accountability. In general, these proposals identified global economic competition as the catalyst for the reform of secondary education. With enactment of the Goals 2000: Educate American Act of 1994 and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, secondary curriculum policy formulation and adoption had been almost thoroughly arrogated by policy makers and politicians. Needless to say, the historic efforts of the curriculum field to develop a theory of secondary education for a democratic society were forgotten. Increased academic rigor became the panacea for any deficiency, real or perceived, in the secondary school curriculum.

### Current Perspectives

Although after the 1970s academic interest in the development of a theory of secondary curriculum waned, interest in the history of the high school waxed. Historical interpretations of secondary education that appeared since the early 1980s typically reflected the contemporary reform commitment to the traditional academic curriculum and seem to have interpreted the past through that commitment. At times, however, such interpretations do not square with the historical record.

Curriculum and educational historians tend, for example, to view secondary education in the late-19th century as something of the heyday of the U.S. high school. From characterizing the late 19th-century public high school as the "people's college," to depicting the 1893 proposals of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten as more democratic than the 1918 proposals of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, historians tend to look favorably on this era, even presenting it as a model for the early 21st century. The reality that at that time high school education was intended for only

a small—considerably less than 10%—portion of the adolescent population contradicts depictions of the late 19th-century conception of the high school as more democratic than 20th-century conceptions, the latter of which typically called for secondary education for all youth. Indeed, the academic curriculum proposed by the Committee of Ten was tailored to an elite student body and expressly not envisioned for all youth.

As historians tend to depict the late 19th-century secondary curriculum favorably, they tend to depict the early 20th-century curriculum unfavorably. The invention of the comprehensive high school typically receives short shrift in historical interpretations of the era. Moreover, the comprehensive high school is almost exclusively associated with social efficiency—social control doctrine, which extolled the role of the school in fitting students into society in the interest of maintaining social control. Democratic aspects of the comprehensive high school, such as its express intent to simultaneously unify and serve the specialized needs of all adolescents, are typically played down. The fact, for example, that following World War II the comprehensive high school was adapted, in the name of educational egalitarianism, by countries across Western Europe, typically is lost on U.S. historians of secondary education. And the concept of social efficiency has become so closely associated with antidemocratic notions of social control that the prospect that the secondary curriculum can be about anything other than studying traditional academic subjects for their own sake—put another way, that the high school curriculum should directly address students' lives and the life of society—has assumed the status of anathema among many educational historians. As a result, curriculum initiatives of the past that departed from the traditional curriculum are either mostly ignored, as with general education and the core curriculum, or inaccurately denigrated, as with life adjustment education. Like reform proposals since the early 1980s, historical interpretations of secondary education in the United States have exalted the traditional academic curriculum.

And in practice, since the late 1950s, with the exception of the brief relevance movement around 1970, secondary education reform efforts—including the post-*Sputnik* structure-of-the-discipline projects, the curricular retrenchment of the late 1970s,

the academic excellence movement of the 1980s, and the standards and accountability movements of the 1990s and 2000s—have emphasized the traditional academic curriculum. Tradition, teacher certification requirements, preservice teacher education, and accreditation criteria have reified the traditional academic subjects into the one best secondary school curriculum. Research, too, particularly historical research, has taken the college preparatory curriculum for granted as the preferred form of secondary education. The pervasive problem of academic formalism, which is aggravated by high-stakes subject-focused testing, somehow escapes the attention of reformers and even researchers.

Meanwhile, as the number of academic courses that high school graduates complete has increased nearly 20% since the early 1980s, during that same period, surveys conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan have consistently found that students regard their high school studies as significantly less interesting, less meaningful, and less useful later in life. And as criticism of education in the United States increasingly focuses on comparative secondary school completion rates, the fact that most of the countries whose completion rates exceed that of the United States adapted the U.S. comprehensive school model, is overlooked. Curriculum students face a number of problematic issues in the practice of and research about the secondary school curriculum in the United States.

*William G. Wraga*

*See also* *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*; *Comprehensive High School*; *Curriculum Purposes*; *Objectives in Curriculum Planning*; *Progressive Education*, *Conceptions of*

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## SECULAR VALUES IN THE CURRICULUM: CASE LAW

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Case law regarding secular values in the curriculum addresses the power of the state to teach nonreligious virtues or ideas. Litigation over the teaching of secular values tends to fall into one of two categories: conflict with religious values and student rights to abstain from participating. Some examples of secular values in the public school curriculum that have been contested by religious groups include gay and lesbian rights, science-based discovery, and morality derived from man instead of god. The debate about teaching secular values is at the heart of many controversial curriculum developments during the past 60 years. As scholars of curriculum studies track the interconnection of social change, scientific discovery, and public education, the clash between secular humanism and religious values remains a source of inherent tension.

Petitioners have unsuccessfully brought suit against the teaching of secular values under the argument that certain secular ideas are hostile to their religious values. Attempts to bolster this argument include casting secular values as a religion called secular humanism. The effort to define secular humanism as a religion has been largely unsuccessful despite the writings of some sympathetic judges, most notably Justice Antonin Scalia. If successful, petitioners could claim that the teaching of secular values constituted the promotion of religious values thus violating the establishment clause of the First Amendment. A broader argument against secular values in the curriculum claims that the teaching of any values that do not include a deistic perspective promotes the “religion” of secular humanism over other religions. The argument continues to claim that the only way to avoid this violation of the Establishment

Clause is by including religious perspectives in the curriculum to be taught with secular perspectives. It seems inconsistent with existing case law, however, that even a successful claim of secular humanism as a religion would allow religion specific instruction to be constitutionally taught. Presumably, the school would be compelled to create a neutral forum by which it would be expected that the range of ideas presented to students would be encompassing enough to avoid promoting any one religion. However, teaching the values of one religious faith in concert with secular values falls far short of the neutral forum standard established by the Supreme Court for political speech. Moreover, it is unclear that the court would accept the neutral forum standard for religious speech. The Court has yet to rule on establishing a neutral forum for religion in schools.

Efforts to teach creationism or intelligent design as part of the evolution curriculum has led to litigation that is central for defining case law on the issue of secular humanism as a religion. In *Epperson v. Arkansas* (1968), a state statute prohibiting the teaching of evolution was struck down by the Court. In response, several statutes were written promoting a “balanced treatment” of evolution that included both an explicit disclaimer in the curriculum that evolution was an unproven theory and a biblical perspective on the origin of man. The “balanced treatment” curriculum was found to violate the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution and eventually the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1987) that creation science was unconstitutional. The latest efforts to challenge teaching evolution casts creationism as the intelligent design of a creator. An interesting element of the intelligent design proposal is the claim that the “creator” is not necessarily a specific deity. By making a prima facie argument that the creator may not be God, the petitioners in *Dover v. Kitzmiller* (2005) were essentially aligning intelligent design with the secular curriculum. The Court in *Dover* found that intelligent design was not a secular theory and was in fact a progeny of creationism.

Teaching patriotism in the public school curriculum is both common and supported by case law. However, compelling a student to demonstrate allegiance or support of nationalistic ideals

as part of that curriculum is unconstitutional. For example, in the early years of World War II, several states and school districts enacted regulations that promoted a curriculum of nationalism. The West Virginia State Board of Education followed suit in 1942 with a measure that prescribed a curriculum intended to teach, foster, and perpetuate “the ideals, principles, and spirit of Americanism.” As part of the curriculum in West Virginia, teachers and students were required to participate in the flag salute and pledge each day. To refuse was explicitly deemed insubordinate by the board regulation that stated that those who did not salute the flag would be “dealt with accordingly.”

The Court in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943) rejected the right of the school board to impose an allegiance standard as part of a broader citizenship curriculum. The majority opinion stated that the curriculum itself (i.e., teaching democratic citizenship) added additional importance to the protection of students’ constitutional freedoms. In an oft-cited rebuke of the West Virginia School Board’s actions, Justice Robert H. Jackson wrote, “If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.” Later court cases would continue to support this balance between teaching secular values and requiring allegiance to those values. This is specifically true in regards to politics and nationalism.

Students may not be punished for unpatriotic views, and as long as their actions do not create a substantial disruption, they may express other views. For example, in *Holloman v. Harland* (2004), a student was paddled as punishment for raising his fist in silent protest during the pledge of allegiance. The circuit court found that the school’s actions were in violation of the student’s First Amendment right to free speech. Subsequent opinions have reinforced the idea that schools may not force patriotism.

*John Pijanowski*

*See also* Civic Education Curriculum; Creationism in Curriculum: Case Law; Humanist Tradition; Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices; Rational Humanism Curriculum Ideology



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## SEMIOTICS

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Semiotics is the study of sign and symbol systems. Semiotic analyses explore the ways in which meaning is constructed and understood. Semiotics includes written and spoken language as sign systems, but, unlike linguistics, is not limited to language. Images, sounds—both natural and linguistic, gestures, or associations of any two or more of these—can all be parts of sign systems. For the curriculum field, semiotic studies tend to be focused on curricular language and media, institutional environments (e.g., the hidden curriculum), and visual images. From the standpoint of semiotic theory, analyzing words, images, gestures, and situations is always an interpretive act; there is no such thing as a “literal reading.” Hence, all sign systems, as entities to be “read” or interpreted, regardless of form, may be referred to as “texts.” A semiotic standpoint runs contrary to any assumption that there is a discernable or final meaning to be obtained for any particular text, including, for example, religious texts, school textbooks, “best practice” teaching methods, or state curriculum standards. Similarly, semiotic theory challenges any notion that the curriculum can be an innocent conduit for transmitting academic knowledge. As such, semiotic analyses might undermine arguments that curriculum can be designed and implemented as an objective scope and sequence of any particular discipline, or that it can be fairly and accurately evaluated by student performance on standardized tests.

Arguably, the most important theorists of semiotics to the contemporary curriculum field are Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). Saussure proposed a dyadic structure in which a *signifier* (a word or

phrase) relates to a *signified* (a mental concept). To illustrate, the marks *c-a-t* placed together become the *signifier* for the concept *cat*, the *signified*, that evokes among English language speakers a four-legged furry animal. But, Saussure asserts, the relationship between the *signifier* and the *signified* is an arbitrary one, with no necessary connection between the word and the concept. That is, any number of other words could just as well have been chosen to signify *cat*. And indeed, there are many other words to signify the animal in languages other than English. What is more, the meanings attached to words (signifiers) often change over time with changes in ideology and other aspects of culture. Language, for Saussure, *differentiates* concepts that might otherwise be experienced as a continuum. For example, as one experiences the color spectrum moving through shades of blue, there are no lines drawn at points of change; it is only words that enable *distinctions* in the experience. Saussure’s theorizing was limited to linguistics, but many have transposed this system of thought onto nonlinguistic sign systems, making it a theory of semiotics.

For Peirce, semiosis involves the interaction among three subjects: the *sign*, its *object*, and its *interpretant*. Peirce’s *sign* is most analogous to Saussure’s *signifier*. Peirce’s *object* is that which is *signified*. Hence, smoke would be a *sign* for the *object*, fire. The *interpretant* might be characterized as the understanding (interpretation) one has of the *sign-object* relationship. For Peirce, a sign signifies only through its being interpreted; hence, each part of the triad is essential to signification. And this signification is not closed to itself, but is a sign process. Peirce’s *interpretant* is itself again interpreted and so becomes a *sign* in relation to yet another *interpretant*, in endless semiosis.

The famous painting by surrealist artist, Rene Magritte, *This is not a pipe*, provides an oft-cited example of the power of semiotic analysis to illuminate the problem of representation. The artist inscribed the title in French across the bottom of this apparently realist representation of a pipe for smoking. Magritte challenged the viewer to recognize the difference between an actual pipe and a representation of a pipe, as well as the difference between a string of words and their referent; in so doing, he called attention to the arbitrariness of the sign system.

In curriculum studies, an example of a semiotic analysis might be found through examining the discourse around high-stakes standardized testing. A particular *test score* becomes the *sign* (Peirce) or *signifier* (Saussure) for “achievement,” or even for “intelligence.” A semiotic understanding of this relationship would challenge the transparency assumed from *signifier* to *signified*, or *sign* to *object*. Where transparency is assumed, there is no recognition of the arbitrariness of the sign system. Either the *signifier* is assumed equivalent to the *signified* (erasure of difference which is what enables language to function), or the *sign* is assumed equivalent to the *object* (erasure of interpretation which is what enables meaning to be made).

*Susan Huddleston Edgerton*

*See also* Best Practices; High-Stakes Testing; Intelligence Tests; Lacanian Thought; Poststructuralist Research; Structuralism

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## SERVICE-LEARNING CURRICULUM

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Service-learning has become a significant element of curriculum at the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels. It is distinguished from community service in that service-learning is credit bearing; it involves a reciprocity between those serving and those being served to satisfy an identified community need, either at home or abroad; and it is integrated into the curriculum content area. Service-learning is important to the field of curriculum studies because of its link between theory and practice, and the opportunity it affords to examine the cultural, political, and social underpinnings that influence the lived experiences of those served. A look at service-learning involves an

examination of the potential it holds, as well as the obstacles sometimes encountered, for linking theory to practice; the role of collaboration between those serving and those served; ways to maximize the reciprocal nature of the process; and means by which to effectively integrate the service-learning experience into the content area being studied such that students develop a greater understanding of the significance of the role of civic engagement in the service-learning experience.

One of the main goals of service-learning is to provide learning opportunities for students outside the classroom in ways for which the classroom is not conducive. An example is students in a college teacher education course working with children in the community in some capacity. This might involve tutoring or coaching, for instance. The idea, in this example, is to allow students to engage in hands-on learning that both reflects and informs pedagogical concepts learned in the classroom. In some cases, this experience can affirm those concepts learned in the classroom, particularly when the site served, for example, subscribes to the same pedagogical philosophy and techniques learned in the classroom, or when students are allowed a significant degree of autonomy to work with the children in ways that they have been taught in the classroom. Conversely, there are situations in which students find themselves grappling with techniques and methods that do not align with those espoused in the classroom, sometimes techniques that are in direct opposition, in fact, to those taught in the classroom. Service-learning can involve one-on-one working with those served or working in cooperation with others to serve one or more individuals.

An integral component of service-learning is a collaborative effort by those serving and those served to identify and address the need(s) to be served through the service-learning process. This entails those serving being particularly sensitive to what the agencies/institutions request, and both parties entering into dialogue to determine if those needs can be addressed and met by those interested in serving. For example, although those serving might believe that the needs articulated by the respective agency/institution should be addressed in a particular way(s), it is not their place to impose their beliefs and practices on those served without the affirmation and input of the group(s)

served. In this way the process is cooperative, with both parties working toward meeting the identified needs. Likewise, the agency/institution served should be fully involved in any assessment regarding the effectiveness of the service.

The relationship between those serving and those being served is also reciprocal. That is, the service-learning experience serves a need for those serving, and it serves a need for those being served. The addressed need of those serving is additional, hands-on learning to supplement the classroom experience. The need of those served depends on the particular agency/institution.

Service-learning affords students the opportunity to examine the cultural, political, and social underpinnings that affect the lived experiences of those served and to become actively involved in addressing those issues in ways that contribute to a more democratic society. Spoma Jovanovic discusses this from an ethical perspective that entails examining how individuals ought to live their lives and posits that to do this, it is necessary to acknowledge the existent social inequities and our responsibilities as citizens to respond. This, as Jovanovic notes, involves students questioning the extent to which they are complicit in enabling systemic inequities or how they can act to effect change toward a more egalitarian society. Such civic engagement is fostered by reflection and analysis that is incorporated into the curriculum. Integration of the service-learning experience into the content area(s) under study allows students to draw links between theory and practice. Returning to the example of students in a college teacher education course, this link becomes apparent when students reflect on their service-learning experience in light of the concepts addressed in the classroom that facilitate critique of the inequities in society. Reflection, therefore, becomes significant to the service-learning process. Julie A. Hatcher and Robert G. Bringle discuss the importance of reflection as a means to re-create assumptions, develop new frameworks, and construct perceptions that affect future action. If students fail to contemplate their service-learning experience, Hatcher and Bringle note, their service activities might reinforce stereotypes, uphold presuppositions, and fail to critically steer students to future action.

Hatcher and Bringle discuss a variety of forms that reflection can take and note that it must

involve analysis and not mere recitation of service activities. They suggest personal journals, presentations of ethical dilemmas encountered in the service-learning experience, structured class discussions, and directed writings as means to reflect analytically. In addition, they note that poetry, painting, and storytelling can result in moving accounts of the personal impact that the service experience has on students. Deborah Biss Keller and Robert J. Helfenbein discuss how art forms were used in a service-learning class taught by the author. They elucidate the results of art as a means of reflection, describing how some students engaged in critical analysis of the underlying systemic forces in relation to their service-learning experiences to a greater extent than did other students.

The actions that students can take as a result of their engaged critical analysis include writing to the editor of a newspaper(s), writing to legislators, lobbying, and so on. Rick Battistoni discusses the importance of experiential learning to democratic communities past and present. He notes that students need to see the link between issues of interest to them and reasons to become publicly engaged, as well as practice in the democratic processes. Service-learning provides such an opportunity for students.

*Deborah Biss Keller*

*See also* Civic Education Curriculum; Critical Pedagogy; Diversity; Equity; Multicultural Curriculum; Social Justice

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## SEXUALITY RESEARCH

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The broad area of sexuality research includes studies pertaining to the biology of sex and sexuality as well as social constructions of gender. It encompasses such topics as child and adolescent sexuality, sexual orientation or sexual preference, gender identity, the body and body image, and sex education and reproductive health, each of which can be discussed in terms of biology as well as social constructions. Sexuality research intersects with and draws on such areas of study as feminism, gender studies, queer studies, cultural studies, and psychology and medicine. Sexuality research also engages larger questions of how gender and sexuality are understood and enacted in different social contexts. For instance, “Western” constructions of heterosexuality and homosexuality may not be applicable in Asian or African cultures. This area of research proves most important to the work currently being done in the field of curriculum studies.

Sexuality research falls on both sides of the “nature vs. nurture” debate. Research that draws on biology to frame its questions may focus on established categories of gender—for instance, such binaries as female and male. Sexuality research that emerges from the frame of social construction generally engages more fluid interpretations of sex and gender—for instance, rather than viewing gendered identities as biologically determined, such research may construe them as performance. Theoretical work pertaining to the social construction of gender, which informs such scholarship, critiques essentialist and deterministic approaches, emphasizes the fluidity of gender and sexuality, and engages the intersections of race, class, culture, gender, and sexuality in historical and geographic contexts.

As in the broader area, sexuality research pertaining to education and curriculum emerges from perspectives rooted in biology and from theoretical approaches that engage social constructions of gender. In recent years, research in the education field has focused on such issues as discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation, the pros and cons of same-sex schooling, and gender(ed) representations in curriculum,

including the representation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) youth and families. For instance, with regard to K–12 schooling, scholars have examined how schools privilege boys and “fail at fairness,” offering unequal education to girls. Just as sexism shapes the hidden curriculum, so, of course, does heterosexism. Scholars and researchers have also documented and interrogated heterosexist bias and the effects of homophobia in curriculum and teaching. For instance, it is well established that a majority of LGBT students encounter harassment at school and that the suicide rate among them is high.

Educators have developed a number of curricular and pedagogical resources for K–12 settings to address some of the issues that sexuality research has brought to light. For instance, from specific teaching strategies outlined in publications such as the ones available from Milwaukee, Wisconsin-based publisher, Rethinking Schools, to films for educators (such as *It’s Elementary: Talking About Gay Issues in School*) to the establishment of gay-straight alliances in schools, educators are trying to address heterosexism and homophobia. Furthermore, popular media (such films as *Boys Don’t Cry* and *Billy Elliott*) and books representing the voices and stories of LGBT youth and young people who do not fit predetermined notions of gender are also available to educators, as are resources from such organizations as Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) and Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN).

In the field of curriculum studies, sexuality research has focused on autobiography and narrative(s) and has drawn from queer theory, feminism, gender studies, philosophy, poststructural and postmodern theories, cultural studies, and, more recently, transgender studies. Curriculum scholars have examined historical and contemporary contexts to analyze the intersections of race, gender, culture, and sexuality. This work is relevant to rethinking multicultural education and teacher education.

Nina Asher

*See also* Feminist Theories; Gay Research; Gender Research; Transgender Research



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## SMITH, B. OTHANEL

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B. [Bunnie] Othanel Smith (1903–1989) was a teacher, school administrator, professor, and curriculum theorist. Smith's areas of influence include curriculum development, teacher education, teacher knowledge, educational philosophy, and educational measurement. Notably, Smith is known for advancing the concept of critical thinking, promoting the study of logic within the profession of teaching, and arguing for a focus on pedagogy in teacher education curriculum.

During the early years of his career, Smith worked in Florida high schools as a science teacher and principal. He was overwhelmed by disparate curricular models that he and other teachers encountered as part of their daily practice. Frustrated with the sheer number of models such as these, Smith rejected the idea that any one formula could prove to be a panacea for curricular problems. Consequently, he devoted his academic life to discovering what skills teachers needed so that they might create their own solutions for improving school curriculum. Graduating from the University of Florida with a BS in education, Smith later enrolled in the graduate program at Teachers College, earning a MA in 1932 and a PhD in 1938. Smith's doctoral dissertation focused on educational measurement; specifically, he investigated the logic of assessment. This research sparked Smith's lifelong interest in the relationship between logic and teaching. Teachers, Smith later

theorized, use logical reasoning constantly during the act of teaching—for example, when they define terms, explain concepts to students, or evaluate a particular behavior. He saw logic as preferable to psychology; rather than construing teaching as a psychological process, Smith argued that educators should view teaching as a logical process.

Smith accepted a job at the University of Illinois in 1937, where he began to shape and refine his conception of teaching. He defined teaching as a series of actions designed to result in learning, while acknowledging that the act of teaching may be performed differently within various cultural contexts. Drawing on the work of Harry S. Broudy, his friend and colleague at the University of Illinois, Smith embraced the interpretive use of knowledge. Smith asserted that learning should focus on teaching students the skills needed to reason and think critically so that they might make wise decisions later in life. Educators who taught students the process of thinking and stressed the utility of content, Smith believed, were preferable to classrooms that targeted the socialization of the learner. Also during his time at Illinois, Smith authored what might be his most famous work, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*, with Illinois colleagues William O. Stanley and J. Harlan Shores. The text echoed Ralph W. Tyler's four-step procedure for selecting curriculum content. The book helped to promote the study of curriculum as a subject in teacher education programs and influenced the work of curriculum development scholars for several decades.

Smith authored *Teachers for the Real World*, published by the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education. Supported by the U.S. Department of Education, the publication became foundational for programs sponsored by the government. Smith believed that university curriculum designed for preservice teachers often focused too heavily on theoretical, conceptual coursework typically found in foundations classes. Although he acknowledged that a general knowledge of such topics as human learning and social development was important for educators, Smith believed that “real world” curricula for teachers should focus chiefly on pedagogy. In *Teachers for the Real World*, Smith and his collaborators, Saul Bernard Cohen and Arthur Pearl, were the first teacher

educators to champion the idea of preparing teachers through protocol materials. Protocols were audiovisual recordings of school-related scenarios (classroom, playground, home, etc.) that Smith believed provided a more direct relevance to classroom practice than lecture formats typical to most teacher preparation programs at the time.

Smith encouraged universities to use protocol materials and redesign teacher education curriculum to stress practical classroom application and pedagogical tasks. These tasks, he asserted, would more appropriately synchronize with what teachers were expected to do within the classroom: specifically, instructional tasks (questioning, assessment), management tasks, collective tasks (committee work), staffing tasks, interviewing tasks (working with principals, parent collaboration), programming tasks (curriculum development and instructional planning), and community tasks. To devote valuable teacher preparation time to coursework that did not focus on pedagogy, Smith reasoned, would be a great disservice to future teachers. To emphasize his conviction, Smith attended to semantics in his lectures and his writings. For example, he dichotomized teacher education curriculum as either “pedagogical” or “nonpedagogical” (rather than “pedagogical” or “academic”) and embraced the word “training” rather than “education” in regard to teacher preparation.

*Mindy Spearman*

See also *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*; Pedagogy; Ways of Knowing

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## SOCIAL CONTEXT RESEARCH

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Social context research is a broad and vital endeavor in the field of curriculum studies. In general, social context research within curriculum studies entails two major perspectives. One is that any attempt to understand educational phenomena requires an analysis of the broader context within which these phenomena are situated. The second is that research in curriculum studies typically seeks to illuminate the role of the social context and in viable ways to transform it in directions conducive to sustaining personal freedom and social justice. After describing several characteristics of a social context, this entry addresses three central features associated with understanding and transforming the social context with a curriculum studies framework.

### Social Context Is Ubiquitous and Multidimensional

Consider a Russian nested doll. Broadly conceived, it can represent the notion that one’s place in the world is inherently embedded in—and simultaneously shaping of—other forces that range in proximity and visibility. Whether the forces function for or against us, we unavoidably enter a world with stacked, that is, preexisting material conditions that shape our options and influence our conduct and consciousness.

These conditions are multiple in nature, involving a complex gestalt of historical, political, cultural, economic, social, intrapsychic, and idiosyncratic dynamics. To illustrate, consider the following hypothetical situation. A researcher wants to understand why a particular eighth-grade White male, Sean, bullied a Black male classmate, James. Selected perspectives that the research process might reveal include the following: Like his twin brother, Patrick, Sean is one of the tallest and strongest students at his middle school. Admired as a leader by his tight group of friends, he’s a hard-working center on the school’s basketball team. His playing time has recently been reduced because of several Black transfers whose overall athleticism clearly outshines his. Sean is a below-average student who discourages quickly when he meets academic challenges. His policeman father is a Vietnam

veteran, a Rambo fan, and a recovering alcoholic who abused his wife physically and emotionally upon his return from Vietnam. Initially sympathetic to her husband's traumatic war experience, Sean's mom increasingly stood up to the abuse and is a major catalyst behind his dad's turnaround.

James is physically small but possesses sizable wit, intelligence, and academic capability. The only child of two professors, he is reserved in manner, though his insightful and sarcastic sensibilities are occasionally on display in class discussions.

Historically 99% Caucasian, the middle school has witnessed a 15% increase in Black and Hispanic enrollment over the last five years. Incidence of bullying has risen 5% during this period. The school board has debated a zero tolerance policy but by a narrow margin has rejected such a policy, publicly expressing its fear of inflexibility toward unforeseen, extenuating circumstance. Multicultural sensitivity workshops for teachers, staff, and students were instituted four years ago, but a recessionary economy has created budgetary constraints, limiting these required workshops and substituting more sporadic, informal, voluntary discussions. It is known that the school principal views these sessions as well-intended but frustrating and unproductive.

The point of presenting this scenario is not to solve it, but, in concert with the reader's own interpretative framework and imaginative analysis, to suggest that to approximate a rich understanding of the processes at work culminating in Sean's (and not Patrick's) behavior around bullying, a host of multilayered, contextual factors must be explored, illuminated, compared, and synthesized. To do so well, curriculum studies researchers ideally seek to approach their work with several key understandings and commitments, explicated in the subsequent sections.

### Implications for Educational Research

In the U.S. context of a significant school dropout rate, heightened youth crime, intensified global competition, relatively poor achievement test scores, and broad-based skepticism about the government's regulatory responsibilities, state supported schools are often seen by policy makers and the public as part of the problem, rather than part of the solution. Compound this perception of

failure with dramatic developments in biomedicine (various "miracle" drugs for combating cancer), engineering (a prototype car that gets 80 miles/gallon), and physics and technology (the stopping of atoms, the discovery of planets), and it's no wonder that, with varying degrees of thoughtful awareness, certain taxpayers, legislators, and social scientists trained in positivist methodologies might come to idealize the research protocols and benefits of the "hard" sciences, elevate this paradigm to the status of exemplar and crave comparable definitive results from educational research in matters of paramount practical importance to teaching and learning.

Ironically, social scientists rooted in the "realist" tradition associated with qualitative methods of inquiry recognize that much educational research is doomed to be disappointing not because, in the case of realist research, it lacks rigor, validity, or practicality, but because by the very nature of most research in education, contingency is king.

Several interrelated considerations are germane to this perspective. Realist social researchers are looking to understand what's "really going on" in the context being studied. They are not satisfied with just documenting the *effects* of systematically manipulating variables, a focus characteristic of (quasi-)experimental research designs and termed *causal description*. Rather, realists are committed to seeking understanding of the local *events, processes, or mechanisms* that catalyze changes in relationships among studied variables, a focus conducive to qualitative inquiry and termed *causal explanation*. Realists argue that social context is a fundamental, not merely a (co)incidental element in causal explanation. That is, the context is inextricably connected to the events or processes the researcher is seeking to explain. For example, in the bullying case of Sean cited earlier, the realists' claim would be that an attempt to control for or factor out any of a host of dynamics (Sean's family relations, his academic performance and associated self-esteem, the local history of White exclusivity, the school's policy on zero tolerance, etc.) could be akin to creating a different and now hypothetical context than the interactive one that was "actually" operating. An essential effect of such manipulation would be to eliminate rather than to illuminate the phenomena being studied, blurring rather than sharpening understanding,

creating conditions for less not more valid provisional conclusions.

Another core feature that characterizes, compels, and complicates social context research in education is the concept-dependence of social phenomena. Understanding what the practices, roles, and relations actually are is contingent upon how they are defined by participants in a particular setting. Thus, it is insufficient to study behavior alone because what behavior means depends on the intentions, beliefs, values, and volitions, that is, the interpretative frame of the various actors involved in a given context. Although the process is labor intensive, systematically eliciting and examining the “inside” view of research participants becomes a vital ingredient in better understanding the dynamics of the research situation. By contrast, “black box” research that does not investigate and reveal participants’ perspectives threatens to consign itself to problematic degrees of speculative causal explanations.

As suggested earlier, curriculum studies realists engaged in qualitative and alternative methods of inquiry are no strangers to threats to their professional credibility. Although at their best, they need make no apologies for the rigor and validity of their methodology and for the power of their findings and perspectives, for many reasons, realists nonetheless confidently emphasize the provisional nature of warrantable conclusions. Contexts are ceaselessly complex and changing. Inquiry into interactions is inevitably encapsulated and incomplete. Self-interpretation is fundamentally fractional and fallible. At the end of the day, omniscience is inaccessible and overtures to its achievement outrageous. With an infinity of certitude, curriculum studies realists can claim that there is always more to know, to understand, to do. Hinted at here, these perspectives raise challenges and opportunities that are further addressed in the next section.

### The Dynamics of Social Context Research

Consider the famous picture that from one vantage point appears as the face of an old woman yet from a different viewing appears as a well-dressed young female. Which perception is the “correct” one? In a fundamental sense, both are correct and both are incomplete. Though different, neither is distorted and both are needed to realize the potentially

legitimate interpretive realities that exist in this context. In a significant sense, then, truth is perspectival and hence multiple and situated, not absolute, unitary, or context-independent.

Social context researchers at their best deal with these dynamics in a similar fashion as instant replay in football. Instant replay draws on multiple angles and composite picture assessment to seek the “truth” around a referee’s disputed call. Sometimes no one angle holistically reveals a definitive conclusion, but several partial vantage points, in concert, do. And sometimes, however viewed, no angles yield an unqualified confirming or disconfirming perspective, and the initial judgment of the referee stands.

While realist social scientists seek to understand the truths as research informants perceive them, the previous analogies translate into two ethically grounded professional practices. One is for the researcher to be transparent in communicating one’s ideological and interpretative perspectives to both research participants and consumers. This transparency is meant as a cautionary alert and critical corrective to both kinds of blinders that come with the partiality of one’s position; that is, its unwitting incompleteness and its probable self-serving, marginalizing, partisan bias. A complimentary practice, noted by Donna Mertens, is the synergistic use of mixed methods to augment or triangulate the analysis of data in the interests of expanding access to diverse perspectives, reducing reductionism and, more generally, offsetting the limitations of any one methodological approach.

This welcoming stance toward external and internal critique invokes the instructive culture of a team of rivals. Whether the reference group is a political administration, a research community, or a school district, in such a culture, opposition is characteristically seen as opportunity not onus, vitality not villainy, conceivably course correcting not collaboration corroding. The spirit animating this culture is designed to function as an antidote to power’s perfect storm of arrogance, and ignorance, self-serving activism, and status-quo maintenance.

Unfortunately, within the 21st century’s dominant political context that has shaped standards for research agendas and school practice—the George W. Bush administration’s No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and the Education Science Reform Act of 2002—curriculum studies social



context researchers, fulfilling one of their central roles as critics of orthodoxy (see the next section), saw little evidence of this culture in operation. On the contrary, what predominated in researchers' views was conformist zealotry around narrow conceptions of scientifically based research, a misguided, underfunded and punitive preoccupation with high-stakes testing as the gold standard measure of academic achievement, and "web scrubbing" of ERIC digests unsupportive of Bush initiatives. This agenda created an educational atmosphere where authority tethered truth, ideology imperialized information, and, contrary to slogan, school systems were pressured to strategically leave children behind in a form of educational triage to receive respectful recognition of adequate or distinctive progress.

In the "science wars" of this period, not unlike the preceding culture wars, distrust between the contesting camps was thick, generosity and tolerance thin. Seen variously by their critics as obstructionist and outsiders, unpatriotic and unproductive, curriculum studies social context researchers insist on advancing what they consider ethical imperatives of their work. The final section of this entry selectively presents this set of perspectives.

### Toward a Transformative Paradigm of Research

Curriculum studies scholars researching and writing from critical race, feminist, Foucauldian, humanist, Marxist, postcolonial, poststructural, psychoanalytic, and queer interpretative frames tend to converge on the general themes that educational research and practice should better investigate the systemic and internalized inequities that significantly structure the lives of historically marginalized groups. These scholars have identified those remarkable resources that contribute to the subaltern's resilience and transcendence. The remarkable resources that contribute to the subaltern's resilience and transcendence. Three dimensions are integral to a transformative paradigm of research directed toward social justice. These are an examination of power dynamics in the multiple contexts of the subaltern's lives, a collaborative relationship in which the subaltern have a voice in defining the research questions and accommodating the research methodology to suitably respond

to relevant cultural complexities, and a praxis orientation that seeks to link research findings with practical actions that concretely enhance the quality and social justice of the subaltern's lives.

In a contextual and activist mode compatible with Mertens, Jean Anyon argues that economic reform is a vital prerequisite to urban school improvement. For her, essential dimensions of a vital new paradigm of educational research would include documenting and describing oppression and the practices of the powerful as well as studying relevant social movements and the conditions under which student and teacher activists connect with these movements in the interests of school reform.

### Concluding Comments

Steeped in a history of structural analysis, humanist sensibilities, and activist commitments, William Ayers recommends three themes pertinent to curriculum studies researchers engaging in social context–social justice research. These are opening our eyes/seeing the person, challenging orthodoxy, and linking consciousness to conduct. These themes permeate a set of six questions he encourages prospective researchers to explore to enhance the twin transcendent goals of enlightenment and emancipation. Ayers' questions, appearing in his essay entitled "Trudge Toward Freedom," serve as a fitting conclusion to this entry.

- What are the issues that marginalized or disadvantaged people speak of with excitement, anger, fear, or hope?
- How can I enter a dialogue in which I will learn from a specific community itself about problems and obstacles they face?
- What endogenous experiences do people already have that can point the way toward solutions?
- What is missing from the "official story" that will make the problems of the oppressed more understandable?
- What current or proposed policies serve the privileged and the powerful, and how are they made to appear inevitable?
- How can the public space for discussion, problem posing, and problem solving be expanded?

*Thomas E. Kelly*

See also Critical Theory Research; Ethnographic Research; Feminist Theories; Indigenous Research; Mixed Methods Research; Qualitative Research; Subaltern Curriculum Studies

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## SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

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Social control theory in curriculum studies refers primarily to the question of how what is taught in schools limits or creates possibilities in students’ lives and serves particular interests in broader society. Connecting to both the new sociology of knowledge movement and the reconceptualization of curriculum theory of the 1970s, social control theory sees curriculum as inclusive of much more than curriculum design or issues of scope and sequence and points to the ways in which curriculum decisions have deep impact on the lives of children in society. This entry describes the historical

development of ideas related to curriculum and social control, delineates ways in which curriculum theorists have described its operation, and concludes with contemporary thinking on its applicability to educational research.

### Historical Development of Curriculum and Social Control Ideas

Certainly, questions of curriculum have dominated scholarly work in education from the time of the Ancient Greeks. The framing question of “what knowledge is of most worth” can be seen in thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle continuing on into the present day. Contemporary scholars suggest that the distinction between who has the power to make these decisions concerning the value of knowledge and who does not in and of itself points to issues of social control. As differing notions of which segments of the population should be afforded educational opportunity arose throughout history, debates ensued as to *what* should be taught to *whom*. So then, issues of social control in curriculum reside closely to fundamental questions of the purposes of education.

Social control theory begins in a critique of the highly influential social efficiency curriculum. Social efficiency theorists believe that the purpose of school is to sort the nation’s youth into future occupations according to their abilities. As this focus on the tight connections between schools and the workforce drives curriculum thinking within this model, an inequitable economic system based on competition necessarily creates a system of inequitable educational opportunity. Taking their lead from the scientific study of industry, perceived waste in the educational system becomes a target for reform. The sorting of students into particular tracks or curricular paths seems to be logical as part of the pursuit of efficiency in aligning schools to the needs of society. How gender, race, or class might affect these seemingly objective processes rarely made it into the equation.

The rise of social efficiency’s prominence in the U.S. educational conscience can be traced to the upheaval that U.S. citizens experienced in the second half of the 19th century when immigration and industrialization collided. An influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe into

post-Civil War United States dramatically changed the demographics of a rapidly changing country, and with those changes came heated debate as to the role of education. Until that point, the most U.S. residents emigrated from Northern or Western Europe, and the new wave of immigrants were often framed as savage, genetically disposed to be ignorant and destined to fill the lower classes of U.S. society. Concurrently, the late 1800s brought the dawn of the Industrial Age, leading to the development of large urban centers that contrasted sharply with heretofore agrarian and provincial U.S. communities. Combined, the ethnically shifting population and new urban centers posed, for many U.S. citizens, a threat to the society to which they had grown accustomed. In the views of many curriculum scholars, the new immigrants who were flooding into urban centers for the promise of industrial employment required socialization to U.S. values and customs to maintain or regain order.

### Curriculum Theorists on Curriculum and Social Control

The advances in technology that spurred industrial growth also bred a new reliance on and faith in science. Thus, emerging fields of study such as sociology and psychology sought scientific processes and empirical evidence to verify their observations and bring validity and broader application to their fields. Sociologist Edward A. Ross was one such man. His fear of the U.S. demise at the hands of the new immigrants coupled with his enthusiasm for the new science of sociology led to the development of one of the earliest theories of social control in a book published in 1901 and aptly titled *Social Control*. Ross's theory included two types of social control, direct and indirect. Direct control relied on the application of sanctions, whereas indirect control relied on suggestion, emotion, and judgment of two forms, ethical or political. Forms of ethical social control appeal to individual's sentiments such as public opinion, suggestion, and religion. Political forms of social control, on the other hand, depended on the ability of those with the majority of political power to regulate the affairs of the masses. Examples of institutional political control include the law and educational system. Ross believed that in a

homogenous society, there was no need for political forms of control. However, in the heterogeneous society that Ross perceived before him, political forms of social control functioned to maintain order. When publishing his own theory in *The Psychology of Human Society* in 1926, Ross's student Charles A. Ellwood extrapolated Ross's theory of social control. For Ellwood, self-control was the penultimate form of social control because he felt it more likely to be successful than other externally applied and likely punitive forms. However, Ellwood appeared to lack faith in humanity's natural capacity for self-control because he firmly believed it was the work of schools to train pupils for social life and thus gain order in a potentially chaotic social world.

By the time Ellwood published his theories in 1926, educators such as Franklin Bobbitt had applied the science of efficiency to ordering of young people in society through the auspices of curriculum. Although Bobbitt was not the only social efficiency theorist, he became the most visible and widely read after publishing *The Curriculum* in 1918 and *How to Make a Curriculum* in 1924. Social efficiency models employed methods of task analysis to determine what skills students would need to become productive members of society and the workforce. Bobbitt's plan in particular prescribed general studies for all students until they proved capable of choosing and pursuing occupational training. "Extras," as Bobbitt calls them, should only be offered to those pupils of high ability, whereas pupils of low ability were to be offered abbreviated versions of the general studies. Thus, in effect, social efficiency curricula created a tracking system in which pupils' available educational outcomes were predetermined by the curricula they were offered.

As early as 1922, George S. Counts began to criticize the social efficiency curriculum in U.S. schools, claiming that they primarily served the wealthy at the wider public's expense. A later study he conducted of school boards found that schools best served the wealthy and were, in effect, under their control. This led Counts to accuse schools of working to maintain the existing socioeconomic stratification and to call for reform. Schools, Counts maintained, existed to prepare citizens capable of anticipating and shaping the future not to mirror and serve the factories while merely

reproducing the status quo. Although Counts's criticism focused primarily on issues of class, social stratification permeated society through the constructions of gender and race as well. In 1933, the powerful work *The Miseducation of the Negro* by Carter G. Woodson brought critically needed new perspectives—rooted in the lived experience of race in the United States—in how education can induce oppressed peoples to participate in the systems of domination that hold them down.

The time after the world wars brought a merging of curricular ideas that combined social control theories (also called social behaviorist) with more child-centered views generating what would be called “life-adjustment” or “life-needs” curriculum. New calls for traditional components to the curriculum (i.e., the 3 Rs and cultural heritage) continued and gained new strength. Ralph Tyler and what became known as the Tyler Rationale offered a systematic process to curriculum development in 1949, although criticisms soon followed. Rightly or wrongly, critics suggested that the Tyler Rationale was yet another attempt at limiting the curriculum and reproducing the social order.

Thus, U.S. schools appeared to be doing little more than enacting a plethora of curricular variations rooted in the ideology of social efficiency. Those who began to accept this phenomenon as fact then turned their attention to the question of how social control theory manifested itself in school practices and outcomes. Philip Jackson's 1968 and 1970 work, which expounded the concept of the hidden curriculum, proved fundamental to answering this question. The theory of a hidden curriculum provided an explanatory framework for analyzing the unintended results of schooling through making visible the unrecognized and sometimes unintended knowledge, values, and beliefs that are privileged through school practices. Additional criticism of the ways in which schools served as centers of social control soon followed.

The volatile political atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s set the stage for the reconceptualization of the curriculum field, and criticism of schools' tendency to reproduce social stratification would again emerge during this time shedding new light on old problems and giving rise to three major strands of criticism: socioeconomic stratification, critical theories of race, and

feminist forms of analysis. Criticism began with a return to Counts's critique of the ways in which schools reproduce class structures when, in 1976, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* by economists Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis examined the ways in which the hierarchy of schools mirrored the hierarchy of society. Both Michael Apple and Henry Giroux extended this concept claiming that schools function to literally reproduce existing class structures by basing curriculum on White, middle-class values and norms. In a further extension of what became known as reproduction theory, Apple and scholars that build on his work posited the ways in which schools maintain class, race, and gender stratification.

Issues of race and racial equality plagued U.S. public schools from the moment of their inception. In fact, social control theory's development and application to curriculum were in fundamental ways reactions to racial tensions. This is evidenced in Ross's, Ellwood's, and their contemporaries' fear that the new immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe were genetically inferior savages who posed a serious threat to the maintenance of U.S. society. However, schools served racist purposes in much more visible ways through the exclusion of African Americans and subsequent practices of segregation. Although their philosophies varied greatly and at times conflicted, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and others all identified and decried the inequalities African Americans suffered at the hands of inequitable educational opportunities that worked to systematically oppress people of color. Even after desegregation connected with the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision, however, issues of race in schools were considered a by-product of social ills rather than a distinct curricular problem. Thus, the move in the 1970s to examine race as an autonomous educational issue opened the doors to exploring the ways in which schools reify racial stereotypes and prejudice and work to oppress or marginalize ethnic minorities.

Although some may mark the 1970s as the birth of the feminist movement, its roots can be traced to the first half of the 19th century and advocates such as Judith Sargent Murray, Emma



Willard, Mary Lyon, Catherine Beecher, and Benjamin Rush who fought for the establishment of girls' schools that would emphasize and offer academic training. They were joined in the last half of the same century by activists such as Catherine Dall, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Louisa May Alcott who furthered the fight for educational equality through the call for coeducation. In their opinion, coeducation eliminated the inequality inherent in separate education and would lead to the same posteducational opportunities for both men and women. Although coeducation became a fact in public schools throughout the United States, equality in education remained illusive as the introduction of school sports, home economics, industrial arts, and the characteristic tracking inherent to social efficiency models sharply delineated boys' and girls' roles within schools. Some of the 1970s critiques targeted surface practices such as these along with sexism and gender stereotyping in textbooks, school norms and rules, and classroom practices. Other critics such as Madeleine Grumet and Janet Miller examined the embedded ways in which gender roles and hierarchies of gendered power were reproduced through schools and thus maintained in the larger realms of society and the workplace.

Meanwhile, a hemisphere away, Brazilian Paulo Freire, who became an international voice in the criticism of power structures within schools and society, penned *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in which he outlined the ways that those with power work to dehumanize the powerless and what part education might play in the solution. The emergence during the last 30 years of advocacy and social justice pedagogy evidence both an awareness of and combatant to social control theory's presence in the curriculum. Yet issues of what knowledge is of most worth and who retains the privilege of making such decisions plagues an education system gridlocked in the rampant escalation and hegemony of standardization.

### Contemporary Thinking and Educational Research

Contemporary thinking in curriculum studies acknowledges the inherently political nature of all curriculum work—nothing is neutral. However,

debates remain about the extent to which biases and limiting social structures can be worked around in the pursuit of a more equitable curriculum. What Herbert Kliebard so aptly called the *Struggle for the American Curriculum* undoubtedly still proves to be the case.

*Robert J. Helfenbein and Jamie Buffington*

*See also* Feminist Theories; Reconceptualization; Reconstructionism; Social Efficiency Tradition

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## SOCIAL EFFICIENCY TRADITION

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Social efficiency defies a single definition, but the idea that a good curriculum should result in a harmonious, well-functioning, and balanced society is a theme found in the work of all writers who used the term *social efficiency*.

The phrase was popular during the first few decades of the 20th century. It was used by many educators and educational reformers who were trying to identify an overall purpose for U.S. education. Because it was so popular, social efficiency meant different things to different people during the heyday of its use during the 1910s and 1920s. Similar to such terms as *accountability*, *effectiveness*, and *excellence* today, educational reformers and political figures could use the phrase *social efficiency* to appeal to audiences that had markedly different ideas in mind for the purpose of U.S. education. Critics found it quite difficult to argue

against efficiency—and indeed social efficiency—as the ultimate end of U.S. education.

There were three main uses of social efficiency during the first few decades of the 20th century, all of which should be acknowledged as part of the social efficiency tradition. One conception of social efficiency can be identified with the work of William C. Bagley, a second can be tied to the figure of John Dewey, and the third grows out of the efforts of David Snedden and John Franklin Bobbitt.

When educational philosopher Bagley used the phrase *social efficiency* in his book *The Educative Process* in 1905, he argued that the purpose of U.S. education was liberal education for all. The key to achieving this goal, argued Bagley, was high-quality teacher education. Drawing on the moral philosophy of Aristotle, Bagley used social efficiency as part of his overall argument for moral education. He wanted schools to teach students to suppress their individual wants, needs, and desires to serve their communities as strong, civic-minded citizens. Bagley used social efficiency during the early 1900s, but stopped using it by 1915 because he disagreed with the way that other writers, specifically Dewey and Snedden, had begun to use it.

Beginning about 1915 and most prominently in his 1916 book *Democracy and Education*, Dewey used social efficiency to argue for a state of society in which individual and communal goals were not in conflict with one another, but rather were in harmony. Dewey was concerned about the extreme position that individuals should subordinate their personal wants to the goals of the community, but he was equally concerned about the opposite extreme in which individual desires become so powerful that they overtake community goals. Especially in *Democracy and Education*, Dewey contends that a socially efficient society is one in which individual and communal goods are balanced so that society exists in a state of harmony, or equilibrium. Provided that the term was used to mean this balancing of individual and social goals, Dewey was an advocate of social efficiency, a point that is often forgotten in works on curriculum history.

A third use of social efficiency is found in the writings of Snedden and Bobbitt. Snedden, a sociologist, began to incorporate social efficiency into his sociology books and articles during the early to

mid-1920s. In keeping with his larger advocacy for vocational training, Snedden's social efficiency emphasized occupational training, close connections between schools and the economic ends of the state, and the creation of curriculum that trains students efficiently for jobs. The purpose of U.S. education, to Snedden, was vocational training, a position diametrically opposed to Bagley's. Snedden asserts that the proper place to begin when developing curriculum is by looking at the needs and desires of corporations. Once the needs of corporations have been identified, school leaders should develop curriculum that trains students to meet these needs as efficiently as possible, for students as well as for their future employers. Snedden served as a major advocate of the Smith-Hughes Act, which was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1917. The act expanded vocational training throughout the United States and promulgated precisely the kind of curriculum that Snedden wanted.

Some curriculum historians identify Bobbitt with an approach to curriculum known as social efficiency. Bobbitt's views were in many respects similar to Snedden's, although he was less concerned than Snedden was about the social ends of schooling. Bobbitt did not ignore the civic ends of schooling, but he argued powerfully that curriculum should be tied to economic production and the needs of industry. Bobbitt's 1918 book, *The Curriculum*, is often cited as a work that embodies a tradition of social efficiency, despite the fact that Bobbitt does not use the phrase even once in the book. In *The Curriculum*, Bobbitt argued for occupational efficiency, not social efficiency, a distinction that allowed him to keep curriculum development closely tied to training for occupations. The idea of social efficiency was too vague, indefinite, and idealistic to Bobbitt, so he never used it in any of his publications. Nevertheless, Bobbitt continues to be identified as a social efficiency educator by many writers in the field of curriculum history.

All three of these conceptions of social efficiency were prevalent throughout the first half of the 20th century. As a result, all of them are part of the social efficiency tradition in U.S. curriculum. Even though the term *efficiency* is not as popular as it was in the early 20th century, the three traditions are almost always found, when the purpose of U.S. education is discussed, typically with terms such as

*excellence, effectiveness, and accountability* as opposed to *efficiency*.

J. Wesley Null

See also Activity Analysis; *Curriculum, The*

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## SOCIAL JUSTICE

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Social justice is about a fairer, more just distribution of social wealth and power; it is as well about full human recognition and the disruption of the structures of nonrecognition or disrespect or marginalization. Its goals are equity and democracy, awareness, social literacy, agency, engagement, and activism. Teaching for social justice might be thought of as a kind of popular education—of, by, and for the people—something that lies at the heart of education in a democracy, education toward a more vital, more muscular democratic society. It can propel us toward action, away from complacency, reminding us as well of the powerful commitment, persistence, bravery, and triumphs of our justice-seeking forebears—women and men who sought to build a world that worked for all human beings. Abolitionists, suffragettes, labor organizers, civil rights and peace activists: without them, liberty would today be slighter, poorer, more anemic—a democracy of form and symbol over substance.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that in regard to justice, equality must not be understood to mean that degrees of power and wealth should be exactly the same, but only that with respect to *power*, equality renders it incapable of all violence and only exerted in the interest of a freely

developed and participatory law, and that with respect to *wealth*, no citizen should be so opulent that he can buy another, and none so poor that he is constrained to sell himself. The quest for social justice over many centuries is worked out in the open spaces and the concrete struggles of that ideal. Nothing is settled once and for all, but a different kind of question presents itself: Who should be included? What binds us together? What is fair and unfair? And always, the enduring questions in education: Education for what? Education for whom? Education toward what kind of social order?

If society cannot be changed under any circumstances, if there is nothing to be done, not even small and humble gestures toward something better, our sense of agency shrinks, our choices diminish. But if a fairer and more just social order is both desirable and possible, if some of us can join one another to imagine and build a participatory movement for justice, a public space for the enactment of democratic dreams, our field begins to open. We would still need to find ways to stir ourselves from passivity, cynicism, and despair; to reach beyond the superficial barriers that wall us off from one another; to resist the flattening effects of consumerism and the mystifying power of the familiar social evils such as racism, sexism, and homophobia; to shake off the anesthetizing impact of most classrooms and of the authoritative, official voices that dominate the airwaves and the media; and to, as Maxine Greene says, release our imaginations in order to act upon what the known demands, linking our conduct firmly to our consciousness. We would be moving, then, without guarantees, but with purpose and hope.

Teaching for social justice begins with the idea that every human being is of equal and incalculable value, entitled to decent standards of freedom and justice, and that any violation of those standards must be acknowledged, testified to, and fought against. The challenge is to find the capacity to oppose injustice, to stand up on behalf of the disadvantaged in a time when power is so consolidated and unfairly weighted against them. A guide and ideal is knowledge, enlightenment, and truth on one hand, and on the other, human freedom, emancipation, liberation for all, with an emphasis on the dispossessed. This is the core of justice, democracy, and humanism, unachievable in any

final form, but nonetheless a standard and a focus for energies and efforts.

Education is an arena of struggle as well as hope—struggle because it stirs in us the need to look at the world anew, to question what we have created, to wonder what is worthwhile for human beings to know and experience—and hope because we gesture toward the future, toward the impending, toward the come of the new. Education is where we ask how we might engage, enlarge, and change our lives, and it is, then, where we confront our dreams and fight out notions of the good life, where we try to comprehend, apprehend, or possibly even change the world. Education is contested space, a natural site of conflict—sometimes restrained, other times in full eruption—over questions of justice.

There is a long tradition of teaching whose purpose is to promote a more balanced, fair, and equitable order, to combat silence, defeat erasure and invisibility, resist harm and redress grievances. Several questions can act as guideposts for this kind of teaching:

- What are the issues that marginalized or disadvantaged people speak of with excitement, anger, fear, or hope?
- How can I enter a dialogue in which I will learn from students about the problems and obstacles they face?
- What experiences do students already have that can point the way toward solutions?
- What narrative is missing from the “official story” that will make the problems my students encounter more understandable?
- What current or proposed policies serve the privilege or the powerful, and how are they made to appear normal and inevitable?
- How can the public space—in my classroom, in the larger community—be used for discussion, problem-posing, and problem-solving and where fuller and wider participation is expanded?

Of course there are others, but these kinds of questions point a direction: We are, each of us, living in history, and we are subjects *in*, not objects *of*, history; what we do or don't do makes a difference; each of us is a work-in-progress, trudging forward, in-process, unfinished. And in a world as out of balance as this one, each of us has work to

do. Teaching for social justice is always more possibility than accomplishment involving as it does themes of democracy, activism, self-awareness, imagination, the opening of public spaces, and a robust engagement with a living history.

*William C. Ayers*

*See also* Curriculum as Public Spaces; Participatory Democracy; Teacher Empowerment

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## SOCIAL MELIORISTS TRADITION

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*Social meliorism* refers to a tradition in curriculum studies introduced and defined by Herbert Kliebard in his 1986 landmark publication, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*. Kliebard describes four distinct interest groups of educational reformers from the late 19th to mid-20th centuries that were seeking to resolve the then-most basic dilemma of curriculum design and development: “what knowledge is of most worth.” These four groups were determining the purposes of education and were struggling for control of the curriculum in U.S. schools. Kliebard’s categories include (1) social meliorism where the schools were seen as a force for social change and the curriculum offered opportunity to forge a new vision for society, (2) humanism that had established a basic organizational structure for U.S. education and defined Western European thought as the most appropriate content for the school curriculum, (3) developmentalism where the selection of the curriculum was decided by psychological patterns and developmental stages of the student, and (4) social efficiency where the curriculum and administrative practices of schools were determined by a conception of efficiency and usefulness for the student. Kliebard stated that no single



group gained complete control of the curriculum, and his conceptual schema seems not intended to provide rigid distinctions to separate and classify educators but, instead, to allow the contemporary scholar of curriculum studies to envision tensions among the differing curricular perspectives from the past.

Kliebard portrayed the social meliorists through the work of sociologist Lester Frank Ward and 1930s educators from the field of educational foundations and curriculum—George Counts, Harold Rugg—who in other classifications of educational philosophies are typically deemed as social reconstructionists. Social meliorism embodied a social-economic critique of U.S. society and social conditions and viewed the curriculum and schools as a way to reform communities. Implicit in the standard definition of the term *meliorism* is the fundamental belief that a situation will improve. An interesting aspect of use of the term *social meliorism* in the field of curriculum studies pertains to whether those identified within this grouping maintained this basic faith.

Kliebard's groupings provide a metaconfiguration from which the many individuals aligned within the field of curriculum studies and the traditional educational philosophical orientations (the "isms" of perennialism, essentialism, progressivism, reconstructionism) could be seen in new ways, separating perspectives when necessary and underscoring commonalities and the "hybridization of the curriculum." Kliebard further brings a sophisticated conception of grouping and classification with the treatment of John Dewey, who he sees within all four of the humanist, developmentalist, social efficiency, and social meliorist traditions. Although many authors have defined and classified the field of curriculum studies and the field of education in relation to philosophical orientations and educational purposes, Kliebard provided an innovative and unique configuration with the term *social meliorism* becoming one of the most emblematic terms in the area of curriculum history and a signature concept of his career.

Craig Kridel

See also Developmentalists Tradition; Humanist Tradition; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Social Efficiency Tradition; Social Reconstructionism

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## SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTIONISM

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Social reconstructionism, a movement in curriculum thought that first emerged in the late 1920s, aspired to redirect school curricula to consideration of significant social, political, and economic problems and offer solutions that promoted democratic social planning, and management. Largely associated with faculty members of Teachers College at Columbia University between the late 1920s and World War II, social reconstruction merged John Dewey's social philosophy and concept of scientific thinking with the notion of "cultural lag" and with various proposals for social democracy. Although social reconstruction is most often identified with the speeches and writings of George Counts in the 1930s, important alternative contributions were made by Harold Rugg and Jesse Newlon.

Social reconstruction combined Dewey's proposal that education is deliberative social inquiry into problems of collective importance with a socialist conviction that there are political solutions that can be projected and reasonably demonstrated in present trends, most particularly by technological progress and the expansion of democracy. Schools promote political and economic reform by engaging in democratic consideration of contemporary social problems. The conviction that there is a "cultural lag," a lapse between where science had brought society and what society promoted as its belief system, was articulated by W. F. Ogburn in *Social Change*, contending industrial growth and technology had taken humanity into a new social order. The dominant cultural orientation, in contrast, continued to reflect pretechnological and agrarian values. The excitement to close this cultural lag through social reconstruction resulted in a periodical, *The Social Frontier*, where options for the reform of society were considered.

Counts is recognized as a principal of social reconstruction through schooling. Although the social and economic crisis of the Great Depression

highlighted the urgency for new directions in social management, Counts's notions of schools as agencies for social reform first emerged in the late 1920s. Counts rejected child-centered progressive education for a curriculum that confronted contemporary political, economic, and social issues and probed structural solutions. His criticism of schooling based on learner interests served as the basis for a 1932 Progressive Education Association conference presentation by Counts entitled, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" In his subsequent book, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* Counts contended two features of U.S. culture were the basis for the economic catastrophe of the Depression: Devotion to individualism over social cooperation and private control of technological innovation. He exhorted teachers to expand their political influence as a collective body by unionizing and to set a clear political agenda for change. Schools were to redirect the curriculum to the consideration of relevant contemporary social problems, indicating how private ownership of resources and competition stood in opposition to human progress, presenting solutions based on collective political action.

Counts contended it was the educator's role to determine what policies offered the surest path to economic and social betterment and promote these solutions in discussion of social problems. Although Counts was actively involved in the American Federation of Teachers and wrote throughout the 1930s on the need for reorientation of the economy to collective ownership of resources, Counts did not produce any specific curriculum plan for social reconstruction. His decision to not support a local union action in the late 1930s brought him to question his personal commitment to economic democracy; his later writings shifted from the social concerns dominant in his writing in the 1930s.

In contrast to Counts, Rugg offered a resource designed to invite students to direct consideration of contemporary social problems and instructional guidance. Unlike Counts, Rugg supported child-centered educators and advancement of the individual. Rugg argued that in democracy both individual rights and social needs are promoted. Teachers were to model and teach tolerant understanding and critical questioning. Education served students as "sovereign personalities," assisting in

awakening individual potential and highlighting that individual interests are inextricably joined to the interests of the social collective. Rugg called for application of "the sustained yield principle," a conservation of resources to ensure that all may flourish and that social and natural resources can be both used for social and personal benefit, replenished through thoughtful conservation.

Rugg's personal contribution to the school curriculum, a series of social studies pamphlets that evolved into the text series, *Man and His Changing Society*, affirmed the operating principles that guide Rugg's aims of education, a tolerant understanding and a critical questioning of social standards. Rugg's texts invited young people to question U.S. policies and came under attack by the American Legion as unpatriotic. Rugg and later Counts were subject to investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for possible communist affiliation.

Before coming to Teachers College, Newlon gained recognition as superintendent of schools for Denver, Colorado, for implementing an experiential curriculum and instructional innovations. Newlon promoted the efforts to realize the greater welfare of people through democratic deliberation using the scientific act of thought as developed by Dewey. Social deliberation was enacted in what Newlon labeled a "functional curriculum," a core study of social problems using the past as resource for resolution of pressing social difficulties. Cooperation is the standard for teachers and students. The elementary school focus is on basic skills in this cooperative environment with secondary schools focusing directly on social problems and offering electives to students to pursue individual interests. Among approaches Newlon proposed to open democracy to all people were (1) socialization of principal utilities and key industries that are failing financially, (2) the formation of cooperatives, (3) federal ownership of all mineral rights, (4) extension of worker rights, and (5) a new political alliance of progressives, socialists, and liberals for further redress of the limiting of democracy.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also Dare the School Build a New Social Order?; Reconstructionism; Rugg, Harold; Teachers College Collective of Curriculum Professors*

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## SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

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Although educators disagree about the nature and the content of the social studies, such disputes are limited in the United States for two important reasons. The first is that the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) exerts a dominant influence on the way elementary and secondary schools teach the social studies and on the training that colleges of education impart to prospective teachers of the social studies. The second is that the NCSS seeks to ensure that practitioners meet standards most professionals accept as appropriate. Although NCSS maintains standards, it includes within the organization scholars who express a range of opinions. At regular intervals, these scholars meet, revise the standards, and change their recommendations for teaching to accommodate developments in the field. Because the NCSS acts as a legitimate professional group in a democratic society, it ensures the continual evolution of ideas about the nature and the content of the social studies.

The NCSS defines the field as an integrated study of the social sciences that enables young people to develop civic competence. Drawing on a range of disciplines such as anthropology, economics, geography, history, and political science, the social studies encourages students to make informed, reasoned decisions for the public good. The NCSS members hope that this ability to think reasonably about society will enable young people to function as citizens in a culturally diverse, democratic society within an interdependent world.

### Social Studies Versus Historical Studies

Although the National Education Association's Committee on the Social Studies used a similar definition to create the field in 1918, critics have

complained that the effect is to reduce the importance of historical studies and to replace it with mindless activities. For example, in 1987, conservative historians focused on a commission report sponsored by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation to explore the conditions that would contribute to the effective teaching of history and to make recommendations on the role history should play in the curriculum. Named the Bradley Commission, the group included former presidents of all major professional associations in history, winners of prestigious prizes for writing and scholarship, and classroom teachers.

Complaining that 15% of the high school students in the United States did not take any U.S. history courses and nearly half did not enroll in courses in either world history or Western civilization, the Bradley Commission noted in 1987 that during the previous 5 years, several commissions had asked teachers to devote more classroom time to the central academic core of the curriculum. The Bradley Commission members believed that the discipline of history deserved more concentrated attention because it enabled students to understand change and to recognize the continuities between eras in the past and the present time, enhanced personal growth among the students by offering a sense of identity, and encouraged intelligent citizenship by providing different examples of virtue, courage, and wisdom. The answer the commission report offered was for teachers to cover six themes important to historians: cultural diffusion; human interaction and the environment; values, beliefs, and institutions; conflict and cooperation; comparisons of developments such as feudalism or slavery; and patterns of social and political interaction.

Supporters of the Bradley Commission claimed that the report encouraged teachers to shift from the social studies approach and focus the entire curriculum on historical studies; however, this was only partially true. Actually, the NCSS adopted the idea of arranging the curriculum around themes instead of textbooks or specific topics in 1992. In addition, the themes the NCSS adopted were similar to those that the Bradley Commission proposed.

The 10 themes that appear in the NCSS standards seek to integrate the various subject matter fields into the social studies by providing a framework for instruction. The themes include a study

of the concept of culture, an exploration of the ways that cultures change over time while retaining continuity with their past forms, and an understanding of how the environment influences the ways that people learn and grow. In an effort to open the students to wider ideas, the themes move to studies of how people live within different institutions, analyses of power and authority, and considerations of how people can participate in community, national, and global affairs.

### Classroom Instruction

Rather than having teachers concentrate on traditional textbook lessons that follow those themes, the NCSS recommends that social studies teachers attend to five qualities for effective instruction. First, the lessons should be appropriate to the maturity and the concerns of the students. This means that the lessons should relate to the students' lives. Second, the information within social studies lessons should come from a wide range of knowledge about the human experience. Third, social studies lessons have to involve ethical considerations. Fourth, the lessons must challenge the students' thinking, expose them to conflicting views of various topics, and encourage them to make intelligent evaluations. Finally, the students must engage in activities to accomplish some end that interests them rather than passively absorb information.

To demonstrate how teachers could develop such lessons, the NCSS offers several sample curriculums. For example, NCSS joined with the Mountain Institute to create a curriculum entitled *Mountains: A Global Resource*. Funded by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development, this curriculum contains four extended lessons that would take about a year to complete. A description of the first lesson illustrates the ways the NCSS wants curriculums to unfold.

The topic of lesson one is the importance of mountains. Scheduled to take 2 or 3 days of class time plus homework, the students fulfill five themes of geography. To understand location, the students find where mountain ranges appear in relation to each other and to the students' homes. To determine variations among places, the students describe an area and the culture of the people living there. To recognize how human beings

respond to their environments, the students consider how people adapted to their surroundings as well as how they changed the environment to survive. The students explore the ways people spread ideas and materials around the world to improve their lives. Finally, the students recognize the nature of a geographic region as an area that is unified in some way and gives identity to the people living in the region.

The project, *Mountains*, suggests activities for students that capture their interests and that integrate the five themes from geography listed earlier. One such assignment is to make an informational brochure illustrating the natural and cultural resources found in an area. The lesson begins with the teacher dividing the class into teams of three people. To each group, the teacher designates a specific mountain range and the team members begin their research. When the teams finish their work, they demonstrate their brochures to the class.

### Social Issues

It is important to realize that the NCSS recognizes more than the concerns of subject matter specialists. The members are sensitive to social conditions as well. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, as school districts engaged in racial desegregation, teachers introduced courses in Black studies or Black history. Although this innovation satisfied critics who complained that social studies neglected the activities of African Americans, educators noted that such courses implied that there were only two groups in the United States, Blacks and Whites. As a result, educators, such as James Banks, offered teaching strategies for what they called ethnic studies. Holding up the idea of the melting pot as an unrealized myth, Banks asserted that ethnic groups were intensifying efforts to glorify their pasts and develop pride among the members. As a result, Banks called on teachers to help children understand how the many different groups in U.S. society interacted to teach the children to be tolerant. Such lessons, he argued, would benefit all children whether they belonged to a minority group or not.

Adopting a view similar to Banks's, the NCSS advocates multicultural education to combat the cultural blindness caused by racism and sexism.



The organization calls on educators to respect ethnic diversity, to encourage participation of diverse peoples, and to facilitate change in the direction of increased openness in society. In addition to adopting curriculums that portray the heritages and interests of various groups, the NCSS urges schools to create environments consistent with ideals of diversity and. According the NCSS, this mandate for multicultural education requires that teachers and administrators undergo continuing staff development programs ensuring they appreciate cultural pluralism and have the skills to create a positive multicultural environment for the students.

Although social studies and multicultural education may begin with lessons about local or national issues, the NCSS recommends that the instruction move toward global and international education wherein students gain knowledge and appreciation of world cultures, recognize the nature of cultural differences, and develop attitudes of tolerance and empathy. The hope is that students may begin with the study of a specific problem such as population change in a particular area; however, they would explore how those changes in one place led to alterations in other places as well. In this way, the students might learn about the interrelated nature of events and, thereby, prepare for their roles as participants in a global and interdependent society.

### Advocacy

Because the NCSS functions as an interest group within a democratic society, the organization argues that the integrity of the social studies depends on the influence of legislative bodies. For example, in 2002, the U.S. Congress included a definition of the social studies in its implementation of the legislation called No Child Left Behind (NCLB), but the congressional representatives did not require assessments of the social studies classes as they did for reading and mathematics. Although the NCLB required state departments of education to ensure that highly qualified teachers conduct the classes of civics, government, economics, history geography, and history that constituted the social studies, the absence of regular assessments meant that many school districts spent less class time on this area of study than on other areas that the NCLB did measure, such as mathematics and language arts.

To offset the problems caused by NCLB and to ensure that local schools adopt carefully designed and appropriate social studies programs, the NCSS engages in extensive advocacy campaigns, joins other educational groups in lobbying for appropriate legislation, and establishes local organizations to influence local, state, and federal representatives. Calling this approach positive advocacy, the NCSS seeks to show everyone that the social studies can create effective citizens.

As part of the advocacy campaigns, the NCSS serves as one of the specialty program associations for the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). This means that NCSS prepares evaluators who visit the schools and colleges of education preparing teachers for elementary and secondary schools to ensure that those programs met NCSS standards. In general, these standards relate to subject matter content that teachers must know. Although the NCSS standards for social studies teacher preparation assess the extent programs offer instruction on teaching methods, this section of the NCSS standards follows the widely accepted standards for beginning teacher licensure promulgated by the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium. Nonetheless, with its prominence in NCATE, the NCSS can require that only programs of teacher conforming to its model receive accreditation. Such approval can be important because many state departments of education require that programs preparing teachers for licensure maintain accreditation from agencies such as NCATE.

### Other Agencies Offering Training in Citizenship

Although the NCSS encourages the orderly evolution of the social studies, the changes come slowly because of the delays inherent in most democratic processes. At the same time, agencies other than schools offer training in citizenship. For example, social settlements, such as Hull House in Chicago, sought to bridge the gaps among the citizens in the newly developed urban centers during the 1890s. During the civil rights movement, African American leaders established what they called Freedom Schools throughout the South to enable African Americans to exercise their rights as free and equal citizens. Educators and sociologists may designate

these extracurricular efforts as social education to distinguish them from the lessons that take place in schools under the title of social studies.

The important point to realize is that social education often works itself into social studies education. This is the case with both examples listed. Under the auspices of John Dewey and other progressives, educators accepted the idea of the school as a social center with the result that many social studies lessons provide activities that show the students how the different groups within any city depend on each other. In addition, the aims and the activities of the Freedom Schools appear in the mandates for multicultural education that the NCSS adopted.

### Final Thoughts

Although the social studies are contested areas, the members of the NCSS seek to select the important ideas within these controversies in ways that advance the ideals of democracy. This comes about through the recommendations of what the social studies are, suggestions for the instructional methods teachers should use, and by the ways the organization follows democratic procedures of change and reform.

*Joseph Watras*

See also Social Studies Education, History of

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## SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION, HISTORY OF

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The reports of the National Education Association's (NEA) Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools (CRSE) called for the social studies as an integrated area of study in secondary schools in 1916. As part of that commission, the NEA had created a separate Committee on the Social Studies whose members defined the area as comprising subjects with content related to the development of human society. Examples of such subjects included history, geography, economics, and political science. According to this report, the aim of the social studies was to cultivate good citizenship. Although the members of the committee wanted students to develop loyalty to their cities, their states, and to their nation, they hoped the students would temper such narrow patriotism with a sense of membership in a world community.

A similar set of ideas had appeared in 1893 when the Madison Conference described courses appropriate for high schools as part of the reports of the NEA's Committee of Ten. When the members of the Madison Conference considered how teachers should arrange the students' assignments, they recommended that teachers allow the students to study topics that interested them and challenged them to solve problems. These ideas reappeared in the reports of the American Historical Association's

(AHA) Committee of Seven that surveyed practices of secondary school history teachers in 1899, and in the AHA's Committee of Eight that released its report about teaching history in elementary schools in 1909.

The similarities among these reports about school studies derived from the fact that areas of professional study such as history underwent significant changes. For example, James Harvey Robinson called for a new history that encouraged readers to learn about the ways the world changed. Robinson complained that historians tended to compile accurate but mind-numbing lists of names of minor royal figures, dates of insignificant battles, and details of peace treaties. To bring life to the study of history, Robinson urged historians to include the work of anthropologists, novelists, economists, and sociologists in ways that would help readers understand the development of present conditions. These ideas and those of Robinson's like-minded colleagues, such as Albert Bushnell Hart, appeared in the report of the Committee of Ten because Robinson attended the Madison Conference and his ideas of the new history dominated the 1916 report of the Committee on the Social Studies.

Despite the NEA's pleas for social studies to be socially relevant, Harold Rugg complained in 1923 that schools remained tied to history texts. Students memorized lists of battles, dates of the coronations of kings, and details of legislative processes. Thinking that a reasonable alternative was some sort of unified social studies, Rugg developed a series of textbooks based on explanations of social problems. To write these textbooks, Rugg drew information from a wide range of social sciences, arranged it in order of increasing complexity, and applied it to analyses of different significant issues. In this way, he wrote eight books that elementary school-age children could understand and six books designed for secondary school students. Rugg's ideas were not new. He took the idea of research topics from the Madison Conference, turned the topics into social problems, and organized the social studies program around them.

Although Rugg's textbooks enjoyed initial success, historians, such as Charles Beard, turned against Rugg's model by the advent of the Great Depression. Writing for the AHA's Commission on the Social Studies in 1932, Beard complained

that exploring present-day problems did not prepare children to become intelligent citizens. Society changed constantly. There was no way to predict the conditions that would arise. No one knew which problems would persist, and which issues would disappear. Thus, Beard called for textbooks that enabled the students to develop appropriate ideas, maintain courage, and enhance their imaginations.

However, Beard could not suggest how social studies should help students develop what he called many-sided personalities. A solution came from Beard's colleague on the AHA Commission on the Social Studies, Leon Marshall, who suggested that social studies courses concentrate on processes all societies share. Marshall and his daughter, Rachael Marshall Goetz, claimed that every society must contend with continuing biologically, guiding human motivation, and molding personality. If students learned how different societies coped with these difficulties, they would develop the critical thinking skills to act intelligently when new problems arose in society.

To advance these ideas, in 1934, the AHA assumed responsibility for editing the magazine, *The Social Studies*, for teachers of history, social studies, and social sciences. This became the journal for the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) that had been founded in 1921. The AHA relinquished its responsibility for editing *The Social Studies* in 1937, and the NCSS established the journal, *Social Education*, aimed at junior high school and high school teachers, as its official journal.

The social studies received further endorsement in 1936 when the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) made it possible for students to study history in a manner consistent with the social studies. The CEEB commission defined history as the study of human beings in society from their beginnings to the present day and added that the study should be undertaken in as broad a manner as possible. When the members of the CEEB commission described the methods of teaching these history courses, they recommended organizing the information in the ways that Marshall and Goetz had done. Today, the NCSS preserves Marshall's idea by organizing the social studies around themes such as understanding how the environment influences people and how people live within different institutions.

As the social studies changed throughout the 20th century, the ideas that inspired the conception of the field remained constant. These included the need for relevance, the desire for students to engage in problem solving, and the effort to arrange social studies material in ways that would enable student to become good citizens. For example, in the 1970s, educators accused the social studies of being biased in favor of White, middle-class families. The remedy they suggested was to have students study various ethnic groups and view history through the eyes of minority peoples. By the 1990s, these calls turned into multicultural education.

Multicultural education extended Marshall's hope for students to learn about social processes and compare the ways many different societies coped with universal problems. The ideal of tolerance that multicultural education expressed had appeared in the 1916 report of the Committee on the Social Studies in the hope that students would temper narrow patriotism with a sense of membership in a worldwide community.

*Joseph Watras*

*See also* Social Studies Education

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## SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CURRICULUM HISTORY

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The Society for the Study of Curriculum History (SSCH) was established in 1977 by a group of curriculum scholars meeting at Teachers College, Columbia University. The society's purpose was,

and continues to be, to encourage the scholarly study of curriculum history and provide an opportunity for the presentation and discussion of research inquiries into curriculum history. The society has met annually in conjunction with the American Educational Research Association since that time. Established scholars, emerging scholars, and doctoral students present papers of interest to the membership for discussion and feedback. Meetings often include keynote speeches or papers by leading curriculum and educational history researchers and symposia that foster collegial interchange. Papers presented at SSCH generally reflect interpretations of important issues and influential events and persons in the history of the curriculum field, and in the history of the formation of curriculum theory, curriculum policy, and curriculum practice. Although most papers have focused on practices in U.S. schools, many papers have been presented by international scholars on Australia, Japan, England, Germany, and Israel as well as on other European and Asian countries.

In 1989, 23 papers were published in the edited book. Since 1991, selected papers presented at the meetings have been published in journal format under the title of *Curriculum History*. Some papers presented at the meetings have been indexed in ERIC; others were published in an edited volume, *Explorations in Curriculum History*.

Many of the professors were, at the time of the organizational meeting, noted names in the field of curriculum, including some whose names are found in this encyclopedia. Among the other founding members who have provided guidance for scholars in the years since 1977, either through their writing or their chairing of doctoral committees, were Lawrence A. Cremin, O. L. Davis Jr., Arthur W. Foshay, Murry R. Nelson, A. Harry Passow, William H. Schubert, Daniel Tanner, and Laurel N. Tanner. In the years since its founding, the society has provided a place for emerging scholars to present their fledgling ideas and receive feedback on their work. Many of these scholars have gone on to faculty positions in noted universities in the United States and internationally.

*Lynn M. Burlbaw*

*See also* American Educational Research Association; Jackson, Philip W.; Macdonald, James; Miel, Alice; Tyler, Ralph W.



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## SPECIAL EDUCATION: CASE LAW

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When parties disagree on an issue, one may choose to involve the court system to settle the disagreement by applying the law to the facts and rendering a decision. Numerous decisions rendered by our courts affect special education and the field of curriculum studies.

### *Board of Education of Hendrick Hudson Central School District v. Rowley*

*Rowley* (458 U.S. 176, 1982) was the first special education case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The case centered on Amy Rowley, a deaf student who was an excellent lip-reader. At the beginning of her first-grade year, as her individualized education program (IEP) was being developed, her parents insisted the school provide Amy with a qualified sign-language interpreter. The school administrators concluded that Amy did not need the services of an interpreter because she was achieving the learning outcomes of the curriculum and was socially integrated into the classroom. As a result, the request for an interpreter was denied. Amy's parents filed suit against the school district, claiming that the refusal of the school to provide an interpreter for their daughter denied her the "free appropriate public education" that is guaranteed by the federal government. The U.S. Supreme Court found that the evidence established that Amy received an appropriate education because she was easily progressing from grade to grade and the district did not have to provide her with a sign-language interpreter.

### *Irving Independent School District v. Amber Tatro*

Amber Tatro was an 8-year-old girl with spina bifida, resulting in a disorder that prevented her from emptying her bladder voluntarily. As a result, she needed frequent catheterization to empty her bladder and avoid damage to her kidneys. The catheterization procedure was fairly simple, and her parents, babysitter, and teenage brother were all qualified to perform it. Amber's parents sought to have school personnel perform the catheterization procedure, but were denied. Amber's parents filed suit against the school district claiming Amber's "free appropriate public education," which is guaranteed by the federal government in the Education of the Handicapped Act, was being denied. In particular, the suit claimed that the "related services" that Amber was entitled to receive as required by law included catheterization procedures. The case was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court [*Irving Independent School District v. Amber Tatro* (468 U.S. 883, 1984)], which ruled that providing the catheterization procedure was a "related service" and should be provided by the school district.

### *Honig v. Doe*

*Honig v. Doe* (484 U.S. 305, 1988) involved two students who were expelled by the San Francisco Unified School District for violent and disruptive behavior. It was argued that the behavior of the students was a result of their emotional disabilities and the students should, therefore, not be expelled. On appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that both students' behavior was causally connected to their disabilities. Because their behavior was a manifestation of their disabilities, expelling the students violated their rights guaranteed to them under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act. If a school is considering expelling a student with a disability, a manifestation determination review must be conducted to determine whether the student's behavior was causally related to his or her disability.

### *Cedar Rapids v. Garret F.*

Garret F. was a student paralyzed from the neck down and required numerous medical services

throughout the day. These services were necessary for Garret to remain in school during the day, so it was argued that under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act, the school district should provide these services to Garret. In *Cedar Rapids v. Garret F.* (526 U.S. 66, 1999), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the “related services” provision of the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act required school districts to provide nursing services to a student with a disability during the school day if those services are required for the student to remain in the school. Until this ruling, not all medically associated services were provided by school districts to students with disabilities.

### *Schaffer v. Weast*

In *Schaffer v. Weast* (546 U. S. 49, 2005), the U.S. Supreme Court examined who has the burden of proof in due process hearings. This case arose from the educational services provided to Brian Schaffer, a student who suffered from learning disabilities and speech-language impairments. When dissatisfied with the educational placement of their son, Brian’s parents initiated a due process hearing challenging the Individualized Education Program developed by the school. The matter was heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, which noted that the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act does not state which party bears the burden of proof in a due process hearing that challenges an Individualized Education Program. The Court ruled that the burden lies on the party seeking relief.

### *Winkelman v. Parma City School District*

When disagreement arose regarding the content of the individualized education program developed for Jacob Winkelman, a 6-year-old with autism spectrum disorder, Jacob’s parents sought relief by filing a request for due process, alleging that the school had failed to provide Jacob with a “free appropriate public education” as required under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act. Jacob’s parents proceeded without legal counsel, until the Court of Appeals ruled that parents are not authorized to appear without legal representation in asserting their child’s rights. The matter was then heard by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Winkelman v. Parma City School District* [530 U.S. 516,

2007]), which examined whether parents who are not licensed attorneys, acting either on their own or on behalf of their child, may proceed in court without legal representation. The Court ruled that because parents have legal rights under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act, parents may represent their children’s interests in special education cases and are not required to hire legal counsel.

Carolyn L. Carlson

*See also* Legal Decisions and Curriculum Practices; Special Education Curriculum; Special Education Curriculum, History of

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## SPECIAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Special education curriculum encompasses specially designed instruction, as well as all educational and related services for students identified as having a disability according to federal and state regulations. Special education curriculum has evolved throughout the eras. Early curricular models and methods of instruction were based largely on medical, psychological, and behavioral orientations with an emphasis on remediation of a deficit or disorder. Contemporary special education curricular models are tied to provisions of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), and influenced by reform movements in the fields of special (i.e., inclusive schools movement) and general education (i.e., multiculturalism).

This entry first discusses the regulations that govern special education curriculum, including the least restrictive environment (LRE) continuum and federally designated categories of disability. Next, the entry discusses classroom instruction

and management for special education curriculum. Lastly, this entry briefly addresses the future direction of special education curriculum.

### Regulations

Reauthorized IDEA 2004 has extensive regulations in all areas that govern special education curriculum. In essence, IDEA provides for free, appropriate public education, nondiscriminatory evaluation, individualized education, due process, and LRE. These provisions mean that students with disabilities are entitled to educational and related services at no cost to parents in public schools. No students can be excluded from public education because of a disability. To determine whether students are eligible to receive special education instruction or services, they must be evaluated using assessments that are not biased with regard to race, culture, or disability. Decisions regarding students cannot be based on one test. Rather students must be assessed by a multidisciplinary team in their native or primary language using relevant and appropriate instruments. In addition, parental consent to evaluation is not consent for possible special education placements.

Instruction must be individualized to meet specific needs. Required is an individualized education program (IEP) prepared annually. The IEP is the cornerstone of the curriculum and instruction provided to students with disabilities and has many tenets, the basics of which include the following: a brief description of the student's level of functioning, goals with short-term objectives on how to achieve those goals, identification of which school personnel are responsible for providing the instruction and related services for the student, specific allotment of time for all areas of instruction, and a plan for how progress will be assessed and goals achieved. Students with IEPs are either included in individual state standardized assessments or by an alternative assessment process. Students with disabilities are entitled to adaptations during assessment, such as, extended time. At least one general education teacher must participate as a member of a team that prepares the IEP, and the IEP must address how students will be included in general education programs. When appropriate, the student attends her or his IEP

meetings. Placements that are not in general education classrooms must be justified.

Through any stage, students with disabilities and their parents have due process rights. If there is a dispute regarding eligibility, instruction, or services, no changes can be made until the issues and concerns are resolved by an impartial hearing or a court if necessary. School personnel also have due process rights and can request an impartial hearing to resolve disagreements. Mediation must be made available early and the state bears the cost, not parents.

### *Least Restrictive Environment*

Typically, the LRE is the general education classroom with some kind of support for students with disabilities. The inclusive general education classroom (comprising students with and without disabilities), co-taught with one general education teacher and one special education teacher is considered by proponents of democratic classrooms and accessible instruction to be the ideal LRE. Or, the special education teacher (sometimes called resource teacher) is in the general education classroom part of the day or all day, but can either be a co-teacher or provide instruction separately within the classroom.

Moving on the LRE continuum from least to most restrictive environment is the "mainstream" general education classroom. Students with disabilities spend the majority of their time in this classroom taught by a general education teacher. Instruction and assessment are adapted or modified according to the IEP, and many students with disabilities are "pulled out" to receive individualized instruction (i.e., reading or learning disability specialist) or therapy (i.e., speech-language therapist, social worker, or counselor) one-on-one or in a small group.

Next on the continuum is the self-contained special education classroom. Students with disabilities spend all or part of their day in a classroom with a special education teacher who is expected to provide a highly individualized curriculum and unique instructional strategies to help students learn. Although self-contained, the classroom is not intended to be separate from the community of the school. Students with disabilities and their teachers are part of the school community,

and the goal is to return students to lesser restrictive environments. Students in a self-contained setting may spend part of the day in a general education classroom for one or more academic subjects or socialization, and may be pulled out to receive individualized instruction by another specialist.

When the needs of students with disabilities cannot be met in a public school because of lack of appropriate classrooms and programs, students may be eligible for a separate private or public school. For short-term crises or when longer-term severe problems exist (i.e., when students are unable to live at home) a residential facility is an option. These separate placements can be within the students' home area or out-of-state, all paid for by the school district. These more restrictive placements are therapeutic in nature with intensely individualized instructional strategies. A plan to return to a lesser restrictive environment must be in place. Finally, students with disabilities may be hospitalized for illness or surgery, or home for illness or recuperation and are entitled to services.

### *Federal Categories of Disability*

IDEA's federal categories of disability are as follows: specific learning disability, speech or language impairment, mental retardation, emotional disturbance, hearing impairments, deafness, visual impairments/blindness, deaf-blindness, orthopedic impairment, other health impairment, multiple disabilities, autism, and traumatic brain injury. To meet the needs of students who fall within these federal categories, the special education curriculum encompasses academic instruction and what is commonly referred to as related services, those supports that students with disabilities require to benefit from instruction. These related services include speech and language therapy, occupational and physical therapy, counseling (psychological, behavioral, social), and transportation.

IDEA does not require services for gifted and talented students. The federal definition of this group of students is described in Pub. L. No. 100-297, Gifted and Talented Students Education Act of 1988, and refers to students with advanced intellectual, academic, creative, specific academic or leadership ability, or in the performing and visual arts who require specialized instruction, services or

activities not ordinarily provided by the school. Curricular adaptations for gifted and talented include an accelerated model (skipping grades, advanced placement classes, honors programs), compacting or telescoping curriculum (learning in less time), subject matter enrichment, and placement in magnet schools. Other students not eligible to receive special education services are students with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and those with poor academic abilities not associated with a specific disability.

### **Classroom Instruction and Management**

The literature and research on special education curriculum and the strategies for best practices in instruction, classroom organization, and management are vast. The special education curriculum comprises a multitude of teaching methods that are used in small and large group settings, as well as in individual instruction. A variety of learning strategies and mnemonic devices are employed to help students with receptive and expressive language abilities, reading, writing, math, and other subject areas. Related service professionals (learning disability teachers, reading teachers, speech-language therapists, occupational therapists, physical therapists, social workers, counselors) have their own specialized curriculum, with a unique set of diagnostic, instructional, and therapeutic approaches.

Curricular adaptations or modifications are ways in which general education teachers can support the needs of students with disabilities in their classrooms. These are modifications to lesson formats, instruction, classroom setting, homework assignments, grading, and assessment. Diagnostic teaching, curriculum-based assessment (CBA) and curriculum-based management (CBM) are models for teachers to determine what their students' abilities are so teachers can design instructional methods and adaptations that will assist learning and build on students' capabilities. Instructional adaptations may include teaching pre-skills, introducing new skills or content at individualized rates, providing multiple and varied opportunities for review and practice, and designing individualized study guides, and organizers.

Computer and assistive technologies have become an integral part of the special education



curriculum. With the Assistive Technology Act of 1998 (105–394, S.2432), the federal government defined assistive technology as “any item, piece of equipment, or product system, whether acquired commercially, modified, or customized, that is used to increase, maintain, or improve functional capabilities of individuals with disabilities.” Communication and visual aids, orthotics, wheelchairs and any adapted toys, and utensils are considered to be assistive technology, particularly for students with severe and multiple disabilities. Assistive technology enhances students’ ability to communicate and access the curriculum. For example, voice recognition equipment can convert the spoken word into the written word. Conversely, students who have difficulty communicating orally, can use various forms of augmentative communication (i.e., communication board with pictures or words) to express themselves.

Universal design for learning (UDL) is an approach that uses new technologies that provide direct or immediate access to learning for individuals with and without disabilities. Products and services are directly accessible and are independent of or interact with assistive technologies. Examples of products and services designed from the outset to accommodate a range of learning styles are captioned or narrated videos, speaking spell checkers and dialogue boxes, voice recognition, and picture menus. A universally designed curriculum is one designed initially to meet the needs of a diverse array of learners and learning styles, in contrast to a middle-of-the-road or one-size-fits-all curriculum that requires adaptations and modifications. The intent of a universally designed curriculum is to create full access for students with disabilities to the general education curriculum.

With regard to classroom management models for the general or special education teacher, the goal is to help students learn to develop autonomy and self-control when it comes to their own behavior. One is the cognitive behavior management (CBM) model, which teaches students self-monitoring and self-reinforcement skills. This is in contrast to a behavior management system that is based on maintaining external control through a system of rewards and consequences. The latter behavioral model may include a “token economy system,” which is a behavior management system in which students earn tokens in exchange for

rewards or privileges. Some curriculum uses a combination of behavior management models.

Other models are individualized and may include the psychoanalytic approach with a reliance on individual psychotherapy; the psycho-educational approach with an emphasis on meeting individual needs and use of projects and creative arts; the humanistic approach, which is nonauthoritarian, open, affective, and personal with the teacher as facilitator; the ecological approach, which involves all aspects of the student’s life (school, home, community) and an emphasis on educational and life skills; and the behavioral approach, which involves measurement and analysis of behaviors and emphasis on a system of rewards and consequences.

Peer tutoring or learning, peer buddies, and peer mediation are examples of how students can work with each other, as part of the special education curriculum. Peer curricular models provide opportunities for diverse students to tutor one another for different academic subjects, learn together in small groups, develop a friendship with another student to enhance social skills, assist in going to and from classes, or mediate disputes.

In curricular models of collaboration, consultation, partnerships, and interactive teaming, educators, professionals, and parents of students with disabilities work together to foster an environment for learning. The curriculum in school can be linked with students’ interests, knowledge, and experiences out of school, parents become more aware of the complex tasks of teachers, and all professionals involved in the special education curriculum can welcome different yet valuable ways each contributes to the educational process. Through active collaboration and sustained communication, parents, general and special education teachers, and specialists can nurture the self-esteem, self-discipline, literacy, communication, and social and cognitive abilities of students with disabilities.

Those who are proponents of inclusive classrooms and schools advocate for democratic classrooms, accessible instruction, and responsive curriculum for students with disabilities. They recommend going beyond the whole-class, uniform single-lesson format and incorporating inquiry-based, problem-solving, and constructivist approaches. In addition, they support flexible groupings of students, collaborative problem

solving, and values that foster appreciation and acceptance of students with cognitive, social, and cultural differences.

### Future Directions

Some educators believe that dual systems of general and special education persist side by side, separate and unequal, but others believe that full-inclusion goes too far for many students with disabilities. In examining the special education curriculum, fundamental curricular questions apply. Is the curriculum interesting and engaging to students? Are there multiple opportunities for students to express their interests, experiences, and choices? Who is the student and what are her or his needs, interests, experiences, strengths, and challenges? What are the multiple ways of learning, based on the strengths, and abilities students already have? Does the classroom environment accommodate different needs and a range of learning styles? Are students engaged in a discussion of goals and rules? Are the daily rhythms and ongoing expectations conducive to learning? Future inquiry will continue to focus on what equity and accessibility mean for students with disabilities and students who learn differently.

Carol R. Melnick

See also Diversity; Gifted and Talented Education; Special Education: Case Law; Special Education Curriculum, History of

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## SPECIAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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Historically, special education curriculum can be viewed before landmark federal legislation—Public Law (Pub. L. No.) 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act passed in 1975—and after this public law was enacted. Influenced by the civil rights movement, and by the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that separate education is not equal, Pub. L. No. 94-142 provided that “special classes, separate schools, or other removal of handicapped children from the regular education environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the handicap is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily.” The term *least restrictive environment* (LRE) emerged from this legislation, meaning all students with disabilities must be educated in as normal an environment as possible. In addition to the provision of least restrictive environment, the 1975 legislation provided for free, appropriate public education for “handicapped” students ages 3 to 21, individualized education programs (IEPs), due process protections, and protection in evaluation procedures.

During the 1970s, the LRE was considered to be a separate special education classroom on a full-time basis for the majority of students with disabilities. The concept of *mainstreaming* emerged during this time, a term used for permitting students in special education classrooms to be mainstreamed into regular or general education settings for part of the day or week. Usually, students were mainstreamed for music, art, recess, or assemblies, and only for academic classes if students were deemed qualified to meet academic expectations with minimal assistance.

At the beginning of the 20th century when compulsory public education took place, children with severe physical or cognitive disabilities typically did not attend public school. Either they remained at home, lived in, or attended private facilities or lived in state institutions. During the early 1900s, special classes began to emerge for students who were not doing well academically. Most likely, these were children who today would be considered to have mild language, learning, or cognitive disabilities.

Special education before 1975 was influenced by the social efficiency movement, which used industrial models to create efficient schools. Through psychological assessments (regarded as scientific testing), Intelligent Quotient (IQ) scores were used to identify categories of disabilities (i.e., levels of mental retardation). Results of intelligence and related tests resulted in students who fell below what was considered normal being placed in separate, special classrooms and schools.

By the 1950s, special education classrooms were common in public schools. These were considered to be segregated programs, and minimally academic in nature and often focused on development of manual skills. In addition, there were separate and segregated public day schools for children whose physical or cognitive disabilities were considered moderate to severe. For example, there were separate schools for children with physical disabilities, such as cerebral palsy or spina bifida. Children with autism usually were placed in programs with students considered to have severe emotional or behavioral problems. Typically, children who were considered to have moderate to severe mental retardation were in their own separate programs. In addition, there were special day or residential schools for children who were blind or deaf.

In 1985, Madeleine Will, in her role as assistant secretary for the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services in the U.S. Department of Education, assessed the effectiveness of special education 10 years after the passage of Pub. L. No. 94-142. In her seminal report, Will described a dual system of regular and special education. She indicated that the majority of students with disabilities were placed in self-contained categorical classrooms in special public schools far from their neighborhood school. If students with disabilities

attended their neighborhood public school, typically they spent much of their day in pullout and resource-room programs. In most cases, the curriculum in the separate, self-contained, and resource programs was watered-down rather than adapted to meet the educational needs of students. Special education teachers, students, and their parents were typically segregated from the community of the school, and the relationship between parents and school personnel was often adversarial.

In addition, Will cited problems with eligibility requirements. Some students were misdiagnosed, and therefore mislabeled to receive educational services. Other students who required help fell through the cracks because of different and often faulty criteria used by state and local school systems for identifying and classifying students for eligibility to receive special education services. For example, there was an overrepresentation of African American males in special education, particularly in the categories of mental retardation and behavior disorders, an underrepresentation of Latino students, and an overrepresentation of Caucasian children in learning disabilities.

Will's report and the work of educators who were dissatisfied with the dual system sparked a philosophical debate that became known as the Regular Education Initiative (REI). Initially, the REI movement advocated for the return of students with mild learning disabilities from separate and pullout programs to regular education classrooms. In time, other educators and parents began to argue for the return of students with more severe disabilities from separate, segregated schools and self-contained classrooms to programs within their neighborhood schools.

In 1986, Congress passed Pub. L. No. 99-457, expanding special education services to include birth through 5 years of age. The individual education plan for very young children with disabilities is called the Individualized Family Service Plan (IFSP), and may include services for the family as well as the child. The intent was early intervention to meet the multiple needs of infants, toddlers, and preschool-aged children with medical and developmental difficulties.

In the 1990s, the philosophical debate and REI movement evolved into what is commonly known as the inclusive schools movement or inclusion. *Inclusion* refers to the maximum integration, with

support, of students with disabilities, regardless of severity in general (the term is synonymous with *regular*) education classrooms. At the beginning of the inclusive schools movement, Pub. L. No. 94-142 was reauthorized in 1990 as Pub. L. No. 101-476 and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act was renamed Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). The 2004 reauthorization with the updated name, Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (still called IDEIA) contains expanded provisions regarding parents, teachers, paraprofessionals, assessment, eligibility, discipline, due process, and transition services.

Philosophical debates regarding the special education curriculum, and optimal ways to serve the academic and related needs of students with disabilities persist. At the beginning of the 21st century, special education is being examined through a variety of lenses, such as disability studies, deaf culture, democratic schooling, and multicultural education.

*Carol R. Melnick*

*See also* Diversity; Gifted and Talented Education; Health Education Curriculum; Health Education Curriculum, History of; Special Education: Case Law

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## SPIRAL CURRICULUM

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The spiral curriculum is a key feature of the curriculum design process popularized through Jerome Bruner's post-*Sputnik* classic, *The Process*

*of Education*. Although John Dewey wrote of a similar principle, his notion of spiraling focused on the learner's experience and the interrelatedness of all areas of knowledge. In contrast, Bruner based his spiral in the structure of separate academic disciplines as provided by university scholars. A central notion was that basic principles in any discipline can be represented in some intellectually honest form to even very young children and that this process would build in the readiness for them to engage in later and progressively more complex presentations of the principles. Writing in 1960, Bruner emphasized the advantage of teaching structural principles because of the recent explosion of new knowledge to include in the curriculum, especially in the sciences. Amid the nearly hysterical atmosphere of the cold war and the flood of government money that accompanied it, acceptance of this discipline-based approach mushroomed, making it the model for national curriculum reform for nearly a decade. Although a variety of circumstances dampened enthusiasm for the model by the end of the 1960s, it helped establish the hegemony of disciplinarity among other concerns of curriculum design.

Bruner's ideas were first published as a report on the Woods Hole Conference of 1959, a meeting attended primarily by scientists, mathematicians, and psychologists. Their conclusions, as interpreted by Bruner, established several themes to guide curriculum work. Bruner believed the first two—understanding new concepts as part of the overall structure of a discipline and discovery learning—led naturally to the third, the spiral curriculum. For example, in the overall structure of algebra, “balance” is a key concept. A spiral curriculum might take advantage of young children's intuitive understanding of the concept through discovery lessons using toys such as teeter-totters, then circle back to the concept later using various forms of levers, and eventually provide for the discovery of the meaning of relationships expressed in abstract algebraic equations.

Bruner, a cognitive psychologist, believed like many curriculum scholars that education should lead to understanding, not mere performance, and that this goal was best achieved through discovery learning. However, as he noted in *The Process of Education*, psychologists had neglected the study of curriculum problems for most of the 20th century.



That, plus the exclusion of curriculum professors and teachers from the Woods Hole conference, added up to his failure to sufficiently address long-established concerns of curriculum scholarship, such as the goal of democratic citizenship, the nature of the individual student, and relevance of the curriculum to the learner's life. Bruner's proposal treated all students as miniature scholar-specialists. He later admitted that one mistaken assumption of the discipline-centered reforms may have been that students would be as excited about mastering the curriculum as the disciplinary specialists had been about constructing it. He also noted his failure to consider elements of the context of learning, especially culture.

Other weaknesses aided in the model's demise as the reigning curriculum model of the post-*Sputnik* era. Scholars within a discipline could not always agree on its structure. Others felt there was a tendency to impose methods of curriculum development for the sciences on all subject areas on the assumption that all disciplines had similar structures. The fact that university scholars with little or no public school experience were creating curricula sometimes led to misuse or rejection of their products by teachers. When politicians of the mid-1960s called for evaluation studies of federally funded curriculum reform, the results undermined confidence in top-down programs created with no teacher input, further eroding the model's popularity.

Although many curriculum developers continue to use the principle of discipline-based spiraling, critics cite a frequent tendency of their product to be flat, that is, to include little substantive development of concepts at successive levels. In addition, curriculum scholars note that discipline-based spiraling ignores the macrocurricular function of general education, neglecting practical, and interdisciplinary knowledge.

Nancy J. Brooks

*See also* *Process of Education, The*

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## SPIVAKIAN THOUGHT

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Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942– ) is a scholar renowned for her critique of postcolonial studies, her critical translation of Jacques Derrida's philosophy, and the provocative question she raised in a 1988 essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Her answer was a resounding "no," an assertion stimulating much analysis and debate since that time. Spivak was born in India and received an undergraduate English degree from the University of Calcutta and graduate degrees from Cornell University. Her scholarship, which transgresses disciplinary and theoretical boundaries, draws from literary criticism, poststructuralism, Marxism, deconstruction (particularly Derrida), feminism, and cultural studies. She has produced incisive critiques of imperialism, historiography (the theories and practices of historical research), academia, knowledge construction, globalization, international feminism, and terrorism among others. Her work demonstrates unrelenting concern for the silencing of "subaltern" subjects. In 1976, Spivak garnered acclaim for her self-reflexive translation of French deconstructionist Derrida's *Of Grammatology*. Since then, she has published dozens of critical texts, essays, and literary works. In the last two decades, critical educational scholars have applied Spivak's rich theorizing to the field of curriculum studies in varied ways.

Spivakian thought animates the field of curriculum studies most notably through the critical questions it prompts concerning the power of knowledge production, the representation of marginalized voices, and the forms in which resistance is enacted. Who speaks and who is silent? Who has the right to speak for whom? What counts as speech? How can the interests and voices of marginalized people (the subaltern) be represented? How can subaltern people influence the production of knowledge?

Such questions are significant for a field of study that creates knowledge and determines whose views, beliefs, and knowledge will dominate in educational spaces. Indeed, such questions crystallize a component of Spivakian thought critical to curriculum studies: the imperative to interrogate institutions, discourses, and practices constitutive of knowledge production—the academy, canonical theory, activism, even critique. Her interrogative impulse proceeds from the understanding that academic practices and discourses wield significant power in inciting and suppressing voice, erasing and representing subjects, and fueling or obstructing social justice.

Spivak's critique of postcolonial studies—itsself a critical field—and advocacy for subaltern subjects are key resources for scholars concerned with questions of power, voice, representation, and justice. Through Spivak's scholarship, the concept of the "subaltern" gathered renewed momentum as a signifier for groups relegated to the periphery of society and history: the poor, women and children, the working classes, the disenfranchised. In her well-known essay foundational for feminist, postcolonial, and subaltern studies, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," Spivak emphasized the impossibility of representing—and hearing—the voices of subaltern subjects. Her argument emerged through her analysis of a critical collective's work during the 1980s that critiqued traditional Indian history for its elitist and imperialist leanings. She affirmed the deconstructive impulse of the group, their critique of the power shaping knowledge construction, and their advocacy for marginalized voices in dominant narratives. However, she also argued the group's work to represent marginalized voices constructed frozen and universalizing (essentialist) representations that erased subaltern subjectivity and agency—a form of violence that repeated the representational crimes committed in the archival past and made hearing subaltern voices impossible. Enduring questions that Spivak's critique of postcolonial studies engender for curriculum scholars is how to disrupt official curriculum that legitimizes what counts as knowledge and create educational spaces in which subalterns can articulate their own diverse knowledge and perspectives. In such impossible circumstances of representing voices that cannot possibly speak and be heard through dominant accounts, Spivak does not

advocate "better" accounts of marginalized people or abandoning representational efforts altogether. Instead, she suggests that scholars use the inevitably partial, fraught, but necessary tool of "strategic essentialism," to pursue greater political good.

Curriculum scholars have drawn from Spivakian thought to analyze the complexity of subaltern status, create educational spaces that foster speech, advocate teaching as activist intervention in the workings of power, and expand understandings of what constitutes speech. For example, activists have defined strategic uses of the body in classrooms, silent demonstrations, and theater as expressions of voice. Others have revised dominant groups' historical accounts to include the contributions of underrepresented people (such contested efforts are evident in "new history" and the "culture wars"). Some have tracked fluid and contested expressions of oppression and privilege wrought by globalization, technology, and media. Some have critiqued both the romanticized construction of silenced voices (not necessarily noble or progressive) and of subaltern studies as savior to the disempowered (itself a form of power). In addition, a particularly useful critique has centered on dominant groups' cooptation of minority status to articulate their feelings of victimization and to conflate, problematically, personal feelings with structural oppression. For example, some White, heterosexual, and Judeo-Christian people have claimed they are "oppressed" as subaltern groups have challenged their power. Spivakian thought thus animates diverse analysis of educational power and varied critical struggles to enable rather than restrict voice.

Lucy E. Bailey

*See also* Curriculum Theory; Derridan Thought; Excluded/Marginalized Voices; Feminist Theories; Gramscian Thought; Postcolonial Theory; Poststructuralist Research; Subaltern Curriculum Studies; Voice

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## STANDARDS, CURRICULAR

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Curricular standards are the student learning goals for a particular curriculum content area with designations for specific grade levels. Standards typically include intended learning outcomes in the areas of knowledge, skills, and understandings of basic concepts, along with structure of the discipline. Students are expected to demonstrate mastery of these standards primarily through performance on assessments. National professional organizations of teachers and teacher educators generate these standards, which often are grouped according to broad concepts such as “number sense.”

Although curricular standards are set by national professional education associations, each state has developed its own set of learning goals for its students by content area and grade level. Because of the existence of national standards, most states’ standards are remarkably similar because the states use the national standards as a guide in developing their own state standards. These state standards go by different names such as Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS), Arkansas Curriculum Frameworks, California Content Standards, and New York Curriculum Standards. Whatever the name, they are state curricular standards.

In recent history, the curricular standards came to the forefront as a response to the 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*. In the report, the U.S. educational system was decried as overall a mediocre system, and a call was issued to improve the quality of U.S. education. Curricular standards were examined and revised to reflect high expectations of academic achievement for U.S. students. Also central to this reform movement was the emphasis on assessment. By tying assessment to curriculum standards and using the assessment results for school ratings, curricular standards reached an importance never attained previously. Although curricular standards existed before 1983 and professional organizations

and researchers attended to these standards, the standards were not embraced by the school practitioner until school ratings were based on student achievement on assessments based on these standards. The Goals 2000 issued in 1990 further elevated the importance of curricular standards because they called for all students in 4th, 8th, and 12th grades to leave school having shown mastery of rigorous academic standards. Professional organizations responded with revised standards, and public schools wrote curricula based on these stringent standards. Four major content areas with national curricular standards are science, mathematics, English language arts, and social studies. The National Science Teachers Association, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the National Council for Social Studies have developed standards in their content areas.

Most practitioners recognize curricular standards as goals of a discipline that students are expected to master whether a process, skill, or understanding. This definition looks to schools to achieve these standards with student outcomes. However, some professional organizations such as the National Council of the Teachers of Mathematics include vision in their standards.

The current importance of curricular standards is apparent when examining state level student academic achievement tests mandated by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). Each state develops its annual achievement tests for third through 8th graders and high schoolers by testing students on the curricular standards for reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and English proficiency at the appropriate grade level. States issue grades to students, schools, and school districts—based performance on the curricular standards, and the grades are made public. Some states require students to demonstrate mastery of these curricular standards through the state assessment before the student is promoted to the next grade level or is allowed to graduate from high school.

Historically, curricular standards have been around for as long as we have had schools. There have always been learning goals for students and even testing based on these curricular standards is not new. What is new is the network of state standards engendered by the federal government’s NCLB. In the era of the one-room schoolhouse,

curricular standards were set by counties or local school districts and promotion from 8th grade required passing a county exam. Failure to pass the county exams reflected on the students, not the school. The focus on state standards across the nation coupled with high-stakes testing and the federal government's withholding of funding for schools that do not make progress is what differentiates the current curricular standards movement.

The curricular standards movement as part of the school reform movement has become a political hot potato for local schools. Although the focus on education as a national priority is good news to educators, many question the methodology used to ensure students master high standards. The political rally cry has been that "high standards = high achievement," and public figures rely on test results to show students are achieving these high standards.

Then there are those that would argue that we cannot label curricular standards as "high" because that denotes they are above the average standards. Once we have a majority of our students achieving these standards, they become the average or normal standard, not a high standard. Hence, planned obsolescence. Another group of people state that because knowledge is fluid and ever changing we cannot pin down "high" curricular standards. As our knowledge base expands and is sometimes transformed, as physics was in the emergence of quantum physics, curricular standards must be revised.

From a political scientists and sociologist's viewpoint, curricular standards are suspect in that they convey the current view of what an educated person should know. This is largely dictated by our culture and workplaces. Many critical theorists decry curricular standards as discriminating against minorities, low-socioeconomic students, and English language learners. Although curricular standards were revised in the 1980s and 1990s to embrace challenging learning expectations for all, there have been unintended consequences such as increased dropout rates among minorities and the urban poor. Raising curricular standards without raising resources and making improvements in teacher training will not serve U.S. education.

In addition to the curricular standards for public school students PreK–12, curricular standards also exist for the education of teachers in each of

these content areas and for institutions of higher education.

*Janet Penner-Williams*

*See also* Curriculum, History of; Frameworks in Curriculum Development; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice

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## STANFORD UNIVERSITY COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The College of Education at Stanford University served as a collective for curriculum studies through the influence of Paul Hanna and Fannie Shaftel on social studies curricula from the end of World War II through the 1960s; the substantial scholarship of Elliot Eisner, Decker Walker, and Nel Noddings in the last three decades of the 20th century; and the influence that educational scholars in research on teaching (Nathaniel Gage), educational history (David Tyack and Larry Cuban), educational measurement and evaluation (Lee Cronbach), teacher education (Lee Schulman), and school administration and reform (Linda Darling-Hammond) have provided to curriculum scholars. Numerous other scholars, having studied at Stanford, are significant contributors to curriculum studies.

The College of Education was fashioned by Elwood P. Cubberly, recruited by the president of Stanford, David Starr Jordan. Starr served as a mentor for Cubberly in his early academic career at Indiana University. Established with Cubberly as dean in 1917, the college's initial focus was educational administration. An exception to



Cubberly's focus on school leadership was the appointment of Harold Benjamin as associate professor of education and psychology until 1931. Benjamin, a graduate of Stanford, developed his fictional alter-ego "J. Abner Peddiwell" in lectures at Stanford, eventually emerging in print in *The Saber-Tooth Curriculum*.

With Cubberly's retirement in 1933, Grayson Kefauver recruited Harold Hand and Paul Hanna in 1935 to promote a more progressive orientation to the college. Hand, whose specialization was in secondary education and guidance, left for the University of Illinois after World War II; Hanna became a fixture at Stanford until his retirement. Hanna's early work was in promoting elementary school curricula based on integrative units, combining subjects thematically, particularly in the social studies. Hanna was also editor of a series of magazines for elementary schools, *Building America*. This periodical emerged from Hanna's work with the Society of Curriculum Study at Teachers College Columbia and was widely adopted in schools across the country, but came under criticism in 1946 when the California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution contended the series was a tool of communists in promoting social studies over classic studies in history and geography. The controversy resulted in reactionary legislation by California lawmakers and the *Building America* series was target of red-baiting for the next five years. Hanna spent much of the 1940s successfully lobbying the federal government for research grants for Stanford and in the 1950s turned his attention to international projects. His evolution from problem-centered education to a more hierarchical conception of curriculum is reflected in his promotion of a national curriculum center in 1959.

Elliot Eisner achieved his doctorate in education from the University of Chicago and was appointed as associate professor of education and art at Stanford in 1965. Eisner's emphasis on aesthetics and the imagination in teaching and learning are reflected in his approach to curriculum development and evaluation. Critical of the widespread acceptance of instructional behavioral objectives, Eisner suggested predetermined goals are particularly ill-suited when engaged in aesthetic expression where it is often preferred to provide activities that have no prespecified outcome. In the 1970s,

Eisner crafted "educational connoisseurship" an enduring model of curriculum inquiry and evaluation employed as an alternative model for validating curriculum research and expanding scholarship to consider portrait and fiction as meaningful forms for insight. Eisner also provided a framework for understanding options in contemporary curriculum thought through development of five distinct orientations to the curriculum: (1) the development of cognitive processes, (2) academic rationalism, (3) personal relevance, (4) social reconstruction and adaptation, and (5) curriculum as technology.

Eisner's students have evidenced his influence with attention to aesthetics as a powerful feature in curriculum scholarship and the exercise of imagination as a dimension of creative and meaningful inquiry. Decker Walker is particularly notable given his tenure at Stanford is nearly as long as Eisner's. Walker's initial scholarship on how curriculum committees develop a curriculum produced a "naturalistic" model of curriculum development is an important alternative to the Tyler Rationale. Observing that development is largely political rather than methodical, he identified three dimensions in curriculum construction: (1) the *platform* is where committee members bring their convictions and dispositions before the committee to vie for acceptance; (2) in *deliberation*, participants engage in transactions to determine which curriculum policies are most defensible in the political setting; and (3) curriculum design results and policies are put in place as time constraints end negotiation.

With Jonas Solits, Walker authored a brief volume on curriculum aims with the intention that the book be used in foundations courses to introduce the topic of curriculum theory to students through consideration of important historical and contemporary writers on curriculum. In 1990, Walker provided a comprehensive statement on curriculum, evolving from a construct proposed by Hilda Taba. A synoptic text on historical and current scholarship on curriculum, curriculum considerations were examined in a variety of ever-widening contexts (e.g., the classroom, the school, and national perspectives), stressing change in curriculum policy and practice be informed by grounded theory and reasoned deliberation. The work is consistent with Walker's earlier naturalistic design in the context of contemporary scholarly writing

on curriculum. Walker's scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s expanded to the relationship of technology to curriculum and instruction.

Nel Noddings, a member of the Stanford faculty in 1977 until 1998, offered a novel proposal that considered current scholarship on moral development and women as well as advancing curriculum notions of John Dewey, contending caring be a principal concern of education. Articulated in her 1984 work, *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*, Noddings provided a model for reconstruction of the school curriculum around expanding considerations of care for self, people, ideas, and the planet. In thoughtfully attending to these ever-wider circles of engagement and concern for relationship, activity is directed to develop empathic understanding and responsiveness. Noddings developed recommendations for school reform based on this curriculum proposal and has made substantial contributions to the philosophy of education and moral development theory.

Thomas P. Thomas

See also Aesthetic Theory; Caring, Concept of; *Educational Imagination, The*; Eisner, Elliot; Noddings, Nel

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## STENHOUSE, LAWRENCE

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The conceptualization of “curriculum as a means to an end” underlying current educational practices including the use of standards and authentic assessment can be traced to the work and theorizing of Lawrence Stenhouse (1926–1982). Stenhouse, a British educational theorist, framed curriculum as hypothesis and called on teachers to

use an inquiry approach to develop a rigorous curriculum that promoted higher-order thinking skills and honored and attended to cultural diversity. Curriculum as a set of hypotheses moves paradigmatically away from a positivistic approach toward a metaphoric/humanistic one. Teachers then, as artistic professionals, are asked to recreate educational standards in ways that hold all students accountable for interpreting texts and constructing individual understandings.

Stenhouse is regarded as a pioneer who contributed to reshaping curriculum as a field of study during the 1970s. His masterpiece, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*, is widely known as one of the key foundational texts, alongside Ralph Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, and Joseph Schwab's “practical papers.” Stenhouse argued that curriculum research and development should be within the purview of teachers.

Stenhouse's research deals particularly with the practical nature of curriculum problems, and Stenhouse and his collaborators from the United Kingdom extended their work into the areas of teacher research and educational change. As a visionary and practical thinker, Stenhouse offers insight into education reform in general and curriculum studies in particular.

In 1967, Stenhouse became director of the Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP), funded by the Nuffield Foundation and School Council (1967–1972), with the purpose of centering value-laden social and cultural themes in secondary education curricula. The HCP work included a team of eight people collaborating over 3 years. Briefly, Stenhouse attempted to mount an approach to a difficult set of teaching problems pertaining to race relations in which teachers carry heavy research and implementation responsibilities. Some of Stenhouse's views articulated in the context of the HCP may be questioned in the 21st century. For example, Stenhouse asked teachers to take a neutral position in the discussion on race relations, and this may be particularly problematic for scholars connected to critical race theory. Still, in the broader context of the contemporary standards-based education movement, the HCP exemplifies a kind of standards-based reform package that meets the need for developing richer, more meaningful curriculum content. Stenhouse foreshadowed

contemporary meanings of standards when he came to theorize the multiplicity of standards as value-judgments that require teachers to be critics who assess the worth of the contributions children make as individuals to the culture of the class. Here, his higher vision regards the curriculum not as the materials of instruction, but rather as the basis of the students' discussion and thinking.

Stenhouse made three major contributions that advanced the curriculum field. First, indebted to Schwab's theory of curriculum deliberation, Stenhouse diagnosed the field of curriculum as problematic because of its heavy reliance on both R. S. Peters's metaphysic for purified aims and the Tylerian objectives model. Alternatively, he developed *the process model* in which teachers' practical and procedural thinking are encouraged with aims of achieving a balance between ends and means, ultimately identifying the better, if not the best, curricular solution. This process model expands the purview of curriculum and thus serves as a basis on which the notion of the teacher as decision maker, a prominent theme in teacher education literature, is made possible.

Second, Stenhouse reconfigured the notion of curriculum research and evaluation through the HCP project, emphasizing a utilitarian purpose that benefits those who teach on the front lines of education. Relying partially on Robert Stake's early version of the responsive evaluation model, he reenvisioned the function of curriculum research and evaluation, placing teachers as both curriculum developers and evaluators in the articulation of intent, process, and outcome. This widened the scope of qualitative curriculum research and evaluation and prompted teacher researchers to adopt new qualitative inquiry paradigms to guide classroom action research. Stenhouse passionately advocated for teacher autonomy and self-assessment as powerful tools by which to enhance quality education. The classroom is seen as a place where teachers and students conduct research on problems inside and out of the classroom.

Third, Stenhouse opened the door to a new educational movement for, with, and by the force of teachers. Australian scholars such as Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart in the 1980s adopted Stenhouse's vision of the teacher-researcher and incorporated it into a discourse of critical theory. In the 1990s, this trend toward teacher-centered

educational improvement continued to blossom in the United States and in international contexts. The teacher-research movement makes more sense when connected to what Stenhouse called *emancipation*, a theme deeply grounded in his later writing. Emancipation enables teachers and allows them to attain a position as knowledgeable, sensitive, thoughtful, and professional. Stenhouse's unique vision of teacher emancipation is convergent with progressive self-criticism and professional ethics in which teachers inextricably intertwine ethical matters with issues of student learning and growth.

The impact of Stenhouse's work on the field of curriculum is explicit. His view of curriculum as hypothetical at the classroom level implies the ultimate necessity of achieving legitimacy for teacher research through which official knowledge becomes more culturally relevant and sheds light on contemporary versions of culturally responsive pedagogy. His vision in which students freely exercise higher-order thinking as they engage humanistic texts is still a valued aim of contemporary education. Further, his reenvisioned role for teachers as supporters of student knowledge construction through the ongoing development and evaluation of curricular experiences aligns with recent arguments for professionalism and teacher autonomy. Stenhouse's theoretical frameworks for curriculum and teacher research will remain classic as long as dedicated educators continue to search for local curriculum theories and meaningful curriculum implementation under the banner of collaborative teacher research.

*Jeasik Cho and Allen Trent*

*See also* Action Research; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher as Researcher

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## STRATEMEYER, FLORENCE B.

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Florence B. Stratemeyer (1900–1980) made profound and long-lasting contributions to the field of curriculum and fostered the development of teacher education as a field of study. Stratemeyer's most significant contribution to the field of curriculum studies was the 1947 publication, *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*, which she coauthored with Hamden L. Forkner and Margaret G. McKim. In this work, the authors posit that those responsible for developing curriculum should go beyond the creation of broad goals and specific skills, and consider the sequence and continuity of student experience. They address the significance of acknowledging and incorporating student experiences outside the classroom, and identify everyday concerns emerging from “persistent life problems” of the learner as the necessary foundation for teaching and learning. These comprehensive concerns are organized into the categories of health, intellectual power, moral choices, aesthetic expression and appreciation, person-to-person relationships, intergroup relationships, natural phenomena, technological resources, and economic-social-political structures and forces. Though the authors do not propose that these persistent life situations should be a definitive guide for curricular planning, they put forward that these concerns build meaningful connections between the learner and the subject matter to be taught and provide the impetus for active and engaged learning. The authors contended that curricular design must accommodate the unique development levels and learning styles of those that it serves, and warned that failure to do so could result in wasted time or worse—students learning information that will not facilitate their eventual contributions to society.

In this and other works, Stratemeyer reconceptualized the role of teacher as not merely a director of learning, but as a guide in a student-centered, democratic environment. She believed that teacher candidates should evolve as critical, independent

thinkers who would strive to encourage student achievement to the highest possible level. In a time of low standards and moderate goals, Stratemeyer's foundational principle of teacher education was to foster scholars who approached curricular decision making through the lens of “reasoned beliefs.” A professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, from 1930 to 1965, she also earned her bachelor's, master's, and PhD at that institution. At Teachers College, Stratemeyer was instrumental in the identification of teacher education as a legitimate, respected field of study. Likely unbeknownst to her, her theoretical and pedagogical decision making became the standard of excellence for teacher preparatory programming around the country. She contributed many noteworthy publications to the field of teacher education. In 1948, she coauthored the *School and Community Laboratory Experiences in Teacher Education*, or “The Flower's Report.” This influential work surveyed developments in teacher preparatory programming in the previous decade, organized evolving patterns, and elucidated the possibilities that could be realized through employment of professional laboratory experiences by identifying nine guiding principles for that practice. Stratemeyer contributed other prominent works, including five chapters in the 1968 publication *Teacher Education for a Free People, Working With Student Teachers, and New Horizons for the Teaching Profession* in 1961. In 1965, the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education published her sixth Hunt Lecture: “Perspectives on Action in Teacher Education.” In this address, Stratemeyer identified and offered her view on eight ongoing challenges in teacher education.

Stratemeyer was also instrumental in the development of the groundbreaking New School at Teachers College, and its premise clearly reflected her theoretical and pedagogical beliefs. With Thomas Alexander and other faculty, Stratemeyer developed an innovative preparatory program to cultivate teachers with unique insights and skills. The theoretical underpinning and goal of the New School was to develop teacher candidates who were inherently responsible for contributing to the rebuilding of a devastated, Depression-era society. This innovative learner-centered curriculum required teacher candidates to spend a summer working and learning on a 1,800-acre farm in



North Carolina, as well as to seek employment in the public sphere. Whether they were engaged in a foreign country or waiting tables in a Manhattan restaurant, the purpose of these requirements was to facilitate teacher candidates' understanding of the unprecedented experiences and challenges of families living in the United States in the 1930s. The New School was in operation from 1932 through 1939.

These works shed only partial light on Stratemeyer's commitment to excellence in teacher preparation; some would say her most significant contributions were made through her profound dedication to the many students with whom she worked. Stratemeyer genuinely appreciated and valued her students; she fostered their unique contributions to the field while perpetually explaining and questioning her own. She was dedicated to nurturing students' analytical and critical thought, often asking, "On what basis do you say that?" in classroom discourse. In her decades of service at Teachers College, Stratemeyer worked with several thousand master's students and advised approximately 150 successful doctoral students, many of whom went on to become leaders in the field. Some of her doctoral students include Margaret Lindsey, Dorothy McGeoch, and Martin Haberman. Haberman has written several pieces about his work with Stratemeyer. In one, he recalls Stratemeyer possessing the utmost consideration and intellectual deference for all of her students, remembering names and research trajectories with an almost uncanny accuracy. He recalled the specificity with which Stratemeyer fostered each student's writing, which included individual planning conferences and purposeful drafting with extensive feedback from the professor. Stratemeyer was the consummate teacher of teachers; her legacy carries on in the accomplishments of the thousands of students with whom she worked over the years.

*Laurel K. Chehayl*

*See also* Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice, History of

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## STRUCTURALISM

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*Structuralism* is a conceptual and methodological approach to describing and analyzing a variety of objects of inquiry including, for example, cultures, economics, language, literature, mythologies, politics, and societies. A structuralist analysis assumes that these objects of inquiry can be characterized by underlying structures conceived as systems of interrelated parts and that they can be defined (at least in part) by relationships among these constitutive elements. Structuralist assumptions (concerning both the existence of underlying structures and the methods by which they should be analyzed) developed within what we now tend to label "Continental" (that is, non-Anglophone European) philosophy—much of it French—during the early decades of the 20th century, but the influence of structuralism on both Continental and Anglo-American scholarship became much more prominent after World War II.

From the late 1940s through the 1970s (and to a diminished extent beyond), structuralist thought had a significant and explicit purchase on disciplines such as anthropology, cognitive development, literary criticism, mathematics, political science, and sociology. In retrospect, we can also discern implicit structuralist assumptions in the literatures of educational research and curriculum inquiry during this period. For example, two of the most influential curriculum texts in the immediate post-World War II era were Ralph Tyler's 1949 *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* and Benjamin Bloom and colleagues' 1956 *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. Neither of these texts proselytizes for structuralism nor do they cite structuralist literatures, but both texts appear to be replete with structuralist assumptions

and to invoke structural principles in their reasoning. Exposing, naming, and criticizing the structuralist assumptions that continue to pervade contemporary curriculum texts, discourses, and practices has largely fallen to scholars who adopt poststructuralist positions.

### A Brief History and Characterization

One of the earliest influences in the development of structuralism was Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*, a text published posthumously in 1916 that was compiled by his colleagues from students' notes of a series of lectures he gave at the University of Geneva from 1906 to 1911. Saussure applied structural analysis only to linguistic systems, but many Continental philosophers and intellectuals chose to apply his reasoning more widely, and his assumptions and methods were subsequently modified and extended to other disciplines and to nonlinguistic phenomena. Structuralism was increasingly taken up within fields such as anthropology, psychoanalysis, literary theory, and architecture so that by the 1960s and 1970s it had to a large extent eclipsed phenomenology and existentialism.

Structuralism assumes that all human social activities—the clothes we choose to wear, the books we write, the cultural rituals we practice—constitute languages and that their regularities can therefore be codified by abstract sets of underlying rules. Thus, for example, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan asserted that the unconscious was structured like a language, and Michel Foucault's early writings characterized knowledge about what can be spoken of in a discursive practice. Some of the distinctive properties of structuralism and its effects can therefore be appreciated by considering a number of Saussure's assumptions, assertions, and methods and seeing how some or all of these appear to underlie the reasoning and arguments of educational texts such as Tyler's rationale for curriculum development and Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives.

According to Saussure, language is structured before its realization in speech or writing. Language consists of a set of *signs*, each of which is constituted by a *signifier* (a sound or inscribed image) and a *signified* (a concept or meaning). Other scholars use different words for *signifier* and

*signified*, and most add a third aspect to Saussure's linguistic *sign* to include nonlinguistic objects or referents. For Saussure, signs are arbitrary because a word (*signifier*) is linked to a concept or meaning (*signified*) by the conventions and common usages of a particular speech community. Signs do not exist outside of a system and a word's meaning is determined by its relationships to, and differences from, other words, with the result that binary distinctions or oppositions tend to determine the content and normative commitments of the structure. Saussure also distinguished *langue* (language) from *parole* (speech), and his structural linguistics focuses on language (the totality of signs that constitute a natural language, such as French or English) and not on particular utterances. Saussure's analytic method examines language at one moment in time—a static snapshot of a constantly changing system—which moved semiology from *diachronic* to *synchronic* analysis. Thus, Saussure's structuralist linguistics appears to be ahistorical, a much-criticized (especially but not only by poststructuralists) characteristic that it shares with many other manifestations of structuralist thought. Finally, structuralist analysis of sign systems focuses on describing and mapping relationships, categories, and classifications and thus tends to represent itself as an ideologically neutral method. The cloak of ideological neutrality has led some critics to associate (or conflate) structuralism with positivism, but not all knowledge claims that arise from structuralist arguments can be taken as positivist.

When structuralist thought is applied to studies of society and social relations, the individual human subject is decentered. Structuralism questioned the salience of individual agency and sought to explain social interaction in terms of its predetermination by underlying social structures. For example, during the 1940s, Claude Lévi-Strauss initiated a program of structural anthropology that sought to identify the structures that determine cultural practices and myths across societies. In his 1949 book, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Lévi-Strauss applied structuralist reasoning to his examination of kinship systems across cultures and demonstrated that social arrangements that appeared to be different could plausibly be understood as permutations of a small number of underlying kinship structures.

By the early 1960s, many Continental scholars were working with structuralist ideas, although many resisted being labeled as such and some eventually became more identifiable as poststructuralists. For example, Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida explored structuralist approaches to literary criticism (although Derrida now is chiefly associated with deconstruction, which is a complex response to several theoretical and philosophical movements, especially phenomenology, psychoanalysis, and structuralism) and, as already noted, Jacques Lacan applied Saussure's structuralism to psychoanalysis. Methods of structural analysis (as distinct from structuralist assumptions) appear to have informed Jean Piaget's studies in developmental psychology, although he is more likely to have described himself as constructivist. Foucault explicitly denied his affiliation with structuralism in his later works, but his 1966 book, *The Order of Things*, seeks to explain how structures of epistemology (*episteme*) in the history of science have determined the ways in which we imagine knowledge and knowing. Thomas Kuhn also investigated the structured production of scientific knowledge and methods in his 1962 book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, which demonstrated how the conventions of scientists' speech communities shape standard practice and discourage deviations from "normal science" under most circumstances.

Louis Althusser also decenters the human subject in his structuralist interpretation of Marxism, in which he argues that individual agency and social interaction is predetermined by social structures, namely, *ideological state apparatuses* that reproduce capitalist relations of exploitation in the interests of the ruling class.

### Structuralist Thinking in Curriculum

Cleo Cherryholmes demonstrates (in his 1988 book, *Power and Criticism*) that many of the characteristics of structuralist thinking described earlier are pervasive (albeit unacknowledged) ways of thinking about education. Structuralist thinking in education foregrounds order, organization, and certainty, which Cherryholmes illustrates by exposing the structuralist assumptions, methods, and reasoning in Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* and Bloom and colleagues' *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*.

Tyler's Rationale is an approach to thinking systematically about curriculum and instruction that unequivocally imposes structuralist assumptions on those who use it by requiring them to

1. Define learning objectives
2. Select useful learning experiences
3. Organize experiences to maximize their effect
4. Evaluate the process and revise where needed

The structuralist characteristics of this rationale include the following:

- The four steps define and regulate curriculum, but the individual steps have no meaning outside of the system in which they are located; their curricular meanings are determined by the relationships among steps in the process. For example, learning objectives have little meaning when considered in isolation, but become meaningful in a systematic structure of organized learning experiences and evaluation. Similarly, an evaluation instrument has no meaning in isolation but becomes significant in the context of learning objectives and experiences.
- Binary distinctions and oppositions (many of which are tacit) determine the content and normative commitments of Tyler's rationale: purposeful/purposeless, organization/disorganization, accountability/nonaccountability, continuity/discontinuity, sequence/nonsequence, evaluation/nonevaluation. Readers are left in no doubt about which term in each pair is valued by the structure.
- Tyler's Rationale is ahistorical insofar as objectives, learning experiences, their organization, and evaluation are analyzed by reference to an immediate situation rather than to their historical antecedents.
- Tyler's Rationale is represented as an ideologically neutral design process.
- Tyler's rationale decenters the agency of teachers and learners by assuming that structural relations—among objectives, learning experiences, their organization, and evaluation—determine the curriculum and its meanings.

The full title of Bloom and colleagues' 1956 book, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Educational Goals, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*, excessively overdetermines its structuralist credentials (even though its authors do not cite a structuralist literature). The book begins with an epigraph that quotes *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary's* (1953) definition of taxonomy as the "classification, esp. of animals and plants according to their natural relationships," a definition that emphasizes that a taxonomy is more (that is, more structured) than a simple classification. The authors aspire to constructing a taxonomy in which the order of its terms corresponds to some "real" (their "scare" quotes) order among the phenomena represented by the terms. But the authors also recognize that taxonomies are social constructions and admit that terms and titles are often quite arbitrary. This juxtaposition of their acknowledgment of the arbitrariness of a sign with their desire for a sign to represent something that is "real," is an eloquent (though almost certainly unintended) reminder of structuralism's limitations and contradictions.

Drawing further on Cherryholmes's analyses of selected educational texts, Bloom and colleagues' taxonomy exemplifies several characteristics of structuralist reasoning:

- As the authors admit, the particular form of the taxonomy is arbitrary.
- The meaning and value of any one educational objective is determined by its relationships with other objectives (since assumptions about "real" or "natural" relationships are a guiding principle of the taxonomy); these meanings and values are produced in large part by binary distinctions between the taxonomy's categories, such as, comprehension/knowledge, application/comprehension, analysis/application, and so on (with the normative commitments being clearly signaled by the first-named terms in each pair being at a "higher" level in the taxonomy than the other).
- Human actors (teachers and students) are decentered because curricular values and meaning are located in structures external to individuals.

- The authors repeatedly and emphatically assert the taxonomy's value neutrality, claiming that it is "purely descriptive."

### Structuralism Now

Many contemporary scholars now reject an overly deterministic interpretation of underlying structures and instead seek a more dialectical, or mutually constitutive, relationship between agency and structure. For example, Anthony Giddens argues for "structuration theory" in sociological analysis as one way to avoid privileging either structure or agency. He suggests that individual actions are informed by social interaction and an awareness of structural contexts, that is, the interactions between individual agency and structural contexts determine both processes and outcomes. Foucault also reconceptualized the relationships of structure and agency by addressing questions about (for example) *how* structures appear to determine some things and not others, *how* agency is provided to some and denied to others, and *how* relationships between structure and agency come to be discursively constituted. Foucault's emphasis on determining historically located relationships between language, knowledge, power, and institutional practices distances his work from the ahistorical tendencies of earlier structuralists.

Many critics of structuralism now identify themselves as poststructuralists. The terms *structuralism* and *poststructuralism* are not binary opposites, and indeed, they have a number of continuities. Structuralists and poststructuralists share the view that the objects, elements, and meanings that constitute our "existential reality" are social constructions—they cannot be presumed to exist independently of human perception and activity. For example, a strictly structuralist orientation in semiotics would seek to identify and describe the codes and systems of signification with which we articulate experience and produce meaning. A poststructuralist orientation in semiotics would be more concerned with refining and critically analyzing the stories that structuralist semioticians construct—stories that purport to describe and explain the structures of other stories. Poststructuralist criticism is concerned with the extent to which analyses of narrative constructions are caught up in the processes and mechanisms they are analyzing. Poststructuralists are thus



suspicious of the view that anyone can get “outside” a cultural discourse or practice to describe its underlying rules and norms. For example, an analysis of political structures in a society cannot situate itself outside of these same political structures because it will necessarily be caught up in the processes and forces it attempts to describe, and will itself involve a political move or stance. Therefore, one way to investigate political structures and forces is to analyze the analyst’s own stance and seek to determine how her or his analytical discourse is worked by the structures and forces it is analyzing.

Structuralist assumptions have influenced contemporary thinking in education in significant ways, although in many instances, they are not identified as such by those who endorse them implicitly through their prescriptions and actions. As Cherryholmes points out, structuralism is consistent with teaching for objectives, standardized assessment, quantitative empiricism, systematic instruction, scientific management, and bureaucratic rationality. Such consistencies might alarm many critical-reconceptualist curriculum scholars, but they should also provide them with sufficient grounds not to dismiss structuralism as a failed (or fossilized) philosophy. Structuralist assumptions are alive and well, but they are not necessarily dangerous; only if they remain unacknowledged might they also be immune to criticism.

Noel Gough

See also Phenomenological Research; Poststructuralist Research; Tyler Rationale, The

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## STRUGGLE FOR THE AMERICAN CURRICULUM, THE

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In 1961, Lawrence Cremin published his landmark study, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957*, in which he identified a progressive education movement comprising an array of theorists and policy makers and asserted that it had a significant influence on public education until the movement’s rapid collapse after World War II. Twenty-five years later, Herbert Kliebard presented a compelling, meticulously detailed account that questioned the existence of a cohesive progressive education movement as well as the movement’s impact on U.S. education. In *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958*, which was revised in 1995 and 2004, Kliebard portrays this 65-year period as more about competing ideas and policies and less about a unified progressive approach to educational (and social) change. Rather than transformation, he suggests a battleground; rather than a movement, Kliebard highlights the role of interest groups with rather consistent and recognizable ideological positions, sometimes allying for the achievement of reforms but more often vying for control in the contested terrain that is the U.S. curriculum.

A least four such interest groups competed for supremacy in the determination of the curriculum. The first group, which held sway on curriculum matters during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was the humanists. Such educators as William Torrey Harris and Charles Eliot sought to provide children with a common curriculum that stressed mental discipline and the powers of reasoning on the one hand and the best of Western cultural

heritage and academic (university-based) disciplines on the other.

Reacting to the humanists' approach were three other groups of reformers that sought to change what schools taught and how the curriculum was organized. Developmentalists or child-centered progressives such as G. Stanley Hall sought curriculum that was more allied with the child's presumed interests, needs, and ways of learning. Some adherents, such as William Heard Kilpatrick, believed that children should not be taught directly but instead should engage in projects that essentially linked their immediate experiences and interests with worthy living.

A second group consisted of social efficiency educators or scientific curriculum makers who were particularly concerned with creating a smoothly running society. Educators such as John Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, and David Snedden looked to the work of industrial efficiency experts such as Frederick Winslow Taylor to guide them in their quest to make the best use of resources and effort in school life. They sought to ascertain, with expanded testing and counseling, the expected futures of children and then differentiate the curriculum so that children would receive the kind of education that would best prepare (fit) them for their predicted life after school.

A third group of reformers, reacting to the humanists' position, took a social meliorist or social reconstructionist approach to curriculum work, whereby teachers and students would function as principal actors in the advance of progressive social change and social justice. Emphasizing the political character of curriculum choices, the primary question for George Counts and Harold Rugg was not whether to advocate for a social vision, but the nature and extent of one's advocacy. These educators sought to strongly and openly advocate elimination of inequality, poverty, and prejudice (and in the view of others, to impose and indoctrinate their beliefs and values).

At the same time, there loomed another voice in the debates about schooling—that of John Dewey. The renowned U.S. philosopher explicated his own views of schooling and helped establish the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago in 1896. Dewey did not fit neatly into any of the camps just described and instead sought to

reconstruct the arguments in ways that respected the best of Western culture and its academic disciplines, took student interest into account, approached issues of efficiency from a more long-term perspective, and promoted democratic living.

The significance of *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* lies in its convincing argument that there was no unitary progressive education movement and that groups of educators and others with strong convictions about what should be taught to whom have long advocated for different approaches to curriculum deliberation and development. The result, as Kliebard makes clear, has been “a loose, largely unarticulated, and not very tidy compromise.”

Kenneth Teitelbaum

*See also* Curriculum, History of; Developmentalists Tradition; Dewey, John; Humanist Tradition; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Social Efficiency Tradition; Social Meliorists Tradition

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## SUBALTERN CURRICULUM STUDIES

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In a recent essay written for a 7th-grade English class, my granddaughter Janelle, engaged the questions: Who Am I? Who Are You? Who Are They? Ironically, these are the very same questions that concern subaltern scholars and which guide the work of those concerned with issues of curriculum studies. In fact, the questions and subsequent discussion, especially in regard to the intersubjectivity and fluidity of identity are central to subaltern curriculum studies.

In a 2007 essay, William Pinar defined curriculum as the intellectual site where individuals

struggle to define themselves and the world. The struggle that Pinar refers to is autobiographical, institutional, and highly complex, with new generations facing transformed worlds often times hardly imagined by their predecessors. For scholars and members of subaltern communities, however, curriculum studies also takes on the enormous burden of physical, cultural, and intellectual domination that comprise part of the legacy of colonization and imperialist practices brought on by the European domination of the world.

Referring to the European conquest of Meso-America, Pilar Gonzalbo notes that the initial conquest was a military endeavor, but the consolidation of the conquests depended on the ability to establish and maintain cultural and intellectual hegemony over the natives. This meant the annihilation of the Indigenous, cultural, discursive, and symbolic categories, or more simply put, the substitution of Western worldviews for the decimated cultural categories of the indigenous. Stuart Hall articulates the dilemma of the conquered by noting that such individuals have no history, no place to return, no language, and little knowledge of ancestors.

*Subaltern* is a term that is used most often in the area of postcolonial studies. The term, which originated in the work of Antonio Gramsci, is used to describe those individuals in subordinate positions of power. The term was adapted by postcolonial scholars beginning with its use by the subaltern studies historians, including Ranajit Guha and Partha Chatterjee, who have produced over five volumes of essays of *Subaltern Studies*, examining all aspects of subalternity including cultural, political, historical, and sociological themes. In an essay entitled, "Unpacking My Library . . . Again," Homi Bhabha uses the term *subaltern* as he describes oppressed minority groups whose presence serves to define the majority group. Bhabha argues that subaltern social groups always have the power to undermine the positions of those in positions of power because the dominant culture reproduces itself on mistaken identities of the subaltern.

Identity is central to the work of subaltern scholars such as Bhabha, Hall, and Gayatri Spivak, who elaborate greatly on the complexities of attempting to engage it in the shadow of cultural ruptures of the past related to the European

Imperialism. These scholars are part of a group of scholars associated with postcolonial studies, which is where the term *subaltern* is most often employed. Spivak in a widely cited piece, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" laments on the fruitless attempt to articulate an "impossible no," to the hegemony of the "West" which she describes as permeating the very heart of the consciousness of the subaltern.

Indeed, curriculum scholars, both subaltern and Western, have often taken heed of the metanarratives that emerged with the advent of modernity. Bernardo Gallegos elaborates on the curriculum of domination within the context of New Mexico and the Southwest. One of the prevalent legacies of the West's dominion over the world was the rise of modernity, characterized by the emergence of the Western (or European) Universal Subject. This theme arises in many contexts and classrooms throughout the world in the contexts of discussions about difference: Individuals may look different but all humans want the same things. The problem with the idea of the "universal subject" is that it universalizes certain traits common to Western subjects and promotes the idea that this is what is normal.

Renato Rosaldo, in "Culture and Truth," engages this point in a profound way by his study of the Llongot tribesmen who cut off the heads of neighboring tribes as a grieving ritual. Rosaldo invites readers to examine what are perceived as universal taboos as culturally based ways of interpreting reality. When one of the Llongot tribesmen questions the dropping of bombs on innocent Japanese citizens by Westerners, the issue of cultural relevance comes to the fore!

Subaltern curriculum scholars may never recapture lost worldviews, obliterated ways of thinking, or ways of being of our genetic ancestors. Descendants of slaves, such as Genizaro Indians in the Southwest or African Americans, may have to learn to live with the fact that we are children of imperialism, the descendants of colonialism. Indeed Hall is correct when he laments that his ancestors prayed and paid homage to gods he will never know!

Thus, curriculum studies for the subaltern moves into a sort of uncharted territory with infinite theoretical options. This is a space where the exploration of self, culture, and community is

inextricably tied to a great cultural, discursive, and historical rupture that has left the subaltern, especially slave descendents, with little to rest identity and scholarship on. Gallegos in *Performing School in the Shadow of Imperialism: A Hybrid, (Coyote) Interpretation* captures the discursive quandary well. Lamenting on the dilemma of subaltern scholar, unable to write from a place that is not inextricably tied to imperialist metanarratives, he argues for a “Coyote” interpretative framework. In the Southwest, *Coyote* was an ethnic group comprised of the children of Genizaro Indian servants and slaves. The term however is more widely known in the context of indigenous “Coyote Tales” most often equating “Coyote” as the cunning trickster who will do whatever it takes to promote its survival. The subaltern curriculum studies scholar obliged to take on the role of “Coyote” employs whatever theoretical frameworks fit at any given time to perform whatever is necessary for their survival in academic minefields in which they exist.

*Bernardo Gallegos*

*See also* Gramscian Thought; Postcolonial Theory; Spivakian Thought

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## SUBJECT-CENTERED CURRICULUM

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Throughout the 20th century, most curriculum specialists in the United States relied on three or four data sources for making curriculum decisions: the child, the society, learning processes, and subject matter. Although alternative curriculum development approaches or models have been advanced that relied on the first three sources, the subject areas have dominated school curriculum since the beginning of formal education in the United States. Subject-centered curriculum remains the most common type of curriculum organization in most states and in most local school districts today.

In subject-centered curricula, the subject matter itself serves as the organizing structure for what is studied and how it is studied. In its purest form, the curriculum for each subject-area is designed by subject-matter experts and is intended to be studied using subject-specific methods and tools of inquiry. Emphasis is on developing an understanding of the major facts, concepts, contexts, and processes specific to the subject. The curriculum focuses on the enduring ideas and practices from the subject area.

The subject-centered curriculum model can trace its genealogy back to medieval European universities. The Latin grammar schools of England were transplanted to colonial United States with their inherent subject-centered approach intact. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the key subjects included in the curriculum of Latin grammar schools in the United States. Over time, the subjects considered important by society and schools have changed. For example, by 1894 when the Committee of Ten issued its report, models for secondary school curricula were proposed that did not include the study of Latin or Greek. Instead of classical languages, the study of modern languages, such as French or German, was suggested because of their commercial value to business. Even though the seven *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* were purposefully phrased to stimulate cross-subject thought and practice, they were unable to unseat the subject-centered curriculum from the secondary schools.

Even though the subject-centered curriculum has remained the dominant curriculum design in



U.S. schools, some changes in how subject areas are defined have occurred over time. For example, before the 1920s, history was a distinct and separate subject. Economics, geography, and political science were also their own distinct separate subjects. However, by the 1930s *social studies* had become the generally accepted term for the broad field of study including history, economics, geography, and political science. Although a new subject area—social studies—had emerged in an effort to help present a more coherent and integrated curriculum, history remained the dominant subject in the broad field.

The creation of subject-specific standards and an emphasis on standards-based curriculum have been the most recent developments in subject-centered curricula. Typically developed under the auspices of national or international subject-specific professional organizations, these standards attempt to codify the knowledge all K–12 schoolchildren should experience during their educational experience. The standards writing tradition began in the 1990s after the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) released its first edition of standards for K–12 mathematics education. The NCTM standards were quickly followed by standards in all other major school subjects, including English, social studies, science, physical education, fine arts education, and modern languages. Additionally, standards have been developed for life skills, information literacy, collaboration, and other supporting areas for learning.

After the release of standards by national professional organizations, many states began adopting or adapting them for use in state-mandated minimum-competency testing programs. All children educated in a state must sit for these examinations, so schools scrambled to align their local curricula to the state-national standards. As a result standards-based curriculum development and standards-based instruction have become the most common version of the subject-centered curriculum currently used in the United States. Resources have been developed to support classroom teachers, principals, and district subject-area specialists as they work to develop standards-aligned, subject-centered curriculum and lesson plans. The creation of standards by national organizations of subject-specialist teachers at the K–12

and university levels has resulted in a de facto national curriculum in the United States. The creation and general acceptance of these standards by state and local schools have reaffirmed the privileged position of the subject-centered curriculum in U.S. schools.

Larry D. Burton

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Discipline-Based Curriculum; Standards, Curricular; Teacher-Centered Curriculum; Traditional Subjects

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## SUBTRACTIVE EDUCATION

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Subtractive education refers to curriculum policies, processes, or practices that remove students' culture or language from classroom contexts as a resource for learning or as a source of personal affirmation. Subtractive education assumes that students' academic successes depend on the degree to which they give up their own cultures or linguistic practices or traditions to assimilate into mainstream culture, a process often referred to as "Americanization" in the United States.

In her landmark book, *Subtractive Schooling*, Angela Valenzuela demonstrated that academic achievement is a social process that emerges through the lived experiences of students as they negotiate the numerous social, cultural, historical, and linguistic relationships that define their lives both in and out of school. Increasingly, public school curricula are organized in ways that systematically remove, or *subtract*, from the classroom context cultural resources for historically marginalized youth. The phenomenon of subtractive education leaves these students progressively vulnerable to academic failure because it denies them important social and cultural capital that

might otherwise assist them in establishing connections between themselves, curriculum content, and academic achievement. Thus, “the problem” of academic achievement among historically marginalized students can be found not with students, but with curriculum policies and practices that by design are intended to erase students’ culture.

One curriculum policy that has been widely associated with subtractive education practices includes external, high-stakes, standardized testing programs. Educational researchers who have focused their investigations on the effects of external testing systems on historically marginalized racial, cultural, or linguistic student groups have documented clearly the ways that such testing programs stand in stark contrast with cultural practices and even ways of understanding or gaining knowledge. Although judgments about historically marginalized students’ academic abilities or potential are made based on low test scores, many curriculum scholars have concluded that these scores merely reveal the degree to which these students have given up their own cultures and transitioned into mainstream, English-speaking, White culture. Other subtractive curriculum policies include English immersion, or English-only policies, as curriculum moves away from multicultural education toward canonical-focused curricula.

In contrast to culturally subtractive curriculum policies, culturally additive curriculum policies equalize educational opportunities by helping historically culturally or linguistically marginalized students to assimilate into the larger society through bi- or multicultural cultural processes. Through additive schooling policies, students do not have to choose between being, for example, Mexican or American; instead, they can be both. Whereas in a subtractive school setting, a student’s home culture and home language are viewed as deficits, or impediments to academic success, in additive educational settings, home culture and language are assets.

*Kris Sloan*

*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Critical Race Theory; Cultural and Linguistic Differences; Cultural Identities; Diversity Pedagogy; Equity; High-Stakes Testing; Immigrant and Minority Students’ Experience of Curriculum

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## SUMMERHILL

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Summerhill, a pioneering experiment in progressive, democratic education founded in 1921 by A. S. Neill, is a coeducational boarding and day school located in Suffolk, England, directed today by Zoe Readhead, Neill’s daughter. Begun as part of an international school called the Neue Schule near Dresden, Germany, the school soon moved to a castle on top of a mountain near Sonntagsberg in Austria, and in 1923 to the town of Lyme Regis in the south of England, to a house called Summerhill. In 1927, the school moved to its present site at Leiston in Suffolk, keeping the cheerful name Summerhill. During World War II, the school community evacuated to Wales for a time so that the British Army could use the site as a training facility, returning after the war to a run-down place.

Summerhill school has been running continuously since 1921, and it has consistently adhered to its essential character and philosophy, which can be succinctly stated as the belief that the school should be made to fit the child, rather than the other way around, and that the function of the child is to live his or her own life—not the life that anxious parents think best, nor the life prescribed by authoritative and certified experts. Neill believed that play belongs to the child absolutely and that children ought to be free to play as much as they like. Creative and imaginative play is an essential and entirely natural part of childhood, he argued, and spontaneous play could only be

undermined if adults tried to channel it toward “learning experiences.”

The philosophy and practice of Summerhill explains in part all the early relocations: affiliated educators and especially neighbors found the school radical and a bit nuts. Neill himself was a commanding figure—tall, opinionated, a severe Calvinist in upbringing and bearing—and he courted controversy. To underline his idea of freedom for children, he told stories, for example, of coming upon a group of boys throwing rocks at the schoolhouse windows, and rather than reprimanding or punishing, joining in the activity.

The school was depicted in the British press as the “Do-As-You-Please-School,” but over time won the respect of many well-known educators, artists, authors, and social scientists, including Bertrand Russell, Margaret Mead, and Henry Miller.

In the 1960s, Neill was approached by Harold Hart, a publisher from the United States, who wanted to publish a compilation of Neill’s writings. The result was the book *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Childhood*, an instant hit that became number one on the nonfiction best-selling list. It was soon published in England and many other countries becoming an international sensation and putting Neill and Summerhill on the map as leaders in alternative and progressive education.

*Summerhill* with its message of love and peace and freedom combined with its sharp critique of authoritarianism of any kind, hierarchy, control, sexual repression, shame, and punishment, hit the American *zeitgeist* like a divinely guided missile. It became a required text in the blossoming counter-culture, and both inspiration and road-map to a generation of teachers and education writers. John Holt, Herb Kohl, Jonathan Kozol, Paul Goodman, Bob Davis, and George Dennison all reported important encounters with Neill’s book.

Summerhill is still run as a democratic community with the business of the school conducted in school meetings, which serve as both the legislative and judicial body. Anyone, staff or pupil, may attend meetings, and everyone, from the youngest child to the head of school, has an equal vote. Members of the community are expected to make the decisions that affect their lives—a radical

notion of participatory democracy in practice—and are free to do as they please, as long as their actions do not cause harm to others. This extends to the freedom for pupils to choose which lessons, if any, to attend. All of this is the embodiment of Neill’s guiding principle: freedom, not license.

*William C. Ayers*

*See also* Alternative Schools; Child-Centered Curriculum

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## SUPERVISION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

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Supervision as a field of study is complicated for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most important of these reasons is that a deep division exists within the field about whether the purpose of supervision is to provide administrative oversight or to support teachers’ instruction. Another reason is that scholarship having to do with supervision does not exist as a well-demarcated body of literature and research, but can often be found within other related educational fields, including curriculum. Yet another reason is that supervision, both as a practice as well as a field of study, extends across the full range of a teaching career, and assumes various forms to address the needs and interests of teachers at varying stages of their professional development. Nevertheless, because specific models of supervision have been developed and widely researched, and because supervision is an important aspect of many roles in educational settings, it warrants consideration as a field of study.

### The Purpose of Supervision

History appears to be the best explanation for the schism that has developed in the field of

supervision between what can be described as its administrative and its instructional support purposes. The administrative purpose derives from monitoring and inspection practices recognized as formal supervisory responsibilities in the United States since the earliest schools in the original colonies. Beginning with committees of selectmen who visited those schools to make sure that teachers were living up to community expectations, to the inspection of schools in the country's growing cities by superintendents and later—as school systems grew larger—by principals and district central-office personnel, administrative oversight has existed to ensure the quality of teaching. The goal of such oversight has been to assess the quality of the teaching at any given time and, as Daniel and Laurel Tanner point out, has since colonial times also had improvement of instruction as an important goal.

For administrative supervision, such improvement of instruction is best addressed at a systems level. Good instruction at the classroom level depends on having high-quality components in other parts of the school or district system. An example of such a systems component is a formal curriculum aligned for scope and sequence across grades and subject areas, and perhaps even requiring teachers to implement prescribed lessons. The administrative supervisor's role is one of monitoring that this curriculum is being implemented in classrooms. Another example of the systems approach that characterizes administrative supervision is the use of a teacher evaluation of observation checklist to note the presence or absence of specific teaching behaviors. The administrative supervisor uses this checklist as the basis for an assessment of teachers' competence against the standard implicit in the checklist items.

The Hunter model that was widely used in the 1970s and 1980s provides a good illustration of administrative supervision. In that model, a seven-step lesson design sequence is accompanied by a checklist that administrators use during classroom observations to document the use of each of the steps. The model reflects a tightly integrated bureaucratic structure of clearly defined systems of instructional design, teaching, and evaluation.

Conversely, supervision for the purpose of instructional support approaches the goal of improving instruction from the perspective that

supervision offers teachers the assistance they need to become better practitioners. As such, it is an outgrowth of the development of teacher education programs in normal schools and in some city school districts during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In contrast with administrative supervision, which assumes that well-designed and monitored systems are sufficient to ensure good teaching, supervision as instructional support assumes that teachers develop their knowledge and skill through the experience of teaching. Furthermore, teachers are thought to develop such knowledge and skill in more individualistic and idiosyncratic ways.

Supervision as instructional support focuses on individual teachers or on small groups of teachers. Supervisors' work is close to the classroom as they collaborate with teachers to plan instruction and to review with them the evidence of the teaching and the students' learning that occurs in their particular classrooms. The role of the supervisor is to serve as a resource and an experienced colleague responsible for helping teachers become more aware of their own values about teaching and to assist them in building on their strengths and overcoming their weaknesses as practitioners.

Donald Schön's theory of reflective practice has offered a strong foundation for supervision as instructional support for the last three decades. Noreen Garman has called such reflection the heart of supervision. The roots of reflective practice lie in John Dewey's notion that experience is the basis for learning. In the case of supervision, reflective practice takes place at two levels. The first are teachers' deliberations with the supervisor about their teaching experience to develop or deepen their understanding of that experience—what Schön called *reflection-on-action*. The second—*reflection-in-action*—takes place as teachers are empowered in the supervisory relationship to become more aware during the actual process of teaching of their use of improvisation and intuition to achieve their instructional goals, and to value their use as a means for creating new knowledge and understanding of their practice.

### Supervision and Related Educational Fields of Study

Although supervision is recognized as a field of study in its own right, the fact that material on



supervision can also be found in the literature of a number of related fields blurs the boundaries distinguishing supervision from those other fields. For example, supervision is recognized in the field of educational administration as a function of administrative leadership. The administrative role most often identified with supervision is that of the principal. This identification is found both in literature and in practice where teachers view their principal as their supervisor. Particularly in these times of heightened accountability, principals are expected to assume the supervisory responsibilities associated with improving instruction in their schools. Those responsibilities include overseeing the work of teachers, and monitoring its quality as well as the results produced in the form of student learning.

The supervisory function that is most identified with administration, is the evaluation of teaching that, in most schools, principals are required to perform. Although the 2001 No Child Left Behind legislation emphasized student test data as an indicator of teachers' effectiveness, the formal evaluation process that includes classroom observation by an administrator and a summative postobservation conference remains the major official supervisory responsibility of principals. Patricia Holland and Noreen Garman, in fact, have argued that legislative mandates in most states for such observation-based evaluation of teaching are what give supervision its formal legitimacy as a practice.

Supervision also overlaps with the field of curriculum. The founding of ASCD in 1943 recognized the close relationship that had developed between supervision and curriculum, a relationship in which supervision ensured that teachers understood the curriculum and were implementing it successfully. Supervision meant the supervision of curriculum and was the responsibility of district-level curriculum coordinators. Their knowledge of supervision was intertwined with that of curriculum. By the early 1990s, however, there had developed what Edmund Short refers to as an estrangement between supervision and curriculum in which supervisors often had limited knowledge of curriculum and focused instead on technical skills of teaching. The implications of this estrangement were even more apparent in scholarship in the two fields as supervision became

increasing associated with more technical, administrative issues, and curriculum studies became more theoretical.

Another field that shares common ground with supervision is teacher education. In this field, the support function of supervision is most obvious, not surprisingly given that a major context of supervision is the supervision of preservice teachers, most often in their student teaching settings. This practice of preservice supervision focuses on how supervisors and cooperating teachers can best help aspiring teachers develop their understanding of and skill in teaching. During the past two decades, the theory of reflective practice has been widely adopted in the field of teacher education as foundational to teacher preparation programs and to the ways in which university supervisors of student teachers perform their role. Reflective practice was described earlier as also informing the study and practice of supervision. As such, this theory has forged the connection between supervision and teacher education scholarship in recent years.

A vibrant body of scholarship has also developed in teacher education around the professional development of teachers during their teaching careers. This scholarship is often distressing to scholars of supervision who contend that it fails to reference related work and concepts that have long been addressed in supervision. Action research, for example, is widely discussed in the literature on teachers' professional development, and has also been promoted by Carl Glickman and others as an important strategy in supervision. The failure to explicitly connect teacher professional development and supervision has diverted attention from the support function of supervision as scholars with an interest in this function have come to identify not with supervision, but with teacher professional development, which has become its own field of study.

### **Supervision Throughout a Teacher's Career**

Supervision occurs in various forms throughout a teacher's career. From the preservice supervision of student teaching through what Frances Schoonmaker described as approaches that encourage the renewal of veteran teachers' engagement in their practice, different forms of supervision exist

to address the needs and interests of teachers during their teaching career.

A hallmark of current in-school supervision is that teachers themselves assume responsibility for their own professional development as well as that of their colleagues. One such form of supervision that has become increasingly central in recent years with the growth of alternative certification programs for teachers is the mentoring of novice teachers by their more experienced colleagues. Teachers also assume collegial responsibility in other forms of in-school supervision such as peer coaching among veteran teachers, the use of “critical friends” protocols by groups of teachers, action research by individual teachers or small groups with a shared interest, and the “trainer of trainers” model in which certain teachers receive extensive preparation in a particular area or innovation so that they may assume a role as a resource for other teachers.

Diversity among the forms of supervision coupled with the diversity among teachers in their professional development needs and interests contributes to the complicated nature of inservice supervision as a field of study and practice. The development of standards for in-school supervision programs is a recent attempt to provide these programs with a cohesive identity as components of a school’s supervision system.

### Models of Supervision

Two widely researched and referenced models of supervision have shaped supervision as a field of study and practice during the past several decades. The first of these is clinical supervision, which was developed by Morris Cogan and his colleagues in Harvard’s master of arts in teaching program over a period of years beginning in the mid-1950s. The model—or “rationale” as Cogan called it—for clinical supervision rests on the premises that supervision is a process that occurred between colleagues, and that it involves the close examination of particularly chosen aspects of teaching and learning as they occur in a teacher’s classroom. A supervisor and a classroom teacher determine in advance what the focus of supervision will be and what evidence can be obtained during classroom observation to inform their study of that focus, and then meet together to analyze the evidence.

The goal of this process is to help teachers understand their practice better and to afford feedback and support they need to develop skills in the “clinic” of the classroom. Cogan articulated this process in eight specific steps or “phases” that included the supervisor and teacher working together to plan the lessons that would be observed and analyzed. Other supervision scholars have placed greater emphasis on the observation and postobservation conference, and less on collaborative planning. However, the core of clinical supervision as a process of classroom observation and analysis has become recognized as the way supervision is practiced.

The other dominant model of supervision is developmental supervision. Initially described by Glickman, this model draws on human development theory to explain three basic approaches to supervision that are appropriate for teachers at varying levels in their professional knowledge and skill. A teacher’s level of development is determined by two variables: commitment to students and to the work of teaching, and abstraction, which is the ability to think conceptually about teaching and classroom problems and to identify alternative approaches to practice. These two variables correspond to three approaches of directive, collaborative, and nondirective supervision that exist along a developmental continuum. The assumption is that as teachers mature professionally, their levels of commitment and abstraction increase, and they progress along the continuum. It is the supervisor’s responsibility to identify the teacher’s developmental level and to employ supervisory strategies that are appropriate to that level.

Clinical and developmental supervision are not mutually exclusive, but can be used concurrently for classroom supervision. Developmental supervision, however, also extends beyond the classroom to include a broader range of opportunities for teachers’ professional growth, such as curriculum development, staff development, and action research.

The two models of clinical and developmental supervision have been used as contexts for the study of supervision as it occurs in practice. Studies that view supervision from both administrative and support perspectives have adopted clinical and developmental supervision as models to define the practice of supervision. As such, these two models

have shaped a stable conceptualization of supervision as a field of practice and study.

*Patricia E. Holland*

*See also* Action Research; ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Curriculum Studies in Relation to the Field of Supervision; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development

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more fully understanding attitudes of participants regarding a topic of interest. Unlike experimental studies, survey studies attempt to avoid interventions with participants so as to capture reality as it exists at a given point in time. Survey research is important in the field of curriculum studies and is adaptable across a wide range of research problems. For example, survey data can be useful in understanding attitudes of educators, students, and others regarding new curricula, teaching practices, and curricular reforms.

Surveys may include collection of quantitative, qualitative, or mixed mode data, and data may be collected directly (e.g., via interview) or indirectly (e.g., via mail) from either individuals or groups. Highly sensitive topics (e.g., participant involvement in illegal activities) are often best addressed using indirect anonymous surveying methods. Survey data collection typically requires three elements: a survey tool (items), a sample of respondents (informants), and an interviewer. If surveys are administered indirectly (e.g., via mail, e-mail, or a Web site), no interviewer is needed. Careful development of survey tools is essential. Survey items may be open- or closed-ended depending on the type of responses sought. Items should be written to evoke the type of responses desired without being too leading. Moreover, care should be taken to sequence the questions so that more positive, higher-interest items come before negative or more tedious questions. It is also important to keep a written questionnaire or interview to a reasonable length to avoid participants' loss of interest or failure to complete the survey.

Surveys may be administered in a variety of ways. Direct methods, such as personally administered pencil and paper surveys, face-to-face interviews, and telephone polling, provide the researcher with opportunities for personal interaction with the participants as well as the ability to ask clarifying follow-up questions and to identify problems with administration of the survey. Focus groups allow the researcher to assess the views of a number of participants simultaneously, and the social interaction provided in this setting may increase the quality of the data gathered. Advances in technology during the last two decades have yielded new methods (e.g., personal response system "clickers") for gathering numeric data from a live group of participants. Indirect methods (e.g., mail,

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## SURVEY RESEARCH

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The term *survey research* refers to a family of non-experimental research methods using the collection of self-report data to assist the researcher in

e-mail, Internet surveys) allow surveys to be distributed to large samples at a relatively low cost; however, response rates tend to be low (often around 20%), some respondents fail to answer all of the questions, and it is difficult to determine who is actually responding to the surveys and whether there are problems with survey administration. When response rates are low, follow-up reminders can sometimes prompt nonrespondents to complete mail or Internet surveys.

Surveys may be used to provide descriptive data relative to a phenomenon of interest or to investigate relationships between variables. Survey data lend themselves to a variety of research designs and data analytic procedures depending of the type of questions asked. Continuous response formats (e.g., Likert scales, semantic differentials) generate numeric data that can be compiled and summarized in a variety of ways using descriptive statistics. Cross-tabulations may be used to compare survey responses across demographic subsets and allow the researcher, if desired, to test causal comparative or correlational inferences. Interviews and free-response written questions yield verbal data that can be subjected to content analysis or coded for use in ethnographic or grounded theory studies.

Careful selection of a sample is important to the success of survey studies. Samples may be selected using probability (e.g., random, stratified random) or nonprobability (e.g., convenience, snowball) methods. Regardless of the sampling method employed, the researcher should clarify the population of interest to which generalizations are sought and provide adequate description to show how the sample in hand represents the heterogeneity of that population. Whereas most survey studies involve small samples or research problems of a local scope, there are examples of large national surveys of curriculum. For example, the ACT National Curriculum Survey collects data from a nationally representative sample of several thousand educators every 3 to 5 years to determine the skills typically taught in reading, mathematics, English/writing, and reading at the middle school, high school, and college levels. The survey also determines educators' attitudes about the preparedness of students for college-level work.

Larry G. Daniel

*See also* Complementary Methods Research; Mixed Methods Research; Quantitative Research

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## SYNOPTIC TEXTBOOKS

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Synoptic textbooks were developed to summarize and conceptualize curriculum literature for curriculum leaders and burgeoning scholars as it began to expand and differentiate during the first half of the 20th century. The term *synoptic text* in curriculum literature was first used in 1980 by William H. Schubert and Ann Lopez Schubert in *Curriculum Books: The First Eighty Years*. Application of the term to curriculum studies derives from the theological labeling of the Christian Bible's New Testament gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) as synoptic because they provide synopses of the life of Jesus Christ. Historically, another source called *Q* has not been located, but is believed to contain many direct quotations of Christ. Metaphoric use of *synoptic* in curriculum studies then sees *synoptic curriculum textbooks* as summaries of central contributions in the *life* of the curriculum field, and collections of primary source articles as equivalent to *Q*. Although it might seem out of place to use such a religious analogy, the contention fits with the seriousness of theorizing about what children and youths need to know to live good and just lives. This is the essence of the question (What is worthwhile?) that lies at the heart of curriculum inquiry. James B. Macdonald is often quoted for capturing the seriousness of curriculum theory as a prayerful act.

The first widely recognized synoptic curriculum text was *Curriculum Development* by Hollis Caswell and Doak Campbell, published in 1935. Early synoptic texts often used the term *curriculum*



*development* in the title. This is indicative of the curriculum development era as distinguished from the era, begun in the 1970s, that has become known as the curriculum studies era. The latter placed focus on *understanding* curriculum in schools and other educational dimensions of society rather than on merely *developing* preordained learning experience in schools. These two curriculum eras were principally distinguished by William Pinar and colleagues.

Several curriculum texts preceded those by Caswell and Campbell (e.g., by Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, Henry Harap, and L. Thomas Hopkins), but they were designed to be guidebooks for curriculum leaders in schools, more than synoptic conceptualizations of the literature. Only Hopkins's 1929 *Curriculum Principles and Practices* moved beyond the how-to manual approach, by engaging readers in philosophical underpinnings of questions that perplexed practitioners. This creative variation of synoptic questioning had precedent in the *26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Constructed by an all-star team of curriculum scholars from different intellectual persuasions and led by Harold Rugg, this volume resulted in a composite statement, and comments of rebuttal by members of the team. Despite the indelible contribution of Rugg's 1927 committee, the Caswell and Campbell effort was the first to attempt to organize knowledge of the field as a basis for curriculum development. Thus, it is deemed the first synoptic curriculum textbook.

The synoptic text was considered to be a scholarly achievement in its own right, since it was at once a review of the literature and a reorganization of salient ideas of the field. For at least seven decades, synoptic textbooks set the stage for curriculum scholarship and leadership, especially during the curriculum development era. Dominant synoptic texts of the 1940s were authored by J. Minor Gwynn in 1943, who published editions across four decades, and was joined in the late 1960s by J. B. Chase; Harold Albery, in 1947 who was joined by Elsie Albery in subsequent editions; by Florence Stratemeyer and coauthors H. L. Forkner, M. G. McKim, in 1947, joined by A. H. Passow in a 1957 edition.

A key synoptic curriculum text of the 1950s was authored by B. Othanel Smith, William O.

Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, titled *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*. The 1950s also brought a more streamlined kind of synoptic text, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* by Ralph Tyler, first published in 1949, with many subsequent printings. It was an analytical frame constructed around four central questions or topics: purposes, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation. These factors became the organizing structure of lesson plans, instructor's manuals for textbooks, units of study, whole curricula, and the influence was worldwide. Tyler's topical questions emerged from his experience as director of evaluation on the Eight Year Study, and one of his key associates in that work, Hilda Taba, authored the major synoptic curriculum text of the 1960s, *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice*, published in 1962. Like the Smith, Stanley, and Shores's texts, Taba's brought a substantial array of literature together to conceptualize major considerations of curriculum scholarship and practical enactment.

Two books exemplify the *Q* emphasis on primary sources by bringing together readings from journals that could supplement the secondary sources that synoptic texts provided: M. D. Alcorn and J. M. Linley's *Issues in Curriculum Development* in 1959, and E. C. Short and G. D. Marconni's *Contemporary Thought in Public School Curriculum* in 1968. As the field moved away from exclusive preoccupation with curriculum development in the 1970s, the last major synoptic text espousing curriculum development was produced in 1975, *Curriculum Development: Theory Into Practice* by Daniel and Laurel Tanner, a book that emphasized curriculum history more than any of the preceding synoptic texts, and brought out new editions for three more decades.

In addition to synoptic curriculum texts that established new integrations of curriculum to guide scholarship, another useful brand of synoptic text emerged over the years, one that addressed practical concerns of teachers and school leaders. Descendants of early books by Bobbitt, Charters, Harap, J. K. and M. A. Norton in 1935 and L. M. and D. M. Lee in 1940 and 1950—two of the best known of these practice-oriented texts were authored by J. Galen Saylor and William M. Alexander (both former students of Caswell). A text first published in 1964 with revisions through

four decades by Ronald C. Doll combined synopses of literature with how-to approaches. Other volumes bridged the gap between the scholarly synoptic texts and the practitioner-oriented ones, such as those by Gerald R. Firth and R. D. Kimpston in 1973, and Ronald Zais in 1976. Today, the tradition of synoptic texts for practitioners continues with books by many authors, often in several editions, for example: J. Wiles and J. Bondi, P. Oliva, A. Ornstein and F. Hunkins, G. Posner, and A. Rudnitsky, and additional texts that bridged the scholar-practitioner gap, such as those by Colin Marsh and George Willis, Decker Walker, and by George Posner.

During the postcurriculum development era, new variations of the synoptic text emerged to characterize the new field of curriculum studies. One of the first attempts was by Elliot Eisner starting in 1979, with subsequent editions, that focused on imaginative and artistic dimensions of curriculum design and evaluation that drew upon images of critics and connoisseurs applied to education. Another kind of synoptic text by Schubert combined perspectives from the educational foundations with paradigms to express possibilities that integrate concerns of both developing and understanding curriculum. Bibliographical studies were offered as another synoptic text under the assumption that synopsis should consist of listing curriculum books, placing them in context, and discussing themes of thought in each decade, such as provided by Schubert and Lopez Schubert in 1980, and augmented by Schubert, Lopez Schubert, T. P. Thomas, and W. M. Carroll in 2002. Another variation of synoptic text was provided in 1995 by Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman, one that organized curriculum relative to several discourse communities: historical, political, racial, gender, phenomenological, postmodern, biographical or autobiographical, aesthetic, theological, international, and institutional texts—the latter being focused on curriculum development, teachers, and students in schools. Dan Marshall, Jim Sears, and Schubert provided a postmodern pastiche-like synoptic text in 2000 that was revised in 2007 with new third and fourth authors, Louise Allen and Patrick Roberts; it consisted of a chronology of selected excerpts since 1950, commentaries from interviews with major scholars in each era, parallel stories from cultural

developments, commentaries by the authors about curriculum work done during each era since 1950, and extensive bibliographies.

Today, the notion of synoptic can be seen as central to curriculum itself, raising the question of how human beings learn from what has gone on before, incorporate it to understand the present, and use it to forge possibilities for their futures. As well, synoptic perspectives pertain to ways in which educators in schools have summarized that which is deemed worthy of knowing, often struggling with prevailing societal demands of government and business and grappling with the interests served. Perhaps the future of synoptic work will focus more on questions to be raised than on answers to be purveyed.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Collectives of Curriculum Professors, Institutional; *Curriculum Books; Curriculum Development; Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*

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## SYSTEMIC REFORM

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The contemporary education policy period marks a shift away from the idea that change happens

organically, one school at a time. Instead, there is a focus on creating a systematic infrastructure to support change, and the goal is to achieve change across a large number of schools at the same time. In recent decades, there have been several types of systemic reform efforts in the United States and across other Western countries, most significantly the growth of state and federal systems of standards and accountability.

The publication of the 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, likely marked the beginning of the systemic reform movement in the United States. The report argued that students in U.S. schools failed to compete on an international level and lagged behind in several key foundational areas. Although some criticized the report for being overly alarmist and inaccurate, most agree that the report prompted policy makers to question the value of public education in terms of its effectiveness and outcomes given the past two decades of increased investment. Soon thereafter, the standards-based reform period then entered the policy stage of the mid-1980s and 1990s.

Following the recommendations made by the report, policy aims turned to improving the academic and professional quality of U.S. schools. Policies focused on establishing minimum competency standards targeted at students and teachers. More specifically, the recommendations focused on raising high school curriculum and teacher education standards. The main policies included increasing academic standards, adding teacher credentialing requirements, and intensifying school-related practices (e.g., increasing school hours).

However, most state systems lacked coherence in their overall approach to reform. Thus, although the underlying hope of the federal policy initiatives were to improve teacher and student performance, the policy designs focused on fidelity and establishment of programs rather than on the quality of programs. As the standards-based reform era developed momentum, the policies of the 1990s explicitly focused on improving the quality and delivery of school-related services, especially instruction and curricula. Making a strong case against piecemeal approaches to reform, Marshall Smith and Jennifer O'Day, in a now-landmark article, argued for system alignment and coherence. Policy instruments were developed to produce systems-level reform by emphasizing alignment

of resources, coordinating efforts amongst government agencies, and redistributing authority. During this period, new governance structures such as site-based management and charter schools took stage. Redistribution of authority, comprehensive school reform models, and public-private partnerships also emerged as important features of the reform landscape.

The crystallization of systemic reform movement occurred with the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001, which instituted the first federal accountability system based on assessments and standards. As the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), NCLB is particularly noteworthy because it moves past the traditional focus on schooling "inputs" and holds educators responsible for student performance results. Under this system, the mechanisms for accomplishing these goals emphasize data-driven decision making, the implementation of evidence-based practices, and increased school choice for parents. Specifically, it requires states to have standards detailing content for student learning. Testing is also mandatory for Grades 3 to 8 and results must be used to drive instruction and teaching practices. In addition, student performance data must be disaggregated based on major demographic classifications such as race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, disability, and English language learner status. The accountability demands were coupled with prescriptive intervention remedies for schools not meeting adequate yearly progress (AYP). Schools are pushed to improve under threat of sanctions that ultimately allow parents to opt out of low-performing schools. Additionally, guidelines for enhancing teacher quality were laid out.

Thus, the systemic reform movement marks a shift in policy making from the reliance on resources, incentives, and compliance to the current reform trinity of standards, assessments, and accountability. These new policy tools are held together by assumptions on the need for policy coherence, system alignment, and coordination among various education agencies. Standards, tests aligned to standards, and accountability systems are stronger policy instruments because they attempt to directly influence instruction and student outcomes. However, the how and why of teaching and learning remain unaddressed.

Standards provide guidance on classroom content but do not necessarily assist teachers in translating standards into effective instructional practices.

Nevertheless, with the aim of improving the effectiveness of schooling practices and a focus on student outcomes, the scale of its intended impact has led to increased centralization and standardization across all levels of the system.

*Amanda Datnow*

*See also* *Nation at Risk, A*; *No Child Left Behind*

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## TABA, HILDA

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Hilda Taba (1902–1967) struggled to find the most effective way to create curriculum that would yield what she considered to be an educated populace; critical thinkers searching for meaning and understanding of the world around them and prepared to meet the challenges of a future that would be constantly changing. This struggle was not a top-down, externally created, and imposed curriculum package, but rather a process of developing curriculum from the bottom up by working with the classroom teachers delivering that curriculum to their students using instructional strategies that would further the goals of education in a democratic society. Taba's principles of curriculum can be easily implemented in any academic discipline or across disciplines as desired by the local school system. Taba's interests in the integration of objectives in the areas of content, skills, and attitudes as well as her inductive instructional strategies—concept attainment and concept development—to realize those objectives would be considered cutting-edge pedagogy today. Her concerns with what in her day was called “intergroup education,” currently known as multicultural education, as well as her interest in instructional strategies focused on minority, in those days, “culturally disadvantaged,” or diverse students makes her an educator whose ideas are timely. Her interests in action research, in evaluation as crucial to the educational process and her belief that there is a need for qualitative as well as quantitative measurement in

that evaluation process, reinforce the timeliness of her ideas as a curriculum theorist. For Taba, learning to think was the main goal, and balancing the curriculum to meet multiple needs was the path to attainment of the goal.

In 1935, Taba was invited by Ralph Tyler to join the Eight Year Study where she was put in charge of the team evaluating social sensitivity, a topic related to the goal of preparing students for effective democratic participation. This is an area not easily assessed by traditional pencil and paper tests because it concerns attitudes about class, race, and ethnicity generally seen in students' social lives rather than in academic preparation. Thus, the evaluation would need qualitative as well as quantitative measures.

As a result of this experience, a crucial part of any Taba curriculum plan became staff development—working intensively, often in workshops, with teachers to assist them in understanding the concepts, ideas, and pedagogy necessary to implement the curriculum. Significantly, the first step was for the teachers to identify problems they were having in their classrooms with the curriculum or student learning. Everything flowed from the felt problems of the teachers with curriculum changes coming afterward as part of the solution to the teachers' problems. Taba believed that until teachers understood their curriculum—what they were doing and why they were doing it—no really effective student learning could take place. In other words, deep teacher understanding promotes student learning.

In 1944, as director of the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools project, Taba called for

educators to develop their students' empathy toward diverse cultural perspectives while placing great emphasis on the power of critical intelligence and common—democratic values in the fight against bigotry. Units of study would vary according to the needs of the students but the objective of prejudice reduction would remain constant. In many respects, this is an action research approach. The teachers identify felt problems with their own situations—classroom, curricula, student learning, school, community—and seek to solve the problems. The evaluation of the success of the solutions—new curriculum or pedagogy—required new evaluation methods, similar to those in the social sensitivity study where qualitative changes in attitudes as well as accumulation of academic knowledge and skills were the ultimate goals.

Taba's next big projects were to engage in a long-term curriculum project revision with the K–8 social studies teachers in Contra Costa County, California, and to publish her synoptic text on curriculum development. These reflected Taba's core ideas: content needs to be sampled, and, although the concepts may be generalizable to a "standardized" curriculum, even a national curriculum, the specific content examples or "samples" would vary from school to school and even, depending on the learners' needs, from classroom to classroom. Further, once fundamental concepts are decided upon, they need to be taught at higher and higher levels of abstraction across the years of schooling. The best demonstration of this "spiral curriculum" is the curriculum developed by the teachers in Contra Costa County. Once the concepts, generalizations, and units of study had been determined, the students' learning experiences or activities would be decided upon by the teacher(s).

Taba firmly believed that each learning activity required pedagogy appropriate to the achievement of the generalization that students were supposed to acquire. In almost every case, the pedagogy of choice was active and inductive. The testing or evaluation of this curriculum would be focused on the ability to use the understandings, that is, skills, knowledge, and attitudes in ways consistent with today's construct of authentic assessment tasks. Using the Taba process of moving from the specific to the general, the curriculum model begins with the stakeholders struggling over what objectives, concepts, skills, and attitudes are important to

include, and once the generalizations embedded in those concepts are formulated, teachers can design curriculum experiences, that is, learning activities, that enable the acquisition of that knowledge.

In our current top-down, standards-driven society, the Taba model gets little attention. Taba's insistence on teaching for meaning and understanding, learning for depth of knowledge, and inclusion of skills and attitudes important for life in a democratic society could use much more attention by curriculum developers and designers. Her belief in the importance of ongoing evaluation and curriculum refinement based on the results of the assessment data gathered has great salience in our accountability-driven age. Taba embodies the best of progressive educational philosophy while seeking rigorous inclusion of academic content. In the final analysis, Taba is about balance—integrating curriculum to create critical thinkers and problem solvers by using conceptual content and inductive pedagogies to prepare students for an active, fulfilling life. Taba's untimely death in 1967 cut off her longitudinal work with the Contra Costa teachers, but her curriculum model could be revived and implemented today if there were sufficient time and energy committed to staff development and funds allocated to implement the work.

*Barbara Slater Stern*

*See also* Action Research; *Curriculum Development*

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## TACIT KNOWLEDGE

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The concept of tacit knowledge is sometimes presented as a type of knowing with two dimensions: It is acquired through experience rather than

direct instruction, and the knower is unable to articulate it or, as the now familiar phrase goes, “We know more than we can tell.” However, a broader importance of the concept must be recognized because it represents a historic rupture in many social scientists’ understanding of the nature of knowledge. Developed by chemist and philosopher Michael Polanyi, the concept contributed to what has been called the “interpretive turn” in the social sciences, as well as to the reconceptualization of curriculum studies.

In the mid- to late 20th century, some social scientists began a shift away from positivism, the belief that there can be any scientifically neutral, impersonal perspective, and toward interpretivism, the belief that all human endeavors, including the scientific, are unavoidably embedded in cultural traditions and prejudices. Polanyi was one of the early voices protesting the notion of the possibility of detached objectivity. His work, arguing that all knowledge is based in tacit or “personal” knowledge, provided fertile ground for early reconceptualist theorizing. A look at the 1975 classic *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*, edited by William Pinar, shows that seven of the chapters draw on Polanyi’s theory of knowledge. Although Polanyi is only occasionally cited in current curriculum studies literature, his ideas helped make much of it possible, including, but not limited to, discourses based on the political (e.g., the hidden curriculum), the aesthetic, the spiritual, hermeneutics, autobiography, and narrative. Some of the most explicit development of the implications of tacit knowing for curriculum work can be seen in James Macdonald’s political work, as well as in his transcendental developmental ideology, and in Michael Connelly and D. Jean Clandinin’s work on personal practical knowledge.

Polanyi illustrated tacit knowing as a triad: First, there are the subsidiaries (e.g., senses) we employ in focusing on the second element: the object of our attention. The knower is the third necessary factor, for the individual integrates the subsidiary and the focal in the active process of tacit knowing. Polanyi emphasized that the tacit knowledge of any person or scientific community provided a matrix within which all inquiry occurs. As such, it supplies taken-for-granted assumptions, rules of evidence and procedure, and a sense of what is appropriate or inappropriate to investigate.

He found the ideal of a strictly explicit knowledge to be self-contradictory, noting that if all words, formulae, and graphics were stripped of their tacit properties, they would be meaningless. Therefore, because all knowing requires the knower’s continual integration of even explicit knowledge into the tacit, Polanyi concluded that all knowing is personal knowing.

Nancy J. Brooks

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; *Curriculum Theorizing*; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Hidden Curriculum; Personal Practical Knowledge Research; *Realms of Meaning*; Reconceptualization

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## TAXONOMIES OF OBJECTIVES AND LEARNING

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An objective can be defined as a statement of what educators intend students to learn as a result of the educational experiences in which educators engage students. Because objectives are statements, they take on a common form, namely, subject-verb-object. The subject is the learner or, more generally, the student. The object indicates the content to be learned. The verb indicates how the student is expected to process the content. Using this form, one objective might be, “The student will learn to classify poems.” In this example, the content is poems; the process is classify. The phrase “will learn to” is simply a reminder that intentions are involved, which, one hopes, will be actualized at some time in the future. Learners can learn to classify content other than poems. They can learn to classify animals, works of art, and numbers.

Benjamin S. Bloom was one of the first educators to realize the universality of a finite number of verbs across a variety of subject matters. Somewhat unfortunately, but understandable in the context of the times, he referred to these verbs as “student behaviors.” What came to be known as Bloom’s Taxonomy was, in fact, a classification of these universal behaviors.

Since the publication of Bloom’s Taxonomy in 1956, at least 19 alternate frameworks for classifying educational objectives have been developed. Eleven of these frameworks included a single dimension, as did Bloom’s Taxonomy. The other frameworks contained multiple dimensions, ranging from two through five. In November 1995, a group of eight cognitive psychologists, curriculum theorists, and instructional researchers, and testing and assessment specialists met in Syracuse, New York, to consider a major revision of Bloom’s Taxonomy. Deciding that a revision was both necessary and feasible, they worked over the next 5 years to prepare a volume that was published in 2001.

The Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy (RBT) contains two dimensions. The *cognitive process dimension* represents the verbs included in objectives. The cognitive process categories were derived from the six categories of Bloom’s Taxonomy: *remember* (replacing *knowledge*), *understand* (replacing *comprehension*), *apply*, *analyze*, *evaluate* (moved one position lower on the continuum), and *create* (replacing *synthesis* and moved one position higher). The *knowledge dimension* represents the objects of objectives. This dimension includes four generic types of knowledge that transcend specific subject matters: (1) factual knowledge, (2) conceptual knowledge, (3) procedural knowledge, and (4) metacognitive knowledge. Within the framework of the RBT, the objective mentioned earlier, “The student will learn to classify poems,” is of the form “The student will understand (which includes classify as a specific process) conceptual knowledge (because we’re interested in *types* of poetry rather *specific* poems).”

Using the RBT to examine objectives provides curriculum developers with a more complete understanding of specific objectives. Too often, the focus is on the content only. Teachers teach novels, fractions, mammals, conquests, Impressionism, jazz, and lacrosse. Increasingly, however, curriculum developers and educators have come to understand

that learning involves more than simply encountering—perhaps memorizing—content. Learning involves interacting with and acting on the content in various ways. These “ways of acting” are represented in the RBT by the verbs included on the cognitive process dimension. Students can learn to *remember* the authors of specific novels. They also may learn to *interpret* the actions of characters within the novels or *explain* the impact of the setting on the tone of a novel. Eventually, they may learn to *evaluate* the quality of specific novels and, perhaps, *create* a novel of their own. These are only five of the myriad of objectives that can be built around the study of the novel. They differ not in the content, but in the cognitive processes required of the student.

With this increased understanding of intended learning outcomes, curriculum developers can move to the question, “How can we design instruction so students learn what we expect them to learn?” Importantly, similar instructional strategies are needed with objectives of common RBT forms. Learning to classify, for example, is facilitated by instruction that enables students to understand the key differences among the categories under consideration (e.g., fiction vs. nonfiction, rational vs. irrational numbers). It also requires instruction that allows students to classify for themselves, rather than watch the teacher classify.

Examining objectives through the lens of the RBT also enables curriculum developers to design valid and reliable assessments of student learning with respect to the objectives. Assessing students’ ability to classify requires that students are asked to place a set of specific instances into various categories. They also may be asked to give a rationale for their placement so that curriculum developers know that they understand the basis for their classifications.

Ultimately, by using taxonomies such as the RBT, curriculum developers are able to increase the alignment among three critical components of curriculum: objectives, instruction, and assessment. Curriculum alignment, in turn, increases the validity of assessment and the effectiveness of instruction. Taxonomies, then, help us understand what is worth learning and help us design educational systems that are likely to help large numbers of students successfully achieve goals and expectations.

L. W. Anderson



See also Achievement Tests; Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Curriculum Evaluation; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*

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## TAXONOMY OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES, HANDBOOK I: COGNITIVE DOMAIN

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Robert Hutchins's General Education Plan for the undergraduate division of the University of Chicago, which he introduced shortly after assuming the presidency of the university in 1931, included an innovative curriculum. The curriculum consisted of 14 yearlong comprehensive courses, each integrating an academic discipline—the physical, biological, and social sciences, and the humanities. Students demonstrated mastery of each course within the curriculum by passing a comprehensive examination that could be administered at any time. By stating the requirements for graduation in terms of examinations to be successfully completed, it was believed that students could be helped to see that they had responsibility for decisions about the rate at which they would complete the college program, as well as decisions about class attendance and the proper amount and method of study.

The responsibility for developing basic principles for constructing examinations that were aligned with course objectives as well as administering and scoring the examinations fell to a board of examiners, the head of which was known as the university examiner. In 1943, Benjamin S. Bloom assumed the role of university examiner at the

University of Chicago, replacing Ralph W. Tyler, his mentor. Five years later, Bloom organized an informal meeting of university examiners at the American Psychological Association convention. After considerable discussion, there was agreement that the development of a common framework that could be used to classify curricular goals and course objectives would be useful in promoting the exchange of test items aligned with various types of objectives. At Bloom's urging, this framework would be known as a taxonomy and was published under the title *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*.

Because of its focus and purpose, David Krathwohl has noted that the taxonomy was originally known as the "examiners' taxonomy." After reviewing the differences between the pre-publication copy of the taxonomy with the final copy, Lauren Sosniak pointed out that although the opening paragraph of the final copy indicates a desire to be of help to persons engaged in curriculum studies and design, there is ample evidence that the volume was *not* intended to serve curriculum work. As time passed, however, an increasing number of curriculum specialists, particularly those associated with state departments of education in the United States and those associated with ministries of education in countries outside the United States began to use Bloom's Taxonomy in their work.

Based on objectives provided by faculty teaching a variety of college and university courses, the designers of the taxonomy were able to identify six major types of objectives that cut across all academic disciplines. They labeled these types, or categories, knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. As designed, the categories formed a cumulative hierarchy. That is, the categories were arranged from simple to complex, with each more complex category building on and incorporating each lower category.

Criticisms of the taxonomy began to appear almost immediately after its publication. Three of the most frequent criticisms were the following:

1. The categories are overly behavioristic, with an emphasis on student behavior rather than on student learning. Consequently, there is the risk of confusing an objective (desired learning) with its indicator (student behavior).

2. The validity of the assumption of a cumulative hierarchy is questionable. Certain demands for knowledge are more complex than certain demands for analysis or evaluation. Thus, the lockstep sequence underlying the taxonomy is simplistic and naïve.
3. Not all important learning outcomes can be made explicit or operational. Furthermore, the ease of stating objectives differs greatly across the curriculum, from one subject matter to another.

Despite these criticisms (and more), the taxonomy has stood the test of time. It has been translated into at least 21 languages. A search of Internet sites indicates that it is still being used to guide curriculum specialists, test developers, and teachers in the practice of their crafts. In a field marked by wide pendulum swings, why has Bloom's Taxonomy not only survived, but prospered? Three primary reasons can be given.

First, by examining objectives through the lens of the taxonomy, educators became aware (and remain aware) of the degree of emphasis in the curriculum that is placed on objectives falling into the lowest category, knowledge. As a consequence, many curriculum specialists began to call for an increase in so-called higher-order objectives.

Second, with its emphasis on intended learning outcomes, the taxonomy shifted educators' attention away from instructional activities to a concern for what students were expected to learn from these activities. This distinction between what teachers say and do and what students actually learn as a result of what they say and do remains a topic of much discussion and debate among curriculum specialists and classroom researchers.

Third, the taxonomy has been particularly useful in helping novice teachers focus their work, set their priorities, and appreciate their considerable role in defining the curriculum for students in their classes. These teachers reportedly have found the taxonomy quite useful in planning for a desired balance or range of cognitive demands on students as well as the learning opportunities that should be provided to help students meet those demands.

Although both criticisms and contributions of the taxonomy abound, the taxonomy has played a

significant role in the development of ideas about schooling.

L. W. Anderson

*See also* Achievement Tests; Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Curriculum Evaluation; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Taxonomies of Objectives and Learning

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## TEACHER AS RESEARCHER

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When teachers become researchers, they take on an expanded professional role that involves systematic, self-reflective, intentional inquiry into aspects of classroom practice. In addition to regular teaching duties, they engage in question posing based on perceived educational problems, collect and interpret data, and write up their findings in the interest of improving practice. This new role for teachers is consistent with a number of values and trends in the field of curriculum studies. First, teacher inquiry is primarily concerned with understanding educational experience. When teachers develop a deeper understanding of an educational situation, their capacities for wise judgment and sound decision making are improved, thus improving the quality of the educational experience for students. Second, when teachers conduct research into their practice, it disturbs the historic hierarchy in which research into curriculum and teaching is conducted by university-based social science researchers or discipline-based academics, and teachers are positioned as consumers of research findings who apply this new knowledge. At the heart of the teacher-research movement is an assumption that teachers can and should be

generating knowledge and theories about teaching that are grounded in actual practice, as opposed to merely implementing the findings of expert, outside researchers. Third, many feminist curriculum scholars have concerned themselves with the theory-practice divide in educational work, and acknowledging the teacher as researcher further blurs the boundaries that separate these domains. Finally, the recognition of the teacher as researcher acknowledges the field's critical commitment to the democratization of the educational workplace, including classrooms, schools, and the arena of policy. In optimum settings, conducting research gives teachers enhanced responsibility, autonomy, and control over their labor, and teachers who feel thus empowered in their work are more likely to be sensitive to the democratic dimensions of their students' experience in the classroom.

This entry begins with a brief background of teacher research and then explains how it differs from conventional research. Next, this entry describes common teacher research approaches, data collection and analysis, and the purposes of teacher research. Lastly, this entry discusses criticism associated with teacher research.

### Background

Teacher research emerged in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia in the early 1970s and assumed a prominent role in mainstream discourses about teaching in the 1980s. Following the publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, there were a variety of government efforts to improve teaching, including setting higher state standards for teacher certification and licensure and increased emphasis on teacher testing. At the same time, a number of highly visible professional organizations including the Holmes Group, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, and the Carnegie Forum focused attention on improving the preparation of teachers and professionalizing the teaching force through promoting teacher leadership and new school structures such as professional development schools. Concurrent with these large initiatives, grassroots teacher-led projects such as the National Writing Project, Philadelphia Schools Collaborative, the Prospect Center, and the North Dakota Study Group focused on developing the inquiry capacities of

practitioners committed to the improvement of curriculum and teaching as well as collaborative school structures to support inquiry-based teacher learning. Efforts to professionalize teaching and the emergence of teacher-led inquiry projects emphasized a new view of the teacher as a knower, a thinker, and a generator of knowledge. Teacher as researcher is a role that has developed alongside this shifting view of the teacher and suggests a deepened concern for the cultivation of intellectual capacities and analytical proficiency as well as practical pedagogical skills. Today, teacher research is a thriving movement that has attained significant validation from the broader education research community, with special interest groups devoted to it in professional organizations including the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the American Educational Research Association (AERA), grant funding and support available through professional bodies such as the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), and increased venues for the publications of studies carried out by teachers.

### How Teacher Research Differs From Conventional Educational Research

Many teacher-research texts highlight the differences between conventional educational research and teacher research. Some of the contrasts they draw include who carries out the research (university-based researchers vs. classroom-based K–12 practitioners); the purposes of the knowledge generated (findings that can be generalized to other settings vs. applied in the setting in which they were discovered); where research questions originate (analyses of theoretical or empirical studies vs. “felt difficulties” in specific contexts); issues of data and analysis (peer reviewed research standards vs. alternative forms of discourse and analysis); theoretical frames (derived from the social sciences and the humanities vs. derived from knowledge of professional practice and disciplines specific to education); and other ethical, methodological, and epistemological issues such as the cognitive stance of the researcher (objective vs. subjective). These contrasting visions of what counts as research are often invoked to discount teacher research. Conversely, there is a growing recognition in the professional research

community of the importance of understanding more about context and the particularities of educational situations in the quest to better understand complex educational problems. Most teacher research is not required to go through institutional review board approval processes because it is inquiry carried out in the normal course of teaching, is not experimental in nature, does not require a control group, and is not subject to the same methodological standards around issues such as sample size, verifiability, or the generalizability of findings.

## Approaches

### *Action Research*

Most research carried out by teachers comes under the umbrella of action research. Action research is a cyclical inquiry process that involves problem-posing, fact-finding, planning, acting, reflecting, and evaluating the results of the actions. Action research has a spiral quality; based on the evaluation of results, one then enters into the cycle again, with further analysis, fact-finding, planning, and so on. This approach to research is associated with the solving of social problems (early topics were social violence and racial discrimination), and action research theorists emphasize the importance of including practitioners, not just expert researchers, in all phases of inquiry. Theorists have identified three main forms of action research that represent contrasting methods, purposes, and values.

*Technical* (sometimes referred to as *positivist*) action research characterized early forms of action research. It often involves differential power relations between “experts” and “practitioners” and is oriented toward greater efficiency and effectiveness in practice.

*Practical* (sometimes referred to as *deliberative* or *interpretive*) action research is more egalitarian than technical research and involves interactive communication, collaboration, deliberation, negotiation, detailed description, and interpretation. It is oriented toward understanding practice and solving practical problems, with an emphasis on improving the judgments that practitioners make.

*Critical* (sometimes referred to as *emancipatory*) action research is more explicitly tied to

issues of social justice and participatory democratic processes than are technical and practical action research. Critical action research is also more reliant on theory as a guide to emancipatory action, rather than on relying solely on practical wisdom or empirical observations.

Because of its usefulness in solving real-life problems, its potential for collaboration and collective inquiry, and its fundamentally democratic character, action research is particularly well suited to teacher research. Educational action research currently finds wide expression in international, national, and regional networks and collaboratives, professional organizations, a number of online journals, archives of studies, and many texts devoted to the subject.

### *Descriptive Inquiry*

Developed out of the work of the Prospect School and later the Prospect Center, under the leadership of Patricia Carini, *descriptive inquiry* is a form of practitioner research derived from phenomenology that focuses on close observation and the detailed written description of perceptions. There are three types of descriptive inquiry work: (1) the descriptive review of a child, (2) the descriptive review of practice, and (3) the descriptive review of student work. Studies culminate in shared oral inquiry processes that are oriented toward developing deeper pedagogical understanding and informed practice. Advocates of this form of teacher research believe that disciplined perception works to overcome habitual perception and conditioned biases, broadens the range of pedagogical actions and responses, and allows for deeper layers of meaning to emerge from classroom events. By being more attentive to their present circumstances, it is assumed that teachers will be better equipped to transform their practice in ways that support the fuller humanity of their students, transform their classrooms toward greater equity and social justice, and foster student understanding of curriculum content. Descriptive inquiry groups operate in many schools nationwide.

Descriptive inquiry and action research are related activities that differ in intent and method. Both methods pose questions based on “felt difficulties” in practice. Although action research is focused explicitly on pragmatic problem solving,



descriptive inquiry is more concerned with developing deep understanding and overcoming habitual ways of thinking. In action research, reflection is valued, but it lacks the grounding in philosophical phenomenology that might support a deeper awareness of one's biases and assumptions and their roots in the social construction of consciousness. Action research is more likely to be "scaled up," whereas descriptive inquiry tends to stay closer to the site of its origin. Both methods lend themselves to collaboration at every level: the levels of problem posing, study design, data collection, and interpretation, and in the evaluation and sharing of results. Both approaches share with each other, and with the larger qualitative research community, methods of data collection and interpretation specific to the educational enterprise.

### Data Collection and Analysis

Teachers have a substantial variety of data gathering methods and tools available to them. Much of the data consists of artifacts generated in the everyday work of teaching: student work samples, anecdotal records, grade reports, running records, and attendance records. Additionally, teacher researchers use field notes or detailed written observations, surveys, interviews, peer observations, and reflective journals to record events and conversations specific to their research question. Many teachers make use of audiotape, video, classroom maps, or photographs to provide additional evidence for consideration.

Teacher-research texts provide advice on various methods of coding, sorting, organizing, and analyzing the collected data that is similar to that found in the qualitative research literature. Just as qualitative researchers write up the results of their findings, teacher researchers also construct narratives using the data they collect to tell the story of what they have learned and provide evidence to back up their conclusions. Sometimes their studies conclude with policy recommendations, or with suggestions for further study.

### Purposes

#### *Improved Practice*

The primary function of teacher research is to improve practice at the classroom level. Teachers

who engage in systematic inquiry attend more carefully to their teaching methods, their interactions with students, their understandings about the complexities of student learning, the unintended consequences of their actions, and the various ways that students experience the curriculum.

#### *Preservice Preparation*

Many teacher education programs include some form of teacher research in their preservice preparation programs. Often, the inquiries are carried out during the student teaching semester or year, and students attend a concurrent seminar at which they discuss their ongoing findings. Including teacher research in teacher preparation programs is thought to enhance new teachers' capacities for objectivity, informed decision making, understanding diversity, meeting students' learning needs, taking a more active role in school change and policy, and curriculum development.

#### *Professional Development*

Many postcertification graduate courses and programs include building capacity for inquiry. Often, teachers carry out a long-term project toward completion of their master's degree. Teacher research is increasingly seen as an essential part of the professional career ladder, leading to teacher leadership roles, mentoring new teachers, participation in school–university partnerships, school-based decision making, peer support, coaching, staff development, policy work, or national board certification, for which teachers are required to provide evidence, and to analyze and reflect on aspects of their teaching.

#### *School Change, Reform, and Renewal*

Teacher research is sometimes part of school or districtwide initiatives to improve curriculum or teaching practice. When a sufficient number of teachers in a school are teacher researchers, a "culture of inquiry" can be established that promotes the development of collaborative dispositions, engagement in collective problem solving, and the establishment of more respectful and supportive work environments. With the current emphasis on data-driven instruction, teacher research helps

educators to be more deliberate in documenting and evaluating their efforts toward improved student learning, and although teacher research is anecdotally related to improved student outcomes, there is insufficient evidence to make broad claims about this.

### Policy

Teachers who carry out systematic examination and assessments of their practice are better equipped to contribute to policy discussions. There is a growing recognition that policy will be more successfully implemented if practitioners are a part of the process by which policy is deliberated and created. The Teachers Network Policy Institute (TNPI) is one national organization dedicated to teacher research whose members take an active role in trying to influence policy so that it might be more responsive to the realities of classroom life.

### Critiques

There is criticism of teacher research from the research community and from practitioners themselves. Researchers charge that teacher research lacks methodological rigor, lacks control over independent variables, is weak in internal and external validity, lacks objectivity, is not subject to recognized forms of logical interpretation, is not generalizable to other settings, and is difficult to replicate because of inadequate information about how the research was conducted. These charges can be answered with reminders about the context-specific nature of teacher research, its primary intent to improve practice, and its qualitative contribution to the body of knowledge about the craft of teaching.

Internal criticisms of teacher research have more to do with problems of implementation: having adequate time to carry out the research, the challenges of teaching while researching, having supportive school structures in place, having the necessary knowledge and skills to carry out and communicate the research effectively, having control over the nature and content of the inquiry, and feeling that the knowledge gained is valued and has purpose. The “teacher as researcher” must overcome well-entrenched, internalized ideas—often supported by policy, practice, and

regulation—about what counts as legitimate knowledge, who should make decisions about appropriate instruction, who determines what students should know, who designs curriculum, and the limits of professionalism.

*Kathleen R. Kesson*

*See also* Action Research; Personal Practical Knowledge Research; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development; Teacher Empowerment; Teacher Knowledge; Teacher Lore Research

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## TEACHER AS STRANGER

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*Teacher as Stranger: Educational Philosophy for the Modern Age* was published in 1973, and it remains one of the most inspiring and powerful of

Maxine Greene's numerous writings. Greene, one of the preeminent philosophers in the worldwide field of education, directs this book to those who teach in classrooms settings. She challenges all teachers to "do philosophy"—to think philosophically about what they are doing—so they will become "self-conscious" about political, personal, social, and cultural influences on constructions of teacher roles and identities as well as of conceptions and enactments of curriculum.

Greene argues that all teachers as well as educational philosophers should be posing moral and political questions in relation to the purposes of education. *Teacher as Stranger* invites all educators to consider what Greene sees as necessary considerations of what constitutes freedom, choice, and acts of responsibility within classrooms that are situated in often unjust and inhumane larger worlds.

Greene writes as an educational philosopher who identifies herself as an existential phenomenologist. She explicates assumptions and perspectives of such a positioning by articulating the daily need to awaken from habitual ways of being and doing in the world, to hold oneself accountable for one's choices, to be an informed and active participant in the public world. Greene investigates a variety of historical influences and philosophical orientations that could be applicable for teachers who wish to act on their commitments and, at the same time, to set others free to be. Greene wishes, through her numerous analyses of cultural phenomena, especially in the arts, to arouse teachers to wide-awakeness. Through such analyses and, in particular, through her positing of the arts as offering possibilities for self-confrontation and self-identification, she urges teachers to become critically conscious of the need to break out of a one-dimensional view of themselves as well as their limited realities to attend to all that is involved in the complex processes of teaching and learning.

Thus, Greene weaves her metaphor of "teacher as stranger" through myriad examples of pedagogical and curricular decisions that teachers must consider. Greene provides sophisticated assessment of historical influences on and philosophical considerations of the nature of man (Greene later has written about her embarrassment at her exclusive use of "man" and "he" in her early writings), of his being and learning, of various approaches to

beliefs and truths, and of attempts to choose "the right." By so doing, Greene provides teachers with understandings that might enable them to take a stranger's vantage point on everyday life to look inquiringly and wonderingly on the world in which they and their students live.

Greene situates her argument for "doing philosophy" within a contemporary framework by employing then-current examples from literature, media, the arts and political movements, including the protests against the war in Vietnam as well as the civil rights and women's rights movements, for example. Greene does so to support her contention that teachers must consider a pluralist U.S. society and recognize the necessity, in both classroom situations and curriculum constructions, of honoring multiple ways of seeing the world.

Greene suggests that teachers first must attend to their unique biographical standpoints before they can constitute their own meanings of teaching and curriculum, for example, within the contexts of their particular cultures and environments. Recognizing patterns in the ways teachers construct their own realities becomes an important thematic consideration throughout *Teacher as Stranger*. Greene is concerned that teachers become more self-conscious about the multiple schemata needed to interpret modern life to become more responsible in the choices they make among available ways of seeing and interpreting the world.

Greene especially highlights dimensions of various epistemological assumptions that undergird various philosophical perspectives. She discusses influences and emphases of philosophic rationalism, empiricism and pragmatism, phenomenology, and existentialism so that teachers might then clarify their own epistemological positions and to be aware of consequences and influences of those positions on students studying in their classrooms. At the same time, Greene acknowledges that students are active and always changing, and therefore teachers must choose intentionally and with wide-awakeness those particular curricula or pedagogical strategies that address particular students' needs.

Greene's constant concern with curriculum is that it not be external to the search for meaning. In this beautifully written and still vital book, Greene argues that if teachers can situate themselves as *strangers*, they can make themselves

visible to themselves to counteract meaninglessness and isolation of individuals who every day must choose—choose to learn, to teach, to take action in the world.

*Janet L. Miller*

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; Arts Education Curriculum, History of; Greene, Maxine; Wide-Awakeness

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## TEACHER-CENTERED CURRICULUM

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*Teacher-centered curriculum* refers to a body of assumptions about the purposes of education, beliefs about knowledge, learners, and learning observable in teacher behaviors and classroom practices. Teacher-centered curriculum embraces an orientation toward education as a venue for socializing students toward enacting their roles in society through mastery of particular skills and traditional values. Beliefs associated with teacher-centered curriculum focus on specific knowledge, including official curriculum and core curriculum. From this orientation, knowledge becomes a commodity transmitted from teachers to learners who are presumed to be receptive vessels. Teacher-centered curriculum is most effectively and efficiently transmitted through methods that impose curricular order and is characterized by pedagogical methods that presume teacher as authority, learning through repetition, and learning as a quantifiable outcome. Teacher-centered curriculum is usually presented in contrast with the concept of child-centered or student-centered curriculum.

Teacher-centered curriculum does not have a history of its own separate from its contrastive connection with student-centered curriculum. Accounts of teacher-centered curriculum most often appear in the research literature as a contrast

for descriptions of student-centered, constructivist, or project or problem-based approaches to curriculum. From as early as the 1800s, this has been the way curricular theorists have labeled curricular practices where the teacher is in the active role with students in passive roles. Teacher-centered curriculum has such an intractable quality in that despite prolonged efforts to displace it with student-centered curriculum, it continues to be an accurate description of the curricular practices of most teachers regardless of grade level. Because of the resilience of this approach, one wonders whether curricular theorists might not examine more carefully why such a curricular approach endures.

As early as 1920, educational research explored the question of whether teacher-centered or student-centered curriculum produced greater learning in its students. This question did not emerge because there was a tradition of excellence in teacher-centered curriculum, but because researchers were trying to promote a discussion approach to curriculum to combat lecture methods that were already in place. These researchers labeled any kind of instruction employing lectures as teacher-centered, whereas the new improved discussion approach they were promoting was labeled student-centered. In the literature and research on curriculum practices in the schools, this continues to be the case. Educational researchers develop new techniques and practices that involve more student input and interaction, which is contrasted with more traditional practices. The approaches using more student input and interaction are labeled student-centered, and all other traditional practices are identified as teacher-centered. Currently, teacher-centered curriculum is represented in essential schools, direct instruction, or educational practices that emerge from belief systems, which promote schools as sorting mechanisms. Teacher-centered curriculum often emerges as the culprit in arguments about social reproduction, hegemonic practices, and social inequality.

When teacher-centered and student-centered curricula are contrasted, the differences between the two are often characterized by instructional practices or pedagogy rather than in curricular terms. Yet, when one considers them from a curricular rather than a pedagogic approach, it becomes more difficult to distinguish between them. A teacher might have a teacher-centered



curriculum yet practice student-centered pedagogy. Conversely, a teacher who embraces a student-centered curriculum may enact teacher-centered pedagogy. For example, based on research, which indicates that poor and minority students perform better in highly structured and orchestrated classroom environments, some school districts may mandate forms of teacher-centered pedagogic practices. Yet, teachers within such schools might embrace students as co-learners, enact their authority more as a responsibility than control, take inquiry approaches to content, and create a culture of democratic practices in their classroom. Although the teacher-centered pedagogy might be more immediately observable, the curricular practices of the teacher are actually more aligned with student-centered curriculum. Teachers' pedagogic practices typically reflect their curricular orientation. Therefore, teacher-centered curriculum usually involves a classroom culture in which the teacher is the singular authority, students are passive, and curricular content is nonnegotiable and is visible in both the curriculum and pedagogy.

*Stefinee Pinnegar and Lynnette Erickson*

*See also* Child-Centered Curriculum; Core Curriculum; Official Curriculum; Problem-Based Curriculum; Project-Based Curriculum

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watered-down college academic curriculum resulting in insufficiently responsive schools to the educational needs of gifted and talented students. It was widely believed that U.S. children lagged behind their Soviet counterparts. Events of the 1960s lead to more criticism, but the charge was irrelevancy, particularly that the school curriculum was unresponsive to the needs of urban and minority children. Since that time, wave after wave of educational reform has followed, and with time, state and federal governments have become the dominant forces in curriculum reform within both public education and teacher education. This trend accelerated following publication in 1983 of *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. Presently, teacher educators have relatively little control over the curriculum of teacher education. This entry discusses several aspects of teacher education curriculum, including reforms, the professionalization of teaching, the involvement of the faculty, and the contradictory movements toward greater standardization and greater variability.

#### Teacher Education Curriculum Reform

Reforms of the late 1960s and early 1970s in teacher education proceeded along two very different lines, representing contrasting conceptions of teaching and learning. Generally, additional credit hours were not available, so changes took place within established institutional boundaries. Seeking to change school teaching practices, one group of teacher educators embraced humanistic psychology, which found a place alongside established behaviorist practices. Inquiry and various approaches to group work and human relations gained prominent places in methods courses. In time, open or informal education practices imported from England swept into early childhood and elementary teacher education. Experimentation with different patterns of student teaching, including team teaching, took place. Echoing the values of forgotten progressive education practices, student needs and interests were given an elevated place in curriculum decision making where intrinsic was preferred to extrinsic student motivation and active learning emphasized. Beginning teachers increasingly were urged to become agents of social change. The spirit of the 1960s and 1970s is

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## TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM, PRESERVICE

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Criticism of the established curriculum of undergraduate preparation of teachers began in the 1950s. Critics accused teacher educators of supporting a

evident in the titles of Association for Supervision Curriculum Development yearbooks: *Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming: A New Focus For Education; Education for an Open Society; Schools in Search of Meaning; Feeling, Valuing, and the Art of Growing: Insights Into the Affective.*

Paralleling these developments, a second group of teacher educators drew inspiration from the findings of process-product research, and embraced instructional technology and various models of individualized instruction, partially in response to charges reminiscent of the 1950s, that students were not performing academically as well as they could or should, but also to charges of irrelevancy. Competency-based teacher education emphasizing mastery of specific skills associated with effective teaching grew in influence, and greater emphasis was placed on the assessment of learning. Researchers identified skills associated with effective teaching, classroom discipline, and group management. Jacob Kounin's list included withitness, overlapping, smoothness, momentum, group focus, and positive group alerting cues. Earlier, publication of the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Cognitive Domain*, edited by Benjamin Bloom and published in 1956, and the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Affective Domain*, edited by David Krathwohl and published in 1964, transformed the curriculum of teacher education, becoming part of the teaching of unit and lesson planning across the nation for both groups. The taxonomies provided a means for thinking systematically about educational aims and, when formed as behavioral objectives—statements of what students are to be able to do and under what conditions they are to do it as proof of learning—provided means for assessing learning outcomes and individualizing instruction. For a time, microteaching, which involved teaching discrete instructional skills to peers, videotaping the performance, and then receiving criticism on that performance, enjoyed a prominent place in methods courses.

### Professionalization of Teaching

Increasing global competition and the economic ascent of Japan raised concerns about U.S. competitiveness and with growing concern yet another round of intense educational criticism began. *A Nation at Risk* galvanized public opinion around

the belief that U.S. schools were failing and primarily were responsible for worsening economic conditions. In response, academic standards for students and their teachers were raised, the school curriculum trimmed and standardized, and technology, science, and mathematics elevated in importance. The aim was excellence in education, and proof of excellence came in the form of rising standardized test scores. Few asked whether schools could possibly be responsible for the then-current economic conditions.

Hundreds of reports followed *A Nation at Risk*, many urging a reduction in the amount of time spent by future teachers in professional studies, excepting student teaching, and strengthening academic majors for teachers. Prompted by the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy that proposed formation of a national board for professional teaching standards and, foreshadowing future events, linking incentives for teachers to schoolwide student performance, and by the Holmes Group, a consortium of deans of education in research universities, teacher educators turned to the professionalization of teaching in response to critics. The claim of teacher educators was that teaching, like other professional practices, involved special knowledge and ability. To make the case for the value of professional studies required that the subject matter of teaching and learning be codified and taught. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education sponsored volume, *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher*, was among the more prominent efforts to identify the knowledge base of teaching. Pedagogical content knowledge became an important concept for rethinking methods course content. Interest grew in teacher expertise and learning and the curriculum of teacher education became somewhat more sensitive to the developmental issues of beginning teachers.

Embracing professionalism, the Holmes Group argued that the work of teaching should be staged and supported career ladders with different levels of responsibility and reward for teachers. Additionally, it was thought that all teachers should have academic majors and minors, and that the elementary education major should be abolished. To provide sufficient time for deeper academic study, the Holmes Group championed postbaccalaureate teacher education. Eventually

several members of the group dropped their 4-year programs and developed 5th-year and graduate certification programs only later to reconsider the decision as enrollments declined. Additionally, the group argued for the value of student cohorts—groups of beginning teachers who proceed through their courses together—as essential to forming a professional ethic and identity. Cohorts proved powerful means for overcoming program fragmentation but, perhaps more importantly, were found useful for developing the ability and disposition among beginning teachers to invest in one another's growth. Reconsidering the relationship between universities and schools was an essential element to the Holmes agenda. The argument was that like medicine, teacher education required labs, and schools were the laboratories for teacher education. Partnerships or professional development schools (PDSs) formed a critical element in the agenda and a wide variety of partnerships were formed across the nation. Of these, perhaps the most influential have been those associated with the National Network for Education Renewal (NNER) formed by John Goodlad and his associates in the Institute for Educational Inquiry. Supporting Goodlad's vision, the NNER remains committed to the simultaneous renewal of teacher education and schooling, and to involving on equal footing the stakeholders of teacher education. The point is simple but powerful: Excellent teacher education requires excellent schools.

### Faculty Involvement

In many, not all, teacher education institutions, greater involvement of teacher education faculty within schools positively influenced the curriculum, enabling design of programs of study more responsive to classroom life and school practice. In many partnerships, as the work of teacher education became more widely shared, the long-recognized gap separating theory and practice narrowed. Also, increasing involvement of university faculty in schools resulted in new patterns of staffing, particularly the growth of clinical faculty of various kinds and new forms of research and relationship. By the late 1980s, and continuing, mentoring became an important component of successful teacher education programs.

### Greater Standardization Versus Greater Variability

*A Nation at Risk* and its aftermath encouraged a dramatic increase in legislative involvement in education, including teacher education, that has continued unabated. The pathway leading from *A Nation at Risk* to No Child Left Behind (NCLB) is straight and narrow. Ironically, two conflicting patterns of teacher education reform followed, one encouraging greater standardization and the other greater variation. Standardization was linked to both the quest for professionalization as well as to legislative interest in greater accountability. In 1987, the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), a program of the Council of Chief State School Officers, was formed to encourage collaboration across states to gain greater uniformity in initial licensing, preparation, and induction. Ten standards were identified along with performance indicators. As described in a 1992 publication, *Model Standards for Beginning Teacher Licensing, Assessment and Development: A Resource for State Dialogue*, the ten standards quickly found their way into state accrediting systems and into teacher education. Effort followed to create a single set of standards, which was accomplished in 1996 with the alignment of the 10 INTASC standards with the 6 standards used by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) for accrediting teacher education institutions and the National Board Teaching Standards for inservice teachers.

Formed in 1954, NCATE has become a major force for raising standards, creating greater program uniformity, and for making the argument that teaching is a profession. Until the late 1990s, program accreditation was based on the presence of a set of institutional conditions—opportunities to learn—thought related to becoming an effective teacher. By the late 1990s, facing growing accountability pressures, program emphasis shifted to outputs. To be accredited, teacher education institutions are now required to develop evaluation systems that provide compelling evidence of the quality of graduates' teaching performance, content area and pedagogical knowledge, teaching skill, including evidence of impact on pupil learning, and possession of valued attitudes and dispositions toward teaching and learning, especially

toward diverse student populations. With strong legislative support, meeting INTASC and NCATE standards has become the driving force behind teacher education curriculum development.

New forms of teacher education candidate assessment have been developed, most especially portfolios and teacher work samples that often become a unifying thread across courses. Since the 1960s, greater attention has been given to diverse learners, and concomitantly to providing more varied field experiences. Gradually, ethnic studies, multicultural, and bilingual education courses replaced established foundations courses. When required, technology courses shifted to emphasize the instructional uses of computers and away from more traditional forms of media. Since the 1980s, special content area methods courses have replaced general methods courses. As part of encouraging professionalism, where the distinctive feature of a professional is that one learns from one's experience, action research has found place in some institutions.

With greater appreciation of the diversity in pupils' cultural backgrounds and experience, a result of dramatically shifting national demographics, there also has arisen greater appreciation of the need for a more diverse teaching force. Supported by constructivism, a view of learning that recognizes the contribution of the learner to what is learned, interest during the past 20 years also has grown among teacher educators in teacher beliefs and attitudes and in how the stories of their lives and the nature of their experience shape the kind of teachers they become. Within some teacher education institutions, these interests have a place within the curriculum. Recognizing that school subjects come to students through the experience and understanding of teachers, life history studies and autobiography are sometimes integrated into existing courses.

The second pattern of reform, that promoting greater variation, enjoys considerable support within several state legislatures. A common perception has been that rather than enhance teacher quality, teacher education programs make it difficult for able people to become teachers. In time, alternative forms of certification were approved in every state, and in some states—Texas and New Jersey, for example—maximum hours allowed for teacher education were dramatically cut. Sometimes

sponsored solely by school districts facing teacher shortages, a common pattern was and is for a person possessing a college degree to teach as a provisional teacher for a year while receiving various kinds of support. Certification follows successful completion of the year.

Despite a great deal of activity and innumerable attempts to convince policy makers that teaching is a profession and that teacher educators could be trusted to make wise curricular decisions, ultimately the effort failed. Passage in 2001 of the NCLB legislation coupled with ever-increasing legislative activism in education within the states and recent changes in accreditation systems to tighten standards, teacher educators have lost nearly all control over their programs, except at the margins. This is the case even though, under NCLB, states and school districts were promised greater flexibility in the use of federal funding. Currently, there is remarkably little discussion of school or teacher education program aims. In effect, standardized tests used to determine adequate yearly progress of individual students and make judgments of school quality set the aim of education, an aim that teacher educators necessarily embrace. Given a paucity of courses and of time, the teacher education curriculum has come to be tightly linked to specific externally set standards and standard indicators, an essential condition for passing a NCATE accreditation review.

There is, however, a small but growing counter-movement. Founded in 1997, and gaining approval as a teacher education accrediting body by the U.S. Department of Education in late 2003, the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) offers an alternative to NCATE. In contrast to NCATE, which embraces an external standards model for program accreditation, TEAC works from an accountancy model, seeking to establish that an institution does what it claims to do. Institutions pursuing TEAC accreditation must have clear aims and be able to provide compelling proof of meeting those aims. TEAC accreditation potentially allows greater curricular control and flexibility than NCATE offers.

### Final Thoughts

Despite their complexity and cost, public school and university partnerships continue to play an



important role in teacher education. Curriculum development when three partners—school, education, and arts and science faculty—are involved presents tremendous challenges and opportunities. In partnerships, negotiation of roles and responsibilities is necessarily ongoing. This is especially the case when, anticipating an accreditation visit, faculty opt to forge their own aims rather than adopt a set of external standards. Recognition of differences and similarities in interests and commitments of each of the partners calls for unique approaches to and models of curriculum development, those enabling cross-institutional collaboration, and offers rich research opportunities. Recently, the concept of the professional learning community has emerged as a promising approach to program improvement. When stakeholders learn together and are invested in one another's learning, program quality and impact improve. For most of the history of teacher education, curriculum reform has focused sharply on hours, courses, programs, and content, but relatively little attention has been given to those charged with development and implementation. The most promising but now only emerging trend in teacher education curriculum work is the growing recognition successful programs are most likely to be those that best support teacher and teacher educator learning over time.

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*See also* Behavioral Performance-Based Objectives; Competency-Based Curriculum; Individualized Education–Curriculum Programs; *Nation at Risk, A*; No Child Left Behind; Outcome-Based Education; Secondary School Curriculum; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice, History of; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development, History of

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## TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM, PRESERVICE, HISTORY OF

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The curriculum of preservice teacher education evolved over an extensive period and in relationship to shifting social aspirations and demographics. Always embroiled in contention and reflected in the development and evolution of a set of unique institutions, by 1950 a pattern was set that placed teacher education in a 4-year undergraduate education that included 2 years of general studies, an academic major and minor, and professional studies. Professional studies for secondary preservice teachers comprised approximately 20% of the total program, whereas these courses made up about twice that amount for elementary teachers. The relative proportions of these three components have long been a source of debate. Against this backdrop, various curriculum reform efforts have been launched. Although debate continues about the value of teacher education to quality teaching and to student learning, the curriculum of teacher education has played an important role in what is understood to be schooling in the United States.

Advocacy for the formal preparation of teachers began in Massachusetts as early as the late 18th century, but progress was uneven. Usually what was meant by formal preparation was merely the additional study of the subjects to be taught. Only later did a curriculum uniquely designed for the work of teaching emerge.

Beginning in the fall of 1839 and running for 6 weeks, the first institute for teachers was launched by Henry Barnard, the first Connecticut secretary of education. Success of the institute, which drew 26 young men, quickly led to other states

sponsoring institutes. Eventually, in addition to subject reviews the institutes offered practical teaching hints and later short courses in the theory and practice of teaching coupled with inspirational talks.

Boston industrialist and member of the Massachusetts Board of Education Edmund Dwight offered the sum of \$10,000 to establish a normal school for training teachers for the common schools of the state. Matching state funds followed and a provision was made for the establishment of three schools. Reverend Cyrus Peirce was appointed to head the first school in Lexington, which opened in July 1839. Typically, the normal school program lasted for a year and involved a thorough review of the “common branches” taught in primary schools—arithmetic, spelling, reading, writing, geography—and a few secondary subjects coupled with classroom management, methods courses, and studies of child development. Model schools were also founded, and within them student practice taught for a time. Given the shortage of teachers, very few actually completed a full year’s program. By 1900, there were roughly 250 public and private normal schools stretching from coast to coast that educated approximately one-fourth of employed elementary school teachers. At this time, most teachers had virtually no special training for the work of teaching; moreover, the common view was that none was needed.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the normal school program of study expanded and lengthened to include subjects taught in high schools. However, with the rapid growth of secondary education, normal schools found themselves under attack. Of uneven quality, the perception was widely held that the normal school program of study and the quality of instruction was below that of academic secondary schools. With the expansion of secondary education and the growing need for greater numbers of teachers, colleges and universities, often reluctantly, began developing programs of study for teachers supplementary to traditional academic studies. The University of Michigan formed the first department of science and art of teaching. Other similar units followed. By 1910, and despite an uneasy relationship with established academic departments, nearly 250 colleges and universities sponsored departments or chairs of pedagogy. Heavily reliant on school practitioners,

the programs of study that emerged often were criticized for a lack of rigor and substance by arts and science faculty.

A partial solution to this problem was for a few professors in the academic disciplines to offer courses in education. In addition to the practical hints given by professors who had been school superintendents, principals, or worked within normal schools, more theoretical courses were added to the curriculum of teacher education. By the beginning of the 20th century, the curriculum generally included lecture courses in the art of teaching, instructional methods, classroom practice, and psychology, as well as courses in the history and philosophy of education.

Seeking greater uniformity and less partiality in teacher hiring and retention, states became involved in teacher licensure in the early 1900s. Establishment of state-mandated requirements for licensure led to greater program uniformity.

The first half of the 20th century witnessed a transformation of the normal school into the teachers college, the majority of which eventually became universities under pressure of growing enrollments and rising faculty ambitions. Requiring high school graduation for admission and generally emulating liberal arts colleges, the teachers colleges added liberal arts faculty, diversified the curriculum, offered degrees, and broadened purposes, and in time, teacher preparation became but one of many institutional responsibilities. Views differed regarding whether teacher education should be integrated into the 4-year program of study leading to the baccalaureate degree or be offered at the postbaccalaureate level.

By 1950, the general outlines of the curriculum of preservice teacher education were in place although criticism continued and various reforms were undertaken. Mostly the curriculum was functional and supportive of existing school practices. Most preservice teachers undertook a 4-year program of study. The first 2 years of the undergraduate curriculum was devoted primarily to general studies, usually designed to meet various distribution requirements—so many humanities, science, social science courses—and taught outside of education faculties. Most undergraduates also completed an academic major and minor in a teaching field. On most campuses, elementary education was recognized as a degree-granting major, yet

many of the courses composing an elementary major were taught outside of education schools or colleges, such classes as mathematics for elementary school teachers and children's literature. A persistent criticism of this pattern has been that elementary school teachers lacked sufficiently deep content area knowledge to adequately teach the many subjects for which they are responsible.

Typically receiving their degrees in their major area of study, secondary education academic teaching majors generally were only slightly different from other majors. Often the only difference was the addition of a methods course or two. For elementary education majors, unlike secondary education students, content and methods were blended but not necessarily integrated theoretically. Historically, there have been periods of interest in what was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries called the professionalization of subject matter, more recently characterized as pedagogical content knowledge. The idea is that to teach a subject requires knowing that subject in very special ways and especially in relationship to how it is best learned. Although championed by such notables as William Chandler Bagley early in the last century, the concept gained little traction as teacher educators deferred to the traditions of teaching in the higher status disciplines. One result was that for students pursuing secondary teaching, certification methods courses were usually program add-ons sometimes joined by general teaching methods courses that emphasized principles of unit and lesson planning, content organization, assessment, and classroom management across content areas. Additional professional courses included educational psychology, one or another foundations course—history, philosophy, sociology of education—and various practica, including student or practice teaching. Practica provided opportunities of various kinds—observation of experienced teachers, tutoring, correcting of papers, teaching of lessons, learning about how schools operated and, presumably, applying theory to practice. Lasting varying lengths of time, student teaching was and is widely thought to be the most important aspect of the professional curriculum. Working in an experienced teacher's classroom, the common practice long has been for the beginning teacher to gradually take on more and more responsibilities until assuming nearly all.

Supervision of student teaching, involving observations and provision for assessment and feedback, typically has been done by a representative of the university. Responsibility for student teacher learning fell primarily on the cooperating teacher. As such, the curriculum of student teaching was heavily influenced by the cooperating teachers' understanding of and approach to teaching, thereby presenting the possibility of conflict with the intentions of the sponsoring teacher education institution. This, then, is the pattern of teacher education as it developed, a pattern dictated by rapidly growing student enrollment and an expanding school system that struggled for much of the century simply to staff the schools and to improve the quality of education offered the young.

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*See also* Secondary School Curriculum; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development; Teacher Education Curriculum, Professional Development, History of

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## TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM, PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Each reform initiative, each advance in knowledge of teaching and learning in U.S. education, and every plan for school improvement brings related professional development initiatives. Professional development, also known previously as inservice education and staff development, has been defined by Thomas Guskey as activities designed to

enhance the professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes of educators as a way to improve the learning of students. These initiatives have been undertaken routinely by various groups, including federal agencies, states, local school districts, schools, subject matter associations, universities, and private for-profit entities, though they have been funded often at relatively low levels, with some estimates indicating that less than one-half of 1% of school district budgets are earmarked for professional development. This decentralized, entrepreneurial array of professional development created and implemented by a wide variety of organizations, many times with competing interests, results in significant variation in formats and effectiveness of the opportunities. Although teachers in the United States have engaged in professional development activities for decades, teacher professional development opportunities and their effectiveness have been studied substantively only since the late 1970s.

For many years, teacher professional development was predicated on a deficit model rather than a development or growth or capacity building model. Staff development or inservice training was believed to provide opportunities to address deficiencies in teacher knowledge and skills related to conceptions of good practice or the implementation of innovations. The typical format for delivering these professional development activities was almost exclusively some combination of one-shot workshops, university courses required to fulfill either requirements for an advanced degree or requirements set by states or districts that teachers acquire mandated amounts of course work or continuing education units (CEUs), and guest (“expert”) speakers intended to provide motivation for teachers or to promote a school or district initiative. Such efforts often were disconnected from the work of teachers, arbitrary, and atheoretical. The typical format consisted of short, stand-alone workshops in the “sit & get” tradition without teacher input or consultation. They rarely resulted in a transfer of knowledge and skills within the classroom.

The knowledge base related to professional development for teachers began to change and mature in the 1980s. The work especially of the National Staff Development Council (NSDC) and of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum

Development (ASCD) expanded the importance, definitions, purposes, conceptualizations, and research related to professional development. A synthesis piece on models of staff development, published in 1989 by Dennis Sparks and Susan Loucks-Horsley, was especially important in bringing conceptual order and a broader and deeper theoretical basis to the field.

### Major Models

This work and others described seven major models of professional development: training, observation/assessment, involvement in a development/improvement process, study groups, inquiry/action research, individually guided activities, and mentoring.

Training, the most common form of professional development, is typified by a consultant or team of consultants who present ideas through large group presentations, workshops, demonstrations, or other active or receptive learning strategies. Training usually includes explorations of theory, presentations of research findings and inferences, demonstrations, modeling of skills, and guided or individual practice. The impact or effectiveness of training can be enhanced substantially by coaching in practice settings that follows the training. Clear objectives or intended participant outcomes based on needs assessment data or sessions codesigned by presenters and participants also can enhance transfer of training to practice. Training is the most efficient and (perhaps) cost-effective professional development model when the intent is to present a set of ideas and information with a large group of educators. The shortcoming of the training model is that it offers few opportunities for personal choice or variation and assumes the same kinds and level of knowledge is appropriate for all despite their prior knowledge or experience. Training also requires extension or additional follow-up activities for feedback or coaching necessary for successful implementation of new knowledge.

The *observation/assessment* model of professional development separates evaluation from assessment by using (usually) a collegial model in which a peer observes another peer’s teaching practice and provides information as a basis for reflection. Observation may focus on planning,



instruction, classroom management, or other issues of practice. In most models, the teacher being observed specifies the areas of practice to be recorded or assessed for future reflection. The intent of the model is that there are benefits to both observer and observed, with the observer gaining professional knowledge from watching a colleague's practice and refining the observations into usable feedback, while the peer being observed gains insight from the perspective and feedback of the observer. The disadvantage of the model is the significant commitment of time it takes for all participants to schedule and conduct conferences and observations.

Two models—involvement in a development/improvement process and study groups—are primarily group process models. *Involvement in a development/improvement* process brings educators together to design or review a curriculum or to solve a problem of instruction, organization, assessment, or learning. Done well, this model produces new learning for participants and improves their ability to work collaboratively. The negative aspects of the model are that, at times, participation is restricted to a set of task force members, and, as with other group processes, persuasive arguments can carry decisions, whether the decisions are true improvements or not. The *study groups* model involves the entire staff of a school in finding solutions to common problems. School staffs are generally divided into smaller groups (4–10), and they stay together for a school year, sometimes with rotating leadership, while they study the problem(s) and literature or experience related to the problems. Study groups and involvement in a development/improvement process are forms of learning community models and can be structured into professional learning communities as described by Richard DuFour and Shirley Hord.

The final three models are primarily oriented toward individual growth, although the first, *inquiry/action research*, can be done by a team of teacher/researchers, or even a whole school staff. This model assumes that educators have the ability to formulate valid questions about their own practice and to rigorously collect data and interpret data, using relevant and high-quality professional literature to assist in forming the problem, the questions, and the interpretations. The theory of inquiry/action research is that successful practice

will produce data-based and more rigorous possible solutions to problems of practice and will make the teacher/researchers more reflective practitioners, systematic problem solvers, and more thoughtful decision makers. The challenge of the model is that good research skills take time and practice to develop, and research studies take time, organization, and discipline to accomplish. Time in schools is not usually organized to encourage and support inquiry and action research. In the *individually guided activities* model, individual educators decide their own professional development needs and goals and design activities to achieve them. The model assumes that each individual can best decide his or her own professional development needs and that they are capable of self-direction in reading their goals. The major advantage of this model is its flexibility and capacity to accommodate needs at all stages of professional development. The challenge is for individuals to have the skill and the will to accomplish a self-decided course of action that yields productive results or produces a portfolio of learning. *Mentoring*, the seventh and final model, intentionally pairs a more experienced and knowledgeable educator with a less experienced and less knowledgeable colleague. The process provides regular and systematic opportunities for the mentoring pair to discuss goals, knowledge needs, strategies for practice, and dispositions related to the professional practice of teaching, producing student learning, and the demands of collegiality and contribution to the workplace. The process works to the degree that the mentor is credible (has appropriate experience and subject matter or grade level knowledge and skill), capable (able to work with adults, to provide constructive feedback and diagnose knowledge needs for the less experienced member), and committed (willing to schedule and structure the time needed for mentoring, willing to exert the energy and effort required for what is usually an unpaid or slightly paid professional duty).

### Standards

The NSDC Standards for Staff Development, created in 1995 and updated in 2001, helped provide a context and direction within which professional development activities could be delivered. The creation of national standards by NSDC contributed

to the 1990s as a decade of standards related to student achievement, teacher competence, professional development, and preservice teacher education. In 1992, the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) developed the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) and its affiliated set of standards (knowledge, dispositions, and performance expectations) for beginning teachers. In 1995, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) drafted standards for the accreditation of professional education units (preparation programs), and, in the same year, the U.S. Department of Education developed its 10 principles for high-quality professional development programs and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) developed its core propositions. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF), headed by North Carolina governor James Hunt and educational researcher and policy analyst Linda Darling-Hammond further underscored the movement toward standards-based teacher quality during the last decade of the 20th century.

### Professional Development in the 21st Century

Dennis Sparks and Stephanie Hirsh have suggested that a compelling set of factors including standards, constructivism, results orientation, and systems thinking are primary drivers for visions of professional development for educators going into the 21st century. Standards provide an intentional framework for developing model practices, including setting a context and working to ensure that professional development is job-embedded, opportunities are developed with student and teacher needs in mind, and teachers are involved in both the planning and implementation of professional development. Current models of professional development more often include collaboration, and they are more often evaluated for their impact on both teachers and student learning. New forms of professional development that are job-embedded or practice-based incorporate artifacts such as student work, instructional materials, lessons, and strategies that focus on student learning outcomes. Examples such as lesson study and professional learning communities incorporate these artifacts

and rely on learning from collaboration between colleagues and dialogue, rather than on outside expertise to produce new learnings in teachers and results for students. These new strategies and opportunities help embed the professional development and learning into the daily work of teachers and other educators, expand their knowledge and skills, enhance their effectiveness and competence, and lead to greater professional satisfaction. Professional development is the most readily available route to professional growth and when embedded within the daily work of teachers, with teacher input, and done in a comprehensive and systematic fashion can lead to positive outcomes including change in teacher knowledge, skill, belief, and attitudes and in increases in the attainment of specific learning outcomes in their students.

*Gerald Ponder, Michael Maher,  
and Meredith Adams*

*See also* Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice;  
Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice, History of

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## TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM, PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT, HISTORY OF

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The history of professional development for teachers has in many ways come full circle from its early days. Professional development is a set of

practices intended to change the curriculum as delivered to students in schools. Since the 1920s, teacher professional development (also known as “inservice training” or “staff development”) has exhibited elements of each of the five models proposed by Dennis Sparks: training, individually guided staff development, observation/assessment, inquiry, and involvement in a development/improvement process. Each of these models has held differently sized shares in the total “mix” of extant models in different periods.

Among the earliest eras in professional development history was the Denver Plan of the early 1920s. The Denver Plan was the work of Jesse H. Newlon, one of the country’s best-known practicing progressive administrators. Newlon, countering prevailing practice, convinced the Denver School Board that the curriculum of its schools needed to be reformed to make it more efficient, a watchword of U.S. school curriculum and curriculum theory in the 1910s and 1920s. Newlon notably was successful in convincing the Denver School Board that, because curriculum development and curriculum enactment were simultaneous and connected, classroom teachers should be the ones writing the curriculum. Further, he obtained the board’s support in paying teachers or providing release for their time outside the classroom, and he received support for providing a clerical staff to record the work of the teachers so they would not have to expend energy in these tasks. Newlon’s Denver model was in contrast to the then-frequent practice of curriculum developed by school boards in an efficiency, social control model, and it generated much interest in other school districts.

The decade of the 1930s was marked by the professional development and curriculum development activities of the Eight Year Study. The Eight Year Study (also known as the Thirty School Study) was an experimental project conducted between 1930 and 1942 by the Progressive Education Association (PEA), in which 30 high schools redesigned their curriculums and initiated innovative practices in student testing, program assessment, student guidance, curriculum design, and staff development. During the initial years of the study, the staffs at schools in the study developed their own core curricular programs. These core curricula sought to integrate and unify the separate academic subjects. A series of professional

development workshops were scheduled beginning in the mid-1930s to help teachers reconsider the basic goals and philosophy of their schools and to support the development of their own teaching materials. Follow-up studies indicated that students from the progressive schools performed as well academically and in college as did students from more traditional schools and curricula.

The late 1940s and early 1950s saw the rise of life-adjustment education, an odd amalgam of progressivism, testing and tracking, vocationalism, and therapeutic education that sought to adjust students to surrounding life circumstances. The perceived anti-intellectualism of life adjustment education, the conservatism of the McCarthy era, the close of the Progressive Education Association in 1955, the cold war, and the launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 led a return to academic curriculum reform in the 1960s exemplified by the National Science Foundation (NSF) curriculum projects (e.g., Physical Science Study Committee [PSSC] Physics, Biological Sciences Curriculum Study [BSCS] Biology, School Mathematics Study Group [MSG] Math).

A set of NSF-sponsored summer institutes provided the professional development for the NSF-sponsored curriculum projects of the 1960s. The institutes usually occurred on university campuses and were led by academics who worked with teachers to help them learn the reform-based materials that had been developed by other academics. The materials and texts were targeted toward college-bound high school students and intended as accelerants that could produce the greater numbers of scientists and mathematicians needed to overcome the perceived lead of the Soviet scientists as rapidly as possible. The materials and the institutes focused on the key concepts and inquiry modes of the disciplines they represented. However, the materials and teaching strategies from the projects and institutes proved not to be completely scalable or sustainable, and evaluation reviews of the impact and residue of the 1960s curriculum projects in the late 1970s and early 1980s found little remaining in school classrooms.

In the 1970s and 1980s, research, responses to innovation, and policy directions were drivers in professional development for teachers. At the University of Texas Research and Development Center, teacher responses to an individually guided education innovation led to the development of the

concerns-based adoption model, or CBAM. Research and evaluation studies on curriculum innovation by the Rand Corporation had earlier produced the concept of “mutual adaptation,” or the idea that innovations were adapted to the setting in practice, a counter-notion to that of “fidelity,” or faithfulness to the design of the innovation in implementation practice. The CBAM model was built on earlier research by Frances Fuller, in which she demonstrated that teachers go through stages of concerns over time. CBAM and other implementation-related theories and research studies provided a basis for observation and assessment approaches to professional development in the service of implementation of curriculum innovations during the 1970s, 1980s, and later.

The policy lever of capacity building led states such as South Carolina, as well as other schools and districts, to provide large-scale professional development (training) to improve planning and instruction and narrow variation in practice among teachers. In South Carolina, the state provided training in Madeline Hunter’s model of lesson planning across the school districts of the state so they would have a common language and procedures among teachers and in an effort to increase student achievement.

The 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk* marked the beginning of a series of “waves of reform” in education, all of which had their counterpart manifestations in professional development. The first wave of reform—standards—began with new standards in mathematics and other content fields. Rather than prescribe practice in a “teacher-proof” endeavor to achieve fidelity, the standards movement sought to reform practice by indicating frameworks of outcomes. In professional development, the National Staff Development Council (founded in 1969) produced a set of standards for the field in 1995 that translated expected good practice in professional development for schools and districts that often gave professional development very low organizational and budgetary priority. The second wave of reform, teacher education, was marked by the publication of *Tomorrow’s Teachers* in 1986 and the advent of professional development schools. In *professional development schools*, the intent was for teacher educators to work alongside school practitioners to produce more capable and “classroom-ready”

beginning teachers, to improve the practice of the inservice teachers, to enhance the learning of students in the school, and to generate inquiry into classroom practice and student learning.

The third wave of reform was labeled “restructuring,” and involved new power-sharing and decision-making roles for teachers. In restructured schools, teachers had new roles as members of school councils or school improvement teams, and they were intended to influence decisions about curriculum, instruction, testing, and other program matters at the school level.

Although the actual practice of school councils or school improvement teams varied widely from roles confined to cosmetic improvement to genuine decentralized decisions, restructuring reforms and research on professional development in the late 20th century led to at least three types of effective current practice. The first was coaching or mentoring, in which follow-on coaching increased the effective yield of practice of an innovation or assisted teachers in improving their practice by having a peer observe, then help them reflect on their observed lesson or classroom practice. The second was large-scale district or state reform, exemplified by Michael Fullan and his colleagues, who combined strategic interventions in assessment, professional development leading to research-verified practices aimed at improving test scores, especially in basic skills and knowledge areas, and work on effective teacher decision making, especially in professional learning communities (PLCs) in efforts to improve student performance across districts or states. PLCs, in which teachers and administrators collectively engage in data-based decision making related to instructional practice and student achievement, is the most recent and current of the three types of effective practice in professional development. Although there still are widespread examples of each of the five models of professional development posited by Sparks, professional learning communities bear significant resemblance to the school-based curriculum committees of Newlon’s Denver Plan of the 1920s, signaling another cycle of reform that sees teachers and their professional development as the key to school improvement, rather than a barrier to progress.

Gerald Ponder, Michael Maher,  
and Meredith Adams”



See also Eight Year Study, The; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice; Teacher Education Curriculum, Preservice, History of

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## TEACHER EMPOWERMENT

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*Teacher empowerment* is a concept with many contested meanings, but the term initially took hold as an antidote to the dominant teacher-as-clerk model. It signaled an attempt by school people to professionalize teaching in the sense of recognizing teachers as experts in the craft and content of teaching, teachers as best able to generate and uphold teaching standards, teachers as most responsible for classroom practice. Teacher empowerment is meant as well to protect teachers from interference from mindless bureaucrats, ambitious politicians, and ideologues of every stripe.

Of course, this does not settle the matter, because teaching in a democracy does indeed require dialogue, conversation, and contestation between teachers, parents, communities, politicians, and the widest possible public. Teachers in this circumstance cannot be entirely free agents, doing their thing in a bubble—imagine, for example, a racist teacher or a homophobic teacher. Still, the idea of teachers struggling not so much for absolute autonomy, but for recognition, dignity, and the value of their unique position and knowledge—in the mix with all the other actors—is what teacher empowerment has generally come to signify.

Teacher empowerment requires teachers to commit to the task of continuous experimentation, investigation, inquiry, and study, to negotiating the troubled waters of teaching, to growing and

learning for an entire lifetime in the classroom. It requires that teachers create a space for problem posing and problem solving, historical and theoretical considerations, storytelling, and critical reflection.

Too often teachers have experienced little in their own training beyond a few courses in educational philosophy and psychology, the history of education, then the methods of teaching, and finally a synthesizing moment when everything is theoretically brought together in student teaching. Critics contend that this approach structures the separation of thought from action, rips one from another, and walls the mind off from the body, weakening both. From this perspective, this approach is lazy at best, miseducative always. But worse, it ignores the humanizing mission of teaching, and the intellectual and ethical heft teachers need to develop if they are to be powerful and wise people in the classroom. Proponents of teacher empowerment argue that the message of the existing curriculum tells teachers what is to be valued and why—it stresses the mindless and the soulless rather than attending to the ethical and intellectual dimensions. It prepares them for life in factory-style schools.

Teacher empowerment, however, assumes that there is no simple technique or linear path that will take teachers to where they need to go, and then allow them to live out settled teaching lives, untroubled and finished. There is no promised land in teaching, just that aching persistent tension between reality and possibility.

Empowered teachers must figure out what they're teaching for and what they're teaching against—against oppression and subjugation, exploitation, unfairness, and unkindness, perhaps, and toward freedom, enlightenment and awareness, wide-awakeness, protection of the weak, cooperation, generosity, compassion, and love.

*William C. Ayers*

See also Goodlad, John I.; Greene, Maxine; Social Justice; *Teacher as Stranger*; Wide-Awakeness

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## TEACHER KNOWLEDGE

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In the late 1970s, the concept of teacher thinking began to appear in the curriculum studies literature. Christopher Clark and Robert Yinger published the first review in the field of teacher thinking, gathering the work of U.S. researchers, work that, for the most part, originated conceptually with the scholarship of N. L. Gage. Researchers worked from a cognitive information-processing approach that was concerned with teacher judgment, decision making, and planning and focused on research that studied the psychological aspects of thinking in the areas of teacher planning, teacher judgment, teacher interactive decision making, and teachers' implicit theories or perspectives.

Around the same time, another focus, teacher deliberation, emerged from Joseph Schwab's understanding of curriculum. Initially, F. Michael Connelly focused on teacher deliberation, but he, with Freema Elbaz-Luwisch, developed research on what they called teacher practical knowledge. For them, teacher practical knowledge emerged from a view of a teacher as an active agent deploying practical knowledge in teaching and planning for teaching. They described teacher thought as prescriptive toward action and as occurring through deliberation, a process on which there has been some research. However, they noted little research on the nature of the practical knowledge with which each teacher does his or her thinking. They defined teacher practical knowledge in three ways: (1) as having content; (2) as being oriented to situations, to the personal, to the social, to experience, and to theory; and (3) as structured in rules, practical principles, and images.

As D. Jean Clandinin began work with them, the focus became teachers' personal practical

knowledge defined as the convictions and meanings, conscious or unconscious, that have arisen from experience (intimate, social, and traditional) and that are expressed in a person's practices. They drew on Michael Polanyi's argument that knowledge has a subjective, personal character, Mark Johnson's view of knowledge as embodied and expressed socially, and John Dewey's idea that knowledge and knowing are dialectical combinations of subject and object, of the cultural and the individual.

Eventually, the research focused on narrative ways of understanding teacher knowledge that attended to the dialectical relationship between teachers' personal practical knowledge, itself a dialectic between the personal and social in each teachers' knowledge and between the personal and the social of the contexts in which teachers lived and worked. The social of school, school contexts, was conceptualized through the metaphor of a professional knowledge landscape, a metaphor that created a discourse of space, place, and time. Teachers' knowledge landscapes were seen as both intellectual and moral landscapes and were understood as narratively constructed with historical, moral, emotional, and aesthetic dimensions. The landscape metaphor drew attention to the relational, temporal, and shifting nature of school contexts.

Research programs in these two distinct but related areas, that is, teacher thinking and teacher knowledge, eventually came together into one of the most intellectually vibrant research areas in curriculum studies in the late 1900s and early 2000s. By the mid-1990s, Gary Fenstermacher reviewed the literature in the area of teacher knowledge, noting that there were three strands of research: one with origins in the work of Connelly, Elbaz, and Clandinin, a second with origins in the work of Donald Schön, and a third with origins in the work of Lee Shulman. Schön, also working from a Deweyan view of experience, described practitioner knowledge as tacit, implicit in each person's patterns of action and as in each person's action. Shulman viewed teacher knowledge in terms of pedagogical content knowledge, knowledge that went beyond subject matter content to embody aspects of content relevant to its teachability.

As the work on teacher knowledge developed, it was influenced by philosophical work on the

nature of knowledge being undertaken by feminist scholars such as Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger, and Jill Tarule and Lorraine Code, and by Deweyan philosophers such as Mark Johnson and others. In the curriculum field, educational philosophers such as Maxine Greene and Nel Noddings and curriculum theorists such as Sandra Hollingsworth and Janet Miller shaped the ways teacher knowledge was being conceptualized. As teacher knowledge came to be seen as embodied, relational, context-specific, and experiential and as lived out and shaped in and by contexts, questions about the relationship of theory and practice were explored in new ways in curriculum studies.

The most recent work on teacher knowledge has been taken up by individuals interested in the storied nature of teacher knowledge. As links were made between narrative conceptions of teacher knowledge and teacher identity, other recent work focused more directly on teacher identity with a less direct focus on teacher knowledge.

*D. Jean Clandinin*

*See also* Dewey, John; Narrative Research; Personal Practical Knowledge Research; Schwab, Joseph

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## TEACHER LORE RESEARCH

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Teacher lore research is a form of narrative inquiry based on rich teaching accounts written by or about the teacher involved. Through these contextualized accounts, collectors of teacher lore hold that teachers will discover their own theory

through sharing their own voices as they reveal their beliefs, understandings, and knowledge. Most of the teaching stories are true; some have been fictionalized. Often, education scholars and policy makers are blind to the expertise of individual teachers, making sweeping decisions with little attention given to those teachers and students most directly affected by mandates. Within the field of curriculum studies, which seeks to reveal and analyze the complexities of curricular decision making, teacher lore research provides a way for the voices of practitioners themselves—those who engage in teaching day to day—to be part of the ongoing professional conversation regarding what it means to teach and what it means to be well educated.

Teacher lore is a practical form of writing reflectively about critical incidents in the teaching and learning of individual teachers. Editors of teacher lore volumes, including William Schubert and William Ayers, Gretchen Schwarz and Joye Alberts, and Carol Witherell and Nel Noddings, hold that teachers think deeply about the myriad of classroom decisions they make. Though not theoretical in the traditional sense of relying on professional literature as the basis for decision making, teachers form theory through examining the experiences of themselves and other teachers.

Most curriculum writers who collect teacher lore find authenticity in teachers' own stories, though Schwarz and Alberts extend the general concept to include fictional accounts from novels and films. All edited volumes of teacher lore posit a belief that teachers' stories, richly told, are an appropriate basis for grassroots reform of education.

Situated within the reconceptualization of the curriculum field, teacher lore research gives voice to teachers. Part of the negative reaction to increasing demands to quantify educational goals and outcomes following publication of *A Nation at Risk*, the teacher lore movement respects the voices of practitioners and seeks to honor their experiences, blurring the commonly touted dichotomy between theory and practice. Also in response to academics criticizing the apparent lack of theoretical foundation for individual teachers' decision-making processes, teacher lore researchers see their work as a way to respect teacher voices and recognize that building teaching theory is personal rather than academic, practical rather than distant.

Multiple voices of teachers, across time, geographic distance, PreK–16 teaching level, and content area, are valued.

As long as there have been teachers there have been teaching stories, but teacher lore as an accepted narrative research method came from a combination of the rise of teacher research as a form of systematic inquiry and Donald Schön's advocacy of reflective practice, calling for teachers to write about teaching decisions and events as a basis for deliberative reflection. As a separate research method, teacher lore became popular during the late 1980s continuing through the 1990s.

Teacher lore research is also connected directly to Elliot Eisner's notion of *educational connoisseurship*, in which teachers analyze decision making from an aesthetic viewpoint, rather than a means–ends or technical–rational viewpoint. Also related to teacher lore research is the use of case studies as vehicles for preservice and inservice teachers to examine practice. However, there is a clear distinction between teacher lore and case study, with the former including richly contextualized detail and the latter eschewing context as much as possible. One purpose of teacher lore is to provide thickly described context as a means to increasing the reader's understanding of a particular event, whereas a case study depersonalizes a described event to make it apply to as wide an audience of teachers as possible.

Teacher lore research is also related to teaching memoirs, such as those by William Ayers, Jane Tompkins, and Esme Rajj Codell, with the difference lying in a matter of focus; teacher lore research is usually based on a single significant event or related series of events, whereas a teaching memoir is a more detailed chronicle over an extended period. It is most common for teacher lore researchers to collect writings of many individual teachers and to organize them topically or thematically. For example, aiming at an audience of preservice and first-year teachers, Pearl Rock Kane collected teacher lore pieces from many experienced teachers, each of whom wrote and reflected on a critical incident from their first year of teaching.

Schwarz and Alberts, by asking teachers to write about an earlier event and to write about what they have learned from writing their teacher lore pieces, reconnect smoothly with teacher lore

research by making the analysis itself visible to the reader. This systematic analysis can also be seen in more recent publications that no longer claim to be part of teacher lore research, including the National Writing Project's (NWP) work in collecting vignettes from teacher leaders within that organization. Ann Lieberman and Linda Friedrich have begun analyzing the vignettes as a way to understand better the capacity building effects of NWP activity for individual teachers engaging in leadership activities across their professional lives.

Teacher lore research in and of itself is rare at this time. The current climate of standardization, accountability, and scientific evaluation has gone far beyond that experienced by teacher during the height of teacher lore research. Teacher lore is now included in the larger fields of teacher research or narrative research.

Pamela U. Brown

*See also* Action Research; Case Study Research; Multi-Vocal Research; Narrative Research; Teacher as Researcher; Ways of Knowing

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## TEACHER-PROOF CURRICULUM

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During the 1960s and early 1970s, curriculum reform efforts in many English-speaking countries led to the development of the “teacher-proof curriculum” as a central component of reform. As the term *teacher-proof* suggests, the aim was to minimize the teacher's control on curriculum development by creating a firm relationship among educational objectives, curriculum content, and



assessment tools. The notion of the *teacher-proof curriculum* is a course of studies well structured, firmly integrated, well supported by rich and motivating materials such that teachers could not stand in the way of a direct transaction between the learner, the student, and the learning recourses—the curriculum package.

The teacher-proof curriculum was designed by specialized curriculum experts, removed from the local school community, in a cookbook fashion so that any teacher who uses the curriculum will have the same results. In the teacher-proof curriculum, the goals (why), content (what), and methods (how) of instruction were prescribed for teachers within self-contained sequenced lessons. Further, educational objectives, curriculum content, and assessment tools were all packaged in a set of curriculum materials considered to be immune to teacher practice and belief. In this context, teachers and the local school community were to play a secondary role to those of national educational administrators and the curriculum experts: The aim was the accomplishment of high levels of commitment between the conception and practice of curriculum reform. Questions of curriculum change became the issues of managing the dissemination and control. The curriculum development process was seen as a technical exercise involving the setting of objectives and the measuring of outcomes, thus narrowing education to being a limited and technical activity. High-stakes tests were used as a measure of teacher effectiveness.

Similarly, the reform efforts on a developing discipline-based national curriculum in English-speaking countries during the 1960s and early 1970s has also reflected a somewhat centralized approach to curriculum change with the explicit aim of having a codified curriculum producing a new social order reflective of dominant groups. Curriculum control was a key subtext of these reform efforts. The endorsement of state-mandated high-stakes testing by policy makers and politicians legitimated the specification of instructional objectives and methods within the teacher-proof curriculum and resulted in the commodification of teachers' instructional practices.

Some proponents of the teacher-proof curriculum argued that teachers were so underprepared in their subjects that the curriculum must do everything for them. Thus, it must tell them

exactly what to do, when to do it, and in what order. This view of curriculum assumed that there is a right way to organize and teach the curriculum, and that, if teachers have a curriculum that represents this right way, students will learn a subject matter well.

These curriculum models were framed by a fairly rigid set of assumptions grounded in the modernist education system. In other words, the curriculum development was set within a vision of schooling that is highly regulated in time and space, and that views knowledge as rational, linear, and arranged in separate and distinctive disciplines.

Research on curriculum development during the 1970s and early 1980s revealed the difficulty in achieving the goals of teacher-proof curriculum packages because the reform efforts failed to account for the temporal, social, economic, and cultural factors that define and guide the possibilities for change in specific school communities.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, curriculum theorists began to advocate the central role of teachers in curriculum change and development and the need for teachers to own aspects of the changes that were sought. The emergence of new approaches to curriculum development, such as school-based curriculum development, reflective practice, and action research began to promote a trend toward locating members of school communities and teachers at the center of curriculum reform efforts. For some proponents of the new changes, the reforms represented a democratization of curriculum development, in which the teachers were empowered in the processes of curriculum development.

*Mustafa Yunus Eryaman and Martina Riedler*

See also Discipline-Based Curriculum; Hidden Curriculum; National Curriculum

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## TEACHER–PUPIL PLANNING

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Teacher–pupil planning represented a widespread curricular-instructional practice of teachers who were attempting to embody general principles of progressive education and democracy in the classroom. Although teacher–pupil planning was never codified into a formal, instructional methodology, the practice was used at both the elementary, middle, and secondary school levels and, along with resource units and a fused core curriculum, proved quite popular among progressive high schools of the 1930s and 1940s. To view the activity as an example of the child-centered curriculum movement would be a disservice to the concept as would describing teacher–pupil planning as a component of the “activity curriculum.” Although all of these terms have been used to portray teacher–pupil planning, the practice stressed other concepts and was developed as a way to reconcile specific curricular dilemmas of progressive education—namely, the interests and needs of the students and the building of community.

Although teacher–pupil planning ultimately resulted in the development of curricular activities, its origins arose more as a way to reconcile the balance between student needs and interests as the sources for selecting curricular experiences. Defining democracy in the classroom as a setting where experiences would be determined by both the (shared) interests of the students along with the perceived (real) personal/social needs of the individual, teacher–pupil planning served as a way to develop a classroom atmosphere where youth could build meaningful relationships with adults (the teachers). Attention was devoted to ways to assist teachers to better anticipate student interests and needs, and methods to introduce “cooperative” classroom practices.

Although intended as a method to select course content, teacher–pupil planning entailed much more: providing motivation for teachers and students and encouraging both to extend the range of their shared interests and values. Over time, criteria evolved as both students and their teachers became increasingly sophisticated at cooperative work. This did not mean that teachers abdicated their responsibilities and allowed students to pursue questionable topics, as critics have charged.

Quite the contrary, teachers were expected to be more conscientious than they typically had been in traditional instructional settings and were responsible for noting curricular possibilities that otherwise would have been overlooked. In what proved to be the most comprehensive treatment of the practice, H. H. Giles describes seven characteristics of this curricular-pedagogical method: democracy, use of scientific method, change as a constant factor, creativity, individualization, socialization, and organization through a problem-oriented approach.

Teacher–pupil planning involved the following practices: Before a first class meeting, teachers would conduct a preliminary survey of pupils’ backgrounds. They would review cumulative files to learn about abilities and interests as well as about past academic experience, and they discuss the previous years’ work with a view toward program continuity. Preplanning involved carefully anticipating possible topics and projects for study, surveying available instructional materials, and devising ways to evaluate the completed work. Larger school aims were always kept in mind as were students’ individual needs. All of this work took place outside of the classroom and was often quite time consuming. A 2-month unit might take 2 full weeks to plan as time was spent identifying salient topics (often the most difficult problem), assigning group and individual projects, deciding on common experiences, and determining how ideas would be brought together, shared, and evaluated. During the process, revisions would be made as needed. Planning was as much a part of the learning experience of students as was the execution and evaluation of the designs themselves, each a component of intelligence as a method for reflective thinking.

One insightful description of teacher–pupil planning is described in an anecdote told by one of the Ohio State University School core teachers, William Van Til, who described a talk given by Giles on the method. A critical question was posed by a member of the audience who doubted the wisdom of involving students in planning and distrusted their ability to make important educational decisions. When Giles was asked which was more important in teacher–pupil planning—the teacher or the pupil—Giles’s reply was “the hyphen.” Just as core curriculum represented much more than

the act of merging content, teacher–pupil planning as a form of instructional discourse went far beyond a series of teacher and pupil choices. The hyphen represented a working conception of cooperation and democracy in the classroom.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also* Cooperation/Cooperative Studies; Eight Year Study, The; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs

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## TEACHERS AS CURRICULUM MAKERS

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Teachers as curriculum makers is an image that acknowledges the teacher as a holder, user, and producer of knowledge, a self-directed individual who takes the curriculum as given and negotiates it in active relationship with students to address their needs as learners and, to the extent possible, meet the requirements outlined in stated curriculum documents. Unfortunately, the fields of curriculum and teaching have evolved independent of one another in much the same way as Division B (Curriculum) and Division K (Teaching) of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) have developed separately. A similar structural and relational divide is apparent within teacher education and curriculum faculties lodged in departments and colleges of education. Disconnects between the knower and the known have abounded in the educational enterprise as historically conceived. Yet, the fields of curriculum and teaching might not be so estranged if the teacher as curriculum maker image was adopted. After briefly describing the background, this entry addresses the conceptualization and the recent scholarship of teachers as curriculum makers.

### Background

The teacher as curriculum maker conceptualization was first introduced to the field of education in 1992 by Jean Clandinin and Michael Connelly. But the seed of the idea initially took root in an earlier book authored by Connelly and Clandinin, which was primarily written for a teacher audience. Clandinin and Connelly drew on many sources in developing the image: educational history—work involving stability and change, educational philosophy—Dewey’s theory concerning the ends and means of education, and educational leadership, which, like other facets of the literature, positioned teachers as mediators between curriculum documents and student outcomes. Also, the agency Ralph Tyler afforded teachers played a role, as did Joseph Schwab’s “practical,” most especially his curriculum commonplaces, which upheld the centrality of the teacher in curriculum deliberations and provided *raison d’être* for the teacher as curriculum maker image. Connelly and Clandinin’s programmatic research, which has sought to understand teachers’ knowledge in their own terms and in context, additionally informed the image’s creation.

The teacher as curriculum maker image works from the assumption that a classroom space exists within which teachers and students negotiate curriculum unhampered by, though not oblivious to, others’ mandates and desires. That space, however, is discretionary, which means that teachers and students need to act as moving forces and seize the possibilities inherent in it. Also, opportunities for maneuvering within the classroom space are influenced by others—for example, fellow teachers, administrators, school district personnel, staff developers, parents, and policy makers—who also have a shaping effect on classroom experiences. In the space teachers and students mutually carve out, distinctions between the knower and the known fade. So, too, do the means and ends of education merge. As active agents, teachers work as minded professionals guided by their own sensibilities and practical ways of knowing. In a like manner, students actively participate as knowers of their own experiences and producers of their own knowledge, not simply users of codified knowledge, which their teachers receive via a metaphorical conduit and correspondingly transmit to them.

### Conceptualization

In Clandinin and Connelly's view, curriculum is more than a planned document or a program of study external to teachers. It is what teachers and students live as they interact with one another, although curriculum guides, textbooks, and other materials play a part. The concept of the teacher as curriculum maker calls attention to the primacy of the teacher in organizing, planning, and orchestrating these interactions because only the teacher is situated at the epicenter of the curricular exchange and encounters students face-to-face. Thus, curriculum is what happens—what becomes instantiated—in the moments when teaching and learning fuse. Hence, what teachers hold and express as part of their knowing—that is, what they reflect on, build theories about, view as significant, negotiate meanings for, and act upon—automatically informs their pedagogical interactions with students. Similarly, students' prior experiences and future desires form part of the curricular mix, as do their relationships with fellow learners. Hence, when a teacher as curriculum maker teaches students, the teacher brings forward his or her knowledge about himself or herself as a teacher, the course content, the milieu in its endless complexity, and his or her knowing of the person at a particular place and time within the student's learning experience. In this space, practical and formal ways of knowing mingle, producing new iterations of practical knowledge that both the teacher and students will call forth in future situations. In this way, the teacher as curriculum maker image resonates with the organic connections between curriculum and life. In engaging curriculum, meaning becomes reconstructed through reflection and leads to growth by teachers and students. Indeed, the teacher as curriculum maker image fuels the very essence of the Deweyan idea of education as reconstruction without end.

The teacher as curriculum maker conceptualization offers a viable alternative to the dominant plot line of teacher as curriculum implementer, an image Clandinin and Connelly also captured. In that conceptualization, the teacher uses other people's knowledge and, in a technical rational way, installs a curriculum/curriculum package designed by others. In short, the image of teacher as curriculum implementer treats teachers as

functionaries who are totally reliant on state and national imperatives. In this technical view of the teacher, fidelity to others' directives reigns supreme as Cheryl Craig has demonstrated in her research studies.

### Recent Scholarship

The teacher as curriculum maker image more recently has been advanced by Cheryl Craig and Vicki Ross. They focused on how the image became cultivated in the aftermath of Schwab's "practical." Craig and Ross particularly traced what happened to the research lines of four of Schwab's prominent students: Elliot Eisner, Seymour Fox, Lee Shulman, and Michael Connelly. Although Eisner's work in the areas of art education, curriculum studies, and school reform did not involve direct contact with teachers, his locating of his research at the intersection where teaching and curriculum meet allowed him and some of his students—for instance, Gail McCutcheon and James Henderson—to make significant contributions to the teacher-as-curriculum maker image. As for Fox, he lived his version of "the practical" with others at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Consequently, a rich related literature developed in Hebrew and English. Included in this work is the research of Miriam Ben-Peretz, Freema Elbaz-Luwisch, and Lily Orland-Barak. Meanwhile, Shulman's scholarship involved the conceptualization of pedagogical content knowledge, the wisdom of practice and the use of case studies in teaching and teacher education, all of which reflect a version of the teacher as curriculum maker approach. Pamela Grossman, Anna Richert, and Suzanne Wilson, each of whom studied with Shulman, also took up related research interests. In their focus on pedagogical content knowledge, these researchers tend to emphasize aspects of teacher knowledge as needing to be developed by teachers and as being better in some than in others, which suggests more of a formal knowledge approach. A subtle contrast between the latter two research lines is the implication in the Clandinin and Connelly work that teachers simply are curriculum makers whose accounts are vital to understanding what currently is happening in schools and classrooms. This is further evident in Clandinin and Connelly's notion of personal practical knowledge. This concept adopts an epistemological stance of teachers as



knowers and approaches schools as practical places comprising the contexts of teaching. The promotion of the use of narrative inquiry, with and by, teachers embraces the knowledge stance of teachers as curriculum makers based on their personal practical knowledge. Students of Clandinin and Connelly—Carola Conle, Ming Fang He, Janice Huber, and Margaret Olson, for example—also nurture the teacher as curriculum maker image through Conle’s explorations of narrative inquiry as a form of teacher development, He’s approach to culture and multiculturalism within the context of people’s lives, Huber’s inquiries into the nested nature of teacher-student-researcher relationships, and Olson’s account of curriculum as a “multistoried process.” Olson and Craig’s coauthored works have further illustrated how the teacher as curriculum maker develops his or her narrative authority in knowledge communities. Finally, Clandinin and colleagues’ recent book, with an afterword by Stefinee Pinnegar, brings to light the complexities that emerge at the interstices where teaching, learning, and public policy meet by illuminating the interweaving of children’s and teachers’ lives.

In addition to the direct connections relating to the Eisner, Fox, Shulman, and Connelly-Clandinin lines, Craig and Ross noted that Schwab’s “practical” left a major imprint on other parts of the field as well. The teacher as curriculum maker image is present in the self-study of teaching and teacher education, action research, case study research, and reflective portfolio making literatures, among other related fields of inquiry (i.e., narrative practices, interdisciplinary studies, teacher work groups, and teachers helping teacher). As Connelly and Shijing Xu averred in the most recent curriculum handbook, the curriculum field no longer involves two strands of inquiry: Those who moved toward theory and those who moved toward practice as Phillip Jackson asserted in the previous volume of the handbook. Rather, an “in-between” literature has emerged in the content-specific and teacher-thinking areas as well as in a myriad of AERA special interest groups (SIGs). As can be seen, much of the scholarship pertaining to the teacher as curriculum maker image is of this in-between variety. It begins in practice, draws on theory, and uses context to make sense of both.

*Cheryl J. Craig*

*See also* Eisner, Elliot; Narrative Research; Personal Practical Knowledge Research; Schwab, Joseph; Teacher as Researcher

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## TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALS

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Henry Giroux’s collection of essays *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning* represents the evolving arc of radical and critical educators and theorists’ efforts to critique and affirm the essential role and agency of teachers and students in the struggle to create an emancipatory education and practice grounded in democratic principles of justice and equality. These essays, influenced by cultural and social reproduction theory and theoretical perspectives of radical and critical theorists such as Paulo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, Stanley Aronowitz, Peter McLaren, and Ira Shor, reflect a critical pedagogy emphasizing the importance of individuals as social actors and change agents. Giroux was among the first theorists to develop and define the

term *critical theory* as a vehicle for moving beyond the prescribed vision of schools as mainly sites of reproduction of social inequities, to one of schools as important contradictory sites within which teachers and students choose to accommodate or resist the traditional and oppressive language and structure of schools. An important feature of these essays is Giroux's rejection of the traditional view of schools, curriculum, teaching, and learning as neutral and apolitical processes set apart from the larger social contexts in which they are constructed and negotiated. Rather, Giroux argues that schools are public spheres reflecting the larger society in which social, cultural, and political struggles are simultaneously reproduced, resisted, and transformed in an ongoing struggle of democratization. As a social, cultural, and political space, schools become a place in which teachers and students participate in a viable democratic process of resistance; an emancipatory practice grounded in student empowerment.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this book is its conceptualization of teachers as *transformative intellectuals*. This portrayal becomes particularly compelling in light of current education reform models that, by defining education as training, contribute to the deskilling and devaluing of teachers through a limited curriculum and high-stakes testing.

The use of the term *intellectual* as it applies to teachers differs from traditional and elitist definitions of intellectualism. As intellectuals, Giroux's teachers are viewed as agents and advocates to develop more democratic and inclusive pedagogy, that address moral and ethical questions about the purpose of education as an authentic and evolving democratic enterprise. This examination of the emancipatory, intellectual teacher in collaboration with empowered students challenges traditional views of teaching and learning as technical and decontextualized. The practices of critical educators and teacher intellectuals reflect a perspective that rejects the notion of education as a value-neutral process, thus making transparent the political and structural dimensions of schools as places of social production and reproduction. Schools are recognized as political sites, and the intellectual labor of teachers must include speaking and acting in ways to disrupt and remap hegemonic arrangements. For Giroux, such a remapping demands a

collective and critical interrogation of historically oppressive structures embedded within the purposes and practices of schools as well as the larger society. This critical practice is grounded in a living vision of schools as democratic public spheres linked to the larger struggle against various forms of political, economic, social, and pedagogical oppression. In this enterprise, a language of critique is combined with a language of possibility and hope, providing a blueprint for revisioning schools as one of many contested sites of democratic possibility, and teachers and students as indispensable agents in the struggle to create the conditions necessary for critical consciousness.

The strength of these essays is also a critique: Both teachers and students are charged with the primary responsibility of examining and questioning those pedagogical, curricular, political, economic, social structures and practices in which they participate, *and* for developing strategies to resist and change these oppressive structures and practices. Teachers are viewed not as mere performers held captive by the schools in the reproduction of official knowledge and practices; rather, they are free to engage in a critical and reflective practice in which new knowledge may be produced both with and in the service of their students. The challenges lay in the consideration of how teachers can become and remain transformative intellectuals within the oppressive and anti-intellectual structures of schools.

*Candace Thompson*

*See also* Critical Pedagogy; Critical Theory Research

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## TEACHERS COLLEGE COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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Teachers College at Columbia University has earned a reputation in the past century as a national leader

in curriculum studies. During the early to mid-20th century, the institution resisted forming a dominant philosophic orientation or preferred epistemology. Widely recognized for its promotion of variations of progressive (experimentalist) education, fostered by the contributions of John Dewey, faculty members at Teachers College simultaneously advanced the “scientific” approaches to education advanced by E. L. Thorndike as well as the essentialist platform of W. C. Bagley and I. L. Kandel. The use of laboratory schools for experimentation with curriculum and instruction was widely emulated in other teacher preparation programs. By mid-century, Hollis Caswell promoted focus on school reform with the support of Alice Miel and Arthur Wells Foshay, and Florence Stratemeyer and the life adjustment curriculum offered an approach that combined elements of former oppositional perspectives at Teachers College. In the 1960s and 1970s, the insights offered by existential and personal explorations of curriculum, represented in the work of Maxine Greene and Dwayne Huebner, offered novel approaches to curriculum studies incorporating new philosophic orientations and the language of aesthetics.

A model of curriculum that had compatibility to the instructional models promoted by Thorndike was provided by David Snedden who championed the expansion of industrial training for adolescents through vocational schools and the inclusion of manual arts preparation introduced in the latter elementary grades. Snedden suggested that a curriculum be directed to production (vocation) and consumption (liberal arts), subdivided into specific skills (performance practices) and then again into a grouping (strands) of specific objectives. Snedden divided culture into seven divisions, each with its own set of values and knowledge. The most important form in U.S. society was vocational. Other cultural forms Snedden claimed merit a place in the curriculum are morality (interpersonal relationships), civics, religion, physical activity, eutenics (aesthetic appreciation), and humanities. Snedden contended social utility dictated the value of a cultural form to the curriculum, adapted then to the social contribution that a learner is likely to provide. Thus, curriculum assisted in promoting social classes based on economic production, recognizing the purposes of education are as varied as

the social functions individuals are asked to perform. Division of disciplines was efficient and effective education.

From the college’s inception, Dean J. E. Russell envisioned experimental laboratory schools to research and demonstrate cutting-edge curriculum and instructional models. The earliest association was with Horace Mann School, founded in 1887. A private tuition coeducational institution, Horace Mann attracted children of the professional classes and the expectation from parents was that the school would not treat their offspring as laboratory subjects. In an effort to establish a laboratory school representative of a typical urban population, the Speyer School was established. A tuition-free institution, the curriculum was envisioned as integrating traditional academic subjects with industrial arts. Frederick Bonser and Lois Coffey Mossman were recruited to establish the industrial arts curriculum for the elementary grades. The curriculum and the book that resulted from their work at Speyer became a standard reference on industrial arts training in the elementary schools, emphasizing Mossman’s insistence that no skill be taught without resulting in the production of a final product. The Speyer experiment, however, did not capture the interest of leading Teachers College faculty and was abandoned when Lincoln School was established in 1917.

Russell recruited Patty Smith Hill specifically to implement innovations in the early childhood curriculum at Speyer School in 1905. In 1910, Hill became head of the college’s department of kindergarten education and full professor in 1922. Hill’s ideas on a curriculum of play and creative expression for kindergarten were resisted at Speyer but did find acceptance at Horace Mann School. Instructional artifacts used by Hill became standard progressive practices across the nation. With psychologist Agnes Rogers, Hill developed a “Tentative Inventory of Habits,” 84 desired learned behaviors to direct kindergarten curriculum and instruction, which gained Hill an international reputation in early childhood curriculum.

A third laboratory school was established with Teachers College in 1917. Lincoln School was intended as a demonstration site for progressive curriculum and instruction, emphasizing thematic units of work and student collaboration. Located in the high-rent district, Lincoln School was a

private tuition institution where teacher-researchers conducted studies of their innovations and shared their experiences in national journals and the school's publishing house. The emphasis on "modern" was, however, often closer to Snedden's conception of social utility with lessons relating to industrial and financial operations and emphasis on science and mathematics. Thus, Lincoln School, with conflicting purposes and interests, combined with Horace Mann School and then a re-configured approach that included working with a cluster of schools was put in place in the 1950s.

An alternative curriculum for teacher preparation, New College, was also designed and implemented in the 1930s, directed by Thomas Alexander and centered on problem solving in the "persistent problems of living." The intent was to produce teachers with a progressive orientation who would advance social reform. Given Alexander's specialization in European education, foreign study was a requisite element of the program as was spending at least one summer on a farm in the South to promote communal living. Students were also required to gain work experience by obtaining a job locally and then reflect on what was learned from this experience. Institutional interest in the New College faded, and the program was discontinued by the end of the decade.

William Heard Kilpatrick became a leading voice for progressive education through a popular curricular innovation and an equally compelling personality. In 1918, Kilpatrick produced a modest, accessible, Dewey-inspired innovation in curriculum and instruction. "The Project Method" was a thematic unit centered on student interests that addressed cognitive, affective, and physical development of learners through group collaboration on a shared social project. Adapting Dewey's curricular and instructional proposals, Kilpatrick promoted a curriculum responsive to children's interests but also contributing to social improvement, two important variations of progressivism at Teachers College.

Thomas Briggs, who earned his doctorate at Teachers College and conducted initial studies on the value of the formal teaching of grammar, was a member of the reviewing committee for the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* and became a leading proponent for reform of the junior high and secondary school curriculum

as a general studies program for adult participation in contemporary society. Harold Rugg came to the faculty from the University of Illinois having worked on student evaluation, but shifted to consideration of the child-centered curriculum and how a curriculum can bridge student interests with contemporary social issues. George Counts and Jesse Newlon developed a social reconstructionist proposal that teachers be agents for social change and that schools be forums for students to consider current important social issues.

L. Thomas Hopkins came to Teachers College as a faculty member and developed a line of curriculum work that emphasized individuality, collaboration, and noncoercion. Learning, for Hopkins, was "organistic" or "interactive." Education fostered awareness that the world presents problems that demand intellectual response. Teachers guided the interests of the child, helping forge an intelligent crossing to a new "integration," selecting curricular experiences that meet both the interests of the child and the social needs of the community. In considering how the learner can be matched to the problems of the social order, Hopkins suggested attention be paid to the developmental level of the student, introducing instruction that increases democratic participation.

As an alternative to the experientialist enthusiasm evident at Teachers College, Bagley offered a proposal that called for the revival of traditional academic studies and was the main author of an "essentialist" platform that directly confronted progressive reformers. Recruited by Russell to Teachers College in 1917, Bagley declared young people are best served when educated in the enduring lessons of the culture; education reflects the wisdom and knowledge of the past—it does not confront the present or speculate on the future. The curricular mission was the culturally grounded, independent social contributor. Working on assumption that human differentiation is not as significant as the characteristics that humans share, Bagley asserted that a core cultural knowledge of social essentials should be determined and imparted to students, differentiating the curriculum only by adapting instruction. Bagley reminded educators that success is the result of hard work and that self-discipline is necessary to undertake these arduous tasks. So, for youth, the formation of habit through



drill, repetition, and discipline may, in the short term, be distasteful, but produces a lifelong regimen of productive habits. A lifelong colleague of Bagley at Teachers College, Kandel was a pioneer in the study of comparative educational systems with specialization in European schooling. Kandel shared Bagley's concerns that vocationalism led to social training and that progressive education was too focused on child development to ensure the learner is provided with induction to the wisdom and knowledge available through cultural studies.

Caswell returned to Teachers College in 1938, where he had earned his doctorate a decade previous, having established his reputation as a leader in curriculum field research and consultation for his extensive, detailed production of curriculum surveys throughout the South. His scholarship on curriculum thought was also well-attested in co-authoring the *Curriculum Development* with Doak Campbell, a state-of-the-art representation of curriculum studies. Caswell was interested in the improvement of curriculum that was responsive to a situation and could be sustained in practice. This was to be done by first documenting the present curriculum, then collaborating with various stakeholders to determine what improvements were most likely to be responsive to the various factors identified in the survey. His efforts were to match the intentions of curriculum policy makers with school instruction. Caswell assumed the presidency of Teachers College in 1954; during his presidency, Teachers College established a program to assist schools in Afghanistan and trained and selected volunteers for teaching service in East Africa.

A book edited by Samuel Everett entitled *The Community School* combined elements of both the Snedden and the Dewey traditions. The emphasis of this book was that the curriculum should be constituted of the life experiences in the learner's immediate community. The school was a child's guide into adult participant in the local society. The most influential statement of this life needs curriculum was the publication of *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living* by Florence Stratemeyer, Hamden Forkner, and Margaret McKim in 1947. Stratemeyer, a member of the faculty at Teachers College, and her colleagues assembled a curriculum manual for promoting a life needs education, contending that it brought social relevance to the academic disciplines. The

first requirement of curriculum construction was to understand the learner, not social or vocational demands. Education brings the learner and the demands of modern life together through guided experiences of interest to the learner yet important to effective social functioning. Stratemeyer, Forkner, and McKim isolated the social demands placed on each individual in a democratic society as vocational contribution, use of leisure time, family living, local citizenship, democratic cooperation, and world mindedness.

Miel, professor at Teachers College from 1944 through 1971, promoted democratic leadership and decision making among educators with a particular focus on how to implement curriculum change through open collaboration of stakeholders. She offered an examination of the factors that affect reform effort and retained a focus on working to improve schools rather than offering prescriptions for change. Miel argued development needed to be local, not directed by government or academes with the expectation that teachers will serve as mere conduits for a devised curriculum. Foshay came to Teachers College to work with Caswell, earning his EdD in 1949, and returned in 1957 as an administrator responsible for the direction of a network of experimental schools. Interested initially in practices for school improvement, Foshay's thinking then evolved in the 1970s to fostering individuality and expanding the school curriculum beyond the traditional academic subjects to considerations of values and worth. Like Miel and Foshay, Arno Bellack was also a graduate student during Caswell's tenure at Teachers College and was given a faculty appointment. Bellack researched teacher behavior in classrooms, determining instruction largely followed a "pedagogical cycle," with the teacher initiating a question, generating student response and then affirming or clarifying the response. His systematic observational studies indicated that teachers were more alike than different and there was little room given in the classroom for student initiation of curricular topics.

Huebner and Greene's entry to the faculty at Teachers College signaled new directions for curriculum studies at Teachers College. Huebner, a protégée of Virgil Herrick at the University of Wisconsin, shifted from the empirical study of curriculum implementation to consideration of

philosophy and theology as it informs curriculum thought. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s in published articles and conference presentations, Huebner encouraged colleagues to think about curriculum outside of the conventions of development, implementation, and evaluation, considering the deeper purposes of curriculum meanings. Use of technical and scientific languages limited curriculum studies, Huebner asserted; he encouraged the use of a variety of languages, including aesthetic, poetic, political, and theological discourses to expand curriculum theorizing. Widely acknowledged as a major voice in the “reconceptualizing” of curriculum thought in the 1970s, Huebner continued his scholarship as a professor at Yale Divinity School in 1982.

Greene accepted appointment as a faculty member at Teachers College in 1965, influencing curriculum studies with her study of the contradictions and consistencies that existed in the curriculum of the public school and the development of the individual. Greene’s immersion in the arts and literature as well as existential and phenomenological philosophy served as a unique point of observation of the character of schooling and the identity of the teacher. Her classic work, *The Teacher as Stranger*, published in 1973, pondered the character of the profession and relationships with one’s students. She called for critical awareness, exploring the human condition through the arts, and interacting with others to provoke new possibilities. She shared Huebner’s interest in expanding on purposeful conversations on curriculum meanings.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also* *Democracy and Education*; Dewey, John; Experientialism; Greene, Maxine; Kilpatrick, William Heard; Miel, Alice; Project Method; Rugg, Harold; Stratemeyer, Florence B.; *Teacher as Stranger*; Thorndike, Edward L.

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## TECHNICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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After years of being considered second rate to traditional academic courses, technical education (formerly called vocational education) now finds itself center stage in the reform of the high school curriculum. According to the U.S. Department of Education, enrollment shot up from 1990 to 2005 by 57%, from 9.6 million students in 1990 to 15.1 million students in 2005. This increase is at least partly the result of the growth of career academies—small schools-within-schools focused on career paths or themes. Designed to make high school more relevant to students, there were 2,500 career academies in the United States by 2007. During the past decade, college-bound and high-achieving students who wouldn’t have considered taking vocational education courses are now moving to them. Likewise, students enrolled in technical education programs, who weren’t expected to take advanced academic classes, are now moving to them. And interestingly enough, the old high school tracking system of taking either college prep or career prep courses is now blurred by students who are crossing over.

Probably the most notable provision of the Career and Technical Education Improvement Act

of 2006 was called the new “programs of study provision.” The law charged states with offering high school students a new kind of career and technical education that would help prepare them for both college and careers, not just for success in entry level occupations.

For many high school students, especially those at risk of dropping out of high school, this mandate was good news. Rather than an alternative to postsecondary education, technical education has become the key to making postsecondary education an achievable goal for all high school students. As professional educators have come to acknowledge, not everyone needs a 4-year college degree to be classified as successful. However, some level of postsecondary education—4-year or 2-year college, apprenticeship, the military, or formal employment training—is almost certainly essential for lasting success.

To enable students to achieve this goal, schools are infusing more demanding academic content into technical education courses. This also means stressing more authentic application in such areas as college preparatory mathematics, science, English, and social studies courses. Focusing just on the technical education curriculum is not enough. Technical education, which traditionally accounted for only 4 or 5 of the 25 courses that students take to earn a high school diploma, has now opened “academic pathways,” which blend academics with technical education. These pathways are where a number of schools are focusing their attention. They are small schools-within-schools and embody the elements of what many in the high school reform movement say all high schools should strive for: high academic standards for all students, small groups of students moving together with the same teachers, and a themed career approach, with students having many connections to the outside world of work. This is perhaps why they are being embraced by many districts looking to break large, comprehensive high schools into smaller learning communities.

Despite the recent explosion in growth, career and technical academies are by no means new: The first was established in Philadelphia in 1965. It was an attempt to find out if career academies could help students from low-income neighborhoods go to college and do well in their careers. In 1994, researcher James Kemple began gathering

data on students from nine such career academies in low-income neighborhoods and at high schools with high dropout rates. Kemple’s ongoing study is considered an excellent investigation, mostly because it contains a control group, and is attempting to resolve the question about whether these programs can affect academic performance and workforce preparation. Results published in 2004, revealed that these nine career academies were having a substantial effect on earnings and employment rates. The academy students had 18% higher earnings than the control group students did 4 years after high school graduation. One thing that the ongoing Kemple study has not been able to show is whether career academies have any effect—positive or negative—on achievement. Both groups of students reported in the 2004 study did graduate at higher rates than the national average for minority students, but as Kemple noted, the students in the control group are finding other opportunities to succeed.

By 2007, the National Academy Foundation was supporting more than 600 academics spread across 40 states that offer students 4-year programs of academic and technical study organized around finance, information technology, or hospitality and tourism. The Ford Partnership for Advanced Studies has been active at more than 150 sites that promote a sequence of courses that integrate academic content with career preparation to advance greater competency in problem solving, critical thinking, communications, and teamwork. Project Lead the Way has introduced academically demanding pre-engineering programs into more than 1,000 high schools throughout the United States.

Career and technical education does not use a one-size-fits-all approach, and it can take various forms according to the needs of school districts, communities, and employers and businesses in those communities. Here are four types commonly found in today’s schools.

1. *Career Academies.* Career academies are smaller learning communities within high schools that focus on career pathways that can lead students to career and to higher education. School counselors in 8th grade help students choose the right pathway for them. High schools in Palm Beach County, Florida, for instance, have 94 career

academies. These academies are based on 16 career clusters as outlined by the U.S. Department of Education.

2. *Part-Time Technical High Schools.* Students at a part-time technical high school attend part time; they go to their home school for general academic classes and extracurricular activities.

3. *Full-Time Technical High Schools.* These schools are usually part-time schools that became full time. They have all the elements of a traditional high school, from a band to a yearbook, and give school diplomas as other schools do. Having the students enroll full time means better integration of academics and career skills. These schools profess to have better achievement scores than the part-time technical schools.

4. *Charter Technical High Schools.* These are few in number but are based on linking parents, community members, and business leaders to focus on the types of career and technical education that should be offered in that community. The charter status gives the district a greater deal of flexibility in its approach and curricular offerings.

Technical education is proving successful in serving students with nontraditional learning styles. Moreover, such curricular innovations as technical education are sparking renewed student interest in critical mathematic and scientific disciplines. These innovations place technical education on the cutting edge of educational reform, as well as helping to firmly establish technical education as the “link” between the needs of employers, the community, and most importantly, today’s students.

*Robert C. Morris*

*See also* Career Education Curriculum; Career Education Curriculum, History of; Secondary School Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum

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## TECHNOLOGY

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Plato generally uses *epistêmê* (knowledge) and *technê* (art or craft) interchangeably, but in *Philebus*, he divides knowledge into two types: the first addressing education and philosophy and the second addressing production. The fact that technê is teachable is what makes it an epistêmê. From antiquity, the two types of knowledge are inseparable; education and technology will always require each other. Hence, Archimedes’s planetarium, a device that communicated knowledge of heavenly bodies and the gods, was never fully didaskê (instruction), epistêmê, mechanê (mechanics), or technê. Etymologically, *curriculum*, a Latin term for race ground or race course, will always have a technological dimension, even as the infinitive *currere* (to run, traverse) and the related *cursu* reference an experiential dimension. Both terms are first used in their modern sense in the late 16th century: *curriculum* is introduced in 1576 and *technologia* in 1563 in Latin texts of Petrus Ramus, a noted rhetorician at the University of Paris. *Curriculum* referred to the complete course of the seven liberal arts, and *technologia* to the arts of properly arranging, delineating, or systematizing their contents. Indeed, curriculum and technology co-emerge within a specific post-Reformation system of education. *Technology* is first defined in *The New World of English Words* in 1706 (“a Description of Arts, especially the Mechanical”). Although *curriculum* is used through the 17th and 18th centuries in universities such as Glasgow and Leiden, it first appears in English with its Ramist denotation in *A Technological Dictionary*, published in 1846 (“the complete course of studies of a university, school, &c.”). Foucauldian scholars found that bureaucracy is part and parcel of modern schooling, thus technology and curriculum are mutually inherent.

This raises two questions: To what extent is curriculum a technology? And to what extent is technology a curriculum? The first question resolved



over the 18th and 19th centuries through German didactics and object teaching, or what was called general method in the United States. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this is coincident with the question of whether education (e.g., didactics, pedagogics) is a science. Franklin Bobbitt's technique of curriculum making, delineated in 1918 in *The Curriculum*, along with standardized testing and the school executive's scientific management systems, epitomized what historian Raymond Callahan described as the "cult of efficiency" in U.S. schooling. The second question, the extent to which technology is a curriculum, is found in Francis Bacon's case for useful knowledge articulated in *The Advancement of Learning* in the early 17th century. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) reiterated the dangers of unchecked optimism in a curriculum of mechanical arts and natural philosophy. Ironically, there was also risk in contempt for the technology curriculum and its creations. This question resolved over the 18th and 19th centuries through the establishment of engineering institutions, the École Polytechnique (1794), Franklin Institute (1824), and Rensselaer School (1824) or lyceum schools in general. Similarly, historically Black colleges, such as Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (1881), schools of industry, manual training centers, home economics, and technical education, offered a technology curriculum for oppressed and working classes in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Historians acknowledge that technological literacies linked to the grammar of the machine were indispensable to ingenuity while germane to forms of alienation documented Karl Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. In the name of mass, progressive education in schools, the technology curriculum competed for status and won legitimacy even as labeling, sorting, and tracking reinforced a differentiation of knowledge and skill maintaining conditions for cultural reproduction and preservation of social order. Audiovisual communications faced similar contradictions once specialists shifted from correlating and integrating to developing a media curriculum in the 1960s. Thus, media and technology curriculum formed under suspicion of indoctrination and vocationalism.

Capital investment through the 1920s made school offices as complex as business offices and, although spending on instruction paled next to

administrative expenditures, a wide variety of devices were used in elementary and secondary curricula. Although outlays for curriculum slowed during the Depression, "canned" curriculum, workbooks, film, sound recordings, and radio were introduced into urban schools and shared among classrooms in Canada and the United States. Sidney Pressey, eventually crowned grandfather of computer-assisted instruction, employed the terms *educational engineering* and *educational technology* to describe the changes. In 1933, he called for an industrial revolution in education to transition from handicraft to technological practice. By the late 1950s, *educational technology* was used alternatively with the term *instructional technology* to displace *audiovisual education* and *audiovisual communications* as disciplinary referents and practices. Instruction by machine, learning or teaching with technology, and the automation of curriculum were and continue to be characteristic of reform. Unlike most engineers, Alice Mary Hilton, who laid groundwork for what she called "cyberculture" in 1963, was skeptical of devices for the accumulation of information and maintained that curriculum had yet to be developed for the technological future.

The reconceptualization of curriculum studies in the 1970s and 1980s was a critique of technocratic rationality inasmuch as a reaction to curriculum development. Critical theorists empiricized technology within curriculum while postcritical reconceptualists theorized curriculum without technology. During the past four centuries, various technologies have been instrumental in the separation of curriculum from instruction but, currently, new media and technologies are partially reintegrating the two, narrowing options for postcritical or postreconceptual theorizing. Currently, technologies and technological curricula refer to devices, media, processes, symbols, cyborgs and robots, cyberspace, and knowledge as well as to disciplines, specializations, and the volition animating these things. This raises second-order questions of mediation: How does curriculum mediate technology or in what way is curriculum a medium through which technology propagates? How does technology mediate curriculum or in what way do media propagate curriculum?

*Stephen Petrina and Paula Rusnak*

*See also* Commercialization of Schooling; Computer-Assisted Instruction; Curriculum Design; Indoctrination; Instructional Design; Technical Education Curriculum

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## TESTED CURRICULUM

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The tested curriculum consists of that portion of the curriculum over which a student is tested via national norm-referenced achievement tests, state criteria-referenced tests, and teacher-made tests. Teachers may emphasize the tested curriculum to the detriment of the rest of the curriculum, especially because No Child Left Behind, the federal education act of 2002, requires high-stakes testing of all students Grades 3 to 10. These tests are used to rate the school as "acceptable" or "in need of improvement." Test scores are viewed by many parents, school board members, and politicians as the true assessment of a school's success.

The tested curriculum then becomes the measure of the school's success. Teachers are often encouraged to teach to the goals and objectives of the test rather than to the goals and objectives of the curriculum standards. This becomes the tested curriculum and the focus of the teacher's lessons.

As a result of using the tested curriculum, the elementary school's curriculum may narrow. If only reading and math are tested at third grade, science and social studies may receive only left-over time. The formal curriculum in most school districts consists of much more than a teacher can teach in a year, so some of the curriculum is left behind. On the other hand, the tested curriculum keeps students from being taught teachers' favorite units year after year. Units on dinosaurs, apples, and bats to name a few may be taught repeatedly in the elementary grades without curriculum

standards and the tested curriculum to guide teachers.

Schools and teachers may look at the standards for their curriculum area that they are assigned to teach and compare that with the standards that are assessed in the current assessment plan. The standards that are assessed become the standards that are taught and learned, resulting in the tested curriculum. In upper grades where history, art, and music have specific time periods, the lack of tested curriculum allows the teacher to reflect on the formal curriculum and choose what the teacher believes are the most important topics to focus on.

The purpose of the tests and the tested curriculum is for school improvement, but critics contend that the emphasis has turned into one of devising new tests and turning instructional time into testing time. This becomes apparent in observing the taught curriculum before the test administration. In some classrooms, teachers "drill and kill" students on test items from release tests, and test item format. In other buildings, there may be a tightly controlled tested curriculum taught and assessed via networked computers. At this point, the taught curriculum becomes solely the tested curriculum.

As the media tout schools with high test scores, "A-plus schools," they remark on the focused curriculum in the schools that parallels the tested curriculum. Schools are praised for focusing on core subjects or tested subjects and tested curriculum. To some degree, this is laudable because the standards the tested curriculum is based on reflect key content, issues, and abilities put forth in the curriculum standards. The tested curriculum today includes more than low level rote recall. The current educational reform model claims high standards and assessment that measures high, complex student abilities.

Important decisions are made regarding schooling based on the tested curriculum. Some states approve curriculum changes to align the taught curriculum with the tested curriculum. For example, Georgia approved a change in social studies curriculum to address the massive failures on the social studies state test.

In many school districts, teachers attend professional development activities designed to help them align their taught curriculum with the tested curriculum. Teachers are trained how to align the taught curriculum with what the state expects

students to learn and will test students on. In other words, teachers are trained on how to teach the tested curriculum.

If the tested curriculum comprises curriculum based on high standards, it should result in schools with high student achievement. As with any type of curriculum, how the teacher implements the curriculum makes a difference. If teachers in schools with rising test scores adopt a mastery teaching program where they do not move on until every student has mastered the objective in the tested curriculum, they may shortchange gifted students. In that case, the students who master the objective quickly are left with no challenge. However, a master teacher will use the tested curriculum along with enrichment or extension to meet the needs of all learners.

*Janet Penner-Williams*

*See also* Curriculum Thought, Categories of; Formal Curriculum; Standards, Curricular

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## TEXTBOOKS

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Textbooks typically represent manuals of instruction or standard books in particular branches of study as well as powerful and often controversial political and ideological symbols within curriculum studies because they signify particular constructions of reality and particular ways of selecting and organizing information and knowledge. That is to say, the selection of textbook content legitimates and enfranchises some groups' cultural capital while disenfranchising and making illegitimate the "other." In short, textbooks are manufactured articles that play a major role in defining *whose* culture is taught. This entry briefly details the history of textbooks, discusses the debates surrounding textbooks, and describes contemporary textbook publishing and curricular choices.

### History

Textbooks designed for educational purposes were first written in ancient Greece. The contemporary textbook has its roots in the standardization made possible by Johann Gutenberg's printing press. Compulsory schooling and the subsequent growth of common schools in the United States and Europe led to the printing of standardized textbooks for students. Nationalism, patriotism, and Christianity were prominent themes in early U.S. textbooks such as the *New England Primer*, the *American Spelling Book* (also known as the *Blue Backed Speller*), and the *McGuffey Eclectic Readers*. These early 18th- and 19th-century textbooks aimed to implant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture by assimilating immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe through deculturalization. The *New England Primer* prepared readers for submission to authority of the family, the Bible, and the government. Noah Webster wrote the *American Spelling Book*, which was designed to maintain order in a free society, and which replaced the *Primer* and was instrumental in giving the U.S. English language vitality and dignity of its own as well as creating a dominant national culture in the United States through its emphasis on the teaching of republican values, nationalistic songs, honoring the U.S. flag, and participation in patriotic exercises. Calvinist William H. McGuffey compiled the *McGuffey Eclectic Readers*, which were among the first textbooks in the United States that graded textbooks according to their progressive levels of difficulty in reading, science, mathematics, the Great Books (i.e., the Western canon), and history. Rugged individualism, patriarchal hegemony, thrift, honesty, the Protestant work ethic, respect for the flag, the federalist system, and the melting pot theory were among the Puritan principles in this series.

### Debates

Textbooks have undergone increasing debates in recent years with critics claiming that textbooks assert White superiority, mythical untruths, and omissions. Curriculum studies scholars argue that textbooks are shaped by political forces of state adoption boards and ideological pressure groups. Influenced by the mid-20th-century civil rights movement and contemporary immigration

patterns, today's debate about multicultural education ranges from concerns with empowering oppressed people to creating national unity by teaching common cultural values.

Curriculum leaders of the early multicultural movement of the 1960s to 1980s such as James Banks, Christine Sleeter, and Carl Grant are concerned with empowering oppressed people by integrating the history and cultures of dominated groups into public school curricula and textbooks. Contemporary critical multiculturalist scholars, such as Dennis Carlson, Henry Giroux, Michael Apple, Peter McLaren, and Stewart Hall, are concerned with reshaping curricular and textbook content with words and imagery dealing with dominated and immigrant cultures, women, gay people, and people living with disabilities.

For example, history and social studies textbooks in particular underwent scrutiny in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, starting with the 1964 California State Department of Education's report, "The Negro in American History Textbooks." This report was issued by a panel of University of California historians headed by Kenneth Stampp. The panel had been organized in 1963 by the Berkeley, California, chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) to analyze U.S. textbooks used in the state's high schools. The panel's report was important because the California State Board of Education selected textbooks that were adopted by local state school systems. The panel pointed out that interracial interactions between Whites and Blacks were portrayed as harmonious and that the history of racial violence was seldom mentioned in textbooks. The panel recommended full treatment of African American history including the early importation and treatment of slaves as well as the recent history of the civil rights movement. Because of the large numbers of sales involved, the textbook industry took notice of the report, and in 1966, the report played an important role in the deliberations of the U.S. House of Representatives investigation of the treatment of minority groups in textbooks. Responding to federal actions, some publishers such as McGraw-Hill and Scott, Foresman published K-12 texts depicting multiethnic settings, White and African American children playing together, and so forth. During this time, however, school districts in the

country were given a choice between the multiethnic and all-White versions.

The textbook industry was charged with Communist infiltration during the cold war. In 1949, the *Educational Reviewer*, a quarterly newsletter with the aim of extracting subversive material from public school textbooks such as Marxism, totalitarianism, and favorable views of the workings of the government of the Soviet Union. In the 1950s, the American Textbook Publishers Institute recommended that states establish public agencies to monitor complaints about textbooks rather than requiring textbook writers to take a loyalty oath as recommended by anti-Communist groups such as the *Educational Reviewer*, the National Council for American Education, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Guardians of American Education. Harold Rugg's popular social studies textbook series, *Man and His Changing Society*, encouraged students to look at the U.S. Constitution with a critical eye and as a result was discontinued in 1940 because of right-wing attacks. Among other things, Rugg's critics argued that the series was pro-immigrant (and therefore anti-American) because it celebrated the contributions of immigrant groups and aimed at dispelling stereotypes of immigrant people; Communist (and therefore anticapitalism) because it included information on Marxist critiques of capitalism and challenged big business' fraud and corruption; profeminist (and therefore, antipatriarchal) because it pointed out the economic disadvantages for women and correlated birth rates with poverty statistics.

Contemporary conservative multiculturalists such as William Bennett, Thomas Sobol, Diane Ravitch, and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., argue that different cultural groups should unite around common values and that textbooks should be shaped by the institutions and culture of the United States that are primarily the product of English and European values and that these core values derive from White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant traditions. Science textbooks are the subject of continuing debates and have come under scrutiny from several organizations. The presentation or inclusion of controversial scientific material such as creationism and evolution in public school curriculum has been debated in several court cases.



Contemporary feminists argue that textbooks are often still committed to patriarchal gender roles. In its 1966 founding statement, the National Organization for Women (NOW) called for the full education of women to their potential of human ability. Textbook manufacturers responded by depicting women in a variety of occupations, sports, and gender-integrated vocational courses.

### Contemporary Publishing and Curricular Choices

Contemporary textbook publishing in the United States is a business primarily aimed at large states, in particular, California and Texas. This results from state purchasing controls over the books. The Texas State Board of Education spends in excess of \$600 million annually on its central purchasing of textbooks. Today, several predominant K–12 public school and higher education textbook publishers in the United States include Pearson Education (including such imprints as Addison-Wesley and Prentice Hall), Cengage Learning (formerly Thompson Learning), McGraw Hill, and Houghton Mifflin.

Today, in most U.S. K–12 public schools, a local school board votes on which textbooks to purchase from a selection of books that have been approved by the state department of education. Teachers receive the books to give to the students for each subject. Within higher education, textbooks are chosen by the professor teaching the course or by the college, program, or department as a whole. In the United States, students purchase copies of the assigned textbooks themselves.

Beginning with *A Nation at Risk* (1983) to the current No Child Left Behind Act (2002), mandates for technical control of the curriculum and textbooks through standardization and accountability testing have found a home in the current back-to-basics or accountability movement. Prepackaged sets of curricular materials including textbooks, workbooks, and teacher manuals can be purchased for science, social studies, language arts, foreign language, and mathematics. Often called “systems,” “kits,” or “modules,” these materials are purchased as a total set of standardized material, one that includes statements of objectives, all the curricular content and material needed, prescribed teacher actions and appropriate

student responses, and diagnostic and achievement tests coordinated with the system. Curricular critics of prepackaged curricular systems argue among other things that the teaching profession is deskilled and teacher and student interaction is minimized.

Contemporary technology has changed the site of production of textbooks to include online and digital materials other than the traditional print textbook. Students have access to electronic and pdf books, online tutoring systems, and video lectures.

*Susan Schramm-Pate*

*See also* Academic Freedom; Critical Theory Curriculum Ideology; Deskilling; Hegemony; Official Curriculum; Official Knowledge; Rugg, Harold; Standards, Curricular; Subject-Centered Curriculum; Tracking

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## THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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There is a long tradition of using theology as a method for curriculum research and as a metaphor for understanding curriculum. Theological research in the curriculum field seeks historical, psychological, and philosophical understandings that will enhance investigations of religion and education, separation of church and government, court rulings on prayer in schools, spirituality and holistic practices in the curriculum, the eschatological dimensions of *currere*, character education, debates about evolution and intelligent design, moral development, values in the classroom, textbook challenges and library controversies, access to religious education, reactions of religious denominations to queer identities, and ethnographic dimensions of religion and spirituality in cultural studies.

Theology (from the Greek *theos*, “God,” and *logos*, “word” or “meaning”) has a variety of interrelated definitions. In pagan antiquity, it referred to a mythological explanation of the ultimate mysteries of the world. The Stoics sought more reasoned knowledge of the “divine” dimension of existence. Aristotle considered theology the “first philosophy” based on an immaterial unmoved mover that he originally considered metaphysics. Contemporary theology often views itself as a reflection on religious experience. David Tracy, however, emphasizes the need to examine truth claims on the basis of rational argument by bracketing religious commitment. His “foundational theology” (also called philosophical or historical theology) seeks to replace earlier fundamentalist theology, which functioned as a form of apologetics. Foundational theology functions analogously to philosophy in its critical role. It seeks to uncover the basic categories with which a systematic theology can be developed. It takes cognizance of the truth that knowledge of reality is available only on the basis of the structure of the particular being who questions it (Martin Heidegger’s *Dasein*). Thus, a wide range of epistemological options are available in contemporary theology, ranging from strict empiricism with structural linguistic analysis (Ludwig Wittgenstein) to neoclassical metaphysics and process philosophy (Alfred North Whitehead) or process theology (Pierre Teilhard de Chardin). Tracy suggests five possible models of foundational theology: orthodox, liberal, neo-orthodox, radical, and revisionist. Mark C. Taylor offers a postmodern mode that he calls “A/Theology”—a theological orientation rooted in an aesthetic of discontinuity and indeterminacy that springs from Jacques Derrida and deconstruction.

Today, theology includes the formal academic study of ontology, cosmology, eschatology, metaphysical grounding of being, historical understandings of the divine, notions of gods and goddesses, hermeneutic analysis of sacred texts and rituals, epistemological understandings of wisdom literatures, notions of existence and time, as well as anti-foundational metaphysics. Theology as an academic discipline helps illuminate these issues. There have been many scholars in the curriculum field who have used theology to understand and advance important issues related not just to religion, spirituality, and culture but also textual interpretation,

schooling practices, and pedagogical philosophies. Some scholars have argued that it is impossible to understand curriculum and schooling historically without the investigation of the theological dimensions of U.S. educational events such as the Olde Deluder Satan Act in Massachusetts in the 1640s, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin’s writings on the role of education in a democracy, the Yale report on the “Defense of the Classics” in 1828, Horace Mann and the Common School movement of the 1840s, Jane Addams’s educational and social vision for women and children at Hull House in Chicago in 1889, the progressive education movement of the 20th century, post-*Sputnik* curriculum reforms in the United States from 1958 to 1965, and No Child Left Behind legislation of 2001. Whether accountability programs, testing practices, school structures, curriculum leadership, or textbook adoption, there are theological antecedents and influences that curriculum scholars have investigated. Additionally, the theological training and experiences of curriculum scholars influence their curriculum theorizing, as seen, for example, in John Dewey’s *A Common Faith*; William Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman’s *Understanding Curriculum*; Madeleine Grumet’s *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*; Phillip Phenix’s “Transcendence and the Curriculum”; James B. Macdonald’s “Theory, Practice, and the Hermeneutic Circle”; Dwayne Huebner’s *The Lure of the Transcendent*; Michael P. O’Malley’s “A Critical Pedagogy of Soul”; Kathleen Kesson’s “Critical Theory and Holistic Education”; James Henderson and Kathleen Kesson’s *Curriculum Wisdom: Educational Decisions in a Democratic Society*; Patrick Slattery’s *Curriculum Development in the Postmodern Era* and “Toward an Eschatological Curriculum Theory”; William E. Doll’s *A Post-Modern Perspective on Curriculum*; and C. A. Bowers’s *Education, Cultural Myths, and the Ecological Crisis: Toward Deep Changes and Educating for an Ecologically Sustainable Culture: Rethinking Moral Education, Creativity, Intelligence, and Other Modern Orthodoxies*.

A particularly strong influence of Latin American Liberation Theology and Black Liberation Theology—and the related work of theorists such as, for example, Paulo Freire, bell hooks, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Cornel West—can be seen in the work of critical curriculum scholars and

critical race theorists such as William Watkins, Beverly Cross, James Kirylo, Lisa Delpit, Peter McLaren, and Geneva Gay. Feminist theologies of scholars such as Rosemary Radford Ruether and Mary Daly inform the research of many gender theorists in curriculum studies. Process theology and cosmology is used in the research of ecologically focused curriculum scholars and environmental science educators such as, for example, Florence Krall Shepard, C. A. Chet Bowers, and David Orr. Eastern theologies and native spiritualities influence scholars such as Four Arrows Jacobs, Mei Wu Hoyt, Hongu Wang, and Christopher Reynolds in curriculum research in both the arts and sciences. Theologies of the human body influence some curriculum scholars, such as Ugena Whitlock, who work in the tradition of queer theory to investigate the complexity of identities and genders. The intersection of economics and theology is evident in the work of John B. Cobb Jr. and Herman E. Daly, titled *For the Common Good*, which proposes an approach to community and economy rooted in sacred texts and traditions. Curriculum scholars committed to equity, democracy, and social justice often embrace this economic theology. Existentialism in curriculum research uses the theology of Søren Kierkegaard and Simone de Beauvoir, particularly as their work relates to ethics. Catherine Lugg, among many others, has researched legal issues related to religion and education. These are examples of the strong tradition of using theology as a method for curriculum research or as a metaphor for understanding curriculum.

*Patrick Slattery*

*See also* Critical Race Theory; Curriculum as Spiritual Experience; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Liberation Theology; Mythopoetics; Prayerful Act, Curriculum Theory as a

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## THORNDIKE, EDWARD L.

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Edward L. Thorndike (1874–1949), perhaps educational psychology's most significant formative force, helped transition the emerging field from a primarily conjectural, philosophical endeavor to an experimental, scientific enterprise. This resulting paradigm helped focus curriculum studies on rigorous research methodology often directed toward the empirical investigation of outcomes. This reorientation has had a significant impact on classroom practices as well. Thorndike's role in this evolution was largely inspired by his great confidence that sound experimentation would produce reliable and valid quantified data that could then help solve educational problems. Thorndike's methods and objectives are the crux of much contemporary educational research, and in his own time, Thorndike was guided by his pragmatic empiricism to develop principles of learning, societal roles and instructional practices for schools, and a rationale for curricular modification.

Through his research, Thorndike posited many principles of learning, including the law of effect. The law of effect states that if one's response to a stimulus is followed by satisfaction, then the response is more likely to reoccur in an identical situation. Likewise, responses followed by dissatisfaction are less likely to reoccur in identical situations. Therefore, one learns through rewards and punishments that strengthen and weaken connections between stimuli (S) and responses (R).

Originally, the Law of Effect was derived from Thorndike's work with animals, specifically chickens, dogs, and cats. The most famous experiments were conducted with cats that were trapped inside a crude wooden cage or *puzzle box* that had only one trapdoor exit and food positioned

immediately outside. To free themselves from captivity and famine, the felines needed to perform a particular behavior that would open the trapdoor (e.g., pulling a string lasso). Generally, when placed in the box (S/the stimulus), the cats would engage in a variety of behaviors (R/the responses). In this manner, the cats learned as connections between stimulus (S) and response (R) formed. Through repetition, these connections were intensified and habits resulted.

Ultimately, Thorndike's research led him to produce a theory of learning called *connectionism*. The foundation for behaviorism, connectionism stated that learning occurred when relationships between detected stimuli and performed responses formed neural connections. Those individuals who were genetically endowed with the ability to more easily form an abundance of these S-R connections could more readily learn and possessed great intellect. Thorndike felt that this fairly small gifted cohort was more rational, efficient, and moral than the rest of the population, and therefore it should be in positions of authority to ensure a more habitable, humane society.

Thorndike contended that schools could not make individuals significantly more intelligent, but instead should help make society more efficient and address individuals' idiosyncratic needs. To this end, schools should use cognitive tests, which Thorndike helped pioneer, to appropriately group students according to innate ability. This use of tracking would prepare society's future leaders and would help in designing curricula to meet the needs of schools' diverse learners.

Within schools, Thorndike believed that pupils should be taught using empirically based evidence. Such instruction involved teachers introducing stimuli, thus eliciting desirable student responses and building neural connections. Additionally, educational leaders would use empirical, quantified data to guide school policy and curriculum. Because of his strong research agenda, Thorndike provided much data to help steer such educational decisions, including curricular content considerations.

The early 20th-century's dominant curriculum-shaping force was formal discipline. According to this doctrine, studying rigorous subjects (e.g., ancient languages, math) helped exercise and improve the mind's general functioning. This improved cognitive capacity could then be transferred to novel

situations. Armed with experimental results, Thorndike cast significant doubt on formal discipline by arguing that the transference of cognitive abilities was not universal, but only occurred when two skills share similar elements. In other words, Thorndike felt that if students were to become skilled in English, then they should study English and not Latin. Aided by this data, many curricular reformers were able to gradually supplant the formal discipline curriculum with a more modern curriculum, which included a greater variety of electives and fewer traditional subjects such as government and French.

Although Thorndike's work greatly influenced curricular studies and educational psychology, his views on learning and intelligence have been criticized. Many have noted that much of Thorndike's research dealt with animals, which is not necessarily the same as human intellectual processes. A number of learning theories have been introduced challenging Thorndike's theory of habit formation.

Other critics of Thorndike have attacked his vision for schools. Generally, these opponents do not assault Thorndike's aspiration to employ schools as fashioners of a more compassionate, efficient society; instead, they have challenged the particular means he advocated for schools and teachers. Such challengers have claimed that teachers, acting more like technicians than educators, presided over unegalitarian practices. Specifically, differentiated grouping and education that is based on psychometrically determined intelligence and projected social roles have been charged with inequality of opportunity and potentially creating a static, even caste-like social order. Counterarguments have asserted that ability grouping is an effective educational practice that could allow many capable students to achieve upward social mobility through meritocracy.

*Jennifer L. Jolly and Daniel Winkler*

*See also* Achievement Tests; Dewey, John; Efficiency; Intelligence Tests; Learning Theories; Quantitative Research

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## TRACKING

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Different groups of students are often exposed to different curriculums. This entry concerns the process by which students are sorted into these groups, based on factors such as educators' judgments of those students' intellectual abilities, past achievement, or potential for future accomplishments. Once students are sorted, curriculum and instruction are differentiated between classrooms. Terms used to describe these sorting practices include *ability grouping*, *tracking*, *leveling*, *streaming*, and *homogeneous grouping*.

Some researchers and educators have drawn distinctions between the first two terms, usually labeling as *tracked* those systems that place students at a given level across subject areas and labeling as *ability grouped* those systems that group students class-by-class. But the day-to-day reality is virtually the same for most students in schools approximating either definition. In fact, similar patterns of enrollment and learning emerge in choice-based tracking systems.

A National Research Council report recently recommended all tracking be eliminated, recommending instead strategies that ensure appropriately challenging instruction for students of varying skill levels. This and other authoritative detracking recommendations arise out of tracking's long record as an obstacle to effective classroom instruction.

The historical emergence of tracking coincided with the immigration waves of the early 20th century. Tracking was grounded in racist, classist, and paternalistic beliefs about these immigrants and others. The practice was embraced as an efficient and scientific method to provide members of this newly heterogeneous student body with schooling appropriate to each group's academic capacity and

future station in life. Today, tracking's defenders are more apt to speak in terms of readiness, although efficiency arguments also remain common. In theory, the process of tracking children is supposed to facilitate learning by separating them into groups, so that they are taught alongside peers of similar ability and apart from those with higher or lower abilities. In practice, however, even those researchers who favor tracking as a theory generally acknowledge that it lacks consistency, effectiveness, and equity.

Implementation's tension with theory is evident, for instance, in the actual homogeneity of tracked classrooms. Students with an extraordinarily wide range of ability or achievement levels—as measured by standardized tests—are grouped together within any given class. This is because enrollment criteria include (whether formally or informally) not just test scores and prior school achievement but also student behavior, student or parent preference, completion of prerequisites, teacher judgment, and counselor guidance. The resulting classes tend to be stratified by race and class. Disproportionate placement of African American and Latino students in low-track classes, and the corresponding exclusion of these students from high-track classes, has been found to occur beyond any effect attributable to prior measured achievement.

Early judgments about the students' capacities persist throughout their school careers. Placements, once made, tend to take on a life of their own. Lower-tracked students are caught in a downward spiral. Their education fails to prepare them in knowledge and skills, and their transcripts reflect missing prerequisites for more advanced courses. Labels become fixed, internally for students themselves and externally for teachers, counselors, and other students. Students enrolled in low tracks tend to immediately fall behind their high-track counterparts, and the achievement gap increases over subsequent years. This lack of effectiveness partly results from the difficulties teachers face when trying to make low-track classes academically engaging and challenging.

Although past research has repeatedly documented the negative effects of tracked systems, very little has focused on the process and results of detracking. In recent years, this has begun to change, with books and articles describing the elements of successful detracking. Yet, despite some

early promising results from these studies, tracking remains the status quo, particularly as students move into the middle and high school grades.

*Kevin G. Welner and R. Holly Yettick*

See also Heterogeneous-Homogeneous Grouping; *Keeping Track*; Secondary School Curriculum; Social Efficiency Tradition

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## TRADITIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

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The traditionalist perspective represents the foundational idea that dominated the curriculum field from the beginning of the 20th century until well after the middle of the century. This perspective is connected to traditional curriculum work that is focused on the schools, and particularly on curriculum development as an orientation narrower than curriculum studies, in the service of teachers, administrators, and school personnel. Through this perspective, the traditionalist designed and developed school curriculum in the narrow sense of the term that served practitioners in teaching the appropriate content and instilling particular skills in an uncontested way. The traditionalist perspective pertains to curriculum development in service of schools and not as a larger cultural phenomenon in which schools are but a part.

The traditionalist perspective is derived from William Pinar's work, which in the second half of the 1970s provided a comprehensive image of the traditional field. Most of the curriculum work was field based and conducted by curricularists, former school people, whose intellectual and subcultural ties tended to be with school practitioners. Likewise,

curriculum writing had schoolteachers in mind. Even those who were teaching curriculum at universities were former school people with extensive field experience and with microscopic views of curriculum focusing on organizational, administrative, and instructional concerns, excluding connections to the larger system within which the school is located.

From a traditionalist perspective, the reason of being of curriculum consisted the first organized and systematic effort to design and develop programs of study, which was supported by a particular rationale focusing exclusively on schools. A representative person of the era was Ralph Tyler whose rationale became very influential and was one to be followed for several decades. In *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, originally developed as a course syllabus, Tyler elaborates on the principles and rationale for viewing, analyzing, and interpreting the curriculum and instructional program of an educational institution. Tyler's principles of developing curriculum included setting educational objectives, choosing and organizing activities to attain these objectives, and evaluating the outcomes based on the set objectives. What became known as Tyler's Rationale became the basic guide adopted by the majority of curricularists and practitioners for many years. It still is an influential document in designing and developing daily lesson plans by school practitioners.

The curriculum field's birth in the 1920s and the theory that supported it, which was represented by the Tyler Rationale model, are connected to the happenings of that period. The focus of curriculum on a bureaucratic model, which was characterized by ameliorative orientation, ahistorical posture, and adherence to behaviorism and to a technological rationality, was shaped by the emerging scientism and the scientific techniques from business and industry. The curriculum worker, characterized by a technician's mentality, accepted the curriculum structure as it was, and was dedicated to the improvement of schools by comparing resulting behaviors with original objectives.

The move from curriculum development to curriculum studies—that is, from the curriculum field as merely a facilitator of institutional and state policy or mandates to curriculum studies for understanding how we have come to be what we

are as a cultural phenomenon—was initiated by scholars and philosophers who challenged the bureaucratic-technocratic character of the curriculum. Work that was not field based can be viewed as a reaction to the status of the curriculum, leaning toward a more progressive orientation. More progressives in the field, such as Thomas Hopkins, argued for a child-centered curriculum. George Counts argued for a curriculum focused on socially relevant problems, and democratic values, and Horace Mann Bond analyzed education as reproductive of the political status quo. These progressive undertakings are well-documented in the book *Understanding Curriculum*. In this context, educators were called to shift their work habits from technicians who implement a set curriculum to teachers who challenge their assumptions about curriculum and consider the needs of children.

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*See also* *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*; Curriculum Design; Objectives in Curriculum Planning; Official Curriculum; Official Knowledge; Tyler Rationale, The

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## TRADITIONAL SUBJECTS

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Traditional subjects are by far the most common conceptualization of the school curriculum. Although most people feel confident in their understanding of what is meant by the phrase *school subjects*, history illustrates that what is considered “traditional” in one era may be viewed as outdated in another era. The ongoing social process through which subjects become “traditional” or “nontraditional” is highly complex. Political realities and philosophical positions that undergird educational decision making at all levels are key to shaping the ongoing debate. What subjects are

considered traditional vary greatly depending on whether the purpose of schools is viewed to be the reproduction of the existing culture or the creation of a new social order. Similarly, traditional subjects for the education of society’s elite would be different from subjects for the education of the average citizen. One example from U.S. educational history quickly illustrates that traditional high school subjects began to change in the 20th century with the introduction of universal secondary education. Latin had been a traditional high school subject and college entrance requirement for at least two centuries, but it had all but disappeared from the high school curriculum by the 1950s. This entry begins by presenting background information related to school subjects and the change process. Then, using examples from the United States, this entry shows how traditional subjects have changed over time.

### Traditional Subjects and Changing Culture

Changes in thinking about education and schooling within a society tend to reflect the changes within that society. Definitions of curriculum and the “canon” of traditional subjects serve as examples of two interrelated concepts that have changed in tandem during the past two centuries. Before the late 19th century, curriculum and subjects were synonymous. The curriculum was designed to transmit essential cultural knowledge to society’s elite. This curriculum consisted of the study of fundamental subjects and the “great” books that codified the knowledge in each subject. With the advent of education for the general population in the early 20th century, curriculum began to be described in terms of intention—what subject areas should be included for general education of the masses. By the 1940s, U.S. schools began to more accurately reflect the true diversity of the nation and curriculum began to be expressed in terms of actual experience in schools. In reality, this translated into a listing of subjects, often divided into tracks, these diverse students would be required to take. By the end of the 20th century, curriculum came to focus on educational outcomes—what a student learned in school. One product of this emphasis was the codification of subject area knowledge into standards and benchmarks for various grade-level bands.

Although reforms and innovations wax and wane, subjects tend to remain the common curriculum organizer over time. They are also the most recognizable curriculum structure to parents, students, and teachers. However, change does occur in which subjects are included in the curriculum and which subjects are considered traditional. In the United States, where education is essentially a local enterprise, traditional subjects have varied across a state, region, and the nation. The local community's vision for education shapes the schools' curriculum and what subjects are considered traditional. The school that is commissioned to transmit the current culture will likely identify different traditional subjects than will a school specially made to change the cultural status quo.

### Traditional Subjects in the Colonial Era

Dame schools and Latin grammar schools are representative examples of colonial American schools. Established by Massachusetts law in 1647, these were the first attempt at public education in the United States. Shaped by the zeal of the Protestant founders of the colony, the purpose of education was primarily religious and secondarily civic. The core subjects of the dame school were reading and writing. Reading was given priority because of the Protestant emphasis on each believer being able to read the Bible. The Latin grammar schools, modeled after their English cousins, sought to develop students' faculties through the study of mathematics, Latin, and Greek. All studies were situated within the Protestant faith as well. The choice of these as core subjects emerged from the Protestant focus on the importance of the Bible as the Word of God. Readers of Greek and Latin could not only read the great books of Greek and Roman civilizations, they could also study early versions and translations of the Bible. Thus, at the elementary level, reading and writing English were traditional, whereas Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the traditional subjects at the high school level during the colonial era.

### Postcolonial Changes

Education received relatively little attention in the years preceding and following the U.S. Revolution. By the 1820s, however, the common school

movement began creating what would eventually become the U.S. public school. The common schools were founded to provide instruction in the *common branches* of knowledge, an early label for traditional subjects. Yet, consensus did not exist about what those common branches were. All parties agreed on the inclusion of reading in elementary education, but not everyone could find agreement beyond that point. Some communities and educators advocated the inclusion of writing, grammar, and arithmetic. Still others believed the sciences and history should also be part of the elementary school curriculum. As a result, by the 1890s, multiple subjects had been added to the common school curriculum resulting in an overloaded, fragmented curriculum. During the 19th century, reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and history emerged as traditional subjects in the elementary schools. Although natural sciences were taught in some schools, many educational theorists argued against their study by elementary-aged children.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the Latin grammar school was all but dead in the United States. Its demise can be traced to several factors, but primarily it failed because society no longer valued its curriculum. First private academies and later public high schools came into existence to meet two demands of the new U.S. society: preparation of most students for practical living and preparation of some students for college admission. In trying to meet both of these societal needs, the number of subjects offered by high schools expanded almost without restraint. Latin, Greek, and religion remained subjects within these schools but new "traditional" subjects began to emerge. Many high school subjects were upward extensions of the elementary subjects, but others were unique to the high school, such as algebra, geometry, logic, rhetoric, bookkeeping, astronomy, and surveying.

### Efforts at Systemic Change

Multiple factors led to a push for educational reforms in the 1890s. Controversy over the elementary and secondary school curricula was central to the discussions. Two committees established by the National Educational Association addressed



the issues of elementary and secondary school subjects directly. Their reports set expectations of schools for the next 25 years. The report of the Committee of Ten was issued in 1893. The committee delimited its vision for the secondary school curriculum to nine subjects, most of which the committee said children should start studying in elementary school. This official, new version of traditional subjects included (1) English, (2) Latin, (3) Greek, (4) other modern languages, (5) mathematics (6) geography, (7) history (with civics and political science), (8) physical and space science, and (9) natural science (biology and physiology).

The Committee of Fifteen issued its report in 1895. Reformers had hoped to shrink the overall elementary school program and decrease the amount of time students spent repeating instruction in language and arithmetic in order to make more time available for other studies such as algebra and laboratory-based science. Although the committee's report did reduce the elementary school from 10 years to 8, language and arithmetic continued to dominate the school day. Language-related classes—reading, spelling, grammar, and writing—were fragmented into separate subjects with no effort to integrate them. Subjects for the first 6 years of school included reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, natural science, history, physical culture, vocal music, and drawing. Almost all subjects, including science, were to be taught with a memorization-recitation approach. Additional subjects were suggested for Grades 7 and 8: Latin, algebra, U.S. history, U.S. government, and a manual training class. Though some had lobbied for major change in the school curriculum, the reports of these two committees simply reaffirmed the list of traditional subjects while adding new subjects to it.

### Educating the Masses

During the early years of the 20th century, enrollments in public schools, particularly at the high school level, grew astronomically. The influx of large numbers of the general population into formal education created a stress on the school system. The classical-oriented curriculum as perpetuated by the Committee of Ten was viewed as inadequate to meet the needs of the “new” high school student. Nor did critics think it met the

needs of a growing, industrialized nation. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education was charged with casting a vision for a new U.S. institution: the comprehensive high school. The commission purposefully phrased its most influential work—the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*—in nonsubject matter terms. Referring broadly to the academic subjects in the principle that students should develop a command of fundamental processes, the commission went on to include health, home membership, citizenship, vocation, leisure, and ethics as key educational objectives. These principles helped shape the public high school into the 21st century. One of the most profound influences of the *Cardinal Principles* was the committee's endorsement of vocational and career education as a valid component of the high school curriculum.

Although some believed the traditional academic course was not useful to most high school students, many educators believed all students were not capable of completing the traditional academic curriculum. Various techniques emerged for organizing students into classes or small instructional groups based on their perceived ability or readiness for studying a subject area. Once placed into a lower group, it was virtually impossible for a student to catch up with other students in a more advanced group. This practice of tracking students was implemented informally in most elementary classrooms and formalized in most high schools into college preparatory and vocational tracks.

During the first half of the 20th century, the percentage of high school students enrolled in traditional academic courses tended to decline while enrollment in the vocational courses, such as typing, increased. Two notable exceptions to this pattern were biology and general science. Science educators created the field of high school biology by integrating what were previously separate life science subjects, such as physiology, botany, zoology, and anatomy. General science was an attempt to integrate content from all of the science disciplines but ended up being the study of the separate science branch—life, physical, earth, and space sciences—for a few weeks each. Biology, general science, and typing all emerged as new “traditional” subjects, valued and taken by most students in high school.

Despite the language of the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, subjects continued to define the shape of high school curriculum. Educational leaders with different viewpoints continued to issue statements emphasizing the academic subjects as essential studies for high school students. *General Education in a Free Society*, released by Harvard University in 1945, sounded a cry for a return to a more traditional academic curriculum that still would provide room for elective courses in an area of the student's interest. This plan called for three yearlong courses each in English, mathematics, and science and 2 years of study in social studies. These courses would account for half of a student's high school program with the other half to be selected from academic electives, vocational courses, or the arts.

One of the most comprehensive pictures of the U.S. school curriculum in the 20th century was presented by John Goodlad in *A Place Called School*. Goodlad's research team discovered that although the subjects taught in school looked similar across the nation, the actual educational experience of a child could vary widely depending on where he or she lived and went to school. Typical elementary school curricula were organized around core academic subjects—language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science—and included enrichment subjects—art, music, physical education, foreign languages, drama, and dance. Language arts and mathematics still dominated the elementary school day even as they had in the 1890s. Social studies, science, physical education, art, and music were each allocated between 6% and 12% of the instructional week while language arts occupied 34% of instructional time and mathematics 20%. Between schools, the amount of instructional time each day varied substantially, with some teachers reporting spending as much as 50% more time on instruction than their colleagues in other schools. At the junior and senior high school levels, the pattern was less skewed toward English. However, in the high schools, approximately 24% of the teachers taught vocational or business courses. This was indicative of the academic-vocational split that resulted from the schools' explicit tracking systems for college preparation or career preparation.

## Standardization of Traditional Subjects

As the 20th century drew to a close, curricular concerns and efforts shifted to attempts to ensure equitable outcomes for all students in the public schools. A major outcome of this trend was the codification of subject-area knowledge into standards and related benchmarks to describe student learning in different grade ranges. Beginning with the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), different national and international subject-area specialist organizations wrote and published "national" standards for the traditional academic subject areas: mathematics, English-language arts, science, and social studies. Other traditional school subject areas that had not been dominant also produced standards: physical education, the arts, and modern languages.

Consistent with an emphasis on student learning outcomes, the development of subject-area standards, and an accountability focus, most states developed subject-area examinations for the traditional academic subjects: English, mathematics, science, and social studies. These four academic subjects have remained the core cluster of traditional subject areas since the mid-20th century. Their position of privilege was ensured during the first decade of the 21st century by the No Child Left Behind legislation because these are the areas tested to determine if schools are making adequate yearly progress. Whether other subjects that have been considered traditional in the past will remain key components of the K–12 school curriculum remains to be seen—what is considered traditional is subject to change.

Larry D. Burton

See also *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*; Discipline-Based Curriculum; No Child Left Behind; Standards, Curricular; Subject-Centered Curriculum

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## TRANSFORMATIVE CURRICULUM LEADERSHIP

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Transformative curriculum leadership is a collaborative problem-solving process initiated and sustained by dedicated, disciplined educators. The goal is to inspire and enact sophisticated curriculum judgments that advance democratic education through subject matter instruction. The collaboration has six interrelated components: (1) the facilitation of subject matter understanding integrated with democratic understanding; (2) the practice of a continuously informing reflective inquiry; (3) the enactment of systemic deliberation linking designing, planning, teaching, evaluating, and organizing decisions; (4) the building of learning communities; (5) the public advancement of this curriculum leadership; and (6) the engagement in personal journeys of understanding conceptualized as *currere* by William Pinar. Transformative curriculum leadership is one way that educators can actualize John Dewey's vision of education as the "supreme" art in societies with democratic ideals.

There is no precise protocol or sequence in practicing the six interrelated components. However, initial research indicates that this problem solving necessarily begins on a small scale. In most educational settings, transformative curriculum leadership must be enacted in work contexts dominated by instructional management systems focusing on students' standardized learning, and therefore, the disciplined professional learning that is necessary to enact transformative curriculum leadership may not be valued.

There are three overlapping *phases* in understanding transformative curriculum leadership. During the *emergent* phase, educators study all six components of transformative curriculum leadership in light of their own vocational calling. Educators move into the *engaged* phase as they undertake the disciplined artistry associated with

transformative curriculum leadership work. This artistry can be envisioned as three particular applications of curriculum "disciplinarity," which is a concept advanced by Pinar. The horizontal dimension refers to addressing present curriculum challenges. Educators engage in disciplined deliberations over the immediate, here-and-now problems of facilitating student understanding. Joseph Schwab's body of work exemplifies the horizontal discipline. The vertical dimension refers to addressing historical curriculum challenges. Educators practice disciplined inquiries into the relationships between educational experiences and the possibilities for facilitating a deepening understanding of democratic living in particular cultural contexts. John Dewey's body of work exemplifies the vertical discipline. The diagonal dimension refers to addressing existential curriculum challenges. Educators undertake disciplined journeys of understanding attuned to democratic ethical fidelity. Maxine Greene's body of work exemplifies the diagonal discipline. For purposes of brevity, these three interrelated dimensions of curriculum disciplinarity can be described as deliberative, inquiry, and journey artistry.

Finally, educators transition into the *generative* phase of understanding as they undertake particular transformative curriculum leadership projects. In effect, this phase is grounded in experiential learning acquired through active problem solving. Initial research on this phase indicates that educators begin to acquire a generative understanding as they initiate one or more of the components of transformative curriculum leadership.

Transformative curriculum leadership is a visionary form of collaborative problem solving that can be difficult to comprehend. Educators and other important curriculum stakeholders may lack the experiential referents to conceptualize and value this work. To address this problem, four exemplary products of transformative curriculum leadership work are currently being developed and will be featured on a future Web site.

The first product will be an illustration of a *disciplined professional learning community* (DPLC). If educators could actually observe a DPLC in operation, they would have a much better conception of the three artistry underlying transformative curriculum leadership practices. A model DPLC is currently being organized. Video

clips and narrative expressions of this DPLC are being created. The second product will be illustrations of *student learning projects*. From the point of view of the educational consumer, projects that are designed to facilitate students' subject matter/democratic understandings are the key component of transformative curriculum leadership. These projects provide tangible evidence of the quality and value of educators' collaborative problem solving. Video clips of student learning projects culminating in student performances of understanding are also being created.

The third product will be illustrations of university-based and school-based *leadership endorsement programs*. These programs are designed to facilitate educators' professional development through the emergent, engaged, and generative phases of transformative curriculum leadership work. The focus is on continuous study and experiential learning culminating in educators' performances of understanding. These performances provide tangible evidence that educators can now function as responsible transformative curriculum leaders. Video clips of educators demonstrating their understanding of all three phases are being created. Applications of these leadership endorsement programs for preservice teacher education are also being created. These applications set the stage for the continuing professional development that transformative curriculum leadership requires.

The fourth and final product will be specific applications of an *evaluation instrument*. Transformative curriculum leadership requires continuous self- and peer-evaluation. Educators need regular feedback on the quality of their deliberative, inquiry, and journey artistries. This continuous evaluation is important because educators can quickly fall back into standardized instructional problem solving because of current conditions and pressures in education. In effect, educators can easily lose sight of education as the most important form of human artistry in societies with democratic ideals. This evaluation instrument can also serve as a key public leadership tool, providing the general public with a new type of report card concerning the key indicators of quality educational work. Educators who practice the three dimensions of disciplined artistry are displaying a very high level of professional and public responsibility. In effect, transformative curriculum leadership

provides educators and all other curriculum stakeholders with a constructive alternative to standardized accountability implemented through instructional management systems. Specific applications of the necessary continuing evaluation are also being developed.

James G. Henderson

See also Currere; Curriculum Change; Curriculum Leadership; *Democracy and Education*; Dewey, John; Greene, Maxine; Schwab, Joseph

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## TRANSGENER RESEARCH

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The general term *transgender* is applied to a variety of individuals, behaviors, and groups involving tendencies that diverge from the normative gender role (man or woman) commonly, but not always, assigned at birth, as well as the role traditionally held by society. Transgender is the state of one's gender identity (i.e., self-identification as man, woman, or neither) not matching one's assigned sex (i.e., identification by others as male or female based on physical or genetic sex). The term *transgender* emerged in the 1960s, popularized in the 1970s to describe people who wanted to live cross-gender without sex reassignment surgery, and expanded in the 1980s as an umbrella term to unite all those whose gender identity did not mesh with their gender assigned at birth. Today, the term has taken on a political dimension as an alliance covering all those who have at some point not conformed to gender norms, and the term is also used to question the validity of those norms. Within the field of curriculum, the



term continues to evolve because of the term's widespread media usage and impact on equal rights and antidiscrimination legislation.

Gender identity and transgender identity are fundamentally different concepts to that of sexual orientation. The overall goal of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer (GLBTIQ) research in curriculum studies is to enable school personnel (i.e., teachers, administrators, staff, coaches, curriculum specialists, media specialists, counselors) and community partners (i.e., parents/guardians, other members of the community) to protect children who are struggling with their gender identity by teaching all children tolerance, understanding, and empathy. This entry defines many terms and classifications associated with gender identity and development and then discusses associated curriculum issues.

### Definitions and Classifications

A transgendered person often considers himself or herself as a male or female trapped in the body of the "opposite" gender. Sometimes they feel as if they are differently gendered, yet neither male nor female. Transgendered people may choose to express their gender through verbal self-representation, dress, and deportment alone. Or they might pursue drug therapies or gender reassignment surgery to become transsexual. *Transgender* refers to a range of gender-atypical sexual identities. The term describes a group of individuals who do not exactly fit into the stereotype of what it means to be male or female in a given society.

In the past, the terms *homosexual* and *heterosexual* were used for transgender people based on their birth sex. The literature now uses terms such as *attracted to men* (androsexual), *attracted to women* (gynosexual), *attracted to both* or *attracted to neither* to describe a person's sexual orientation without reference to their gender identity. *Transgender* does not imply any specific form of sexual orientation. Transgender people may identify as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, pansexual, polysexual, or asexual. A definition of transgender is in a constant flux but generally includes (a) of relating to or designating a person whose identity does not conform unambiguously to conventional notions of male or female gender roles, but combines or moves between these;

(b) people who were assigned a sex, usually at birth and based on their genitals, but who feel that this is a false or incomplete description of themselves; and (c) nonidentification with, or nonpresentation as, the sex (and assumed gender) one was assigned at birth.

A transgender person may have characteristics that are normally associated with a particular gender, identify elsewhere on the traditional gender continuum, or exist outside of it as "other," "agender," "intergender," or "third gender." Transgender people may also identify as bi-gender or along several places on either the traditional transgender continuum, or the more encompassing continuums that have been developed in response to the significantly more detailed studies done in recent years.

Transgendered persons can be classified as (a) gender-benders, (b) transvestites, (c) androgyne, and/or (d) transsexuals. Gender-benders may behave or dress in a way that is atypical to their assigned gender to make a political statement or express their difference from conventional, mainstream society. For example, cross-dressing and trying to pass as a member of the opposite sex sometimes emerges in childhood and is also called primary transsexism. Autogynephilic or secondary transsexism emerges as a desire to change gender at puberty or later in adulthood. Cross-dressers' motivation may or may not be based on dissatisfaction with being male or female, but instead is often to entertain others as drag queens or kings or at costume parties. Generally, the term *drag queen* covers men doing female drag, *drag king* covers women doing male drag, and *faux queen* covers women doing female drag. Cross-dressers may or may not be homosexual. *Drag* is applied to clothing and makeup worn on special occasions for performing or entertaining as a host, hostess, stage artist, or at an event. This is in contrast to those who cross-dress for other reasons or are otherwise transgender. Drag can be theatrical, comedic, or grotesque, and female-identified drag is considered a caricature of women by some feminists. Within the genre of drag are gender illusionists who do try to pass as another gender. Drag has been regarded as an area where transgender people can find more acceptance and financial support than in mainstream work environments.

*Transvestite* is used for individuals who cross-dress for purposes of sexual gratification. Researchers

draw a distinction between males who dress as females or females who dress as males for sexual arousal and those who cross-dress for drag shows or for fun. Transvestites who cross-dress for sexual gratification often do so in private and are usually married, heterosexual men. Transgender activists may or may not consider these individuals to be members of their community and these heterosexual males may or may not consider themselves within the category of “transgender.”

*Androgyne* refers to individuals who assume or possess characteristics of both genders to feel emotionally complete. Androgeny suggests an expression of freedom from gender stereotypes or a lack of concern about whether one is violating gender norms. An androgyne is a person who does not fit cleanly into the typical gender roles of his or her society. Androgynes may identify as beyond gender, between genders, moving across genders, entirely genderless, or any combination or all of these. Androgyne identities include pangender, bigender, ambigender, nongendered, agender, gender fluid, or intergender. Androgyny can be either physical or psychological; it does not depend on birth sex and is not limited to intersex people. Occasionally, people who do not define themselves as androgynes adapt their physical appearance to look androgynous. This outward androgyny has been used in fashion, and the milder forms of it (e.g., women wearing men’s pants or men wearing two earrings) are not seen as transgender behavior.

The word *transsexual*, unlike the word *transgender*, has a precise medical definition. Many transsexuals believe that to be a true transsexual, one needs to have a desire for surgery. In any case, *transsexual* is used for persons who may not be psychologically comfortable with their gender. Males may feel trapped in a female body and vice versa. Their gender identity, or the way they identify in a gendered sense, is at odds with the physical body into which they were born. Psychologically, they may feel alienated from their biological sexed self. Transsexuals often seek to change their bodies to match their sense of identity and to change their physical appearance to be more like the opposite sex. Transsexual individuals may seek treatments such as sex reassignment surgery to modify their genitals, hormonal treatment to change secondary sex characteristics, or electrolysis to remove hair. Transsexuals who are transitioning from one

gender to the other may be at various stages in their transformation and are referred to as pre- and post-operative. Current definitions of transgender include the following: *transman* refers to female-to-male (FtM or F2M) transgender people, and *transwoman* refers to male-to-female (MtF or M2F) transgender people. FtM is usually a masculine girl and MtF is usually a feminine boy, but this is not always the case. There is a school of thought that says terms such as FtM and MtF are subjugating language that reinforces the binary gender stereotype.

Usually by age 3, people have a sense of what their gender is. Their gender identity is probably a product of both biology and socialization. Occasionally individuals develop gender identities that do not match their biological sex in a conventional sense. Some are intersexed (formerly called hermaphroditic) at birth and were surgically assigned a sex because of ambiguous genitalia or other physical sexual characteristics. Intersexed refers to individuals who are born with mixed sexual characteristics, that is with some male and some female characteristics. The Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) defines *intersex* as individuals who were born with the anatomy not traditionally regarded as standard male or female. ISNA draws a distinction between transsexual and intersexed; the former involves transitioning from one sex to the other with hormone therapy or sex reassignment surgery; the latter is defined by the physical anatomy the person was born with. Some transsexual individuals may be born intersexed, others are born with normally developed male or female anatomy. The practice of sexual assignment by surgery during infancy and then to raise a child within gendered norms as whichever gender is chosen is controversial and considered by some researchers to be a violation of one’s body. These individuals suggest that the practice of surgery on intersexed infants be halted and that the intersexual can choose or not choose surgery once she or he has reached adulthood. The extent to which intersex people are transgender is debated because not all intersex people disagree with their gender assigned at birth.

The conservative view is that sex determines gender and that there is no practical difference between the two. In this view, genitalia or “birth sex” or chromosomes deeply and permanently determine one’s essential identity as a woman or

man; trying to violate this divide is impossible, unnatural, and unhealthy. It is often pointed out that chromosomes are immutable and that a male will always look like a male, not a female, even after sex reassignment surgery and hormones. Some supporters of this argument assert that although transpeople may claim to feel like a certain gender, only a biological female can genuinely feel what it is to occupy a woman's body, including having experiences such as childbirth. These arguments are examples of biological determinism, and they do not generally address people who are infertile or both intersex and transgendering or passing transsexuals (all of whom actually exist).

### Curriculum Issues

Because of the varied terms and meanings, school personnel need to understand the necessity of choosing terms with respect to their students' gender identities and preferences. There always have been and always will be individuals who do not fit the traditional and arbitrarily defined categories of male and female—genetically, anatomically, or in how they identify. Understanding how individuals identify and are gendered enables us to understand that differences are normal, natural, and nothing to be afraid of.

In addition, gender stereotypes define masculinity and femininity by certain rigid patterns of behavior and appearance. Social norms often insist that children behave in ways that fit these stereotypes. Research points to how school personnel and community partners need to be aware of how our stereotypes about what is masculine and what is feminine influence our reactions to our children, sometimes in hurtful ways. Research also shows that these stereotypes can seriously distort a child's social and emotional development. For example, rigid masculine stereotypes harm the development of young boys and are linked to male violence and anger in society. If children do not feel they fit in the stereotypes roles of their gender, especially when they are not accepted by their peers, school personnel, or their families, research shows they are at a high risk for depression, feelings of alienation and hopelessness, and in some cases, suicide. The feelings of these children of being different, of being an outsider, may arise from early onslaughts of disapproval for gender nonconformity.

Research also shows that discrimination in society toward children who do not look or behave the way we expect them to look and behave according to their gender can be even more extreme than antigay discrimination. Transgendered people often do not consider themselves homosexual, and people who identify as homosexual often do not consider transgendered people to be part of the gay and lesbian community. In any case, transgendered people are still poorly understood and experience as much or more stigma and marginalization in school than gays and lesbians do. Research in this area enables school personnel to understand that transgendered people have a range of experiences and identities that they exemplify. It suggests that as children they may be as much or more conflicted or confused than are children who will grow up to be gay or lesbian.

A curriculum that presents transgender and homosexuality as natural and good may be politically challenging to school personnel; however, it is important for children to understand the multitude ways in which individuals can and do identify in terms of sexual orientation. All children benefit from transgender research in curriculum studies because the effects of prejudice and the basis of the prejudice toward transgendered persons is similar to that gay people and other marginalized individuals experience in our culture. In other words, transgender research points to ways in which the same level of acceptance and affirmation we do for diversity in gender, race, ethnicity, faith, and social class should also be extended to sexual orientation.

The issues around psychological classifications and associated stigma of cross-dressers, transsexual men and women (and for that matter, gay and lesbian children who may be difficult to tell apart from transgender children early in life) are in flux and continually changing. In any case, although transgender issues are controversial in both public and scientific spheres, it is important for school personnel to communicate to students that transgendered people are healthy and normal. Trans-affirming people should interrupt overt and covert curricular materials that are "transphobic," or "transbashing," and consider them to be personal attacks based on hatred or fear.

*Susan Schramm-Pate*

See also Gay Research; Gender Research; Identity Politics; Performativity; Queer Theory; Social Justice; Voice

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some are part of homeless families and others are street kids who face physical harm, and in some nations, murder. Transient children also include victims of human trafficking, foster children, child laborers, migrant children, and children experiencing residential mobility because of coping moves or forced moves. At the more fortunate end of the transient spectrum are children who are on the move because of their parents' diplomatic, military, missionary, or business career moves. Migrant children, the most mobile population in the United States, include children of agricultural workers who are often needed to labor in the fields and the offspring of families that do seasonal gardening work, meatpacking, vegetable and fruit canning as well as racetrack work that rotates among varied sites. From a worldwide perspective, many transient children are immigrants, internally displaced populations, or refugees. Estimates of the number of children experiencing transience exceeds 12 million. Yet little has been done to meet their curricular needs in a substantive, meaningful manner.

An educational definition of transient children has been explained in some U.S. school districts as, simply, the percentage of students who are not enrolled for the entire previous school year. The U.S. General Accounting office has reported alarming data indicating that, by the end of 3rd grade, one of six children in the United States has attended three or more schools. This study also reported that during a 4-year period, many U.S. schools can see less than 50% of their students remaining in their schools for the entire year.

The growing number of transient children reflects worldwide political, social, and natural crises with some of the victims of these worldwide issues appearing at the doorsteps of U.S. schools. Residential mobility in the United States has also grown and reflects the current mortgage and affordable housing crises in the nation. An estimated 2 million U.S. children have recently joined the ranks of transience because of recent mortgage foreclosures their families have suffered and the lack of affordable rentals in an era of condominium expansion and gentrification of neighborhoods.

When transient children arrive in U.S. classrooms, they often have health, social, and emotional needs in addition to educational needs. They require, perhaps more than some others, a holistic

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## TRANSIENT CHILDREN RESEARCH

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A wide array of children is subsumed under the term *transient*, and their life circumstances beckon thoughtful consideration of curriculum studies that meet their significant needs. Often suffering from poverty, reflected in their ranks are urban, suburban, and rural children who are homeless;



and integrative view of a curriculum. Access to basic nutritional needs and health care has often been inaccessible or sporadic as families are on the move. Emotional issues such as anger over uncontrollable situations and broken peer and teacher relations can develop. Frequently, new language learner needs and sensitivity to cultural diversity are required no matter how short-lived a transient student's attendance may be. Self-esteem may be low for these children because of the stigma attached to the economic, mobility, and housing issues they face. The little educational research that has focused on transient children reveals achievement lags and gaps as well as high correlations between transience and dropout rates.

Few school districts develop meaningful curricula for transient children as current assessment foci and record maintenance and transmission become overwhelming concerns. Transient programs that are touted as models in the sparse extant research, such as the "Staying Put" project of the Chicago Public Schools, concentrate on heightened educational, communication, and newcomer activities that involve parents.

Educating transient children is inexorably intertwined with wider policy issues that affect the facilitation of a meaningful curriculum for these students. Two particularly important policy advances have affected educators' abilities to engage in curricular development with transient students. The McKinney-Vento Act recently reauthorized the right of homeless children to remain in one school while they are using emergency shelters and to enroll in school immediately even if they lack documents typically needed for enrollment or a legal guardian. The McKinney-Vento Act also requires a school to provide special education, gifted and talented programs, services for English language learners, vocational education, and school nutrition programs for homeless students. In addition, it requires every school district to designate a McKinney-Vento liaison to work with children experiencing homelessness. It also establishes a state level office for support, technical assistance, and monitoring.

A second nationwide policy advancement that has international aspects is the electronic interstate record transfer system of the federal Migrant Education Program. This program has also tried to develop a working relationship with schools in

Mexico in an attempt to ensure appropriate educational placement for migrant students. Record transfer is considered a key element for curriculum continuity and the fulfillment of graduation requirements. The federal Migrant Education Program has also initiated national distance-learning programs and a laptop computer program for secondary students. These technologies have given some students accessibility to curricular programs aimed at continuity in instruction and credit accumulation.

Curriculum designs for transient children need to attend to basic affective classroom practices such as creating an atmosphere or classroom culture that is accepting and sensitive to the diverse needs and backgrounds of these students. Strategies for working with linguistic diversity are particularly helpful for teachers' professional development. In the spirit of Paulo Freire, L. Thomas Hopkins, and James Beane, curricular innovations that go beyond basic programmatic concerns for transient children would benefit from curriculum integration. To date, school and governmental policies have dominated the curriculum for transient students in the United States; basic skills transmission has become their most typical fare. An expedient, measurable, tractable, prescribed curriculum is presently pursued and advocated for children on the move. Curriculum integration would afford transient students the opportunity to pursue a curriculum that is personally and socially relevant. Transient students could bring their own frames of reference into a shared democratic learning process. Basic skills can be integrated in a connective manner with engagement and persistence in such a curricular design rather than presented as isolated and fragmented learning. Literacy materials can incorporate children's and young adult books that reflect the transient experience of other children such as Francisco Jiménez's classic memoirs *The Circuit* and *Breaking Through*. Transient children deal with much fragmentation in their lives, their curricula should integrate connections, social issues (which decidedly already affect them), and optimism for what they can overcome and become in a democratic society.

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*See also* Bilingual Curriculum; Border Crossing; Class (Social-Economic) Research; Freire, Paulo

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## TRANSNATIONAL CURRICULUM INQUIRY

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An online journal published by the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS), *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry* represents a forum for scholarly dialogue about curriculum research from national, regional, and transnational perspectives. The journal supports the development of a global yet nonuniform field of curriculum studies. Oriented for an international readership, the first issue of the journal was released in 2004. Since that time, one to three issues have been released each year. A peer-reviewed journal that seeks to encourage transnational conversations in curriculum inquiry, *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry* continues to be guided by Neil Gough of La Trobe University, the founding editor. Other editors include Catherine Camden Pratt, Lyn Carter, Melanie Ruchel, and Julie White.

In the inaugural issue of *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, Gough described the mission of the journal to build transnational and transcultural solidarities in postcolonial curriculum inquiry and to do so in such a manner so that innovative forms of global inquiry do not merely replicate or assimilate local and national forms of curricular discourse and practice. Gough discussed the reconceptualization of curriculum studies to form new constituencies and coalitions: democratic, multicultural, and transnational citizenries. He proceeded to pose the question that remains as a central issue for the journal: How

can national democracies with diverse histories and different social contexts collaborate to prepare future labor for a *global* economy and prepare citizens for an *international* polity? Topics addressed in the journal include human rights; democratization; national, ethnic, and religious identities; issues of gender, racial, and social justice; the concerns of indigenous peoples; and poverty and social exclusion.

Sections of the journal include keynote addresses and presidential addresses from the World Curriculum Studies Conference, articles, commentaries and conversations, and book and media reviews. A sampling of published essays includes "A Vision for Transnational Curriculum Inquiry" by Noel Gough, "A Bridge Between Chinese and North American Curriculum Studies" by William F. Pinar, "What Can Schools Do? Knowledge, Social Identities and the Changing World" by Lyn Yates, "Curriculum Making on the Edge of Europe in the Age of Globalization: Two Alternative Scenarios" by Francisco Rodrigues Sousa, "Bildung and the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies" by William F. Pinar, "Curriculum Studies and Transnational Flows and Mobilities: Feminist Autobiographical Perspectives" by Janet L. Miller, and "Rendering Dimensions of a Liminal Currere" by Pauline Sameshima and Rita L. Irwin.

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*See also* American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; Comparative Studies Research; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; *International Encyclopedia of Curriculum*; *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*; International Perspectives; International Research

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## TRANSNATIONAL RESEARCH

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Curriculum research can take many forms including those that transcend national boundaries. Such research provides perspectives that are either cross-national (involving several national jurisdictions and including direct comparisons of those jurisdictions or providing regional perspectives across a group of countries) or international (involving multiple national jurisdictions that might be taken to give international coverage). Such research is often set in quite specific theoretical frameworks, but this is not a necessary criterion for designation as transnational. A broad range of possible theoretical possibilities encompasses such research, and these are discussed later to frame transnational curriculum research.

In an age of global interconnectedness that is often fueled by economic processes such as globalization, it might be expected that curriculum research across national borders will assume greater significance. Increased communication between researchers means that common issues and problems will be more easily identified and transnational research teams more easily formed. Nation-states themselves have readily recognized the value of international studies of student performance and researchers have picked up on the secondary analysis of these studies to provide more focused and at times more relevant research. Yet individual researchers have not been slow to recognize the value of national comparative research, especially those who have always worked within a comparative tradition where by definition comparison is the research method of choice. Transnational curriculum research, therefore, takes a variety of forms and relies on a range of methodologies. It can be used to address policy priorities that transcend national borders, it can pursue issues that affect individuals in different locations as they confront oppression and discrimination, or it can focus on traditional academic concerns that are common to different jurisdictions. The key point is that researchers are able to pursue such research collaboratively (i.e., in cross-national teams) and without constraints (i.e., without direct accountabilities to nation states). The benefits of such approaches will greatly enhance the field of curriculum studies.

## Theoretical Frames

The International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies and its journal, *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, have made a concerted effort to create a theoretical framework for transnational curriculum research. The intention has been deliberately emancipatory in seeking to create spaces outside of the constraints of national boundaries to pursue curriculum research agendas. Working outside of national boundaries creates possibilities to think about curriculum issues and problems in new and different ways. The cross-fertilization of ideas that can occur in transnational spaces as educators talk and act can be a powerful force for change.

This theoretical framework is best understood in the broadest sense as postmodernist or post-structuralist. A reaction to the standardization and homogenization of curriculum thinking is often seen to characterize the modern nation-state. Neil Gough has referred to this theoretical stance as postcolonialist. This highlights that aspect of transnational curriculum research that is aligned to the achievement of social democratic goals and the creation of more just and tolerant societies. In this sense, transnational curriculum research is linked theoretically to broader movements in literary and cultural studies that have similar objectives that clearly locate academic work in the broader social, political, and economic contexts that construct them.

Yet, not all transnational curriculum research fits into a postcolonial theoretical framework. International organizations such as the Organization for Economic Development (OECD) and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) have been involved in the assessment of student learning across national boundaries for many years. Specific programs such as IEA's Trends in Mathematics and Science Study, the IEA Civic Education Study, and the Progress in Reading and Literacy Study, along with OECD's broad suite of assessment studies in its Program of International Student Assessment provide international comparisons of student learning. These programs are curriculum related in the sense that they are linked back to national curriculum requirements and standards. They are transnational in the sense that they include a broad range of countries

across the globe, and they provide a sense of student learning outcomes from an international perspective. They are also controversial because they often result in “league tables” of countries in which there are winners and losers. These programs are driven by common research questions and issues, involve the administration of common survey instruments, and are analyzed using advanced statistical techniques that provide a reliable basis for cross-country comparisons.

Theoretically, these international studies of student learning outcomes can be located in a positivistic research tradition that is underpinned by scientific techniques and assumptions, although this is not to claim that the studies themselves are necessarily scientific. This tradition does not exist independently from the social, political, and economic contexts in which it has developed over a long period. For the postcolonial theorists referred to earlier, however, the positivistic tradition is likely to be seen as a way of supporting those contexts rather than challenging them. Thus, the theoretical framework in which transnational curriculum research is conducted influences the rationale for undertaking the research, the research processes that are adopted and the use to which the research is put.

This brief review of postcolonial and positivistic approaches to transnational curriculum research does not exhaust the theoretical possibilities that both create and guide such research. Within the field of education, there has been a long record of research that can be labeled comparative in nature. The field of comparative education is not exclusively concerned with the curriculum, but studies of cross-national and international curriculum comparison have played an important role in the field. There is an eclectic use of research methods in comparative education, and both the postcolonialist and the positivist will be found. This is because comparison itself is seen to be a method of knowing or learning about phenomena, and there is no prescribed form the comparisons must take. They may be descriptive, analytical, or critical, and different researchers will bring different perspectives to the way they present comparative data and ideas so that learning can take place from the comparisons themselves.

The idea of comparative curriculum research across countries is as attractive to national

governments (for example, see *An International Comparative Study of School Curriculum* completed in 1999 by Japan’s National Institute for Educational Research and the 2003 study by John Cogan and his colleagues about the future of the school curriculum in the Asia Pacific region). This is because of the salience of comparison as a technique and way of knowing. National governments can ask why other jurisdictions do things that they do not, and researchers can probe for cultural, social, political, or economic explanations of phenomena that are observed on one location and not another. This process of comparison can also be problematic if not handled appropriately. What works in one context may be culturally constructed, and therefore simplistic attempts to transplant processes or structures from one cultural context or another would be inadvisable. This problem is often encountered by governments anxious to improve student learning outcomes by looking elsewhere for what seems to work best. Nevertheless, used wisely, comparison can be a powerful tool for understanding other cultures, other people, and other systems in an increasingly interdependent world.

### Benefits

There is much to be learned from the postcolonialist view that one benefit to be derived from transnational curriculum research is for the researcher. Interacting and negotiating with international colleagues about key issues, problems, and directions associated with such research has the effect of removing researchers from their comfort zones and enlisting them in a new world where their preconceptions, assumptions, and thought processes can be challenged. It can be enlightening for researchers to come to the realization that the worldview that has dominated their thinking for a long time is not shared by everyone else sitting around the table. This can equally be the case in national contexts as well. Yet in international context, it takes on a heightened importance because it is often reinforced by the search for a common language, a common set of means that can transcend national boundaries, and an inbuilt sensitivity to the feelings of other participants who clearly do not share the same worldview. Transnational research forces researchers to see the other and to



respond in meaningful and helpful ways to forge an alliance that can transcend the structures imposed by national mind-sets. Even the most liberal of curriculum researchers will be challenged by the need to seek common ground and platforms for future research efforts.

Yet the benefits of transnational curriculum research are not just for the researcher in the field of curriculum studies. Such research can also provide valuable new knowledge that can be applied to the school curriculum across countries. Suzanne Mellor reviewed the benefits derived from Australian students' participation in the IEA Civic Education Study in 2003. She argued that the single most important finding was the relationship found between opportunities students have for participation in their schools and their level of civic learning. This relationship was highlighted in the Australian data and across countries. The cross-country comparisons strengthened the finding for individual countries—it seemed to be a generalized finding. The relationship varied from country to country, and not all students benefited from such engagement. Yet, as governments and communities across the globe go about the process of seeking to improve civic literacy and civic engagement of young people, strengthening participation at the school level can be put on the national agenda of all countries. That is to say, the 28-country IEA Civic Education Study produced valuable new knowledge gained largely from the comparative perspective provided by such widespread involvement. This level of generalization is a benefit that is often not acknowledged but that is important if the results of international studies are to feed back into the local communities from which they originate.

There are also occasions on which the benefits derived from transnational curriculum research go beyond schools to the broader society. Jaap Dronkers and Peter Robert, for example, in their 2008 reanalysis of PISA data highlight the disparities in student achievement across modes of schooling within countries to show how private schools, whether independently or government financed, can benefit students. Apart from the fact that private schools benefit from attracting talented students, a key finding was that school climate really makes the difference in accounting for learning outcomes. This is a quite fundamental finding that

raises questions about the provision of schooling in social democratic countries. If it is that the extra resources available to private schools enable them to create more conducive environments in curriculum offerings and extracurricular activities, then students attending public schools are at a severe disadvantage through no fault of their own. Although this result is an important academic outcome, it also has significant equity implications for democratic societies and highlights the social function of the school curriculum in reproducing life chances for individuals. It does not solve the problem, but it does highlight it in a way that cannot be ignored.

Transnational curriculum research serves this social function in other ways as well. Within our individual national boundaries, especially in Western countries, issues of gender and ethnicity have been highlighted over the past decades. For example, gender gaps in the learning of school subjects such as mathematics and science have been highlighted, but generally in a way that has not stigmatized girls. Rather, what has come in for the most criticism has been the somewhat masculinized ways in which these schools' subjects have been constructed and taught over time. It is not that girls do "poorly" in mathematics and science (indeed, in most Western countries when girls take these subjects, they do better than boys), it is that these subjects in their pedagogical orientations have often not considered the ways in which girls learn best. Yet this Western construction of gender disparity takes on a new dimension in the context of transnational curriculum research that reveals in many countries girls will never have the opportunity to do mathematics and science and indeed may not even get the opportunity to go to school. This does not undervalue the importance of gender issues in the West, but it does put them into a broader perspective. Without this view that crosses national boundaries, Western researchers may believe that the "gender" issue, as it relates to the curriculum, has been solved or at least addressed when in fact on the transnational front, it is as deep and as inequitable as ever it has been.

There is, therefore, considerable value to be had from transnational curriculum research whether at the level of the individual researcher, in new knowledge for the field of curriculum studies, or in relation to broader social issues that can be

highlighted in transnational perspective. Just as globalization appears to render national boundaries irrelevant in terms of new financial and commercial processes as well as technological innovations, so too transnational curriculum research can look across borders to see how common problems and issues can be addressed. Such research itself can take advantage of new technologies and use them to achieve important social purposes rather than the economic purposes for which they were created. The use of technologies in new transnational curriculum research is an important area for future investigation.

Transnational curriculum research is not the only research that needs to be done in the field of curriculum studies because the nation-state is likely to remain the site for key curriculum decision making and deliberation. Yet, in a globally connected world working across boundaries, confronting common issues and problems together and seeking to maintain important social and democratic values provides an important agenda not just for individual researchers but also for the societies in which they live.

*Kerry J. Kennedy*

*See also* Comparative Studies Research; International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies; International Perspectives; International Research; Postcolonial Theory

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## TRANSRACIALIZATION

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The term *transracialization* is often used to refer to acquiring (or appropriating) knowledge of race and racial identity, attributes, and behaviors of individuals or groups whose race is different from one's own. An individual might, for example, incorporate knowledge of racial characteristics based on exposure to a different racial group through family, or living immersed in a racially specific community. The process of taking on racial knowledge and characteristics is an act of crossing-over, changing, or melding physical and cultural differences ascribed to specific racial groups.

Transracialization includes a process of identifying and reconsidering one's position of power; particularly power linked to racial hierarchy, racial identity, and attitudes linked to racial identity experience. A component of the work in multicultural education promotes acceptance, understanding, and change in attitudes linked to one's racial or ethnic self. A part of changing one's views about race requires reconceptualization of one's identity in reference to another identity different from the self. The deeper understanding of one's race in reference to another provides an opportunity for the person to deepen understanding of his or her own racial identification.

### Importance to Curriculum Studies

Reconceptualists within the field of curriculum studies recognize the critical links among cultures, language, race, and sexual orientations, for example. Moreover, scholars believe that racial, ethnic, social class background, and sexual orientation are powerful identities shaping the classroom, teaching, and learning experience. Historically, curriculum designed for public education in the United States only included knowledge stemming from a predominately White experience and culture. With a noticeably and fast-growing non-White population in the United States, discussions linking race and education indicate grave implications for the preparation of future teachers who will ultimately have to teach in schools that are increasingly serving students from biracial and multiracial backgrounds.

Literature in education refers to the White experience and culture as mainstream culture. For

the curriculum and educational practices to be shaped by knowledge not otherwise accepted, curriculum developers must understand the ways in which the curriculum can address or include issues such as race in curricular design and pedagogical interaction. The curriculum content and process must cross over, fostering new understandings of how the social, political, and cultural contexts shape knowledge taught and what knowledge is ultimately learned. White preservice teachers may experience transracialization through informed discussions of race, ethnicity, and identities, and when they immerse themselves in communities and schools that are predominately families and students of color. The opposite can be true; students and educators of color may also experience transracialization through their own immersion in predominately White institutions or communities. In both situations, individuals observe and take in a more nuanced understanding of what it means to be White, or what it means to be a person of color in a variety of social and political contexts.

Transracialization is a call for blending, perhaps blurring of the almost solid boundaries of racial identities. Transracialization might be a concept that describes going beyond race, removing racial descriptors such as physical attributes, to focusing on behaviors, values, and attitudes that are shared by more than one racial group. Culturally relevant curriculum could be a transracial pedagogical practice (racial identities or knowledge of more than one group are considered in the pedagogical practice). A notion that cross-racial interactions can deepen an individual's understanding of people's experiences whose race is different from their own can be a central concern for educating teachers, for example.

Scholars of curriculum studies, education, and race/ethnicity studies have articulated theories about race identity development, understanding racial categorization, and defining race/ethnicity. For curriculum studies scholars, the connection most prevalent is the critical role that racial identification and experience play in the development of curriculum in schools and in the observation of curriculum (learned knowledge/experience) at play in the world around us.

*Tarajeen Yazzie-Mintz*

*See also* Antiracism Theory; Critical Race Theory; Diversity Pedagogy; Multicultural Curriculum; Multicultural Curriculum Theory; Race Research

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## TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE STUDY

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The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) affects the field of curriculum studies by enabling a global conversation about mathematics and science curriculum, what is taught, and how it is taught. TIMSS is an ongoing study providing internationally comparable data on student mathematics and science achievement.

Knowledge of TIMSS is widespread among mathematics and science communities; however, fewer people are aware of the First International Mathematics Study (FIMS), First International Science Study (FISS), Second International Mathematics Study (SIMS), and Second International Science Study (SISS). In 1967, FIMS collected data on 13-year-olds and students in the final year of secondary school from 10 countries. Between 1966 and 1973, FISS collected data on 10-year-olds from 16 countries and on 14-year-olds and students in their final year of secondary school from 18 countries. From 1977 to 1981, SIMS collected data on a similar population as the FIMS across 20 countries. In 1983 and 1984, SISS collected data on a similar population as the FISS across 24 countries.

TIMSS data has been collected in 1995, 1999, 2003, and 2007 across 78 countries. In mathematics,

two companion studies accompanied the 1995 TIMSS involving Japan, Germany, and the United States. The first companion study's purpose was a detailed context for the mathematics results from the achievement study. Therefore, researchers developed ethnographic case studies in communities within the three countries. The second companion study's purpose was to capture mathematics instruction on videotape from classrooms involved in TIMSS. The first study emphasized that cultural context around learning mattered and simply because one country had higher test scores did not mean that another country should (or even could) adopt the other country's teaching practices. However, the second study did show that teaching styles between the United States and Japan vary widely. In 1999, a similar video study was conducted in science involving Australia, Czech Republic, Japan, Netherlands, and the United States.

TIMSS uses curriculum as its major organizing tool. Three curriculum components inform the TIMSS design: (1) the intended curriculum, (2) the implemented curriculum, and (3) the achieved (attained) curriculum. The intended curriculum is the mathematics and science curriculum that society believes students should learn. The implemented curriculum consists of what is actually taught, who is actually teaching it, and how it is actually being taught. The achieved curriculum is what the students have learned as well as their attitudes toward mathematics and science. Findings from SIMS showed that teachers did not always implement the intended curriculum. Therefore, TIMSS studied the intended curricula more deliberately.

TIMSS affected the field of curriculum studies by expanding the conversation about what is taught and how it is taught internationally. Overall results showed mathematic achievement in the United States was comparable with that of other countries at the 4th grade. At the 8th-grade level, the United States fell slightly behind, and in the final year of secondary school, the United States fell even further. An important curricular note is that by the close of secondary schools, internationally, curricula vary so broadly that an international comparison is more difficult. Another important component of the TIMSS is its inclusion of science curricula. As a curriculum currently marginalized in the United States because it is not tested, the

TIMSS reminds the world that science is foundational and should be a part of the international curricular conversation.

The TIMSS results showed that student mathematics and science achievement improves when curriculum goes deeper into a domain area. In U.S. science, students participate in engaging activities that are disconnected from science content. Similarly with mathematics, curriculum tends to address the many topics briefly rather than spending extended time on fewer topics. The results are students who are vaguely familiar with a wide variety of disconnected domains rather than students who have a deep understanding and mastery of an interwoven curriculum. TIMSS has brought that conversation of a more cohesive connected mathematics and science curriculum to the forefront.

Jan A. Yow

*See also* Mathematics Education Curriculum; Science Education Curriculum

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## TYLER, RALPH W.

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Ralph W. Tyler (1902–1994) was described in a 1977 issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan* as “Mr. Fix-it,” a moniker that is surprisingly insightful but also somewhat amusing as a way to depict the stoic statesman who many consider one of the defining



figures for the field of curriculum studies and one of the more important educators of the 20th century. But Tyler's work in the field of curriculum studies can be best understood as that of an individual whose career was based on assisting others to solve—to fix—their problems. From the 1920s and 1930s and his involvement in the Eight Year Study through the 1940s and 1950s and the publication of his renowned treatise, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, to the 1960s and 1970s and his role in helping establish the National Assessment of Educational Progress program, his career was based on helping others formulate solutions to complex situations. Tyler stated throughout his career that he never sought to develop a distinctive ideology or theory, yet his legacy in curriculum studies, as described and defined by others, includes a curriculum theory, the applauded and criticized Tyler Rationale, and a distinctive instructional practice, “teaching with behavioral objectives.”

No problem, as described by Tyler in *Research Methods and Teachers' Problems*, appeared too great or too insignificant for his attention, and all solutions seemed situational—a solution at one site might not be appropriate in another, a problem here could become an answer there. Tyler never embraced any approach that promulgated predefined curriculum programs or predetermined solutions. Although the Tyler Rationale was interpreted as a rigid, step-by-step procedure beginning with the formulating purposes (and identifying objectives, selecting, organizing, and evaluating experiences), classroom and school-related problems became the all-defining motif and starting point for the selection of purposes, outcomes, and objectives. This becomes crucial when one realizes that the Tyler Rationale was conceived not as a four-step process for curriculum development, at least as described by Tyler, but as a method to view, analyze, and interpret curriculum and instruction for those who were experiencing problems and concerns in the classroom.

Tyler began his professional career as a science teacher in North Dakota, taking degrees at Doane College and University of Nebraska. He spent one year in residence at the University of Chicago working with Charles Judd; however, his dissertation research was a component of W. W. Charters's *The Commonwealth Teacher Training Study*. Tyler

worked in bureaus of educational research first at the University of North Carolina, from 1927 to 1928, and then with Charters at Ohio State University beginning in 1929. In 1938, Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, hired Tyler to serve as the university's examiner and chair of the Department of Education, positions he held until 1948 when he was appointed dean of the Division of Social Sciences, serving until his retirement in 1953. In 1954, Tyler became the founding director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, a position he held until his retirement in 1967 when he then focused exclusively on a 20-year career as lecturer and writer.

Although the Tyler Rationale helped to popularize curriculum development, his career may best be described as being within the fields of testing and evaluation. In this realm, the significance of Tyler's work, in relation to the field of curriculum studies, can be seen as conceiving an alternative to testing—what Tyler coined as assessment—and to his counterpart, Ben Wood, whose career helped define a standardized student testing movement and lay the foundation for the Educational Testing Service (ETS). During the 1930s, Tyler publicly criticized Wood and questioned the importance of measuring all outcomes of learning. For Tyler, student evaluation was to assist teachers in making curricular and instructional decisions. Evaluation was not merely constructing tests but involved the discussion of “e-valuating”—articulating and drawing out the *values* of schools and of teachers—leading ultimately to ontological and epistemological questions. Unlike Wood, Tyler recognized that evaluation influenced teaching and learning and believed that no test technician alone, without assistance from a subject-matter specialist, that is, a teacher, could construct a valid and reliable achievement test. Through their lifelong battle, deemed the Wood-Tyler Debate, Tyler in his own way may have protected the field of curriculum studies from what would have been an even more pronounced high-stakes testing movement that could have emerged decades earlier. It is somewhat ironic that the National Assessment of Educational Progress program, a project Tyler helped develop during the mid-1960s, would ultimately turn to ETS for the assessment instruments, an organization that arose from Wood's Cooperative Testing

Service, and would later be guided, misguided in Tyler's view, to a testing perspective partially defined by Wood. Although the history of curriculum has been described through the struggles of curriculum and foundation academics, an entirely different and revealing history of the field arises from examining the debate between Tyler's conception of curriculum and assessment and Wood's "test-technician" view of curriculum and testing.

The importance of a site-specific perspective greatly influenced Tyler's views of evaluation and assessment, terms that he maintained he introduced to the field of education, as he focused on the validity of a solution to solve problems rather on seeking to establish an accompanying degree of reliability. In a career-defining speech, "Evaluation: A Challenge and an Opportunity to Progressive Education," presented at the 1934 Educational Conference on Testing, Tyler underscored an emphasis on "validity" as educators sought to find solutions to problems. This was a significant departure from educational bureau researchers who examined the outcomes of curriculum as determined by validity and reliability. Tyler, whose sole interest was to assist teachers in finding solutions to specific problems, did not focus on the importance of reliability. Neither did he dismiss scientific inquiry and the traditional scientific model; rather, he highlighted the importance of school experimentation not to prove or predict outcomes but, more importantly, to suggest promising directions and possibilities for schooling practice. From this perspective, the Tyler Rationale offers guidance without necessarily creating some of the curricular limitations for which it has later been criticized.

To note certain misimpressions of Tyler's career and "canon": his middle name, Winfred, is often misspelled as "Winifred." Tyler is also commonly described as the director of the Eight Year Study and, implicitly, in charge of that project's Follow-up Study, the comparison of 1,425 pairs of students. In fact, Tyler was research director of the Evaluation Staff of the Commission on the Relation of School and College. He worked closely with the staffs of other participating commissions and committees; however, his primary role was in assisting with the development of a massive group of student assessment forms used by the secondary classroom teachers. Although he was involved with the initial

work of the "College Follow-up Staff," he was quite removed from the work of the Follow-up Study (and displayed some disinterest in that component of the Eight Year Study through the remainder of his career). Interestingly, Tyler never viewed himself as a "curriculum person," and, though often designated as a defining figure for the field, he never served as president of the American Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development or as vice-president of American Educational Research Association's Division B, Curriculum Studies.

Perhaps one of the greatest misattributions is the common assertion that Ralph Tyler is the father of the behavioral objectives movement in education. Tyler's call to "formulate objectives" required educators to reconsider their most fundamental educational goals and, when situated within the context of a situational problem, became a way to reestablish "intentions" (which perhaps would have been a better term to have used). Objectives did not represent the confining, convergent dimension that was later popularized in the 1960s and 1970s with behavioral objectives and management by objectives programs. For Tyler, behaviors meant all types of human reactions at all levels of cognition. In Tyler's work with the Eight Year Study, objectives were developed for nonobservable behaviors—social sensitivity, appreciation, personal and social adjustment—and never limited to overt behavior. In fact, human capabilities became Tyler's phrase of choice when discussing behavior, and he disagreed with the unfortunate outcomes of behavioral objectives when education was reduced to mere training. Two separate 1973 interviews—"The Father of Behavioral Objectives Criticizes Them" and "Ralph Tyler Discusses Behavioral Objectives"—make this point and many others, including his belief that behavioral objectives had become too specific.

The 1971 essay, "The Tyler Rationale: A Reappraisal" by Herbert Kliebard, has proven the most significant critique of Tyler's curriculum work. Although no satisfactory response has ever been prepared to address Kliebard's criticisms, Tyler attended conferences during the 1970s and 1980s and willingly engaged in discussions with those who questioned his curricular beliefs. Understanding Tyler remains as challenging as those many problems he sought to solve. Tyler, a

self-proclaimed progressive educator, represents a complex mix of radical and conservative ideas. When Tyler turned his attention to classroom problems, he persuaded educators to reexamine basic, taken-for-granted educational practices and traditions. When he urged the use of objectives, he was offering teachers the opportunity to reconsider their educational lives in classrooms, a setting deeply entrenched in 19th-century educational practices. And when he advised educators to attach behaviors to outcomes, he was placing the responsibility of evaluation in the hands of teachers and encouraging them to look critically at the consequences of their actions. In many respects, his work continues to justify those activities for educators of the 21st century even while his rationale is currently scorned and criticized by many in the field of curriculum studies.

Yet, with the many accolades, Tyler also worked within the safety of the status quo, within an accepted educational system and already-established mores. In this role as facilitator, others—not Tyler—determined educational practice and made decisions for which they were held responsible. Tyler never took full responsibility for the misuse of the Tyler Rationale. In what is certainly an odd statement from one of the most important educators of the 20th century, he once stated that one cannot take responsibility for the actions of others and, seemingly referring to the Tyler Rationale, to establish new terms when a concept becomes a cliché. Martin Dworkin once stated that John Dewey was a figure of partisan fiction. In retrospect, the same can now be said of Ralph Tyler.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction; Tyler Rationale, The*

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## TYLER RATIONALE, THE

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The Tyler Rationale consists of four fundamental questions that first appeared during the late 1940s in Ralph W. Tyler's curriculum syllabus, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. This document is still in print and continues to sell thousands of copies each year. The questions of the Tyler Rationale include these: What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? These questions rest on a conceptual foundation where educational purposes are defined by objectives that arise from three sources—the needs of the learner, expectations of society, and insights from content specialists. Because a program's educational objectives may become too divergent and numerous, the rationale was to filter objectives through philosophical and psychological screens. This simple array of four questions has proven to be one of the most defining professional concepts of curriculum design and development.

Much lore surrounds the origins of the rationale. Tyler, as research director of the Eight Year Study, describes a lunch occasion in the 1930s when he, H. H. Giles, and Hilda Taba were discussing curriculum development and the rationale's legendary questions were conceived (by Tyler) and written on a napkin. During the same period, Giles and the Eight Year Study Curriculum Associates were charged with formulating basic principles for the secondary school curriculum and, on the first page of their 1942 report entitled *Exploring the Curriculum*, their fundamental questions included these: What is to be done? What

subject matter is to be used? What classroom procedures and school organization are to be followed? How are the results of the program to be appraised? Both frameworks stressed the use of educational objectives, although neither represents the use of behavioral objectives as the term was later developed.

Tyler's call to "formulate objectives" required educators to reconsider their most fundamental educational goals and, when situated within the context of a classroom problem, became a way to reestablish "intentions" (which would have been a better term to have used). Objectives did not represent the confining, convergent dimension that was later popularized in the 1960s and 1970s with behavioral objectives and management by objectives programs. In fact, Tyler, Giles, and the Curriculum Associates describe the genesis of educational objectives in relation to the central purposes of education. For Tyler, behaviors meant all types of human reactions at all levels of cognition, and objectives were developed for nonobservable behaviors: social sensitivity, appreciation, personal and social adjustment. Yet, the Tyler Rationale is now often cited to have introduced behavioral objectives, even though Tyler later dismissed this claim and maintained his belief that behavioral objectives had become too specific. Further, the four questions were not meant to be a linear sequence of actions but, instead, questions as aspects of a conversation. Further, "why" questions were not part of the rationale, in part, because Tyler originally used the framework to assist teachers with immediate (classroom) problems. That issues of "purposefulness"—the why of a situation—would be implicitly addressed when one sought to identify (what) and to solve (how) problems.

Tyler was described by Robert M. W. Travers as having a genius for formulating plausible and simple solutions to complex problems. The Tyler Rationale exemplified this practice of clarifying procedures and stating ideas in uncomplicated ways and, when placed in the context of 1950s school district consolidations and the emergence of the curriculum specialist, Tyler's Rationale offered

a simple framework for educational administrators to design and develop curriculum, and to define the field of curriculum design and development.

Tyler altered the rationale during his career. At the 1960 Milwaukee Curriculum Research Conference, organized by James Macdonald, Tyler introduced a much more normative base to the rationale by restating the first question as "What are the proper objectives of the school?" At the 1976 Milwaukee Curriculum Theory Conference, organized by Alex Molnar and John Zahorik, Tyler identified two areas that he believed deserved greater attention: emphasizing the learner's active role in the educational process and examining the nonschool areas of student learning. Often viewed as a direct, value-free curriculum development process, the Tyler Rationale has received great criticism for embodying questionable values. Perhaps the most significant and critical assessment was published by Herbert Kliebard in the 1971 essay, "The Tyler Rationale: A Reappraisal." Kliebard questioned the historical accuracy of the foundations of the rationale and the conceptual soundness of the sources of objectives and the use of the philosophical and psychological screens. No satisfactory response has ever been prepared to address Kliebard's criticisms. The Tyler Rationale seems to have become a curricular shibboleth separating those who embrace and those who oppose a 20th-century tradition of curriculum development.

*Craig Kridel*

*See also Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction; Reconceptualization; Tyler, Ralph W.*

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## UNIT TEACHING

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Units are often considered the building blocks of successful instruction. When a teacher is assigned a particular subject or course to teach, one of the first tasks he or she approaches is the breaking up of the course into a series of units of instruction. The reasons for this approach vary, but although students, and often their teachers, find it difficult to conceptualize an entire course ranging across a 10-month span of time, it is also difficult to assist students in the creation of meaning using only daily lesson plans. Unit teaching provides a structure whereby teachers can work with students to achieve learning goals while creating meaning by providing a larger, less fragmented approach to instruction, a goal congruent with both Gestalt psychology and information-processing learning theory. Unit planning is historically credited to Johann F. Herbart and Henry C. Morrison with a variety of curriculum specialists recommending adaptations, for example, William Kilpatrick's project method. A teaching unit is generally conceived as a 2- to 6-week block of instruction depending on the topic and the developmental stages of the students.

Units are generally divided into two major categories: resource units and teaching units. Most "methods of instruction" textbooks, regardless of subject or grade level, recognize this division. The *resource unit* is an all-encompassing, general approach that enables teachers to select and modify materials for a specific instructional group

(class). As such, there is more material in a resource unit than any individual teacher would be able to use when teaching the unit topic. The *teaching unit* is an instructional block that is targeted at a specific group of students. Teachers frequently adapt resource units, designed either commercially or collaboratively, into teaching units for their individual classrooms.

Regardless of the category, units usually include the following components: title/topic; rationale or justification for study; unit goals (general) and objectives (specific) in cognitive (knowledge), affective (values), and skills domains; daily lesson plans aligned with unit goals and objectives including a variety of instructional strategies (differentiated activities to meet the needs of all learners); a list of materials and resources needed for unit completion; and, an assessment plan to ensure that goals and objectives have been learned. Recently, Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe have advocated "backward design" by moving the assessment plan to the forefront of the unit and lesson plan, immediately following listed goals and objectives. This is to encourage teachers to consider the curricular alignment aspects of unit and lesson planning rather than viewing units simply as a collection of activities around a common topic. Evaluation consists of both formative and summative assessment regardless of design technique.

Units may be classified by their approach to teaching the material. Subject matter units can be single subject or fused, for example, a language arts unit rather than separate spelling, literature, and writing units. Units may be further integrated

in either a multidisciplinary or an interdisciplinary manner. This means that units can be correlated among teachers so that students either are studying the same chronological period in both language arts and social studies or the same conceptual theme or topic, such as space, in multiple subjects. That would mean that all students would spend time studying units on the concept of space as used in multiple subjects such as science, math, English, and social studies but these units would not necessarily relate to one another. These multidisciplinary approaches are not the same as a truly interdisciplinary unit such as a project or a problem-solving approach where students would be called on to integrate any subjects necessary to solve the problem or complete the project under study. This approach can be used either within a subject area—for example, social studies or general science—or across subject areas. These latter units are significantly more student centered in their approach than are more traditional units.

Some teachers might believe that in this current period of standards-based instruction unit teaching is no longer necessary. Nothing could be further from the truth. Well-planned units, focused around essential questions and important concepts motivate students while bringing meaning and context into the information being mastered. The potential for collaboration on resource units that can be transformed into teaching units, especially across disciplines, points the way for teachers to break down the walls of isolation created in individual classrooms and assist teachers by creating more holistic approaches to learning.

*Barbara Slater Stern*

*See also* Planned Curriculum; Teachers as Curriculum Makers

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## UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The University of Alberta's College of Education established itself as a center for the expansion of phenomenological, hermeneutic, and narrative inquiry in curriculum studies through the innovative scholarship of Ted Aoki and a cadre of students and colleagues including Max van Manen, Terrence Carson, David Smith, and the work of the Center for Research for Teacher Education and Development directed by D. Jean Clandinin.

Aoki moved from the social studies classroom where he had distinguished himself as an exemplary teacher to the faculty of the University of Alberta in 1964 at the invitation of Lawrence Downey, chair of the Secondary Education Department. When he retired some two decades later, having assumed the chair of the department, Aoki had earned a reputation as a dynamic public speaker and mentor but was not widely published. In his retirement, Aoki expanded his influence through the printed word, exploring the tension created in the life of the teacher between the curriculum plan and the "lived curriculum." Aoki evoked insights of phenomenology and postmodern philosophy to challenge the limitations of traditional curriculum studies that focus on development and implementation and reversed the curriculum act to see how it lives in the classroom. Aoki sought to understand what it means to be a teacher with a public responsibility to address the planned curriculum and the real relationship with students that constitutes the enacted curriculum. As he worked to more carefully speak and write to this tension, phenomenology informed both the inquiry process and the genre of expression. The works of Martin Heidegger and M. Merleau-Ponty provided a lens for this inquiry; Aoki later used insights from Jacques Lacan and Emmanuel Levinas in exploring the teacher–student relationship.

When van Manen joined Aoki at Alberta, first as a student from the Netherlands, receiving his doctorate in 1973, and then as a colleague, he brought phenomenological inquiry into schooling as articulated by Martinus J. Langeveld and the Utrecht School. Van Manen envisioned the

expansion of phenomenology inquiry into the various dimensions of the adult-child relationship, producing his own studies on the teacher-student relationship and exploring his method in *The Tact of Teaching*. In this work, van Manen moved with careful, insightful awareness to make the assertion that “tact” is an essential quality in meaningful teaching. Van Manen has been consistent in his promotion of phenomenological inquiry, founding the journal *Phenomenology and Pedagogy* to create a forum for the promotion of this inquiry into the lived curriculum.

D. Jean Clandinin, expanding on teacher narrative initiated while at the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education, serves as director of the Center for Research on Teacher Education and Development at the University of Alberta. Clandinin directs doctoral students in ongoing inquiry into teacher knowledge and teachers’ professional knowledge landscapes, consistent with the inquiry method she and Michael Connelly advanced for two decades, examining practical opportunities to make use of the method in improving the education and craft of teachers. Clandinin also encouraged the application of narrative inquiry for research in different professional fields, particularly in health services with emphasis on awakening the ethical issues that are contextual in professional encounter.

Evocative writing, characteristic of the phenomenological approach to understanding curriculum, to a hermeneutic cycle that uses insight to guide action and further inquiry was also developed by other faculty members at Alberta. Terry Carson has promoted the extension of phenomenological hermeneutic inquiry to teacher action research, using the hermeneutic conversation to understand and effect change. David Smith explores hermeneutic study to consider ethics in a world community, economic globalization, and education’s service to promotion of cross-national and cross-cultural marketing. Jan Jagodzonski examines postmodernism and how it transforms art education, including the interplay of psychoanalysis, feminism, linguistics, and fantasy with the expanding forms of aesthetic expression through imaginative uses of traditional and electronic media.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also* Aoki, Ted T.; Hermeneutic Inquiry; Narrative Research; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Collective of Curriculum Professors; Phenomenological Research

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## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), was a significant center for curriculum study, focusing primarily on school curricula and reform, beginning in the 1960s with the contributions of John I. Goodlad and Louise L. Tyler, joined by John D. McNeil in the 1970s, and Jeannie Oakes in the 1980s. The contributions of Madeline Hunter to instructional planning and W. James Popham and Eva Baker on assessment were widely adopted in school practice and entered into discussion on curriculum planning. The focus on curriculum as a force for social change has been retained at UCLA in the writings of Peter McLaren.

For three decades before her retirement in 1988, Tyler was a demanding presence at the UCLA department of education, later the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. Tyler came to UCLA in 1959 from the University of Chicago where she studied with (and married) Ralph Tyler. Louise Tyler’s enduring interest was in bringing the insights of psychoanalysis into curriculum scholarship, but in the late 1960s, she joined the dominant discussion on the value of educational objectives. Critical of Roger Mager’s restricted definition of behavioral objectives, Tyler was positively disposed to a broader approach taken by her colleague at UCLA, Popham.

Goodlad studied with Virgil Herrick and Ralph Tyler at the University of Chicago, earning his doctorate in 1949. Goodlad came to UCLA in 1960 following publication of his proposal with Robert Anderson that chronological age not be the basis of student grouping, garnering national attention and reaction. As director of the laboratory school at UCLA and then as dean of the UCLA Graduate School of Education, Goodlad was a leading advocate of team teaching and multi-age grouping. In his first decade at UCLA, Goodlad (with Maurice Richter) devised a conceptual system for dealing with curricular and instructional problems, and in *School, Curriculum, and the Individual*, suggested the four key questions that constitute the Tyler Rationale be considered in each of three forums where curriculum and instruction are developed: society (legal and policy deliberation), institution (district and school deliberations), and instruction (teachers and groups of teachers focusing on identified groups of learners). He urged recognition that curriculum development is inevitably value-bearing and must be deliberated on rationally to discern these values (a concern maintained throughout his career). In the 1970s, Goodlad translated his study of the practice of curriculum development to a conceptual design with three major elements. *Substantive deliberation* is the central intellectual discussion to determine curriculum, instructional methods, and assessment. *Political-social elements* in development are stakeholders who contribute to the process; *technical-professional elements* set the process into a formal process for translating deliberation to school practice.

The Study of Schooling bridged Goodlad's consideration of curriculum development theory over to school practice and resulted in a major statement in 1984 as *A Place Called School*. Goodlad's research group confirmed that the majority of time spent in schools was dominated by teachers talking or students completing institutional procedures. A reform curriculum was suggested consisting of language arts, mathematics and science (up to 36%), with social studies, the fine and practical arts (up to 30%), and physical education (up to 10%) completing the curriculum base with a common studies core to establish disciplinary connections. The balance of time was dedicated to electives for student interests.

Another major finding coming out of the Study of Schooling was how ability grouping or "tracking" influenced teacher expectations on student performance as well as student self-perception and achievement, particularly students identified as low in academic aptitude. Goodlad recommended eliminating tracking. A contributor to the Study of Schooling, Oakes's work on the effects of ability grouping, *Keeping Track*, was a timely contributor to curriculum and instructional practice in the era of *A Nation at Risk*. M. Frances Klein was a major contributor to Study of Schooling and used this data to expand the call for reform in elementary education arguing for the establishment of a constructivist curriculum that is responsive to the local curriculum.

McNeil produced an original synoptic curriculum text in 1977 that went through numerous editions. Organizing curriculum thought in four orientations (humanist, social reconstructionist, technology, and academic subjects), McNeil explored dimensions of curriculum development particularly relevant to administrators: learning opportunities, management, implementation, and evaluation as well as politics, theory, and research.

Thomas P. Thomas

See also Goodlad, John I.; *Keeping Track; Place Called School, A; Tracking*

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## UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The department of education at the University of Chicago has been the intellectual home for a variety of influential voices in curriculum studies, historically ranging from the work of John Dewey



at the University Laboratory School through to the scholarship of Phillip Jackson in the 1990s and theoretically ranging from the science of education of Charles Judd to the human relations approach of Herbert Thelen. In addition, the University of Chicago was the base for classical liberal arts proposals of Robert Maynard Hutchins, Mortimer Adler, and the sharp criticisms of higher education and popular culture by Allan Bloom.

Dewey's tenure at the University of Chicago was relatively brief (1896–1904), and he served as professor of philosophy while founding the Laboratory School where he developed and evaluated his ideas on child development and activity learning. Dewey was a frequent visitor to Hull House and gathered further insight into the dynamics of experiential education from the programs offered by Jane Addams. Relative to application to the public schools, Dewey served as mentor and colleague to Ella Flagg Young, the first woman to assume superintendence of a large urban school system. Drawing on these experiences, Dewey produced works (*The Child and the Curriculum* and *The School and Society*) that proved to be among his most accessible and are significant early contributions to curriculum thought. Colonel Francis Parker, widely known for his advocacy of group and activity-based education centered on engaging the interests of children, accepted an offer to establish a teacher training institute and elementary demonstration school on the University of Chicago campus. The Chicago Institute was established at the University of Chicago and became the basis of the Department of Education at the university. In 1902, the Chicago Institute and the Laboratory School merged.

With the departure of Parker and then Dewey in 1904, the Department of Education took on a new identity, largely dominated by the vision of Charles H. Judd. Trained in Wilhelm Wundt's school of experimental psychology at the University of Leipzig, Judd was convinced that scientific study could advance the scholarship status of education as it was doing for psychology. Judd preferred to engage in field studies and educational experiments to measure the effectiveness of instruction as represented in his work, *Measuring the Work of the Public Schools* in 1916. Under Judd, the University of Chicago attracted students who furthered the scientific study of the public schools, educational

policy-making bodies, and other universities. The early works of Harold Rugg and George Counts, for example, both working under Judd, evidence this focus on empirical investigation.

The effort to establish a "science" of curriculum development was evident in the activity analysis proposal of Franklin Bobbitt. Influenced by social efficiency experts such as Frederick Taylor in industry, Bobbitt suggested school instruction should emulate tasks performed by capable adults in society. Skills, particularly those most frequently needed in productive and efficient living, were analyzed to their specific elements, then carefully cataloged and translated into learning experiences for students in schools. Assumed in this model was the skill base that would make for a productive life. Bobbitt's 1918 statement, *The Curriculum*, is a contender as the first major modern book on curriculum. In 1924, Bobbitt produced a practical recipe for activity analysis curriculum building in *How to Make a Curriculum*. Bobbitt's prescription for curriculum development was widely regarded as "scientific," given it was based on empirical observation of activities ordered into specific behaviors. The basis of this model, however, was the imitation of existing skills rather than the development of new knowledge and skills for a future society.

Although W. W. Charters's later association with Ohio State University eclipsed his tenure at the University of Chicago, as a colleague of Bobbitt, Charters developed his variation of activity analysis in 1923 with *Curriculum Construction*. Charters contended the starting point for curriculum construction should not be analysis of existing practice but, rather, in direct application of social efficiency experts, the idealized description of what a skill should be to be most productive and efficient. Charters's inclusion of social ideals introduced social analysis and evaluation that was implied but not emphasized in Bobbitt's model.

Henry Morrison, also colleague of Bobbitt at Chicago, was decidedly opposed to the proposal that scientific inquiry resolved humanity's search for meaning. Working from a natural law perspective, Morrison maintained that science provides answers irrelevant to the questions that philosophy asks; scientists must respect philosophy for harmony in human thought. In the resulting curriculum, the individual personality is refined by the

principled habits of a civilized life. The academic disciplines were the most appropriate forum for presenting civilization in that they reflect the elements of the human personality. The major sciences of history, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, human physiology, hygiene, civics, economics, and elementary jurisprudence contributed to forming the intelligent person.

In his work for secondary school education, Morrison recommends a process in six parts: (1) Student interest is sparked to prepare the lesson. (2) The teacher offers an exposition of the principle or idea to be considered. (3) A class discussion is followed by (4) individual reports or aspects of the idea under consideration. (5) Students are then encouraged to observe the results of a change of behavior through commitment to this ideal either through literature or lived experience. (6) Students engage finally in voluntary projects for practice of the ideal, and problem cases are given special attention by the instructor. Morrison's lesson design proved influential on curriculum texts for teacher preparation for the next three decades. *Curriculum Principles and Social Trends* by J. Minor Gwynn, first published in 1943, is a practitioner's approach to curriculum that advocated Morrison's "unit method" through four revisions (until 1969). J. Paul Leonard's *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum* in 1946 also uses Morrison's unit method.

Although Hutchins was not a member of the Department of Education, Hutchins's tenure as president of the University of Chicago was notable in his advocacy of liberal arts education. Rejecting both progressive proposals for educational reform and those who promoted higher education as specialized training, Hutchins envisioned a curriculum that brought young people into conversation with the great thinkers and ideas of Western civilization. In promoting a great books curriculum, Hutchins made the argument that a democratic society would survive only if citizenry were enlightened to the various options that have been proposed relative to fulfilled human living. Suggesting that high school could be condensed if the focus was on building intellectual skills, the last 2 years of high school could be replaced with a college curriculum where students were introduced to the ideas and proposals of Western thinkers ranging from Plato and Euripides to René Descartes and Charles

Darwin. At the University of Chicago, a variation of his plan was enacted as the undergraduate curriculum and elements of this approach were widely imitated by other liberal arts colleges.

Given that Hutchins was a national champion for traditional liberal arts education, it surprised some when he sought out Ralph Tyler to replace Judd in leading the Department of Education in 1938. Tyler had established a national profile as principal evaluator of the Progressive Education Association's comparative study of high school curricula known as the Eight Year Study. As a condition of his appointment, Tyler arranged to have his evaluation team for the Eight Year Study moved from The Ohio State University to Chicago. Tyler became the chairman of the Department of Education and eventually the dean of the Division of Social Sciences.

Tyler's interest in fostering a scholarly construct for curriculum development prompted him to convene with Virgil Herrick a conference in 1947 at the university that assembled some of the most notable writers on curriculum study of the day. The conference offered shared convictions on the character of sound curriculum scholarship but failed to develop tenets to guide curriculum activity and research. Tyler's aspirations were, in part, realized by his own teaching. Tyler expanded a course syllabus into the highly influential volume, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, in 1949. Tyler set curriculum issues in a rationally organized, concisely stated schema, exploring dimensions that arise within each of the issues while largely refraining from taking a position in support of the various proposals for curriculum reform that were contending at mid-century. Tyler raised four categories of consideration for curriculum development: purposes, experiences, organization, and evaluation. Numerous curriculum guides, teachers' editions of schoolbooks, evaluation instruments by accrediting agencies, course syllabi, and curriculum books that were written throughout the balance of the 20th century use Tyler's four issues for organization.

Benjamin Bloom and his associates provided a conceptual structure for stating intended outcomes of a curriculum that was in some ways an extension of the Tyler Rationale in the consideration of the form of educational purpose, yet also reached back to the model proposed by Charters. The learning objective continues to be emphasized in unit and

daily lesson planning. The 1956 taxonomical classification of cognitive objectives gained broad acceptance as a structured approach to identifying knowledge and skills to be attained, and the six cognitive levels (memory, interpretation or comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation) have been committed to memory by many aspiring teachers. The taxonomy has been applied to lesson planning, school curricula, questioning techniques, and skills management systems. Taxonomies in the affective and psychomotor domains followed to provide a full range of skills and knowledge determined to be significant in education.

Thelen, as did Tyler and Bloom, received his PhD at Chicago. He joined the faculty in 1945 and applied the field of group dynamics to curriculum study. Thelen advocated use of observation to inform educational practice and conducted studies in the context of educational practice and community activism, simultaneously promoting reflective deliberation consistent with Dewey's epistemology. His curriculum proposal served as a bridge between Dewey and the existing school curriculum. He argued that school study be integrated into four disciplines: (1) the physical domain, (2) the biological, (3) the social, and (4) the "subjective" or the humanities. Topics are considered in a manner appropriate to the subject of inquiry. Skill development is included as a fifth form of inquiry, intended to assist in facilitating the basic forms of inquiry. Thelen's model incorporated reflective thinking into a modified curriculum structure of existing school disciplines.

In addition to the influence of scholars, the University of Chicago also served as publishing house for the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbooks. Although a range of educational topics were selected as themes for the yearbooks, landmark works on curriculum studies were produced through this publication. Kenneth Rehage, faculty member in the Department of Education, was prominent in the publication of the NSSE yearbook in its last decade at the University of Chicago.

Joseph Schwab literally grew to adulthood at the University of Chicago, coming to the institution after high school. Through the 1940s, he assisted in developing Hutchins's general education undergraduate curriculum. With a background in the sciences, Schwab also served as

instructor in the collegiate program. He served as chairman of the Committee on Teacher Preparation for the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS), funded by the Educational Defense Act of 1958, and edited the initial textbooks.

Schwab became a critic of education and particularly curricular study at the end of the 1960s. He viewed student unrest at the end of the decade as a failure in education to engage students in critical consideration of issues of significance. His invited address to the American Educational Research Association in 1969 became infamous for declaring curriculum studies "moribund." Schwab's alternative approach to curriculum scholarship was articulated in "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum." Advancing a position indebted to Dewey's conception of scholarship, he suggested that curriculum shift to practical research of events and situational conflicts. Generalized conclusions are replaced by an effort to solve problems. In later articles, Schwab detailed his call for contextual scholarship that considered the interdependence of four commonplaces of curricular experience: subject matter, learners, teachers, and milieu. Interactions among these factors in problematic classroom encounters create the curricula that actually occur there.

Philip Jackson's 1968 *Life in Classrooms* was a creative study that awakened curricular scholars to the powerful effects of what came to be labeled the "hidden curriculum." Jackson's writing invited readers to observe the power, influence, and the normative structure of the elementary schools that he visited. The study also considered how regularities and social relationships in differing school contexts can affect the lives of learners. While examining the thinking of Dewey and responding critically to the emergence of new directions in curriculum thought, Jackson also conducted a study on the character of teaching, identifying valued elements in the character of the educator. *The Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, edited by Jackson, was a first of its kind as a portrait of curriculum scholarship at the end of the century.

In 1997, the university decided to eliminate the Department of Education and no longer offer a PhD in education, leaving a legacy of influential graduates.

Thomas P. Thomas

See also *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction; Curriculum Construction*; Dewey, John; Dewey Laboratory School; *Handbook of Research on Curriculum, The*; Hidden Curriculum; *How to Make a Curriculum*; Jackson, Philip W.; *Life in Classrooms*; Schwab, Joseph; Taxonomies of Objectives and Learning; *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*; Tyler, Ralph W.; Tyler Rationale, The

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## UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The University of Illinois developed a long-standing tradition as a collective for curriculum studies promoting social foundations and philosophy as a basis for curriculum development, education for furthering democracy and advancement of liberal arts in schools with attention to aesthetics, particularly in the last half of the 20th century. The College of Education made a powerful impact on curriculum theory with important collaboration on curriculum books produced in the 1950s and 1960s by B. O. Smith, William Stanley, J. Harlan Shores, Harry S. Broudy, and Joe R. Burnett; the proposal of Lawrence Metcalf for the social studies curriculum; and contributions of Louis Rubin. Ironically, a more prominent impact on curriculum policy was the diatribe against the life skills curriculum by Arthur Bestor, a history professor at the University of Illinois.

An ambitious new direction for curriculum development emerged in 1950 with the publication

of *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* by three University of Illinois professors, Smith, Stanley, Shores. Smith had gained national attention as coauthor, with Kenneth Benne, also at Illinois in the 1950s, Bruce Raup, and George Axetelle of a method for forming practical social judgment. *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence* expanded John Dewey's process of scientific deliberation as "reflective thinking" to a detailed model for "democratic social planning." *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*, a textbook for use in graduate coursework, provided a contemporary overview of curriculum thought emphasizing social analysis in curriculum development, Smith's reflective thinking proposal, and analysis of curriculum's relationship to cultural change. The authors described curriculum development as collective deliberation on determining objectives, selecting content, considering scope and sequence of instruction, and evaluation. Reflecting a social reconstructionist orientation, curriculum development was presented as a social and political process whereby cultural values and goals served as the wider text in determining a school curriculum. Smith and Stanley also joined with Benne and Archibald Anderson in authoring a widely adopted text on social foundations.

Smith joined other University of Illinois colleagues 14 years after initial publication of *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* to craft a proposal that, though sharing the commitment to the democratic values promoted by Smith, Stanley, and Shores, incorporated new directions in curriculum thought, particularly in basing curriculum theory in educational philosophy. This orientation reflected the interests of his collaborators, Broudy and Burnett in their 1964 curriculum statement *Democracy and Excellence in American Secondary Education*. Broudy was named professor in the College of Education in 1957 and contributed to curriculum thought by fusing insights from Dewey's educational philosophy with existentialism and interest in the aesthetic process in a unique critical perspective. Burnett was also primarily interested in educational philosophy with particular interest in Dewey's social uses of philosophy.

Broudy, Smith, and Burnett presented a "design for schooling" where high school students examine descriptive and valuative concepts, principles, norms, and rules. Broudy, Smith, and Burnett's



criticism of public education was that essential intellectual processes and emotional commitments were being overshadowed in the high school curriculum that focused on facts and concepts. In a previous work, *Building a Philosophy of Education*, Broudy contended potentialities mark the distinctive nature of humanity; developing these potentials fosters the “good life.” Broudy located three essential human purposes endemic to the character of democratic life: (1) self-determination; (2) self-realization, drawing from individual gifts and capacities; and (3) self-integration. Broudy, Smith, and Burnett contended schools should promote the formation of intellectual habits in each person, attending to the cognitive development of learners and the integrity of the valued disciplines.

Bestor was a major voice in the traditionalist revival at mid-century with the success of *Educational Wastelands*. Bestor centered his attack on the life needs movement curriculum, maintaining democracy’s vitality depended on taking the lessons of the culture and presenting them in a methodical, disciplined fashion to young people. Education proceeds systematically to offer students a command of intellectual tools and a store of reliable information. The standard academic disciplines were socially determined according to Bestor. For elementary education, the basic skills of computation, reading, and writing are sufficient to establish the skill base for knowledge acquisition. Specialization begins in high school, but only with assurance that a foundation has been established in general studies. Bestor criticized schools of education as meddling with curriculum when their responsibility was to provide training on effective instruction.

Bestor had the attention of conservative critics, but Metcalf was reshaping social studies as an academic discipline in the U.S. high school. With Maurice Hunt, Metcalf produced a methods text that applied reflective thinking and practical intelligence to consideration of personal and social problems relevant to the lives of learners. Hunt and Metcalf’s text restructured traditional approaches to social studies by crossing conventional academic boundaries, presenting the social sciences as a skill set.

Rubin emerged in the 1960s as a counterpoint to the insistence that academic content drive curriculum development. With J. C. Parker, Rubin

argued that intellectual skills or processes not be subordinate to academic content in curriculum development. Rubin promoted curriculum for individual development and social participation, evident in the editing of an ASCD yearbook dedicated to revision of the life skills curriculum. Rubin’s thinking evolved into an interest in aesthetic thought in education and his volume *Artistry in Teaching*, published in 1984, described teaching as performance with curriculum development being an essential personal dimension of this art.

*Thomas P. Thomas*

*See also Educational Wastelands; Fundamentals of Curriculum Development; Smith, B. Othanel*

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## UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN COLLECTIVE OF CURRICULUM PROFESSORS

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The Department of Curriculum and Instruction in the College of Education at the University of Wisconsin–Madison has influenced curriculum studies since its rise to prominence in the 1950s. Virgil Herrick and Edward A. Krug, helped to establish new directions in curriculum theory and history, and these areas of study have continued to be developed through the work of Michael Apple and Herbert Kliebard since the 1970s.

Herrick’s first contributions in curriculum thought came after World War II, offering direction on design of the elementary school and curriculum and collaborating with Ralph Tyler. Having completed all of his degrees at the University

of Wisconsin, Herrick returned to Wisconsin in the program for Preparation of Elementary School Teachers in 1948 after 6 years at the University of Chicago. Herrick remained at Wisconsin until his death in 1963. His considerations of the structure and designs of school curricula, instructional planning, and curriculum research and evaluation provided various strategies for curriculum improvement. Herrick offered insight on how curriculum development can have a rationale and determined structure and yet attend to child needs, interests, and differences. He contended curriculum theory has value when tested in classroom instruction to determine effects. Bridging the professional task of curriculum construction to attend to the individual learner characterized both his scholarship and teaching career at Wisconsin. Although his own work was decidedly focused on curriculum structure and empirical analysis, two of his most notable students, James B. Macdonald and Dwayne Huebner were major contributors to the redirecting of curriculum theory away from a positivistic orientation in the 1960s and 1970s. Macdonald took a position at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and developed a model of curriculum inquiry centered on the recognition of mythopoetic language as a source of insight in understanding meaning in curriculum. Macdonald, like Herrick, hoped that theorizing could translate to change in the practices of schools, making them places of liberation in opening up discussion and interaction. He developed a theoretical model that describes curriculum as enactment. Huebner, who taught at Teachers College, offered one of the first major arguments for expanding language discourses used to understand curriculum and gave particular attention to politics, aesthetics, and spirituality.

Krug was an important contributor at the University of Wisconsin from the late 1940s through to his retirement in the 1970s. Although most associated with his landmark history of the U.S. high school in two volumes, Krug influenced curriculum studies with an important synoptic text, *Curriculum Planning*, first published in 1950. Krug began his scholarly career writing high school social studies texts and, like Herrick, emphasized translation of deliberations to effective practice in his approach to planning. He emphasized localized decision making and integration of curriculum

development with instructional practices. This practitioner orientation was central in a book he produced in 1957 on the administrator's responsibilities in curriculum planning.

Kliebard, using history as a lens for critiquing curriculum scholarship and practice, developed widely adopted categorizations for better understanding alternatives in curriculum thought. Kliebard's *Struggle for the American Curriculum* posited four historical curriculum perspectives as competing models of curriculum study and development in the United States in the 20th century: humanist, social efficiency, developmental, and social meliorist. This classic text underwent revision and update, with Kliebard complementing intellectual history with data on school practices. Kliebard also expanded on options in understanding of vocational education in the early 20th century.

Apple, a student of Huebner at Teachers College, began his career at the University of Wisconsin as a professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in 1970. Apple advanced inquiry into the ideological ramifications of curriculum in schools with his enduring work, *Ideology and Curriculum*. Influenced by the theoretical construct of neo-Marxist scholars such as Antonio Gramsci, Apple's analysis of curriculum employed an economic-political lens, focusing on the hegemonic domination of U.S. public schooling by competitive capitalism and maintenance of class structure. His later inquiries considered the interaction of education and political power in schools and the political economy of textbooks. In the 1990s, Apple speculated on the impact that official knowledge and cultural politics have on the restriction of democratic education. Apple retained a reform perspective in the promotion of democratic practices in schools, appreciative of progressive efforts at schooling. His later scholarship was characterized by openness to the contributions made by postmodern thought and how gender and racial difference can provide alternative and complementary understandings of power relationships.

Other faculty at the University of Wisconsin contributed to curriculum studies focused on advancing understanding and implementation of curriculum responsive to politics, teacher education, and cultural diversity. Thomas Popekewitz contributed to understanding of politics and

teacher education, teacher formation, and school reform in historical and international contexts.

Gloria Ladson-Billings's popular portrait of effective teachers of African American students, *Dream-Keepers*, called attention to culturally responsive curriculum and instruction. She subsequently produced work on critical race theory and the practices of teaching to culturally diverse students. Carl Grant contributed substantially to the practices of teaching in a culturally diverse society both through teacher preparation texts and a foundational perspective on options in multicultural education that Grant developed with Christine Sleeter.

Thomas P. Thomas

See also Critical Theory Research; Herrick, Virgil; *Ideology and Curriculum*; Kliebard, Herbert M.; Macdonald, James; *Struggle for the American Curriculum, The*

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## UNSCHOOLING

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*Unschooling* is often considered a form of homeschooling; however, it differs significantly from both schooling and homeschooling. Unschooling is derived principally from the work of John Holt. It refers to a progressive form of growing without schooling and is based on the premise that the bureaucracy of schooling incorporates many impediments to learning. Holt and his associates founded a magazine and an organization called *Growing Without Schooling* that encourages parents, children, and interested others to form

relationships in which they grow without the impositions of schooling that can be counterproductive to interests and needs of learners.

Holt became well known in the 1960s for his best-selling books, *How Children Fail* and *How Children Learn*. Both were written as journals of his observations and interpretations of interactions with children. During the 1970s, he wrote books of ideas for schoolteachers to reach children while crediting their own insights into learning that best meets their needs. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Holt became disenchanted with the potential of schools to meet students' needs; thus, he emphasized the need to create alternatives to schools. Through *Instead of Education* and especially via *Teach Your Own*, he fully developed his position on unschooling. He provided compelling reasons for why parents should take students out of schooling to develop educational experiences *with* them. He carefully emphasized, contrary to mainstream homeschooling, that the point of unschooling is to create educational experiences that are not based on identification deficits of learners, that do not serve the interests of power-wielders at the expense of personal and public interests, and that do not incompetently or autocratically indoctrinate learners.

Put more positively, Holt couches his advocacy in the following: the civil liberties of children, responsibility of parents and children as central to meaningful education, and protection of children from harm. He counters objections to unschooling, discusses its political implications in fostering democracy, and presents strategies for taking students out of school in view of potential resistances. Holt elaborates on ways to build educational experiences on children's interests, live with children and explore together, and create opportunities for growing in the home and community. He advocates approaches to learning without formal teaching and building on the most important work in children's lives: play. Holt discusses ways for parents to develop networks, overcome problems, deal with legal issues, and respond to criticism from the schooling establishment. Finally, he provides a range of resources for those who are interested in pursuing unschooling.

More recently, John Taylor Gatto also serves the unschooling dimension of homeschooling. His 1991 book, *Dumbing Us Down*, is a major

critique of schooling based on more than 30 years of experience and multiple awards as New York State and New York City Teacher of the Year. His work, like Holt's before him, proposes that parents, families, children, youths, and interested others need to develop curricula and not rely on the institutionalized and generic curriculum of schooling. Gatto has garnered much attention as a critic of schooling and an advocate for alternative, grassroots forms of education to overcome schools' inadequacies. In this sense, unschooling is related to deschooling proposed in the early 1970s by Ivan Illich. Moreover, it complements the transition within the curriculum field (identified by William Pinar and his coauthors) from emphasis on curriculum development to focus on understanding curriculum as multiple social forces: political, racial, gender, phenomenological, international, theological, aesthetic, biographical, autobiographical—as well as institutional factors within schools.

Unschooling and its deschooling relatives can be seen as practical instantiations of the deinstitutionalization of curriculum studies.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Currere; Curriculum as Public Spaces; Homeschooling; Outside Curriculum

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## VALIDITY, CATALYTIC

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Catalytic validity is a category of validity researchers use to evaluate whether qualitative research intended to spur social change accomplishes its objectives. *Validity* refers to whether methods undertaken in quantitative or qualitative research examine what they are intended to examine and thus produce credible findings. The criteria that determine whether a given study is valid differ based on which philosophies and theories guide the research, the research purpose, and whether the research is qualitative or quantitative. Historically, qualitative researchers have adapted traditional scientific criteria associated with quantitative research to establish qualitative research as valid. Researchers have used such methods as systematic data collection techniques, triangulation, and multiple coders to reduce researcher bias and ensure valid findings. In recent decades, as forms of qualitative inquiry have proliferated, many researchers have questioned the very standards used to judge what constitutes “good” research and “legitimate” knowledge historically, including the concept of validity. Some researchers have argued the traditional criteria used to establish validity are not appropriate for all forms of research and have proposed an array of new types of validity better suited to their theories and purposes. Catalytic validity is one such measure. As the term implies, *catalytic validity* refers to the degree to which a given research endeavor intended to spur personal and social transformation serves as a successful

catalyst for that transformation. Researchers in the field of curriculum studies working within the “critical” research tradition have used catalytic validity and other transgressive forms of validity to evaluate whether research intended to raise consciousness, reform curriculum, or spur student activism accomplishes these goals.

Catalytic validity is embedded in a theory of research that views research as potentially transformative for researchers and participants alike. In this approach, research is not conducted simply to gain information about the social world, and researchers cannot and should not remain neutral in the process of inquiry. Methodologists (those who study theories and methods of conducting research) draw the concept of catalytic validity from educator Paulo Freire’s notion of “conscientization” in which heightened critical consciousness serves as the basis for personal and social transformation. Researchers can serve as active change agents in the conduct of inquiry, striving to raise participants’ consciousness about social inequities and prompt actions that lead to more equitable educational practices. Critical researchers can also transform the research process by refusing the stance of “research expert” studying people who are mere “objects of research.” They can design collaborative research *with* and *for* participants who contribute to collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data.

Unlike traditional forms of validity, catalytic validity is not achieved through creating and following a checklist of standard criteria to demonstrate research credibility. As part of a transformational

research design, catalytic validity charges researchers with the responsibility of reflecting on the research process and remaining vigilant to their research purpose of achieving transformative and emancipatory ends. To achieve those goals, research assessment might include reflection on the following questions: How was the research designed to disrupt traditional power imbalances in the research process and create collaborative relationships between researcher and participants? How did the research transform both researcher and participants? How did the researcher and group members' consciousness evolve during the study? Which concrete actions and improvements resulted from the research? How did the curriculum developed through the research process increase self-determination of or improve conditions for the specific students and teachers that participated? Designing research studies to document these processes can contribute to rigorous and transformative research.

Research in curriculum studies conducted from a feminist, critical, participatory, or action orientation provides opportunities to refine, reconceptualize, and apply the concept of catalytic validity in practice. Such research design requires investigators to remain critical of their practices so as not to celebrate superficial changes or impose their own vision of change on research participants. Scholars associated with the field of curriculum studies have used catalytic validity in a variety of contexts: adult education, rural villages, teacher education programs, online courses, special education programs, English as a second language and women's studies courses, and tribal ecology and management programs, among others. For example, curriculum researchers have used catalytic validity to determine that research involving marginalized students in collecting data can expand their sense of identity and agency. Others seeking to develop culturally relevant curriculum in American Indian communities have involved tribal members as co-researchers in data gathering and analysis; charted increases in communication, critical consciousness, and engagement as research progressed; and witnessed the implementation of curriculum and policy that emerged from the research. Catalytic validity is one method among many that curriculum researchers can use to increase research trustworthiness in projects intended to prompt participant activism,

spur context-specific change, and implement curricular reform.

Lucy E. Bailey

*See also* Case Study Research; Teacher as Researcher; Validity, Consequential; Validity, Transgressive

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## VALIDITY, CONSEQUENTIAL

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Validity is one of several technical qualities that are attributed to the inferences drawn from measures of psychological, behavioral, and physical phenomena. Validity is the degree to which empirical evidence and theory buttress test score interpretations. Along with reliability, validity is regarded as a critically important attribute of test scores. Validity and reliability are initially addressed during the development of a test and are further refined and documented throughout its life using information from newly conducted studies and logical and statistical analyses. Claims about the performance of an individual, project, or program that are based on test scores that lack evidence of validity are considered unsound. Since the mid-1950s, the concept of test validity has been reconceived several times. The focus of this entry is consequential validity, which is one of six aspects of validity that are regarded as criteria or standards that can be applied to all educational and psychological measurement. Introduced by Samuel Messick in 1995, consequential validity focuses on the social values in test interpretation and use.

During the past 60 years, test experts have focused on clarifying the concept of validity. Lee Cronbach is regarded as having broadened the concept by identifying four aspects that test developers and consumers needed to consider: content validity, concurrent validity, predictive validity, and construct validity. Subsequently, predictive and concurrent validity were combined into what is referred to as criterion validity. Such conceptual refinements continued for four more decades, during which the concept of validity evolved and culminated in Messick's article on the validity of psychological assessment. Messick argues that validity is best treated as a single construct with six "aspects" that address issues implicit in the concept of validity: content, substantive, structural, generalizability, external, and consequential. Messick believes that all of these aspects are unified within construct validity. In 1999, the *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* organized the conceptualizations of validity that had been generated over the years and asserted that there were five types of validity. These five types integrated each of Messick's six aspects and disregarded the earlier conceptualizations of three separate types of validity—content, criterion, and construct.

Both the intended and unintended consequences that occur from the interpretation and use of a test provide evidence about a test's validity. Such evidence needs to be collected immediately following the use of the test and over the long term. Consequential validity studies focus on how test score interpretations contribute to sources of invalidity with regard to bias, fairness, and distributive justice. Value implications of score interpretations are examined as a basis for action as well as the actual and potential consequences of the test use. For example, consider the long-term social consequences of a school district using a K–6 science curriculum that includes end-of-unit assessments composed of narrowly focused, multiple-choice items. Such an assessment relies only on recall and recognition of facts and principles, but does not assess the ability to predict, explain, evaluate, or conduct scientific inquiry. The use of such an assessment can have long-term negative consequences on students' learning. Students who learned science using this approach may not be well-prepared for the middle and high school

science program, and their engagement in these science courses may be reduced and ultimately diminish their opportunity to acquire employment opportunities in high-paying, technically skilled industry sectors. Attention to consequential validity demands that evidence of positive or adverse benefits of test scores be accrued and examined. Adverse impact of the test can result from construct underrepresentation or from construct-irrelevant variance. Low scores on a test should not occur because the test did not represent all the key content associated with an important topic or that there was something irrelevant that interfered with the individual's ability to demonstrate what they know. Students with disabilities, English language learner students, or ethnic and low-income groups are likely to suffer more adverse impacts as a result of construct underrepresentation or construct-irrelevant variance.

Geneva D. Haertel

See also Accountability; Achievement Tests; High-Stakes Testing; No Child Left Behind; Validity, Construct/Content; Validity, External/Internal

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## VALIDITY, CONSTRUCT/CONTENT

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A construct (e.g., mathematical problem solving, reading comprehension, intrinsic motivation) is any abstract trait that an examiner or researcher intends to measure. Assuring the accuracy and integrity of measures of constructs is essential. Content validity contributes to the integrity of

measurement of a construct through the association of the items in a test with a specific content domain. Construct validity builds additional evidence for measurement integrity based on determining the degree to which the scores on a test appropriately reflect a construct of interest.

Validity is the most critical component of measurement integrity. Simply defined, measurement validity is the degree to which meaningful inferences may be drawn from test data. Although measurement validity is a unitary concept, social scientists have developed a variety of approaches for gathering validity evidence, including content-related and construct-related approaches. Assessment of content-related validity is extremely important in test development and is not to be confused with “face” validity (i.e., the degree to which the content of test items appears *prima facie* to reflect a content domain). Face validity has typically been treated pejoratively by experts in the field of social science measurement compared with the process of content validation, which is considered an integral part of instrument development.

Content validity assessment requires a thorough review of a test’s content by individuals expert in the content area. Content-related validity evidence may be established in various ways. A test developer may, for example, develop a two-dimensional “table of specifications” with particular elements of the content domain defining the rows and essential skills to be mastered defining the columns. Test items are developed to reflect the interaction of content and skills represented by each cell of the table. The content domain might be defined by an established curriculum, a textbook, a scope and sequence outline, or some similar document. Alternately, a panel of curriculum experts may be called on to render informed judgments about content validity. If the test items are deemed by the panel of experts to provide an adequate sampling of the domain, the test may be considered to have content validity. Because content validity is based on test items rather than on test data, it is appreciably limited in its empirical value.

Once content-related validity evidence has been established, data are collected from one or more relevant samples with the goal of gathering construct-related validity evidence. Construct validity is predicated on the assumption that an observable behavior measured by a test item will

correspond with, and be representative of, a latent construct of interest to the examiner. Responses to test items are assigned numerical values (i.e., scores), and these scores become the focus of construct validity studies. Typically, a body of diverse empirical evidence is required to support construct validity, including one or more of the following:

- *Convergent validity*—correlations between scores on the measure of interest and scores on a more established measure known to effectively measure the same construct. Generally, moderate to high correlations would be said to provide evidence of convergent validity.
- *Discriminant validity*—correlations between scores on the measure of interest and scores on a measure of a different construct. Discriminant validity coefficients should generally be smaller in absolute value than convergent validity coefficients if the two types of coefficients are calculated in the same study.
- *Multitrait-multimethod (MTMM) matrix*—a systematic procedure for simultaneously examining convergent and discriminant methods of validity evidence when two or more constructs (traits) are measured by two or more distinct methods. For example, a researcher might assess both motivation and anxiety of a group of research participants using both observations and traditional (pencil-and-paper) instruments. Correlations of scores on all measures would then be tabulated in an MTMM matrix to determine the degree to which (a) various measures of the same constructs produce similar results (convergent validity), (b) measures of different constructs produce disparate results (discriminant validity), and (c) a given method of measurement (e.g., a self-report questionnaire) produces similar results across different constructs (to test for “methods” effects).
- *Factor validity*—intercorrelations among scores on all items in a test followed by extraction of common factors that account for the correlations. Each factor represents a given construct underlying the items. Factors are named based on an examination of the content of all of the items that are appreciably correlated with a given factor.

Unlike content validity, which is test specific, construct validity is data specific. Hence, it is



important to build construct validity evidence over time with different samples under different conditions. It is erroneous for a researcher to assume blindly that a given instrument will yield valid data at a particular point in time with a sample of interest. At minimum, researchers should determine whether a given sample is similar enough to other samples that have yielded valid data. When possible, construct validity estimates should be established for the data in hand. Failure to provide some evidence of construct validity evidence may question the findings of an otherwise well-designed curriculum intervention study. Conversely, providing evidence of construct validity builds confidence in research findings and facilitates evidence to support or disconfirm important educational theories.

Larry G. Daniel

See also Reliability; Validity, Consequential

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## VALIDITY, EXTERNAL/INTERNAL

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External and internal validity are crucial to the success of experimental studies in curriculum. Results of a study are said to be externally valid if inferences can be confidently made from the study's sample, either to a particular target population or across various populations and settings. By contrast, internal validity has to do with the degree to which observed differences across groups on a dependent (outcome) variable are the direct result of the manipulation of the independent (treatment) variable. Hence, external validity is concerned with *generalizability of results* whereas internal validity is concerned with *plausibility of causal inferences*.

### External Validity

External validity may be discussed in terms of generalizability of findings of a given study to (a) a specific population (i.e., population validity), (b) across settings or from one environmental condition to another (i.e., ecological validity), or (c) across occasions (i.e., temporal validity). A researcher interested in external validity might ask questions such as these: Can results obtained from a particular sample be replicated with a second sample drawn from the same population? Are results achieved in 4th-grade classrooms generalizable to middle-grade students? Are promising results obtained early in the school year generalizable to occasions later in the school year? A common misperception among researchers is that evidence of statistical significance equates with evidence of generalizability. Statistical significance only informs about the likelihood of a null hypothesis under the assumption that the sample represents the population. Finding a statistically significant result neither guarantees the goodness of a sample nor makes promises about external validity.

Any factor that challenges the relationship of the findings of a given study to the population(s) or setting(s) of interest is considered a threat to external validity. A researcher might, for example, fail to adequately specify a treatment variable, resulting in the lack of integrity of the treatment. Likewise, unintended treatment interaction effects (e.g., pretest-treatment interactions, multiple-treatment interactions, selection-treatment interactions) can affect participants to the extent that it is difficult to isolate the effects of the treatment. External validity is also threatened by various experimenter effects. For example, high school students involved in a study might react differently to a male versus a female teacher. Further, researchers may unwittingly allow their own attitudes or expectations to affect their interaction with the research participants, resulting in experimenter bias effects. Finally, the way a study is conducted might prompt various unintended reactions from participants, such as the Hawthorne effect, the John Henry effect (compensatory rivalry), or placebo effects, that modify participant behavior and contaminate study outcomes.

Replication of results across multiple studies is crucial in building a case for external validity.

However, it is possible to gain preliminary estimates of replicability of results within the limits of a single study by splitting or reconfiguring the sample and recomputing results across these sample subsets using “cross validation,” “jackknife,” or “bootstrap” procedures. Whereas true research replication remains the gold standard for establishing evidence for external validity, use of these sample splitting procedures increases the external validity evidence for a single study. Evidence of external validity is further enhanced when the researcher employs careful description of the sample selection procedures, research methods, and data collection procedures employed. Finally, external validity is enhanced by reporting of statistical effect sizes. These indices provide evidence of strength of findings and extend the usefulness of other commonly used statistical indices such as descriptive statistics and statistical significance test results.

### Internal Validity

As previously noted, internal validity is a factor of the degree to which research participants’ performance on outcome (dependent) variable(s) is a direct result of the treatment(s) received (independent variables) and not on other factors. Curriculum experiments are best conducted in naturalistic settings, such as classrooms. Classrooms produce special challenges to establishing experimental controls to ensure internal validity. For example, an experiment might be conducted to determine the effects of teacher praise on students’ reading fluency. The school might also be implementing a new reading curriculum during the same time period as the study. In this case, it would be difficult to isolate the effects of the independent variable (praise) on the dependent variable. As this example illustrates, it is important that researchers document any perceived threats and indicate what steps were taken to compensate for the presence of these threats.

Specific events that might occur within experimental settings that could have a deleterious impact on internal validity may be related to history (events occurring within a study that are not a part of the intended treatment), maturation (natural intellectual or physical growth of participants during the course of a study that might affect

performance), testing (ability of pretests or other assessments completed by participants early in a study to affect later performance), instrumentation (limits of instruments or procedures used to collect valid or reliable data on important intermediary or outcome variables), statistical regression (probability that participants who receive extremely high or low scores on an initial measure of a variable will score closer to the mean on successive measures of the variable), and mortality (loss of sample participants due to withdrawal from a study before its completion). Presence of any of these factors may yield “rival hypotheses” that challenge the assumption that the independent variable acted alone is producing research outcomes.

Larry G. Daniel

See also Complementary Methods Research; Mixed Methods Research; Quantitative Research

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## VALIDITY, TRANSGRESSIVE

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Transgressive validity is a category of validity qualitative researchers have developed in recent decades to reconceptualize what constitutes “good” research and “legitimate” knowledge and the criteria used to evaluate that research. “Validity” is a common tool researchers use to ensure their methods examine what they intend to examine. Unlike traditional forms of validity, transgressive validity is a technique aimed as much to challenge traditional authorizing criteria, to stimulate thinking about how knowledge is created, and to generate new research practices as it is intended to evaluate whether transgressive research accomplishes its goals. Historically, researchers have used particular

techniques to ensure their findings correspond with the social phenomenon studied. As the landscape of qualitative research has expanded, researchers have found conventional forms of validity inappropriate for evaluating their studies and have developed alternative criteria for analyzing how knowledge is produced and legitimated. Feminist methodologist Patti Lather includes the categories of ironic, paralogic, rhizomatic, and voluptuous in her poststructuralist conceptualizing of transgressive validity; other forms that curriculum scholars use to expand accepted validity categories include catalytic, crystallization, communicative, and pragmatic.

The criteria researchers use to determine whether research is valid differs based on which theories guide the research, the methods used, and the research goals. Historically, qualitative researchers working within conventional research traditions have adapted quantitative validity criteria to qualitative ends. These techniques include triangulation (originally meaning multiple methods but expanding to include multiple data sources, theories, and researchers), face and construct validity, the reduction of researcher bias, and systematic data collection. These techniques remain common today. However, the 1970s ushered in a significant period termed the “crisis of representation” in which scholars began questioning long-accepted beliefs about knowledge, truth, and the capacity for research to capture the complexity of the social world. This “crisis” spurred a rich intellectual ferment that led to new forms of research, new ways of representing research, and new methods for legitimating that research, including validity. Some scholars have argued that the quantitative origins of “validity” necessitate abandoning the concept to develop other methods of establishing credibility. Others maintain the term conveys a degree of rigor worth preserving and expanding.

Transgressive validity offers researchers alternatives to what some see as fruitless quests to seek correspondence between “research findings” and “reality” and prompts the development of other methods for conducting and legitimating research. For example, ironic validity refers to how effective research is in casting doubt on the possibility of representing the complexity of the social world. Research gains legitimacy if researchers simultaneously highlight how they make meaning of the

curriculum or classrooms under study while demonstrating that meaning is partial and unreliable. In this view, the researcher might use multiple textual forms to interpret the object of inquiry and convey that, ultimately, it can never be represented beyond that role. In contrast, paralogic validity, drawn from the philosopher Jean-François Lyotard’s work, refers to how effectively research resists the tyranny of consensus and highlights differences, uncertainties, and contradictions. In this transgressive form, multiple interpretations of data that emphasize the complexity of meaning making and undermine the researcher as final authority might enhance credibility.

*Rhizomatic validity* refers to how rigorously the research displaces conventional hierarchies and highlights networks and complexity. Rhizomes are systems that share above-ground roots, multiple underground stems, and various branches and bulbs. The rhizome metaphor captures the transgressive impulse to map networks and unsettle dominant systems that emphasize order and stability and to open up possibilities for research practices yet to come. Lather’s category of voluptuous/situated validity refers to an investigator’s success in pursuing excessive and risky projects that disrupt universal claims based on masculine understandings of science and highlight situated and embodied accounts. A researcher claims voluptuous validity through relentless self-reflexivity, partial and tentative accounts, and multiple textual forms (such as poetry and social science) to highlight openness and possibility.

Transgressive forms of validity have served narrative scholars seeking alternatives for validating autobiographical and biographical narratives. Other forms of validity that “transgress” traditional understandings of research credibility are: catalytic validity rooted in the tradition of critical theory that seeks evidence beyond the traditional checklist of criteria that research intended to spur social change does so; crystallization, which sociologist Laurel Richardson uses to contrast the complex and multisided interpretations that crystals represent with the limited and fixed triangle image “triangulation” represents in standard validity criteria, communicative validity in which dialogue contributes to establishing interpretive authority, and pragmatic validity, which deems interpretations valid if they prompt action.

Researchers theorizing transgressive validity do not seek to prescribe new forms of legitimacy but to open possibilities for thinking about research and authority.

*Lucy E. Bailey*

*See also* Feminist Theories; Poststructural Research; Qualitative Research; Validity, Catalytic

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## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

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Contemporary vocational education is oriented to preparing people to perform successfully in the workforce. Its roots stretch back thousands of years. Once the U.S. vocational education movement emerged in the late 19th century, educators have used diverse curricula to prepare citizens for work. The field of vocational education has evolved from scattered 19th-century manual training initiatives focused on work processes and moral reform to comprehensive and systematic curriculum focused on labor needs and concrete outcomes. Workforce education includes varied curricular strategies, educational philosophies, and cultural beliefs. Yet an enduring principle that distinguishes it from other fields is its close relevance to the world of work. Vocational educators argue that the diverse activities that constitute vocational curriculum should be directly relevant to a future worker's skill development and occupational future. Indeed, vocational curriculum is considered effective if it is responsive to local and national occupational needs, dynamic as fields and technologies change, driven by occupational and demographic data, focused on concrete

outcomes, oriented to the future, and responsive to assessment. Whether oriented to the adolescent or adult learner, whether in vocational or secondary schools, these goals, as well as federal funding, shape the content and delivery of curriculum.

### History

The roots of contemporary vocational curriculum stretch back thousands of years. Through modeling, direct instruction, and imitation, youth in diverse cultures have learned from their elders to gather food, build shelter, and create goods. In Egypt, students worked as apprentices with skilled scribes as early as 2000 BCE. Elsewhere, artisans taught such specialized skills as stone masonry. During medieval times, “journeymen” who owned tools traveled to perform various jobs, formed guilds to share secrets of their craft, and controlled how many workers could join their ranks. During the American colonial period, apprenticeships became a common form of work education governed by the legal system. Artisans provided long-term guidance to those learning a skill or a trade. This educational relationship required years of servitude from apprentices, including poor and orphaned youth, who were often exploited for their cheap labor.

Significant changes in the U.S. economy and the structure of work in the late 19th century stimulated lasting changes in the relationship of schooling to work that continue to shape curriculum today. Large factories concentrated in urban areas replaced small businesses and family farms as the primary instruments of economic production. As workers' jobs were deskilled into repetitive assembly line tasks, managers began supervising the labor of workers and artisans who had previously worked independently. Apprenticeship seemed an increasingly irrelevant model to prepare workers for the new industrial system. Reformers and business leaders grappling with the sheer need for workers advocated new educational strategies. During the 20th century, educators developed supplementary manual training courses and programs, sought funding for vocational education, integrated vocational courses and tracks in schools, and created a system of career and technical programs that today serve millions of students nationwide.



## Key Components

Because vocational curriculum is oriented to preparing people to perform successfully in the workforce, the learning activities and experiences that constitute curriculum focus on both *process* and *product*: educational processes that occur during schooling and the cumulative results of those processes once schooling is complete. In workforce education, students do not learn math simply for the sake of math. Content should have direct relevance to the responsibilities and standards expected in the completer's given work role. Curriculum might include work ethics, work habits, safety, applied academics, and legal issues. Curricular strategies also produce other valuable but more elusive outcomes such as the value of hard work, an appreciation for collaboration, a sense of satisfaction, and feelings of pride and respect for the profession for which students are being trained.

A unique aspect of vocational curriculum is its accountability and responsiveness to community, regional, and national occupational needs. Curriculum changes as educators assess labor needs, technological advances, and occupational shifts. In addition, funding mandates specific offerings, facilities and equipment, populations of students, and teacher credentials. Ideally, partnerships between vocational schools and local industries should be symbiotic and robust so that schools respond to employers' needs and industries provide internship and employment opportunities for graduates. Larger national concerns such as technological development and global competition also shape curriculum. Beginning in the 1960s, increasing concern for the nation's ability to compete in a global economy led to the development of the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990 (Perkins II) and the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994. Perkins II funded creative and cooperative curriculum intended to prepare workers for fast-paced and changing working conditions. Curriculum emphasized flexibility, adaptability, and math, science, and communication skills. Unlike previous legislation that supported the bifurcation of vocational and academic programs, the School-to-Work Acts required programs to link school and work-based learning to receive federal funds. Educators continue to be held

accountable to particular state and federal standards to receive funding.

Vocational educators use varied curricular strategies and frameworks to facilitate learning. School-based approaches, work-based approaches, models, simulation, on-the-job training, individualized learning, and competency-based education (CBE) are a few of many tools available. Varied curricular systems are also available to help educators create and deliver curriculum such as developing a curriculum approach (DACUM), the thematic curriculum framework, the integrated system (ISWEC), or instructional design systems (ISD). DACUM, for instance, is an analytic process to help educators develop curriculum using field specialists who provide profiles of skill sets needed for a given occupation. The thematic curriculum framework provides contextualized learning organized around broad themes rather than specific tasks, courses, and skills. It provides specific and comprehensive industry content ("all aspects of industry") relevant to a particular theme. The ISWEC divides content into three categories that range from core knowledge useful for a broad spectrum of jobs to specialized knowledge for target occupations. This system is intended to accommodate diverse learners as they decide over time which field to pursue. In an ISD curriculum, educators focus on assessing the needs of a given context or developing a problem-solving approach to maximize employee performance.

Vocational goals and objectives shape curricular content. For example, "school-to-work" initiatives (1990s) are designed to facilitate transitions from schooling to work. To create "work-ready" students, educators might use school-based and work-based learning; modularized, individualized, or competency-based curriculum; or a variety of academic and vocational integration strategies. School-based learning might include simulations of work settings in laboratories and examples of scenarios drawn from actual work settings. Workplace learning might involve tours, interviews, simulation of tasks, internships, or on-the-job training. Educators might use modularized instruction to organize curriculum around a self-contained unit of exercises and resources rather than a particular subject or timeframe. Systematic individualized instruction is another option, orienting the learning environment, curricular content, media, and

teaching tools to each student's needs. This approach is particularly challenging for instructors negotiating multiple students' capabilities and instructional needs but can be highly effective for facilitating student progress. In addition, programs might seek formal integration of vocational and academic learning. Such efforts include altering content of both academic and vocational courses to ensure cohesion and relevance and greater integration of high school technical programs in which students pursue specific occupational training in off-site facilities.

Equipment and physical space are also key components of vocational curriculum. During the early vocational movement, educators often took great pains to separate vocational and academic spaces to symbolically demarcate their different goals. They created workshops, laboratories, housekeeping cottages, and separate training schools to preserve the borders of vocational space and to house specialized equipment and materials necessary for training. In current day, students are sometimes bused from high schools to separate facilities to prepare for work. The X-ray machines, hospital beds, mannequins, hairdryers and cosmetology stations, electrical equipment, computer labs, ovens, welding equipment, engine parts, construction supplies, and drafting boards needed for any given vocational program can consume significant space. Their maintenance, transport, and replacement are costly. Moreover, technological developments and workforce changes require educators to update equipment and materials frequently.

Vocational educators also consider data on workforce trends, community demographics, labor needs, instructional costs, and the effectiveness of classroom learning activities important to their mission. Educators cannot create relevant curriculum based on abstract ideas about work trends or demographic shifts. They must rely on population trends in a given geographic area, the age of residents, and developing fields of employment to plan curriculum and programs that will link graduates with local jobs. Surveys, interviews, and statistics may elicit relevant data for curriculum planners to project costs, plan realistic programs, and revise curriculum that fails to meet workforce needs. Such data also shapes policy.

Assessment is another component of vocational curriculum. Curriculum is created, implemented,

and altered based on assessments of how well learning activities help students perform particular skills. A favored educational approach that facilitates assessment is outcomes-based education or CBE. This model defines competencies as skills and attitudes essential to success in a particular work role. Instructors use competency catalogues (detailed lists of tasks for particular occupations) and competency profiles (student skill records) to determine competencies and plan curricula. The criteria to determine competencies are specific, explicit, sequenced, and individualized to the extent that students can develop competencies at a pace appropriate to their skill levels, background knowledge, and learning styles. Also, the CBE model advocates measuring outcomes to ensure curriculum is effective. For example, however effectively a student writes an essay on the process of fixing an engine problem, a measurable outcome of a CBE module on engine repair is the student's ability to actually fix that problem in school or in an employer's machine shop. In this five-step model, a task is analyzed, a performance standard is identified, instruction strategies are linked to desired outcomes, instruction is delivered, and curriculum is assessed. Curricular outcomes deemed effective might include assembling a particular tool, correcting a mishap in hair dye, or smoothly inserting an IV into a patient's arm.

### Debates That Shape Vocational Education

Significant philosophical debates shape vocational education. Historically, while advocates of "scientific management" sought to produce efficient workers and tightly link classroom practices with industrial efficiency, progressive educators hoped vocational curriculum would heighten workers' consciousness of the meaning of their labor and incite labor reform. Similar debates continue today. For example, some educators decry what they see to be vocational education's erosion of humanistic curriculum that renders preparation for work the primary purpose of schooling. Others advocate democratic vocational education rather than training, arguing that much of workforce preparation has focused on compliance and imitation (training) rather than critique and innovation (education). Critical educators argue that rather than fitting human beings to workforce needs, democratic

vocational curriculum should aid students in choosing careers, developing critical thinking skills to keep a job and improve working conditions, understand the larger context of their work, and consider how society, politics, media, and capitalism construct the value, organization, and rewards of “work.” In this view, vocational education should not be limited to utilitarian and applied objectives. It should foster students’ ability to ask critical questions about social and economic inequities and to work for a better future.

Critical scholars have also delineated a “hidden curriculum” that shapes vocational education. This phrase refers to the subtle behavioral directives and value-laden messages communicated to students alongside overt lessons in machinery, carpentry, or sewing. While students learn new skills, they also learn obedience, punctuality, cleanliness, order, and an orientation toward work. Another example of this curriculum that sustains social stratification is the process of “tracking” students. Scholars have identified educators’ tendencies, both conscious and unconscious, to direct students on the basis of their race, class, or gender to particular occupations at the expense of other life choices. The abilities and characteristics educators imagine in their students can thus shape how educators guide and direct student development.

Other debates center on curricular delivery. Educators debate the respective advantages of formal classroom training versus on the job training and whether curricular depth or breadth is most advantageous for students. For example, some advocate a broad skill set students can apply in a range of occupations (sometimes termed “clustered” programs). This approach ensures flexibility in an unpredictable job market. Others laud specialized skill sets for specific occupations. This position emphasizes depth of knowledge. Educators continue to wrestle with changes in the world of work, technological development, state and federal funding, and varied student needs and abilities in developing vocational curriculum that can best prepare citizens’ for their diverse roles.

*Lucy E. Bailey*

*See also* Outcome-Based Education; Technical Education Curriculum; Vocational Education Curriculum, History of

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## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM, HISTORY OF

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The U.S. vocational education movement emerged in the late 19th century in response to profound economic changes and leaders’ increasing conviction that schools must prepare workers for the nation’s new economic structure. This belief—that schools should be linked with work—reflected a fundamental shift in citizens’ vision of schooling in a democracy. Although educators’ efforts to teach basic skills and champion the values of industry and productivity have always had “vocational” implications, reformers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries sought to integrate work training into schools. Institutionalizing worker preparation, like other educational reform efforts, reflects U.S. citizens’ enduring belief that schools can and should address a variety of complex social issues, including workforce needs, poverty, unemployment, and class tensions. Vocational education (termed *workforce* or *career and technical education* today) encompasses diverse approaches and philosophies. Although some reformers consider work education essential, others characterize it as a form of social engineering that directs certain youth to professions and others to manual labor. In this view, “tracking” youth to particular occupations is antithetical to democratic schooling. The history of vocational curriculum thus reflects a tapestry of U.S. citizens’ ideals, hopes, and fears as they have sought to prepare diverse citizens for roles in an industrialized and pluralistic society.

Contemporary workforce curriculum emerged in response to significant economic changes in the late 19th century. Rapid industrial growth and

sheer labor needs demanded new educational strategies. Economic production shifted from artisans and family-owned farms to large factories concentrated in urban areas. Processes for producing goods changed dramatically. On the factory floor, jobs were deskilled, tasks segmented, and workers distanced from the products of their labor. Workers who previously determined the pace of their daily labor had to adjust to corporate control. In the new industrial system, apprenticeship seemed increasingly irrelevant to workers' mastery of deskilled tasks and inadequate to train the number of workers industry needed.

Educators grappling with these changes found "manual training" a promising response. This applied curriculum championed a traditional work ethic and emphasized skills such as mechanical drawing, woodworking, tool use, or domestic science they could apply in varied industries. Books were cast aside in favor of hands-on activities. The innovative curriculum of a 19th-century Russian educator, Victor Della Vos, was particularly influential, including graded exercises that progressed in difficulty, and unlike apprenticeship, were not oriented to producing a particular product. The object was familiarizing youth with basic tools, shop processes, and common work materials. Although critics lamented that manual training might wrest precious moments from students' intellectual endeavors, advocates lauded its practical benefits, power to enrich academics, and potential to inculcate in youth the moral value of hard work.

Urgency to produce a skilled workforce gradually overshadowed manual training initiatives. In diverse efforts nationally, trade schools opened and offerings expanded in elementary, secondary, and high schools. Elementary students practiced applied skills and some adolescents attended trade school programs in which boys developed carpentry, plumbing, or electrical skills and girls learned sewing, millinery, and domestic science. In a shift Milwaukee manufacturers applauded, students learned skills relevant to local iron and steel manufacturing needs: pattern making, molding, tool use, practical mathematics, and mechanical drawing. Curriculum included lectures on the history of particular trades, visits to work settings, and practice using machinery and tools.

Educators' beliefs about race, class, and gender have shaped their curricular goals. Early manual

training advocates lauded hard work for "remedial" students, the orphaned poor, social delinquents, immigrants, and ethnic minorities. Similarly, administrators in 19th-century American Indian boarding schools perceived their pupils as "uncivilized" and used the curricular tools of uniform dress, English-only language use, agricultural education, and home economics to purge children's tribal customs and prompt assimilation to Euro-American ideals. Others envisioned African American freedmen as developing citizens who needed "realistic" and "practical" training in mechanics, farming, and blacksmithing to "advance" their social position after centuries of oppression. The attrition of White male students in the late 1800s spurred calls for "relevant curriculum" to keep these "potential drop-outs" settled at their school desks.

Vocational education history reflects fundamental philosophical differences concerning the role schools should play in shaping students' opportunities, eventual position in the social structure, and the appropriate curriculum for that mission. Some educators have favored tight links between schooling and work (for men, industry, and for women, the home), whereas others policed the borders of vocational space to preserve "authentic" work-centered curriculum. Some harnessed the socializing power of space to create workshops and housekeeping cottages to model future work settings. However, critics insisted that separate educational spaces and bifurcated curriculum undermined U.S. ideals of equal education. In their view, separate vocational spaces were not equal and U.S. citizens required *learning*, not *training*.

For example, reformers John Dewey and Jane Addams believed industrial efficiency damaged the human spirit. They championed a humanizing vocational curriculum to combat the tyranny of industrial mechanization. Dewey advocated vocational and academic integration, opposed tracking that segregated children and accentuated class divides, and urged educators to develop contextually specific learning activities to ensure dignity in human labor. Similarly, Addams sought to connect the seemingly fragmented tasks workers performed with broader production processes. Her curriculum included the unique educational space of her sprawling settlement community in Chicago, Hull House, in which residents worked collectively,



learned the historical development of such crafts as weaving, pottery making, and machinery, and participated in social reform. Approaching workers as humans first, Addams promoted a holistic curriculum of day care, nourishing food, and communal spaces. In sharp contrast, Frederick Winslow Taylor advocated “scientific management” to increase industrial and educational efficiency. Children were “raw material” from which educational managers could forge productive working adults. In Taylor’s model, humanistic curriculum irrelevant to students’ future work lives was deemed wasteful.

Funding has shaped vocational curriculum and standards significantly. The Smith-Hughes Act (1917), which mandated federal funding for vocational education, was instrumental in expanding its reach in schools and signaling worker preparation as a governmental priority. Among its mandates, the act required teachers to spend half of their instructional time on job preparation, thus providing more comprehensive training than single courses and hour blocks could provide previously. Additional acts in the 1920s and 1930s extended funds to home economics, agricultural education, and advertising courses. In the 1940s, acts funded rapid training for wartime production and vocational administration. Others supported career guidance to direct youth to “appropriate” vocations. More recently, rapid technological development and concern for U.S. citizens’ ability to compete in the global economy led to the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act (1990) and the School-to-Work Opportunities Act (1994), which promote integrating academic and applied curricula for context-specific learning.

The Smith-Hughes Act offers insight into how race, class, and gender have shaped vocational history. The act, which funded home economics but excluded clerical subjects, embedded in policy a curricular difference based on gender that reflected social anxieties about women’s increasing shift into paid employment. Home economics nourished women’s traditional roles as homemakers and prepared girls of color and immigrants for menial domestic service jobs. The act also posed different tracks for “concrete minded” and “abstract minded” students. Despite the popularity of commercial courses and business’s growing

need for clerical support, the act channeled funds to factory training rather than to white-collar office jobs.

Workforce curriculum has shifted in response to war, labor trends, and technological development. During the Great Depression (1930s), the government scrambled to address staggering unemployment issues through informal training programs for youth. Similarly, to meet wartime production needs (1940s), workers trained quickly for aviation, shipbuilding, and defense industries. As women’s social roles expanded throughout the 20th century, education expanded to include commercial education, interior decorating, instruction in child care, and courses in personal charm. The 1960s marked a shift to what historian Herbert Kliebard terms “vocationalization,” the philosophy that work preparation is the primary purpose of schooling. Contemporary vocational curriculum reflects these complex historical roots.

*Lucy E. Bailey*

*See also* Vocational Education Curriculum

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## VOICE

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Curriculum studies at best rest on the twin pillars of enlightenment and liberation, knowledge and human freedom. A central requirement of curriculum in a democracy becomes the development of a distinct and singular voice in every student.

Teaching in a democracy is geared toward participation and engagement, and based, then, on a common faith: Every human being is of infinite and incalculable value, each an intellectual,

emotional, physical, spiritual, signifying, and creative universe.

Central to an education for citizenship, participation, engagement, and democracy—an education toward freedom—is developing in students and teachers alike the ability to think and speak for themselves. The core curriculum of a liberating education is this: We each have a mind of our own; we are all works-in-progress swimming toward an uncertain and indeterminate shore; we can each join with others in order to act on our own judgments and in our own freedom; human progress is always the result of thoughtful action. Students must learn to grapple—both now and in the future—with a question central to the spirit and heart of democracy, a question both simple and profound, straightforward and twisty: What’s your story? How will you find the voice to tell it fully and fairly?

All human life, of course, is in part a story of suffering and loss and pain. When that pain is preventable, the suffering undeserved, we resist, and in that resistance is another common-place in our human story. Sometimes our stories are ignored or diminished by others, sometimes we are seen through the heavy lenses of stereotypes and labels, our undeniable and indispensable three-dimensionality suffocated and diminished, our hopes handcuffed, and our possibilities flattened and policed. The development of a more powerful and compelling voice becomes even more essential.

It’s here that students draw upon their educations, on their own minds and their own spirits, to lift themselves up and beyond the negative and the controlling. What’s your story? Who are you in the world? What in the world are your chances and your choices?

Telling our stories, trusting our stories, listening carefully and empathically to the stories of others is part of the work of democracy. Everyone counts, and nobody counts more than anyone else. In a real democracy, the full development of each is the necessary condition for the full development of all. What’s your story? How is it like or unlike other stories? What are the next chapters going to be, and the chapters after that, and after that? No one knows for sure, for each person must write those next chapters—and even so, only partially, for every life is also a dance of the

dialectic, a sometimes difficult negotiation between chance and choice.

To be a good teacher in this context means above all to have an abiding faith in all students, to believe in the possibility that every person can create things and is capable of both individual and social transformation. Curriculum becomes a form of reinventing, re-creating, and rewriting, of finding voice, and this is a task that can be accomplished only by free subjects, never by inert objects. Curriculum, then, is a dialogical process in which everyone participates actively as equals—a turbulent, raucous, unpredictable, noisy, and participatory affair. The goal of dialogue in this context is critical thinking and action—voice and knowledge emerge from the continual interaction of reflection and action.

An emphasis on the needs and interests of the student is co-primary with faith in a kind of robust public that can be created in classrooms, as well as in the larger society. To be exclusively student-centered, to the extent that the needs of the group are ignored or erased, is to develop a kind of fatalistic narcissism; to honor the group while ignoring the needs of the individual is to destroy any real possibility of freedom. This is the meaning of community, the creation of places where people are held together because they are working along common lines in a common spirit with common aims. These are places of energy and excitement, unlike the sites of coercion and containment that are all-too-familiar in schools: The difference is motive, spirit, and atmosphere. These qualities are found when people move from being passive recipients to choosing themselves as authors, speakers, actors, builders, and makers within a social surround.

*William C. Ayers*

*See also* Compulsory Miseducation; Interests of Students and the Conception of Needs; Participatory Democracy; Social Justice

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## VOUCHERS

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Vouchers are certificates issued by the government to parents for the education of their children at a school of their choice. Vouchers function like admission tickets. Parents “shop” for a school, make their choice, and give the voucher to the school. Vouchers are designed to provide parents freedom to use all or part of the government funding set aside for their children’s education to send their children to the public or private school of their choice. In the field of curriculum studies, the topic of vouchers brings to light the various obstacles that many students face in gaining access to an education of quality. This topic also reveals how school funding methods and programs play a role in how students come to acquire the knowledge, skills, and values that they do in schooling.

The history of school vouchers dates back to 1792 when Thomas Paine proposed a voucher-like plan for England. In the United States, popular and legislative support, however, did not begin until the early 1950s, when states in the Southeast established tuition grants to respond to anticipated school desegregation. In a 1955 article, Milton Friedman, an eventual Nobel Prize-winning economist, proposed vouchers as free-market education, to separate government financing of schools from their administration.

Friedman’s view was that market-style competition for students would spur the development of schools that were better tailored to families’ needs and cost less than those run by inefficient public bureaucracies. Friedman argued that universal vouchers for students, from elementary through secondary schooling, would help launch an age of educational innovation and experimentation, increasing the options for students and parents and establishing the necessary conditions for promoting all sorts of positive outcomes.

Plans for a federally funded voucher program were developed by Christopher Jencks, a Harvard sociologist then working for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Congressional bills to fund such programs were introduced several times in the 1970s but these did not have broad support and were easily defeated. The voucher idea received more support after President Ronald Reagan endorsed it, and attempts to fund vouchers through

federal funding surfaced repeatedly in the 1980s. These legislative proposals, however, were perceived as elitist and were also defeated. In 1990, the first publicly financed voucher program began in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Wisconsin lawmakers approved a plan for Milwaukee students to receive approximately \$3,000 each to attend nonsectarian private schools. This law was amended in 1995 to allow students to attend religious schools as well. It is this inclusion of religious schools first in the Milwaukee voucher plan and then in a similar plan in Cleveland, Ohio, that ignited the heated controversy and a series of lawsuits about vouchers. In 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Cleveland program constitutional, paving the way for expansion to religious schools elsewhere.

Even though Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court have given their approval to vouchers, state courts and lawmakers remain cautious about these programs. Voucher programs exist in a small number of states. U.S. citizens remain divided about the voucher idea. Proponents argue that voucher systems promote free market competition among all types of schools, nonprofit or for profit, religious or secular. This competition among schools provides the necessary incentive for those schools to improve. The idea is that successful schools would attract students, and poor performing schools would be forced to reform or even close. Supporters further argue that voucher programs would help to equalize educational opportunities. The primary goal behind this idea is to localize accountability rather than relying on government systems of control to make school more equal in the United States.

Even with these many persuasive arguments for improving schools, most U.S. citizens continue to oppose vouchers, concerned that tax monies are redirected from public to private education, especially toward funding religious institutions. The National Education Association is one of the strongest critics of the voucher system. This organization and other public school teacher unions have spent millions of dollars litigating and lobbying against vouchers for concern that it could reduce funding and potentially cost public school teachers their jobs as students leave public schools for private schools. Critics also point out that families already have a choice within the public school system without vouchers.

Many objections have surfaced in the discussions about the potential effects of voucher programs on U.S. schooling, but most debates have focused on the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which mandates the separation of church and state. Most private schools have sectarian affiliations; in particular, most of these schools are owned by the Catholic Church, an institution that supports voucher programs. Although this concern about the separation of church and state has merit, it has diverted public attention from the fact that voucher programs allow tax dollars to be used to subsidize high-status and high-price private schools. This subsidy can provide tuition relief for affluent parents, those who are able to afford these schools with the relatively small amounts of vouchers, and thus can become a means to finance tax relief for the wealthy. Thus, to many critics, voucher programs have the potential to be yet another way

of serving the interests of dominant cultural groups by reinforcing stratified structures in schooling and the outcomes of the curriculum.

*Adam Howard*

*See also* Accountability; No Child Left Behind; Privatization; School Choice

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## WALDORF SCHOOLS CURRICULUM

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The Waldorf Schools curriculum is inspired by spiritual and moral discourses and is experienced as a union of sensory life and inner experience: a *spiritual science* approach. The Waldorf curriculum was developed by Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), an Austrian scientist, philosopher, artist, social reformer, and educator, and was implemented at the Free Waldorf School (*Die Freie Waldorfschule*) for Boys and Girls, founded in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1919. Emil Molt, the owner of the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory, had invited Steiner to develop a school for his employees' children to educate in ways that might preclude catastrophes such as war. Thus, the impulse behind Waldorf education was and remains cultural and social renewal.

According to Steiner, instilling knowledge as abstract and separate from the whole dehumanizes society, and this knowledge, disconnected from values and feelings, is coldly destructive. Rather, a holistic and balanced development of intuitive, imaginative, and inspirational capacities—fully integrating knowledge, values, and feelings—would prepare children to contribute to social well-being and renewal. Steiner claimed that in educating the whole being, children would grow inwardly free, thus capable of resisting dogmatic and harmful ideologies.

This claim conflicts with a controversial aspect of Waldorf curriculum and the anthroposophical philosophy that undergirds it. Although the

curriculum and philosophy were so abhorrent to the National Socialist ideology that the Nazis banned the Anthroposophical Society in 1935 and forbade Waldorf schools to take on new students, current critics of Steiner's work claim an underlying racist/cultural hierarchical doctrine. Other critics object to Waldorf schools and anthroposophy as promoting occult beliefs. Both of these criticisms have been strongly refuted by the Association of Waldorf Schools.

However, a sense of helplessness in the face of cultural, economic, and political upheaval, similar to what Molt experienced in post-World War I Germany, has led many parents and teachers of today to seek a means of educating children toward social and cultural renewal. Frustrated by the government's role in education—using funding and testing mandates to coerce teachers and children into narrow and joyless experiences with the disciplines of knowledge—these educators and families note that the Waldorf curriculum reflects a different kind of consciousness. Steiner's articulation of spiritual science (*geisteswissenschaft: wissenschaft—knowledge and geist—spirit*)—is a way of seeing the world. And so, the work is based on not only *what* is seen but *how* it is seen—using a way of looking that combines “insideness” and “outsideness” for seeing the spirit in physical matter.

Waldorf teachers study anthroposophy, a view of the human being that guides them to teach with attentiveness and care, cultivating respect for the individuality of a child and the phases of childhood. Characterized by calm, patience, creativity, rhythms, and aesthetics, the Waldorf curriculum is

purposely designed in a holistic approach to teaching and learning with elements of science, the arts, religion, and human values working in concert to create wholesome work with storytelling a key-stone in developing the child's sense of order, cultivating self-discipline, and enjoying being one with the world. Social consciousness underlies the integrated curriculum of science, math, and social sciences as children learn to take part in the world.

The importance of community and humanity is reflected in the longevity of the classroom relationship. Children spend all of Grades 1 to 8 with the same classmates and the same teacher who teaches all the main academic subjects, but other teachers teach foreign languages, music, movement, handwork, and art. Narratives written by each of the teachers replace letter grades, and lessons are taught through stories, conversations, and rich experiences rather than through the use of textbooks. Students write and draw to document what they are experiencing in class in their "main lesson books" and these serve as textbooks.

Currently, there are more than 900 Waldorf schools in more than 80 countries, and some claim Waldorf education to be the fastest growing independent educational movement in the world. In 1968, the Association of Waldorf Schools of North America (AWSNA) was founded to support the growing number of North American Waldorf Schools.

*Sheri Leafgren*

*See also* Aesthetic Theory; Arts Education Curriculum; Curriculum as Spiritual Experience

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## WAYS OF KNOWING

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Curriculum studies focuses on identifying knowledge that is worthwhile. Ways of knowing are a

prerequisite concern that deals with how we can know what is worthwhile. How knowledge is obtained, attained, or acquired has long been the concern of a branch of philosophy called *epistemology*. Edmund Short shows how forms of curriculum inquiry are derived from and contingent on such ways of knowing in *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry*. Some of the most widely debated epistemological bases or ways of knowing include experience, authority, revelation, reason, empiricism, intuition, dialectic, dialogue and deliberation, critical inquiry, meditation, artistic engagement, embodiment, and indigenous forms of perceiving insight.

Experience creates a repertoire of cases, often informally, to be drawn on in future situations with similar attributes. John Dewey insisted that experience could be used to enhance the reconstruction of subsequent experience if it were subjected to careful reflection. Dewey differentiated between mere experience and *an experience*, conceiving the latter as providing increased meaning in the present by invoking connections between past endeavors and future possibilities.

Authority is placing faith in leaders, icons, traditions, literatures, oratory, mass media, propaganda, or other sources based on credentials, official licensure, or other aspects of reputation. Authoritative knowing can be influenced greatly by exercise of power, wherein persons accept authority because of fear of reprisal or oppression. This is a conflation of power with knowledge; yet it is all too prevalent.

Revelation is a form of authority that has played such a dramatic role in human history that it should receive separate treatment. The assumption is that we come to know the most important matters of life through communication, such as prayer or watchfulness, with a deity or deities.

Reason is adherence to accepted rules of intellectual discourse—ways of marshalling evidence and argument. In courts one is often admonished to consider what a reasonable person would do under specified conditions. Sometimes reason is defined as varied forms of accepted induction or deduction.

Empiricism combines reason, deduction, induction, and authority, sometimes called the hypothetical-deductive method or positivist science. It begins with a felt need in a dilemma, formulating

it as a question or problem, searching for evidence, formulating and studying hypotheses, analyzing intended and unintended consequences, and arriving at tentative conclusions that serve as pieces of a larger puzzle that enhances knowledge and induces additional research.

Intuition is a rapid or immediate apprehension of insight or understanding. With origins shrouded in mystery, some consider it fast, but others consider it derived from a connection with deeper dimensions of the universe that reveals truth. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi has characterized a related form of apprehension as *flow*, whereas Donald Schön refers to *reflection-in-action*. Nel Noddings and Paul Shore have researched historical literatures of intuition as educational inquiry.

Dialectical reasoning traces at least to Plato's Socratic dialogues, wherein a thesis is argued and an antithesis counters it; through dialogue, a synthesis of the best of both is reached. The synthesis becomes a new thesis for which an antithesis is given, and a new synthesis emerges. Repeating the process creates and refines ideas. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel elaborated dialectic for historical phenomena, and Karl Marx developed it to characterize class struggle and revolution.

Dialogue and deliberation are variations on dialectics. Paulo Freire drew on Erich Fromm to call for dialogue between oppressed and oppressor. Joseph Schwab explicated eclectic deliberation or interaction between theoretic and practical knowledge, which may be traced to both Aristotle and Dewey.

Critical theory is inquiry that takes injustice as a given, and advocates knowing through a unity of inquiry and action, *praxis*, that seeks to rectify inequities of race, class, gender, place, culture, nationality, age, ability, religion, ethnicity, and language. Critical theory is derived from Marx, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, and others, and seeks to expose and overcome injustices. Critical race theory is a new variation that stems from legal studies and looks particularly at racial prejudices as contributors to injustice.

Meditation is a way of knowing exemplified in Eastern religious, philosophical, and cultural traditions. By losing one's self, insight is attained that enables connection with deeply embedded spirit, material, or energy of the universe, giving capacity to understand holistically.

Artistic engagement such as writing, painting, sculpting, playing or composing music, and dancing can be seen as forms of knowing in their own right—ones that integrate mind and body, thought and feeling, sensing and intuiting.

Embodied knowing pertains to the essence of many of these ways of knowing and is often associated with feminist thought and newer interpretations of pragmatism. Embodiment refers to an all-encompassing embracement of knowledge, via the mind and through apprehension by the whole body, and is absorbed in ways not unlike food or oxygen.

Indigenous ways of understanding may be captured in these categorizations; however, some scholars maintain that they incorporate still more epistemological bases, or knowing that is not epistemological. Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith compile such perspectives and explore their relation to knowing.

Some scholars see ways of knowing as alternatives, and others favor eclectic uses or even dynamic syntheses of several. In any case, ways of knowing are central to curriculum studies. When examining curriculum research, theory, policy, or practice, it is important to be aware of the ways of knowing that support them.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Critical Race Theory; Critical Theory Research; Curriculum Inquiry; Dewey, John; Empirical Analytic Paradigm; Feminist Theories; Freire, Paulo; Paradigms; Schwab, Joseph; Worth, What Knowledge Is of

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## WHITE STUDIES RESEARCH, CRITICAL

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Critical whiteness study in a multicultural educational context should delineate the various ways

such material effects shape cultural and institutional curricula and pedagogies and position individuals in relation to the power of White reason. Understanding these dynamics is central to the curricula of Black studies, Chicano studies, post-colonialism, and indigenous studies, not to mention educational reform movements in elementary, secondary, and higher education. This work is crucial to the field of curriculum studies for its scholarship as well as for curriculum design and development.

The history of the world's diverse peoples in general as well as minority groups in Western societies in particular has often been told from a White historiographical perspective. Such accounts erased the values, epistemologies, and belief systems that grounded the cultural practices of diverse peoples. Without such cultural grounding, students have often been unable to appreciate the manifestations of brilliance displayed by non-White cultural groups. Caught in the White interpretive filter, they were unable to make sense of diverse historical and contemporary cultural productions as anything other than proof of White historical success. The fact that one of the most important themes of the last half of the 20th century—the revolt of the “irrationals” against White historical domination—has not been presented as a salient part of the White (or non-White) story is revealing, a testimony to the continuing power of whiteness and its concurrent fragility.

Whatever the complexity of the concept, whiteness, at least one feature is discernible—whiteness cannot escape the materiality of its history, its effects on the everyday lives of those who fall outside its conceptual net as well as on White people themselves. As with any racial category, whiteness is a social construction in that it can be invented, lived, analyzed, modified, and discarded. Although Western reason is a crucial dynamic associated with whiteness during the last three centuries, many other social forces sometimes work to construct its meaning. Whiteness, thus, is not an unchanging, fixed, biological category impervious to its cultural, economic, political, and psychological context. There are many ways to be White because whiteness interacts with class, gender, and a range of other race-related and cultural dynamics. The ephemeral nature of whiteness as a social construction begins to reveal itself when we understand that

the Irish, Italians, and Jews have all been viewed as non-White in particular places at specific moments in history. Indeed, Europeans before the late 1600s did not use the label, Black, to refer to any race of people, Africans included. Only after the racialization of slavery by around 1680 did whiteness and blackness come to represent racial categories and the concept of a discrete White race begin to take shape. Such shifts in the nature and boundaries of whiteness continued into the 20th century. One of the reasons that whiteness became an object of analysis in the 1990s revolves around the profound shifts in the construction of whiteness, blackness, and other racial identities that took place in the last years of the 20th century. Indeed, critical multiculturalists understand that questions of whiteness permeate almost every major issue facing Westerners at the end of the 20th century from affirmative action and intelligence testing to the deterioration of public space. In this context, the study of whiteness becomes a central feature of any critical pedagogy or multicultural education for the 21st century.

### The Colonial Power of Whiteness

Although no one knows exactly what constitutes whiteness, we can historicize the concept and offer some general statements about the dynamics it signifies. Even this process is difficult, as whiteness as a sociohistorical construct is constantly shifting in light of new circumstances and changing interactions with various manifestations of power. With these qualifications in mind, a dominant impulse of whiteness took shape around the European Enlightenment's notion of rationality with its privileged construction of a transcendental White, male, rational subject who operated at the recesses of power while concurrently giving every indication that he escaped the confines of time and space. In this context, whiteness was naturalized as a universal entity that operated as more than a mere ethnic positionality emerging from a particular time, the late 17th and 18th centuries, and a particular space, Western Europe. Reason in this historical configuration is whitened and human nature itself is grounded upon this reasoning capacity. Lost in the defining process is the socially constructed nature of reason itself, not to mention its emergence as a signifier of whiteness. Thus, in



its rationalistic womb, whiteness begins to establish itself as a norm that represents an authoritative, delimited, and hierarchical mode of thought. In the emerging colonial contexts in which Whites would increasingly find themselves in the decades and centuries following the Enlightenment, the encounter with nonwhiteness would be framed in rationalistic terms—whiteness representing orderliness, rationality, and self-control and nonwhiteness as chaos, irrationality, violence, and the breakdown of self-regulation. Rationality emerged as the conceptual base around which civilization and savagery could be delineated.

This rationalistic modernist whiteness is shaped and confirmed by its close association with science. As a scientific construct, whiteness privileges mind over body, intellectual over experiential ways of knowing, mental abstractions over passion, bodily sensations, and tactile understanding. In the study of multicultural education, such epistemological tendencies take on dramatic importance. In educators' efforts to understand the forces that drive the curriculum and the purposes of Western education, modernist whiteness is a central player. The insight it provides into the social construction of schooling, intelligence, and the disciplines of psychology and educational psychology in general opens a gateway into White consciousness and its reactions to the world around it. Objectivity and masculinity as signs of stability and the highest expression of White achievement still work to construct everyday life and social relations at the end of the 20th century. Because such dynamics have been naturalized and universalized, whiteness assumes an invisible power unlike previous forms of domination in human history. Such an invisible power can be deployed by those individuals and groups who are able to identify themselves within the boundaries of reason and to project irrationality, sensuality, and spontaneity on to the other.

Thus, European ethnic groups such as the Irish in 19th-century industrializing United States were able to differentiate themselves from passionate ethnic groups who were supposedly unable to regulate their own emotional predispositions and gain a rational and objective view of the world. Such peoples—who were being colonized, exploited, enslaved, and eliminated by Europeans during their Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment eras—were

viewed as irrational and, thus, inferior in their status as human beings. As inferior beings, they had no claim to the same rights as Europeans—hence, White racism and colonialism were morally justified around the conflation of whiteness and reason. Before whiteness can place itself in the privileged seat of rationality and superiority, it would have to construct pervasive portraits of non-Whites, Africans in particular, as irrational, disorderly, and prone to uncivilized behavior. As rock of rationality in a sea of chaos and disorder, whiteness presented itself as a noncolored, nonblemished pure category. Even a mere drop of non-White blood was enough historically to relegate a person to the category of “colored.” Being White, thus, meant possessing the privilege of being uncontaminated by any other bloodline. A mixed-race child in this context has often been rejected by the White side of his or her heritage—the rhetorical construct of race purity demands that the mixed race individual be identified by allusion to the non-White group—for example, she's half-Latina or half-Chinese. Individuals are rarely half-White.

As Michel Foucault often argued, reason is a form of disciplinary power. Around Foucault's axiom, critical multiculturalists contend that reason can never be separated from power. Those without reason defined in the Western scientific way are excluded from power and are relegated to the position of unreasonable other. Whites in their racial purity understood the dictates of the “White Man's Burden” and became the beneficent teachers of the barbarians. To Western eyes, the contrast between White and non-White culture was stark: reason as opposed to ignorance, scientific knowledge instead of indigenous knowledge, philosophies of mind versus folk psychologies, religious truth in lieu of primitive superstition, and professional history as opposed to oral mythologies. Thus, rationality was inscribed in a variety of hierarchical relations between European colonizers and their colonies early on, and between Western multinationals and their “underdeveloped” markets in later days. Such power relations were erased by the White claim of cultural neutrality around the transhistorical norm of reason—in this construction, rationality was not assumed to be the intellectual commodity of any specific culture. Indeed, colonial hierarchies immersed in exploitation were justified

around the interplay of pure whiteness, impure nonwhiteness, and neutral reason.

Traditional colonialism was grounded on colonized people's deviation from the norm of rationality, thus making colonization a rational response to inequality. In the 20th century, this White norm of rationality was extended to the economic sphere where the philosophy of the free market and exchange values were universalized into signifiers of civilization. Once all the nations on earth are drawn into the White reason of the market economy, then all land can be subdivided into real estate, all human beings' worth can be monetarily calculated, values of abstract individualism and financial success can be embraced by every community in every country, and education can be reformulated around the cultivation of human capital. When these dynamics come to pass, the White millennium will have commenced—White power will have been consolidated around land and money. The Western ability to regulate diverse peoples through their inclusion in data banks filled with information about their credit histories, institutional affiliations, psychological "health," academic credentials, work experiences, and family backgrounds will reach unprecedented levels. The accomplishment of this ultimate global colonial task will mark the end of White history in the familiar end-of-history parlance. This does not mean that White supremacy ends, but that it has produced a hegemony so seamless that the need for further structural or ideological change becomes unnecessary. The science, reason, and technology of White culture will have achieved their inevitable triumph.

### **Positionality, Whiteness, and Critical Multiculturalism**

Individuals cannot separate where they stand in the web of reality from what they perceive. In contemporary critical social and pedagogical theory, this statement lays the foundation for the curriculum of "positionality." Positionality involves the notion that because our understanding of the world and ourselves is socially constructed, we must devote special attention to the differing ways individuals from diverse social backgrounds construct knowledge and make meaning. Critical multiculturalists, thus, are fervently concerned with White positionality in their attempt to understand

the forces, the power relations that give rise to race, class, and gender inequality. Those who claim the mantle of critical multiculturalism are concerned with the ways power has operated historically and contemporaneously to legitimate social and educational categories and hierarchical divisions. They are also interested in the ways individuals interact with representations of race, class, and gender dynamics in a variety of pedagogical spheres. Not content with simply cataloging such portrayals, critical multiculturalists take the next step of connecting representations to their material effects. Awareness of such effects are central in the effort to conceptually grasp the power-saturated, hegemonic process that grants analysts insight into the ways claims to resources are legitimated. At this point, critical multiculturalists are better equipped to describe the contemporary disparity in the distribution of symbolic/economic/pedagogical capital and the reasons it continues to escalate.

### **Research Issues and the Pedagogy of Whiteness**

How are students and other individuals to make sense of the assertion that whiteness is a social construction? How does such a concept inform the democratic goals of a critical multiculturalism? Such questions form the conceptual basis of our discussion of whiteness, our attempt to construct a curriculum and pedagogy of whiteness. To answer them in a manner that is helpful for Whites and other racial groups, it is important to focus on the nature of the social construction process. The discourses that shape whiteness are not unified and singular but diverse and contradictory. If one is looking for logical consistency from the social construction of whiteness, he or she is not going to find it. The discursive construction of whiteness, like the work of any power bloc, aligns and de-aligns itself around particular issues of race. For example, the discourse of White victimization that has emerged during the last two decades appears in response to particular historical moments such as the attempt to compensate for the oppression of non-Whites through preferential hiring and admissions policies. The future of such policies will help shape the discourses that will realign to structure whiteness in the 21st century. These discourses hold profound material

consequences for Western cultures because they fashion and refashion power relations between differing social groups. Any pedagogy of whiteness involves engaging students in a rigorous tracking of this construction process. Such an operation when informed by critical notions of social justice, community, and democracy allows individuals insights into the inner workings of racialization, identity formation, and the etymology of racism. Armed with such understandings, they gain the ability to challenge and rethink whiteness around issues of racism and privilege. In this context, questions about a White student's own identity begin to arise.

Joe L. Kincheloe

*See also* Critical Pedagogy

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## WHOLE LANGUAGE/READING ISSUES

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*Whole language* describes a method of, and philosophy regarding, the teaching of reading that is based on constructivist principles. Very popular in the 1980s and 1990s, whole language continues to play a part in discussions related to the best ways

to teach reading. The method emphasizes having children interact with reading, writing, and speaking through interconnected, meaningful activities rather than discrete subsets. This entry examines the theoretical underpinnings of whole language, some of the educational transformations its adherents favor, the controversy with phonics advocates, and its lasting influence. Insofar that decisions regarding whole language inform *what* is taught, *how* it is taught, and indeed that which *should* be taught, consideration of these issues are central to curriculum theory discussions.

Whole language is predicated on the belief that young readers learn best when engaged in making meaning when reading and expressing meaning when writing. In many ways, whole language represents a rejection of drill, charts, workbooks, textbooks, and other techniques that, when overdone, may discourage a beginning reader. Instead, whole language provides students with a print-rich environment, multiple opportunities to read and write, and exposure to authentic literature. Motivational aspects of literacy are emphasized, such as fostering a love of books and encouraging self-selection of level-appropriate reading materials.

Children in a whole language classroom learn about three cuing systems that regulate literacy development: *graphophonemic*, *semantic*, and *syntactic*. Children use the graphophonemic cuing system to find clues in the graphic input before them (i.e., using text to match letters to sounds), the semantic cuing system to make meaning from the context of what they read, and the syntactic cuing system to explore the principles and rules of the language. The three cuing systems overlap and allow the reader to guess appropriately. According to this approach, to learn to read, children need to understand the relevance of reading to their own lives, appreciate that they have something to contribute to the world of letters, and have access to reading and writing materials that will allow them to flourish. When these elements are in place, children learn to read and write without much direct instruction.

Whole language classrooms look different than traditional classrooms. Rather than standing in front of the classroom, teachers plan, coordinate, and facilitate a series of student-centered activities, where children engage in authentic reading experiences. Instead of more traditional focus on

grammar, spelling, and usage, whole language classrooms emphasize exposure to high-quality and culturally diverse children's literature, knowledge creation, the development of intrinsic motivation, and frequent reading. The whole language teacher reads *with* students, *to* students, and works *by* students throughout the day. Word recognition instruction, embedded phonics linked to literature being read, and writing mechanics are often presented in the form of *mini-lessons* that are presented when needed. Teachers integrate literacy skills into other areas of the curriculum, such as math, science, the arts, or social studies, so that students will not view literacy in isolation. Homogeneous and heterogeneous reading groups are used, with the membership in these groups being flexible and changing frequently. Whole language teachers emphasize the importance of knowledge creation, with students frequently asked to express their interpretations of text through art, dance, music, or writing, including the use of daily journal entries. Great importance is also placed upon students' reading independently, often through sustained silent reading (SSR) or drop everything and read (DEAR) times.

Although whole language continues to be very popular in the United States and other countries, the approach has generated criticism, especially among those who favor a traditional approach to instruction. Much of the criticism has focused around the teaching of phonics, which whole language opponents felt were not being given sufficient emphasis. Others suggested that teachers were abdicating their responsibilities, in essence expecting the students to learn on their own without formal instruction. When the reading performance of California 4th graders, as measured by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), plunged, whole language was cited as a reason. Many parents advocated for a return to more traditional instruction. Many state legislatures, including California's, passed legislation that mandated explicit and systematic instruction in phonics. These efforts to return phonics to the classroom were supported by reports of the National Research Council's Commission on Preventing Reading Difficulties in Young Children and National Reading Panel, both of which rejected embedded phonics teaching in favor of a more explicit and systematic approach.

Proponents assert that critics of whole language instruction may have overlooked other factors that caused poor student performance, such as inadequate numbers of library books in low socioeconomic status neighborhoods and inadequate implementation of reading programs that used the process. These variables, as well as the general tension between the differing approaches to reading instruction have served as a centerpiece of the debates within the field of curriculum studies. Reports such as those of the National Reading Panel have been criticized for failing to include qualitative studies that indicated the merits of using a whole language approach. Currently, aspects of whole language, such as the movement's emphasis on quality literature, cultural diversity, and reading groups, have almost universal acceptance in the education community. Many schools, including those run by the New York City Department of Education, also recently have adopted *balanced literacy*, an integrative approach that incorporates many of the best features of whole language.

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*See also* Phonics/Reading Issues; Reading; Reading, History of; Workshop Way of Learning

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## WIDE-AWAKENESS

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Nearly every practicing teacher has had experiences with students withdrawing from what is happening in the classroom. Some sink into a kind of lassitude; others, into a cloud of boredom. The



philosopher Martin Heidegger said that boredom was a response to a feeling of meaninglessness. When we recall the 19th-century poets' complaints of "ennui" or boredom in the face of an industrial world that felt alien to them, that offered nothing relevant to their interests or desires, we can understand what Henry David Thoreau would call the "somnolence" of those submerged in the ordinary.

The effort to arouse the inattentive may be described by the metaphor of awakening them. The phenomenologist Alfred Schutz used the term *wide-awakeness* to describe what he called the plane of consciousness of highest tension, this "originating in an attitude of full attention to life and its requirements." Rejecting mere passive taking in, the awakened person performs in a way demanded by the lived world as she or he perceives it. Conscious of lacks and deficiencies in that world, she or he may well exert energy to modify it. At once, there might be dialogue among those concerned with change, dialogue that makes audible diverse perspectives. Wide-awakeness requires translation of ideas. John Dewey, critical of fixities and "the crust of convention," infused his views of "doing" and "undergoing" in transactions with the environment with a requirement of reflective action. It would not be sufficient simply to interact with the human and physical world. The live creature must attend to what is happening as she or he moves through the problematic aspects of experience to intervals of resolution and on to often unexpected obstacles. Such obstacles demand deliberation as the individual goes on to decide whether to overcome what stands in the way or to bypass and avoid it, no matter how desirable the view on the other side. Wide-awakeness is necessary when alternatives are considered and choices are to be intelligently made. Committed as he was to the nurture of aesthetic experiences he called "extraordinary experiences," Dewey named the opposite "anaesthetic" perhaps another term for numb, or somnolent, a condition incompatible with an "attitude of full attention" or any effort to change the world.

Wide-awakeness is in some sense synonymous with Paulo Freire's concept of conscientization. Engaged in efforts to break through what he called "cultures of silence" or cultures where oppression deprived people of "voice," Freire stressed the development of critical literacy. He fought what he

called "banking education," a widespread tendency to "deposit" pieces of knowledge into the minds of passive students, old and young. Conscientization meant resistance to lack of awareness and lack of initiative in posing worthwhile questions.

Only through posing such questions could the oppressed name their worlds rather than simply accepting the interpretations or constructions made by their oppressors. Accepting in this fashion, the voiceless ones (peasants, say, excluded minorities, women in many parts of the world) were far too likely to internalize distorted, impotent images of themselves, agreeing in a peculiar way to be inferior beings at the pleasure of those with power—or thought to have power. Freire, probably more explicitly than others, identified what he called "humanization" with being highly conscious. His "pedagogy" became a process of humanization, of learning to pose the kinds of questions that might enable them to become critical and aware enough to make sense of their lived situations. Thought of in relational or dialogic terms, however, it was not enough to know or reflect or to "name." There had to be a transmutation into reflective practice to bring about change. And there had to be a coming together for the sake of cultural change.

Wide-awakeness in one form or other must infuse the democratic curriculum if it is to move toward participatory appreciation, action, and the inauguration of new beginnings.

*Maxine Greene*

*See also* Banking Concept of Education; Conscientization; Dewey, John; Freire, Paulo

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## WOODSON, CARTER G.

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Best known as the "father of Black history," Carter G. Woodson stands as one of the imminent

Black intellectual figures of the last two centuries. He integrated his interest in Black life with curriculum study. Woodson was a teacher, scholar, author, publisher, and organization administrator, and many contemporary scholars view Woodson's ideas as antecedents to Black studies and even multicultural education. Additionally, he was an acerbic and indefatigable critic of the curriculum offered African Americans in (segregated) schools.

Woodson was born December 9, 1875, to impoverished former slaves in New Canton, Buckingham County, Virginia. Attending elementary school only a few months per year, the mostly self-taught young man completed a 4-year high school curriculum in less than 2 years. He subsequently attended Berea College (Kentucky), became a high school principal, and completed the baccalaureate in literature. The University of Chicago graduate school would not recognize his Berea degree, forcing Woodson to earn another bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago in 1907. His subsequent University of Chicago master's thesis in 1908 examined French diplomatic relations with Germany in the 18th century. Moving on to Harvard, Woodson's 1912 doctoral dissertation on secession was entitled *The Disruption in Virginia*. He became the first African American of slave ancestry and only the second African American, after W. E. B. Du Bois, to receive the PhD from Harvard.

World travels took him to Europe, where he spent a full semester at the Sorbonne studying French; North Africa; and Asia where he worked for the U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs as General Superintendent of Education in Manila, Philippine Islands. Fascinated with research, he sought employment in Washington, D.C., to be near the Library of Congress. His teaching résumé included courses in English, health, agriculture, U.S. history, French, and Spanish at local Washington, D.C., high schools.

Failing to get his dissertation published, he tired of academic politics and set out to organize a community of scholars committed to research Negro history. In 1915, Woodson, with associates George C. Hall, J. E. Stamps, W. B. Hartgrave, and A. L. Jackson, met at a downtown Chicago YMCA to establish the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) later changed to the

Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH). Founded as a historical society to exclusively research Black America, the association's plan was that the organization be ideologically and politically independent. In 1916, the association established its first organ, a quarterly, the *Journal of Negro History*.

The school curriculum, especially history, soon became the focus of Woodson's attention. He evolved a philosophy about Black history. He wanted to free Black history from White intellectual bias, instead presenting Blacks as active participants in history. Additionally, he wanted both Black and White people to be exposed to the hidden contributions of Blacks. Negro history should be a part of the school curriculum. Finally, Woodson saw value in James Robinson's "new" history that asserted that history could serve social change.

Financing the ASNLH proved difficult because member dues were never sufficient. Woodson raised some funds from White corporate philanthropists; however, frequent disagreements and accusations of "radicalism" forced him into compromised situations and embarrassing requests that he declare his loyalty to U.S. capitalism. His passion became obsession as he worked tirelessly to protect and promote the ASNLH. Woodson never married or fathered children, and friends and supporters noted that Woodson took on assorted jobs and worked day and night for his association.

The spread of Pan-Africanism, Garveyism, and the emergent Renaissance cultural movement elevated the racial consciousness among African Americans. This climate provided support for "race men." Woodson founded Associated Publishers, Inc. in 1921 to produce books endorsed by the association. By 1925, the *Journal of Negro History* had published 10 monographs and 6,000 pages of articles. Woodson expanded his public presence by writing newspaper articles editorials and essays for Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*. His books and edited works around that time included *The History of the Negro Church*, *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860*, and *The African Background Outlined*. In 1926, Woodson and his association made their indelible imprint on the United States

and the world as he (they) declared Negro History Week, now Black History Month.

The ASNLH became a cradle of curriculum activity. Woodson, as its leader, now focused his attention on schooling. He researched, theorized, and critiqued aspects of the school curriculum.

He noted the impracticality of the Black school curriculum. It was not designed or delivered to create productive, intellectually rounded, individuals. He likened it to the passing of information with no intention to educate. It was schooling without educating. He believed the Black psyche has been damaged contributing both to self-hate and intra-racial social class antagonisms. He challenged the motives of the White philanthropists who mostly favored the Hampton curriculum. This model of industrial education blocked liberal, classical, and progressive education for people of color. Even the Black teachers don't know what to teach, said Woodson. The architects and administrators of the curriculum were more interested in controlling rather than educating Blacks.

In 1933, he published his most celebrated work, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, where he historicized and politicized the school curriculum offered Blacks. This penetrating work, written in very caustic language, critiqued the established school curriculum as grounded in racism and Eurocentric thought. Such education, he believed, could only result in the colonial subordination of African people in the United States. Several points were salient in this work.

Early in the book, Woodson illustrates subject by subject how Blacks have been either omitted or misrepresented in science, geography, and especially his beloved history. He insists people can't find their place in the world nor participate effectively without knowledge of their history. He argues further that certain subjects, for example, math, science, and language, serve as gatekeepers where Blacks are excluded from achieving. Even the medical school curriculum, notes Woodson, portrays Blacks as germ carriers.

The social consequences of Black education troubled Woodson greatly. The curriculum is not geared for the skill demands of the modern labor market. Black people, he feared, were ill-prepared for employment, advancement, and certainly the professions. As a consequence, Blacks were reduced to illicit hustling and the influences of charlatans.

The stereotypical Black preacher was a favorite target of Woodson.

Perhaps the most significant indictment of the curriculum for Woodson relates to civil society. He finds Black people crippled by their education. Their communities are torn. They are eliminated from participation and, most importantly, leadership in social and political life. Without good education, Blacks can never exercise self-determination and emancipation. Woodson's assessment of the deleterious effect of existing schooling on the Black psyche held that educated Blacks would dissociate themselves from the masses of their people and could never achieve unity and racial advancement with this brand of education.

His other works include *Negro Makers of History*, *African Myths*, *The Story of the Negro Retold*, and *African Heroes and Heroines*. His books for schoolchildren were often accompanied by study guides, chapter questions, and recommended projects.

Interestingly, Woodson's life and work chronologically overlapped that of "progressive" educators including the Progressive Education Association, and their "radical" outcasts, the social reconstructionists, yet there is no evidence that either influenced the other. The racial divide in critical curriculum discourses remains nearly a century later.

Woodson was honored with the prestigious Spingarn Medal from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People along with several honorary degrees. The U.S. Postal Service honored him with a memorial stamp in February 1984. Woodson died of a heart attack on April 3, 1950, in Washington, D.C.

William H. Watkins

*See also* Du Bois, W. E. B.; *Education of Blacks in the South, The*; Race Research

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## WORKSHOP WAY OF LEARNING

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Workshops for educators have been an integral part of professional development and inservice education. The workshop format is loosely interpreted as an opportunity or a requirement for schoolteachers or leaders to develop new knowledge, skill, or disposition designed to enhance curriculum. The idea of workshop, as a way of learning, was refined by Earl C. Kelley in the 1940s and elaborated in his book, *The Workshop Way of Learning*.

Kelley's workshop ideas were influenced by the educational theory of John Dewey and by practices initiated by Ralph W. Tyler in the Eight Year Study of the 1930s and early 1940s. Origins also bear some resemblance to statewide curriculum reform efforts led by Hollis Caswell in Virginia and in Florida, spanning from the 1920s to the 1940s, and to the work of L. Thomas Hopkins in Colorado, California, and New York in the 1920s and 1930s, and in the 1960s and 1970s in Maine and other states, as well as in post-World War II Germany.

Origins in the Eight Year Study are particularly significant. Teachers from experimental secondary schools across the United States seeking to develop progressive education practices were given summer opportunities to refresh their efforts at several different colleges and universities, such as Sarah Lawrence. Some of these efforts consisted of making curricular and instructional materials that they took back to their schools to implement in subsequent years. The most experimental schools, those that practiced more radical interpretations of Dewey's philosophy, however, used the workshop opportunity not primarily to make materials, but to develop themselves. Instead of asking what was worthwhile for their students, they asked what was worthwhile for themselves. Thus, they pursued a

kind of curriculum of teacher renewal that engaged them in increased self-understanding and consideration of what kinds of contributions they could make to society through their lives as educators. Rather than taking a product back to apply to students in their classrooms, they took a workshop method of asking: What is worthwhile? By sharing this orientation to learning with students, the educational experience took on new dimensions of meaning.

Kelley developed such an approach during the 1940s at Wayne State University in Detroit. *The Workshop Way of Learning* explicates and illustrates the approach. Beginning with a statement of principles and purposes, Kelley situates the workshop in a practical interpretation of Deweyan theory that includes appreciation of individual worth, the primacy of personal interests and concerns as a starting place for workshop learning, the central place of human relations and cooperation, and the assumption that the best learning begets more learning. Teacher participants in Kelley's workshops were encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning, to evaluate and revise it on a continuous basis. A central assumption was that the participants would take that learning back to their classrooms as primarily a method that could be used with students and secondarily in the form of materials that could facilitate such a method or *way of learning*. Throughout the book, Kelley presents the following: procedures for getting workshops started, the development of interest groups among participants, applicable resources, examples of application in general sessions, strategies for reducing barriers among participants, modes of evaluation, illustrations of outcomes, discussion of unsolved problems, examples of a brief workshop, and concluding discussion of dilemmas and possibilities for future applications.

Although the *workshop* for educators has continued to be used, great variation exists in practices and in philosophy behind them. Sometimes one finds applications that are relatively consistent with those advocated by Kelley. More often that which is labeled *workshop* is criticized as a one-shot attempt to indoctrinate participants in a particular approach that will benefit a cause (often state or corporate) that is far removed from the immediate concerns and interests of participants that Kelley advocated and that could be derived from Dewey's



philosophy. Nevertheless, Kelley's model remains for those who want to develop workshops that provide long-term personal and social learning experiences for educators as forms of inservice education or professional development.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Eight Year Study, The

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## WORLD COUNCIL FOR CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

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The World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI) is a transnational educational organization committed in its mission to advancing the achievement of a just and peaceful world community and promoting person-to-person, professional relationships. It is a nongovernmental organization of the United Nations in consultative status with a consultant to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The preamble of the WCCI constitution challenges educators in the world community to ensure that education contributes to the promotion of equity, peace, and universal realization of human rights, developing a comprehensive sense of respect of self, others, and the environment.

The history of the WCCI originates with the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), its 1950 Committee on International Understanding, and its 1966 Commission on Cooperation in Education. Alice Miel is credited as the founder of WCCI and the first to suggest a world conference. Louise Berman, another well-known curriculum scholar, was also essential to the founding of WCCI.

ASCD has long been distinguished by its attraction of researchers in curriculum studies and teaching at odds with more traditional approaches. In

1970, when ASCD held its first world conference at Asilomar in Pacific Grove, California, more than half of the 300 participants represented countries other than the United States. Endorsing more diverse and international approaches, participants determined to form an international organization, designated the WCCI. In 1974, WCCI officially separated from ASCD. WCCI sponsors conferences, exchanges, and global projects, and publishes related papers (see Table 1).

**Table 1** WCCI World Conferences

<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>
1974 September	Keele, England
1977 September	Istanbul, Turkey
1980 December	Tagaytay, Philippines
1983 July	Edmonton, Canada
1986 August	Hiroshima, Japan
1989 September	Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands
1992 August	Cairo, Egypt
1995 December	Amritsar, India
1998 July	Bangkok, Thailand
2001 September	Madrid, Spain
2004 July	Wollongong, Australia
2006 August	Manila, Philippines
2008 September	Antalya, Turkey

*Note:* Originally triennial, conferences moved to every other year in 2004.

Leaders of WCCI include Louise Berman, Virginia Cawagas, Gulab Chaurasia, Jaime Diaz, Maxine Dunfee, Mina Fayez, Larry Hufford, Estela Matriano, Norman V. Overly, Alice Miel, Frithjof Oertel, Betty Reardon, Piyush Swami, and Swee-Hin Toh, who have been role models in curriculum development as well as in peace education.

*Tonya Huber-Warring and Lisa A. Holtan*

*See also* ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development); Berman, Louise M.; Equity; International Perspectives; *Journal of World Council for Curriculum and Instruction*; Miel, Alice; Social Justice; Transformative Curriculum Leadership

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## WORTH, WHAT KNOWLEDGE IS OF

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In his 1861 book, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, Herbert Spencer coined the phrase, “What knowledge is of most worth?” He used it as a chapter title, upon which he developed his Social Darwinist response that argued for knowledge that fosters human self-preservation as the knowledge of most worth. Although Lester Frank Ward, John Dewey, and others who followed to create curriculum studies disagreed profoundly with Spencer’s doctrine of *survival of the fittest* relative to human society and education, his emphasis on knowledge that is most worthwhile persisted as a salient issue of the curriculum field throughout both its curriculum development era (circa 1900 to 1970) and its curriculum studies era (1970 to present).

The question posed by Spencer captured an interest within the long history of speculation by philosophers, theologians, and social theorists about what kind of society is best and how human beings should be educated to develop it. As curriculum theorists developed the question from the early years of the 20th century on, it became modified and refined. Criticism focused on roots of curriculum in colonization, that is, dominant social groups tend to guide curriculum decisions and subaltern or colonized voices are not heard. Such criticism ranged from subaltern voices, such

as W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and Paulo Freire to those accepted within the curriculum field, such as George Counts, Harold Rugg, Michael Apple, William Pinar, Henry Giroux, Jean Anyon, Linda McNeil, Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Joe Kincheloe, William Watkins, and Ming Fang He. From varied critiques derived from such sources, a new question emerged to temper the original Spencerian question: Who benefits and who does not? Moreover, the emphasis on *most* was diminished, remaking the question, “What knowledge is worthwhile?” This diminished the one-best-answer criticized in favor of increased diversity and pluralism. Further, the idea of *knowledge* itself was perceived by many as a limiting factor in curriculum studies. Thus, emphasis on other dimensions of human and societal growth through education have made the question more robust over the years. Today, it becomes much more inclusive: What is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, contributing, and more?

In essence, the question, stated in its most streamlined form today is, *What is worthwhile?* It is often argued that this question is the unifying concern of curriculum studies. It can be seen in all of the attempts to summarize or capture the state of the curriculum field, such as in synoptic curriculum texts, at various junctures throughout curriculum history.

*William H. Schubert*

*See also* Curriculum Studies, Definitions and Dimensions of Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Future of: Essay 5; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 1; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 2; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 3; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 4; Curriculum Studies, The Nature of: Essay 5

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## ZIRBES, LAURA

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The contributions of Laura Zirbes (1884–1967) to the field of curriculum lie in three areas: (1) as a consummate progressive teacher and teacher educator; (2) as an early advocate of classroom-based, teacher-initiated research; and (3) as a steadfast leader in professional organizations dedicated to the improvement of educational practice. In 1948, the National Women’s Press Club recognized her achievements in education with an award as “Woman of the Year,” presented to her by President Harry Truman. With more than 200 publications, hundreds of speeches and workshops for inservice educators, and a career of more than 60 years teaching at all levels of schooling, she advocated an elementary curriculum that recognized the developmental needs of the child, the centrality of experience in learning, the integration of content areas, and the role of creativity for achieving human potential.

Zirbes began teaching 4th grade in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1903. Immediately, she challenged lock-step, recitation methods in favor of approaches that considered children as individuals with unique backgrounds and needs. An early article on experimentation in her own classroom led to a position at the Lincoln School at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she also earned bachelor’s, master’s, and PhD degrees. In 1928, she relocated to The Ohio State University where she taught until her retirement in 1954. In her later years, she

continued teaching at many universities and offering workshops and institutes for teachers.

Her position at the Lincoln School as investigator in reading enabled her to explore the impact of individualized instructional methods on reading and to challenge the use of basal readers and standardized tests. In these efforts, Zirbes demonstrated an inquiring mind, open to questioning and observing teaching practices. She also participated in the development of the school’s principles of child-centeredness, an integration of subject areas, and a valuing of the arts.

At Ohio State, she expanded these views in summer demonstration schools and in work within a local public school and in a private building she financed herself; these efforts led to the establishment of the elementary school within the College of Education’s University School. As director of research in the University School, she championed a pragmatic progressivism designed to encourage teachers’ thinking as they put progressive theories into practice. For more than 35 years, teachers and students preparing to teach visited the university school and participated in intensive workshops to see progressive practices in action and to observe how teachers collaborated around key principles.

Zirbes participated actively in the work of the school’s elementary teachers through informal influence that stressed developmentalism, the role of firsthand experience in learning, the integration of subject areas, the centrality of democratic values, and the need for cooperation rather than competition in children’s work. She also recognized

that structure was still necessary to foster healthy learning. In so doing, Zirbes avoided either-or thinking, an approach that enabled the application of these practices in a wide variety of public school settings. Her work thus presaged movements in elementary curriculum during the late 1960s and the early 1970s based on the British Infant School model and the whole language movement of the 1990s.

Zirbes's commitments to teacher education spanned both preservice and inservice programs. She developed the elementary teacher education program at Ohio State to include community service, field experiences in the local public schools, seminar and workshop pedagogies, and the use of emerging technologies in the classroom. She also founded Walhalla House, a pre-kindergarten and kindergarten demonstration setting and educational laboratory. Here, too, preservice teachers could observe the development of relationships with parents and the importance of teachers' social responsibilities in the school community.

Zirbes extended this involvement in the professional growth of teachers through her work in various professional organizations across her long career, for example, in the Progressive Education Association, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and the Association for Childhood Education International. Along with hundreds of speeches and workshops, these contexts provided her with opportunities to champion the need for a developmental perspective to guide teaching, the importance of teacher growth if children were to grow in their presence, and a pragmatic approach to helping teachers apply progressive principles in their classrooms.

For Zirbes, writing occurred to share her views with teachers. More than 200 books and articles appeared in venues for practitioners and as resources

for classroom teachers. However, her 1959 text, *Spurs to Creative Teaching*, served as a capstone to her thinking, honed over many decades. Using an innovative style to engage the reader with the text, she stressed that teachers must always move forward in their thinking and that creative teaching exemplified democratic values and led to educational fulfillment. Here, she built on her work in developmental curriculum to articulate a view of teaching which demanded constant growth.

Zirbes's influence on curriculum arose from her work as a teacher of teachers. She modeled her beliefs, stood firm for her values, demonstrated practices in school settings, articulated a middle-of-the-road progressivism, and thereby educated generations of teachers who, in turn, moved the mainstream elementary curriculum from drill and recitation to child-centered, developmentally appropriate approaches to learning.

*Elinor A. Scheirer*

*See also* Action Research; Child-Centered Curriculum; Developmentalists Tradition; Elementary School Curriculum; Progressive Education, Conceptions of; Teacher as Researcher

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# Appendix:

## Fundamental Curriculum Questions

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### LIST OF FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ON CURRICULUM MAKING USED AS THE BASIS FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE GENERAL STATEMENT: *THE FOUNDATIONS OF CURRICULUM MAKING*

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The *26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE), The Foundations and Technique of Curriculum-Construction*, has taken on legendary dimensions and is best known in curriculum studies for the second portion of the publication, Part II, which contains a composite 18-page statement, *The Foundations of Curriculum Making*, with 58 individual planks composed by the committee of 12 authors: William C. Bagley, Franklin Bobbitt, Frederick G. Bonser, W. W. Charters, George S. Counts, Stuart A. Curtis, Ernest Horn, Charles H. Judd, Frederick J. Kelly, William H. Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and George Works. As a prelude to the preparation of their composite statement, committee members staged five large-group roundtable meetings, lasting from 1 to 5 days, and scheduled various other occasions where smaller groups met to discuss a series of topics and questions that served as the nucleus for the composite, general statement.

In an effort to display the dynamic, timeless quality of this publication, to suggest that the field of curriculum studies remains linked to its curriculum design and development past, and to underscore the *26th Yearbook's* profound ability to generate

thoughtful conversation and insight, two curriculum scholars—Timothy Leonard and Peter M. Hilton—were invited to address, from a contemporary perspective, the list of fundamental questions on curriculum making.

Craig Kridel



#### 1. What Period of Life Does Schooling Primarily Contemplate as Its End?

This first question was meant to address the relationship of compulsory education to the workplace. At the time of the *26th Yearbook*, there was as yet no federal law regulating the employment of children, and the compulsory education age-range varied from state to state. Conditions were such that approximately half the children in the United States were not in school by the time they reached the age of 16. Writers of the yearbook debated whether or not curricula should be designed to prepare students for work or to provide real experiences that were significant in their own right and not just as preparation for work and adult living.

The vast changes in contemporary life since the 1920s demand that this question be looked at anew. Children are in school longer than they were then; jobs come in and out of existence more quickly and require skills that cannot reasonably be taught in 8 or 12 years of school. Community colleges, proprietary schools, and union-sponsored trade schools routinely enroll students in their

30s and 40s. Universities sponsor programs for adults in lifelong learning institutes that primarily promote learning in the humanities for adults of any age. If one includes all the educational organizations offering curricula, the answer must be that schooling does not, these days, contemplate any period of life as its end.

In the early 1800s, Free School Societies in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities established schools for the children of working people in basic literacy and arithmetic. The tax-supported common school movement, as it grew through the 19th century continued to aim at producing a literate and civil workforce. This aim continued to be central to public schooling into the 1920s and on into the present day. Many important voices throughout the 20th century decried this narrow utilitarian view of public education, but by and large, Americans were content with their schools as long as young people were prepared for good jobs and behaved with a modicum of civility. Yet the popularity of the contemporary adult education programs in the humanities throughout the United States challenges us to think about this question in a very different light. Is there an age, one might ask, at which education in the humanities is not of paramount importance?

Elliot Eisner highlights two characteristics of humanistic studies that support an understanding of this question. The humanities, he says, shed light on what it means to be a human being and sharpen one's ability to make good judgments. Eisner shows how insight into patterns of human feeling flow out of appreciation of and work in art, music, and dance; how studies of literature and drama enhance one's sense of self and awareness of others; and how studies of history and even of science from the perspective of its historical development enable us to realize the underlying distinction between nature and culture. In addition to work like Eisner's, there is a growing body of research in neurobiology and anthropology that shows deep connections between education in the arts and emotional and cognitive development.

It is clear, then, that schooling that aims narrowly at job preparation and a modicum of civility is not adequate to the needs of our time. Humanities education, as broadly conceived by the authors of the recently published *107th Yearbook* of the NSSE, should be a prominent focus of all school

curricula. When schooling works effectively to achieve humanities education, there is no period of life at which it should end. Whether such a notion of schooling should be supported by taxes is a matter for voters to decide.

## 2. How Can the Curriculum Prepare for Effective Participation in Adult Life?

The prevalent assumption in public discourse on education in the United States is that preschool is preparation for kindergarten, kindergarten is preparation for first grade, elementary school is preparation for high school, high school is preparation for college, and college is preparation for a job. Also, at each stage, the work of the student is understood as a preparation for a test. The assumption has always been problematic in the field of curriculum studies.

One way to get beneath the surface of this problem is to consider the basic principles of pragmatism as enunciated by Charles Sanders Peirce that the meaning of things is to be found in their consequences. Peirce held that it is impossible for humans to have ideas about things unless they can conceive of the sensible effects of those things. If Peirce was correct, curricula are best understood in terms of their effects, their practical results. On this view, to consider curricula solely in terms of preparing for adult life would be to distort their meaning. On the other hand, to consider curricula only in terms of the present moment is to rob it of its complexity. Curricula resonate with effects; some intended, some anticipated, some hoped for, some neglected, some unnoticed. The resonance of a curriculum—that is, its intended and unintended effects—requires careful attention from curriculum designers.

A dramatic example of this comes from outside the United States. On March 24, 1980, the entire country of Nicaragua became one large school. Nicaragua had just successfully driven out the dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and the Sandanistas understood their first task to be to making the people of Nicaragua literate. Students from high schools and colleges in and around Managua, the capitol city, were recruited to become brigadistas, or literacy volunteers. They were trained to become teachers of reading, writing, and basic mathematics, and from March until

September they went into the countryside to teach. In 1979, a census had revealed that over 50% of Nicaraguans were illiterate, and in rural areas, the rate was 75%.

The approach that the brigadistas took was designed to establish dialogue with illiterate Nicaraguans. Photographs were shown and served as the basis for dialogue about specific political and economic problems that they faced. These photographs were set in a reading primer, and each photograph, along with discussion questions, was the basis of dialogue about the specific situation that this or that group of Nicaraguans faced. In the primer, each photograph and discussion was followed by a lesson in constructing sentences related to the discussion. The mathematics book was titled *Mathematics and Economic Reconstruction: One Single Operation*. The instruction was dialogical, deliberately political, and revolutionary following the work of Paulo Freire. Learning was practiced as a shared responsibility among learners and teachers.

The resonance of this curriculum was impressive. From March to September of 1980, 406,000 illiterate Nicaraguans were taught basic reading and writing skills by this massive army of young people. The testimony of many of the young people who participated in this campaign demonstrated a growth in awareness on their part of the social and political situation in the country, and the illiteracy rate was reduced from 30% to 6% in the cities and from 75% to 21% in rural areas. The meaning of this curriculum was situated in its cultural and social context. There are many other examples, but any curriculum with such resonance prepares learners for effective participation in adult life.

The Nicaraguan Literacy Campaign did not focus on preparation for adult life. Rather, it engaged young people and adults in a shared venture in literacy and democracy. The experiment demonstrates the possibility of creating resonant curriculum that is both preparation for and participation in adult life.

### 3. Are Curriculum-Makers of the Schools Obligated to Formulate a Point of View Concerning the Merits or Deficiencies of American Civilization?

To understand this question, it is helpful to consider two important terms: *cultural hegemony* and

*reification*. Cultural hegemony refers to a process whereby the dominant view of a culture renders alternative views of the culture irrelevant or meaningless. Reification refers to the process of rendering abstractions into fixed physical objects. Normally, curriculum designs, as syntheses of culture, unquestioningly reflect the hegemonic point of view. By not explicitly formulating their point of view, these designers reify their curricula. The hegemonic view of curriculum design at the time of the *26th Yearbook* was the technical rationalism exemplified by the work of Henry Harap, the most widely used curriculum technician of the period. The yearbook describes several exceptions to this such as the curricula of the Lincoln School at the Teachers College of Columbia University and the Francis Parker School in Chicago, yet the work of Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, David Snedden, and Henry Harap dominated the field.

Some of the editors of the yearbook decried this conservative dominance of the 1920s and advocated that curriculum workers involve textbook publishers in a process that would engage the public in developing a more critical stance towards society. Harold Rugg went further, and published a 14-volume textbook series in social studies grounded on these principles. In the 1930s, George Counts raised a critical question in *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* and Carter Woodson condemned the Manichaeian division of U.S. culture between Whites and Blacks in his book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, demanding a curriculum that credited Black Americans with the significant contributions they had made to U.S. life.

A significant curriculum project based on a well-formulated point of view about the merits and deficiencies of U.S. culture is to be found in the Progressive Education Association's Eight Year Study. The study advocated participation of individual schools, teachers, and students in the development of the curriculum as a method of evaluation of the surrounding society and culture.

Curriculum theorists such as Michael Apple and Landon Beyer have, since the 1980s, offered a more radical critique of society that decries the hegemony of unbridled capitalism in the culture and in the curriculum of the schools. The work of Patricia Holland and Noreen Garman is grounded in trusting the human imagination in both traditional and

critical curriculum practice and serves as a useful complement to these theorists.

Curriculum workers ordinarily develop curriculum without articulating a point of view about the merits and deficiencies of U.S. culture. When such a point of view is well articulated and deeply held, curriculum becomes far more dynamic, interactive, and meaningful.

#### 4. Should the School Be Regarded as a Conscious Agency for Social Improvement?

One way to approach this question is to examine the text that has served as a paradigm for curriculum development since the late 1940s—that is, the Tyler Rationale. Ralph Tyler published *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* in 1949 while he was a professor at the University of Chicago. It can be argued that this slim volume has been the most significant text in the field of curriculum ever since.

Tyler held that in order to develop a proper curriculum four questions need to be answered: (1) What are the school's educational purposes? (2) What educational experiences will likely attain these purposes? (3) How can the educational experiences be properly organized? (4) How can the curriculum be evaluated? Curriculum theorists such as George Posner and Landon Beyer have pointed out that the Tyler Rationale reduces the first question about educational purposes to a procedural and technical matter, whereas they view the question of educational purposes as definitive. In stating this, Posner, Beyer, and others hold that curriculum designers, before they proceed with their design, must determine whose interests are to be served by the curriculum. In this way, these critical theorists stake their claim that curriculum should be regarded as a conscious agency for social improvement.

George Counts in the 1930s and 1940s and Theodore Brameld in the 1950s and 1960s promoted similar views dedicated to the idea that the school must be an agent of social change, forming a school of thought called *social reconstructionism*. Criticism of these views center on two questions: Can schools be instruments of social change? And ought schools be instruments of social change?

Whether or not it is possible for schools to be instruments of social change is a question that has

puzzled educators and social thinkers for years. After all, adults are responsible for social change, and children get socialized into the adult world, not the other way around. Brameld's response to this question was that the curriculum should be owned and controlled by teachers, parents, and students, and no one else. His confidence in the wisdom and power of the common person was unbounded, and some say utopian.

Whether or not the schools ought to be instruments of social change is another matter. Historically, schools were created to pass on the culture to the next generation and have served a conservative function in the culture, which begs the question of what is to be conserved in a fundamentally democratic society. The answer of many contemporary curriculum thinkers such as George Wood, Deborah Meier, TheodoreSizer, and the authors of *Facing History and Ourselves* is clear. Surely it is not the function of the U.S. schools to conserve authoritarianism and mindless conformity. Rather, it seems clear that schools ought to conserve the common sense of Thomas Paine, the courage of George Washington, the sense of justice of Martin Luther King, the temperateness of Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural address, and the persistence of Susan B. Anthony. A curriculum that conserves these elements would also be a curriculum that serves as an instrument of social change.

#### 5. How Shall the Content of the Curriculum Be Conceived and Stated?

In their irreplaceable book *Curriculum Books: The First Hundred Years*, William Schubert and his colleagues discuss the construction of the *26th Yearbook* and the struggle of the editorial board to arrive at a consensus statement about the content of the curriculum in the United States. Schubert and his colleagues provide a useful framework for understanding why such a consensus was not achieved, and how one might look coherently at this question. Schubert said that there were three distinct visions of curriculum content among the members of the editorial board: (1) the intellectual traditionalists, such as William Bagley; (2) the social behaviorists, such as Franklin Bobbitt; and (3) the experientialists, such as William Heard Kilpatrick. It is fitting to



look at the yearbook in this way, for it was not intended to be a set of principles to be blindly followed, but as Harold Rugg said in the introduction to the second part of the yearbook, *The Foundations of Curriculum Making*, the common statement was to be a “bone of contention to be chewed upon, and not a platform to stand upon” (p. 8).

Intellectual traditionalists, who followed what was called a subject-organized curriculum, viewed the curriculum as a set of separate subjects derived from the cultural past. These professionals were not pedants. They were alert to the dangers of attempting to cover too much material and insisting upon rote memorization of facts. They stressed, for example, in the teaching of botany in a manner that demonstrated how botanists work. They understood that separate subjects could be correlated so that students would be provided opportunities to grasp connections among the subjects they studied. There is little evidence that their ideas about memorization or the correlation of subjects were put into immediate practice. However, in the 1930s, the Eight Year Study experimented with correlating subjects with a broad fields approach to curriculum grounded in problem solving. Similarly, in the 1960s, the social science curriculum *Man: A Course of Study* blended the biological and social sciences into one curriculum, and J. Lloyd Trump experimented with flexible modular scheduling, an approach to innovative block scheduling for the purpose of interdisciplinary studies, an approach that continues to this day. A contemporary approach to curriculum integration may be found in the work of James Beane.

The experientialists, who were called child centered, viewed curriculum from the point of view of the students’ experience of school. These thinkers followed John Dewey’s idea that all education begins with the experience and the interests of the child and attempted to build curriculum as a process of guiding students in the reconstruction of their experience towards responsible participation in adult and democratic life. The debate between the intellectual traditionalists and the experientialists has been renewed in each decade since the 1920s, most recently in a public conversation on the Internet between the historian Diane Ravitch and the progressive educator Debbie Meier. An

attempt to heal this gap was introduced in the 1960s by Arthur King and John Brownell in which they conceived the curriculum as a community of discourse among and between the disciplines of knowledge. Professional scientists, mathematicians, artists, musicians, linguists, and writers participated in this community of discourse along with administrators, teachers, parents, and students. All participants, they said, can learn and contribute in their own way to the ongoing inquiry and discourse.

The social behaviorists viewed curriculum primarily as an instrument of administration and a technique for the control of student learning. They tended to draw their ideas of curriculum content from surveys about the content of adult life at work, at home, and in leisure time. Based on these surveys, social behaviorists built sets of goals and objectives, or more recently standards and benchmarks, for the curriculum. This view conceived curriculum work primarily as a technical process that was less concerned with school subjects or student experience than it was with measurable outcomes. Of the three visions, the social behaviorist view has dominated curriculum practice over the years, especially in the recent period of the standards movement. The challenge for curriculum studies today is to keep the other two visions in play so the field can maintain itself, as Rugg described, a bone of contention to be chewed upon.

## 6. What Is the Place and Function of Subject Matter in the Educative Process?

There are, in general, three functions of subject matter in the process of education, which, working together, serve the interests both of individual students and the society. First, subject matter provides children and youth with a store of common knowledge and wisdom. Common knowledge includes the geographic, historical, civic, and literary understandings that provide young persons with a sense of identification with a civilizational past and a cultural present—a sense of citizenship in one’s nation and the global community.

Second, subject matter provides a depth of understanding of oneself in the world, a depth of understanding of what it means to be a human person within the story of the universe, the story of

life, the story of human history, human knowledge, and the symbols that enable this story to keep moving forward. The physical and life sciences provide this depth of understanding, along with the symbol systems of mathematics, language arts, and the languages of other peoples.

Third, subject matter stimulates the imagination, the inquiring consciousness, and the critical mind that enables students to imagine the real possibilities in the present moment, to critically examine the civilizational past and the cultural present, to make music, to dance, and engage in the arts. Music, art, and physical education are the primary subjects that deal with imaginal learning, and yet the imagination feeds the other two areas of the curriculum as well, and all three of these areas are fundamentally and dynamically connected.

Curriculum theorists all hold the importance of subject matter in the curriculum. There are, however, many disagreements within the field of curriculum studies about the role and function of subject matter. For example, Philip Phenix described the role of subject matter in curriculum emphasizing the integration of the subjects into the whole person and with an openness to ultimate meaning. Other curriculum inquirers foreground one or another of the three functions.

With regard to the first function of subject matter, E. D. Hirsch puts it in the foreground, as the core of common knowledge. Hirsch holds that the critical thinking implicit in the third role of subject matter requires basic understandings of the facts contained in those subjects.

Maria Montessori also foregrounds the first function of subject matter by emphasizing the story of the universe, the story of life, and the needs of humans for food, clothing, shelter, security, transportation, and spirituality as the basis of the education of children from age six to age nine. This, she said, would provide children with a sense of their role in the ongoing story of life.

The second function, depth of understanding of self in the world was a basic aim of the curriculum reform movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Jerome Bruner taught that children can participate in the community of inquirers that make up school subjects, and as they grow in age, they should follow a spiral curriculum that draws them deeper and deeper into the inquiry. Joseph Schwab, whose work is echoed in many respects by the work of

TheodoreSizer and the Coalition of Essential Schools, held that it is preferable to know a few subjects in depth than many subjects superficially. Schwab understood the teacher as the bridge between the formal curriculum and the curriculum as students engage with it. Using the arts of the eclectic, teachers choose from the fund of their knowledge of subject matter and their knowledge of the practice of teaching to apply subject matter to the concrete situation of the classroom.

A useful place to go to understand the foregrounding of imagination and critical intelligence is the Discipline Based Arts Education program (DBAE) sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Foundation, which integrates the visual, musical and performing arts through studio and performance work as well as a study of history, aesthetics, and criticism. This approach to subject matter is to be found also in the work of Elliot Eisner, Maxine Greene, and William Pinar.

### **7. What Portion of Education Should Be Classified as “General” and What Portion as “Specialized” or “Vocational” or Purely “Optional”?**

Benedict de Spinoza was a lens grinder, a craftsman, an artist, and one of the greatest European philosophers of the 17th century. It is that ideal synthesis of a good solid trade and a highly intellectual education that is sought in answering this question. Rarely does formal education achieve such integration, for the relationship between general education and vocational education has never reached a settled understanding in the United States. Traditional and progressive curriculum thinkers, though they disagree on its nature, tend to consider a good general education as an adequate preparation for work in the world, or for further professional or vocational studies. In 1917, a deep divide between general and vocational education was struck by the Smith-Hughes Act, which set vocational education and general education on entirely different tracks.

Charles Prosser, one of the foremost advocates of Smith-Hughes, believed, along with Edward Thorndike, that all learning was specific and segregated from other learning. Transfer of training, in their view, did not exist. In vocational education, therefore, Prosser advocated a curriculum in which

the activities of students mimicked the activities of workers in specific fields as closely as possible. Smith-Hughes established vocational and technical education districts to be separate from regular school districts, virtually separating vocational and general education in the United States. In some ways the junior college became an extension of this system of schooling. Smith-Hughes mandated that if a student received federal funds for vocational education, 50% of his or her class time would be devoted directly to the training he or she needed for the job. The other 50% would be devoted to support courses and general education.

W. W. Charters said that the curricula for vocational education should be developed through functional or job analysis. Such analysis included personality profiles for specific trades. Carpenters, for instance, according to Charters, did not need to be as accurate or as rapid as machinists, but carpentry required more neatness than machinists' work. All the activities of workers in fields as varied as potters and poultry workers were to be analyzed, and these activities were to be the basis for implementing Smith-Hughes.

The curriculum reform movement of the 1950s and 1960s generally ignored dealing with this separation. In the 1980s, the cognitive psychologist Lauren Resnick claimed that paying attention to the differences between school learning and learning in the workplace could support the development of a curriculum that reflects the complexity of contemporary life. School learning, she said, focuses on individual work and individual achievement, whereas learning in the workplace demands shared understandings and communications to achieve shared purposes. School work, she said, emphasizes pure thought, whereas workplaces are structured by the requirements of manipulating the available tools and symbols necessary to accomplish concrete tasks. Resnick, noting that schools to help students become competent out-of-school learners, advised that the building of curricula that pay attention to the kinds of thinking required outside school could simultaneously serve the interests of general and vocational education.

Resnick became a member of the board of the Secretary of Labor's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS), which in 1991, published a report that did not address the structural

issues of vocational education, but did look seriously at the conceptual divide between vocational and general education curricula. SCANS developed a conception of a general education that would better prepare students for the workforce. SCANS, however, maintained the method of Job Analysis initiated by Charters, and from the perspective of curriculum traditionalists, treated general education as little more than instrumental of vocational education. From the standpoint of progressives, SCANS gives over too much of the curriculum to the values and direction of the business community. The question of the relationship between general and vocational education remains, in practice, unanswered.

### 8. Is the Curriculum to Be Made in Advance?

The question of whether the curriculum should be made in advance has played a central role in the field of curriculum studies. It also seems to be a preoccupation of teachers in schools. School administrators, however, tend to think the question is settled: Of course, the curriculum is to be made in advance, how else could instruction be delivered? The separation of curriculum from teaching that is instantiated in that kind of thinking and in the practices of school district offices, state legislatures, and the U.S. Office of Education must be addressed to answer this question.

Between the census of 1890 and the census of 1910 the majority of the U.S. population moved from the countryside to the city. During that period, ferment about what was to be taught in schools heightened. Immigration, industrialization, and urbanization were bound to influence questions of what students in elementary and secondary schools need to know and how that knowledge would influence them in adult life. In sum, the question of Herbert Spencer, "What knowledge is of most worth?" reformulated in 1993 by Michael Apple as "Whose knowledge is of most worth?" had to be answered.

The National Education Association (NEA) played a major role in effecting an answer to Spencer's question. In 1876, the NEA, largely under the influence of William Torrey Harris, prepared the report, "A Course of Study from Primary School to University," and in 1893, the NEA sponsored The Committee of Ten, which was given the

task of establishing a secondary school curriculum. Both of these efforts focused primarily on the subject areas that students would need for adult life, or for college or university.

In 1918, Franklin Bobbitt published *The Curriculum*, the first book totally dedicated to the making of a school curriculum. He and his associate W. W. Charters, for all practical purposes, created the field of curriculum development as an activity of technical design. Their principles were taken from the field of industrial management as developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor, and prescribed a process of activity analysis for the development of educational objectives, and activities. Thus, the curriculum developer, in a process separated in time and place from the classroom, would design educational objectives and activities based on the observed activities of competent adults in science, industry, family life, and labor. The teacher's task then was to apply the curriculum through instruction.

Progressive educators during the growing industrial period disagreed with both the NEA's subject matter emphasis and the technical-rational approach of Bobbitt and Charters. Harold Rugg and Anne Schumacher rejected both for their relative inattention to the individual child. John Dewey rejected them for their inattention to what he would call the educational situation—that is the meeting in a moment or range of moments between a prepared and inquiring teacher and a classroom of children, each with his or her own personal history and experience. Dewey's work demonstrated that the dispute between the progressives and the others was about authority. The academic traditionalists and the technical rationalists both believed in the authority of the distant expert, whereas Dewey thought authority in the classroom resided in the student's natural need to reconstruct his or her experience in an actual situation with an actual knowledgeable, inquiring, responsible adult called a teacher.

Currently, there are traditionalists, such as Diane Ravitch, and followers of Mortimer Adler's *Paideia Proposal* or E. D. Hirsch's *Core Knowledge* who uphold the belief in a preplanned subject matter-based curriculum. Others, such as Grant Wiggins, Roger and David Johnson, Robert Marzano, and the U.S. Office of Education more closely follow the line of thought begun by Bobbitt

and Charters. Progressives such as Deborah Meier, Michael Apple, Elliot Eisner, and Parker Palmer have inherited the progressive view, emphasizing the notion of situated learning.

In the new century, the technical approach of Marzano and others dominates curriculum practice. Some districts have closed down their curriculum departments, but maintain strong commitments to the development and selection of standardized tests that are aligned with national, state, and local standards. Thus, curriculum development is, in practice, largely a matter of selecting textbooks that support improvement in standardized test scores. This practice creates tensions between teachers and school administrators, for it is clear that, in practice, the knowledge of the experts behind the standards, the tests, and the textbooks is held to be of greater worth than the practical insights of teachers in actual educational situations.

### **9. To What Extent Is the Organization of the Subject Matter a Matter of Pupil-Thinking and Construction of, or Planning by, the Professional Curriculum Maker as a Result of Experimentation?**

Recent debates about U.S. education have tended to exaggerate the differences among the three visions of curriculum described in the answer to question five. Diane Ravitch and E. D. Hirsch, for example, portray a stark divide between progressives such as John Dewey and perennialists such as William Bagley. Similarly, some progressives treat social efficiency curricularists as if they did not care about general education. Though there were deep differences among these persons' visions of curriculum, it must be remembered that Dewey and Boyd Bode affirmed the value of traditional subject matter, Bagley honored the experiences of children as inherent to the educative process, and Franklin Bobbitt, particularly later in life, was committed to general and humanistic education.

When one examines the *26th Yearbook*, therefore, one finds a general commitment among the editors to an ongoing process of comprehensive curriculum study on the part of curriculum committees. These committees would include subject matter specialists, teachers, and other specialists who would be willing and able to pay careful



attention to the experiences of students as they work their way through the curriculum. In that sense, the editors advocated experimentation, or what later became known as action research or more currently, site-based staff development.

The recent winner-take-all debates about the public school have not served the curriculum field well, and the result has been the reduction of curriculum to a business-efficiency model that focuses almost entirely on technical matters and the development of standardized tests in the name of science. If the curriculum field were to reestablish the dialectic among the three visions of curriculum described in the yearbook, the place of the teacher in the process of curriculum making would be enlarged, the participation of university faculty and subject area specialists would become essential, and the notion of science utilized in the federal legislation No Child Left Behind would expand to include history, the humanities, ethnographic research, and philosophical analysis.

The conversation required to restore and renew curriculum practice would accept the reality of opposed principles, opposed ideas, and opposed practices as normal. Then, through experimentation and conversation, curriculum committees could compare principles, practices, and results not merely to show one to be better than another, but to find the benefits and deficits of each and all. Trust in the experience, the good will, and the intelligence of all those engaged in the work has the potential to realize the notion of Harold Rugg that opposing curriculum ideas provide opportunity for discourse and discussion. What is at stake here is the very idea that curriculum is always grounded in the kinds of choices educators make as they attempt to answer the unanswerable question: "What knowledge is of most worth?"

### 10. From the Point of View of the Educator, When Has "Learning" Taken Place?

Question 10 asks about assessment and evaluation, terms about which there is some lack of clarity. Assessment generally is taken to mean the process of obtaining, interpreting, and documenting information about student learning. So assessment includes pretesting, posttesting, observing student behavior, interviewing teachers and students, and reviewing teachers' assignments

and student work including exhibitions, portfolios, presentations, tests, and written work, sometimes with the guidance of a scoring rubric. Evaluation, on the other hand, is making the judgment about what students have learned based upon the evidence gathered in the assessment process.

Assessment and evaluation take place on two levels: evaluation of what students have learned and the evaluation of the curriculum and instruction that has guided their learning. The way one goes about evaluating students or curriculum depends upon the purpose of the evaluation and the use to which the information and the judgment shall be put. In 1967, Michael Scriven made an important distinction between formative and summative evaluation. The purpose of formative evaluation is to improve current practices and processes in classrooms and schools. The purpose of summative evaluation is to make judgments about the worth of the results of those practices and processes in order to improve student learning and the curriculum for the future.

Scriven made another significant contribution, which has been elaborated by Robert Stake through what they have called goal-free or responsive evaluation. In this approach, the evaluator does not attend to the goals and purposes of the curriculum, but uses qualitative methods such as close observations, in-depth interviews, and grounded theory in order to discern the kinds of learning that occur quite apart from the intentions of the curriculum makers.

Elliot Eisner has described a form of evaluation called educational connoisseurship. This practice is not unlike Scriven's goal-free evaluation and has many similarities with Joseph Schwab's arts of the eclectic. The educational connoisseur observes the student, the classroom, or the curriculum as a drama critic might observe a play. Noting the context of the object being evaluated, the connoisseur draws upon all the elements in the setting and in the wider world, and makes a holistic judgment of their worth.

Judgments about whether learning has taken place, then, are never definitive. Rather, they are inferences based on data that have been gathered in a variety of ways from a variety of sources for the purpose of improving curricula and student learning. For this reason, using scores on standardized

tests to judge the knowledge of a student or the worth of a curriculum must be complemented with multiple sources of data including data from student work on assignments and the professional judgment of classroom teachers so that these pieces of information can be used to improve student learning and curricula.

### 11. To What Extent Should Traits Be Learned in Their “Natural” Setting?

This question is best understood in the context of the curriculum movement called social efficiency. A trait is a habitual way of relating to one’s world and to other persons. It is what some educators today call a disposition. David Snedden and his student Charles Prosser held that a person’s character is a sum total of his or her traits. On this basis, Franklin Bobbitt and W. W. Charters developed the method of activity or job analysis, which observed and analyzed the behavior of adults and developed curricula that would as closely as possible have students mimic those behaviors in school. Philip Jackson has called this approach to curriculum mimetic teaching. Mimetic teaching has manifested itself over the years in various curricula such as vocational education, education for democracy, life-adjustment education, and character education.

The belief that a person’s character is the sum total of his or her traits is peculiarly behaviorist in origin and contrasts with the traditionalists’ understanding of character as intellectual and spiritual, as well as the progressives’ understanding of character as active, dynamic, and inquiring. Mimetic curricula, then, are very useful, but when used to the exclusion of traditional and progressive curricula they are inadequate to the task of preparing the young to live in an increasingly complex world. Moreover, the tendency of social efficiency educators to exclude some studies, such as Latin or philosophy or literature from the curriculum on the grounds that they are not efficient or useful is short-sighted.

There are at least three alternative approaches to curriculum for character education that differ from and may complement the learning of traits from their natural setting. The first of these is generally called character education such as *The Children’s Morality Code* published in 1917 by William

Hutchins. This approach provided rules for conduct for children aimed at developing habits of self-control, good hygiene, good workmanship, truth telling, and teamwork. Prominent in this approach is the contemporary program *Character Counts*, which is based on what are called six pillars of character: trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring, and citizenship.

The second approach focuses on decision making and the facing of moral dilemmas. Merrill Harmin, Louis Rath, and Sydney Simon pioneered this approach in the 1960s with their work on values clarification, which used exercises to help students clarify their values and change their behavior. In a slightly different way, Lawrence Kohlberg worked on a developmental approach to moral reasoning by presenting children with moral dilemmas to think through and solve.

A third approach has been explored by Kevin Ryan and Karen Bohlin and concerns itself with virtue ethics and what may be called communities of character. Drawing on a range of resources, this approach aims at developing shared visions, values, and virtues in a school community.

The education of character has long been of central importance in the U.S. curriculum and remains a major challenge to contemporary education. The narrow focus on selecting educational activities that match desirable traits to their natural settings as captured from adult life cannot meet that challenge. When curriculum workers, including teachers, devise simulations; tell stories; practice improvisations; study and engage students in discussions of art, science, mathematics, music, and literature; and implement service learning projects, they communicate to students that the moral life is central to human living. To achieve remembrance of that seriousness in students’ later awareness and practice is a central goal of curriculum.

### 12. To What Degree Should the Curriculum Provide for Individual Differences?

All curriculum practitioners affirm the need to provide for individual differences among learners. The way they understand this question and act in relation to it, however, varies broadly. A useful way of understanding these differences is to examine different stances curricularists take

toward the content of the curriculum, the processes of implementing the curriculum especially in terms of teaching practices, and the kinds of results sought through this content and these processes.

In the 1970s, Benjamin Bloom developed *Mastery Learning* as an individualized approach through which individual students would master what the schools wanted them to know and be able to do at their own pace and through methods that were most appropriate to their needs and styles of learning. Later, systematic designers of instruction such as Walter Dick and Lou Carey, focused their attention on the purely technical aspects of curriculum, such as the analysis of behavioral outcomes, the needs of individual learners, instructional delivery options, and setting up online instructional systems for distance learning. Whether intended or not, these approaches, in practice seemed to be reduced to the achievement of behavioral objectives as measured by standardized tests.

The cognitivist David Ausubel took a less linear approach. Focusing on verbal learning, Ausubel set out a two-dimensional chart that ranged from rote learning to meaningful learning on the one hand, and from discovery learning to receptive learning on the other. In general, he thought, learning followed a path through discovery and rote learning to meaningful and receptive learning, and the task of curriculum and instruction was to guide students along this path by using what he called *advance organizers*. An advance organizer is a technique that enables students to connect what they already know with what is mapped out before them as what they will soon come to know. This approach, which in some sense is a reprise of the work of the 19th-century German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart, has assumed many forms over the years and has been used widely and elaborated more fully particularly in the work of Carol Ann Tomlinson and those who promote differentiated instruction.

While combining elements of behaviorist and cognitivist approaches, differentiated instruction begins as a response to the needs students have in common such as the need for safety and belonging and to those characteristics, which differentiate one student from another, such as their learning styles and emotional makeup. Like those other

approaches, differentiated instruction adapts teaching methods and pacing to individual students and utilizes continuous diagnostic and formative assessment. But more than those approaches, differentiated instruction pays attention to the students' search for meaning in their lives, to the right balance between providing safety and challenge, to the need for collaborative learning, and to the differences inherent in gender, race, language, class, socioeconomic status, and culture among them.

Each of these approaches pays considerable attention to individual differences in terms of educational procedures and results, yet they pay insufficient attention to the content of the curriculum—that is, to the following questions: What knowledge is of most worth? And whose knowledge is of most worth? Traditional thinkers such as E. D. Hirsch and Chester Finn and progressive thinkers such as TheodoreSizer and Michael Apple have spent much time and energy devoted to those questions, yet the disagreements among these groups point to a need for rapprochement between all parties—that is, traditionalists, progressives, curricularists, and instructional technicians. To what degree should the curriculum provide for individual differences, is still, after all these years, a live question.

The U.S. government has offered an answer to this question through No Child Left Behind's Response to Intervention (RTI). This accountability approach mandates what are called scientifically proven strategies to address individual needs. The widely publicized lament over RTI on the part of teachers and the general public would indicate the question is, indeed, still open.

### 13. To What Degree Is the Concept of “Minimal Essentials” to Be Used in Curriculum Construction?

At the turn of the 20th century there was much ferment between teachers and curriculum experts, most of whom were specialists in content areas. As a result, the National Education Association formed a Committee on the Economy of Time (COET). This committee was established to explore wastes of time and potential savings of time in the school curriculum. Through analyzing and quantifying the activities of adults, the

committee attempted to pare down the elementary school curriculum to include only those learnings that were of most social utility. This was a watershed moment in the history of the U.S. elementary school curriculum in that curriculum was no longer left in the hands of subject matter specialists, but was to be constructed by processes educators considered to be scientific.

From 1911 to 1915, COET published four yearbooks for the NSSE concerning what the editors called the minimum essentials. The authors believed that the curriculum from elementary school through college could be reduced from 16 to 14 years. The *14th Yearbook* is a classic in the tradition of social efficiency in curriculum studies. The report claimed that the greatest waste in those 16 years was to be found in the elementary school curriculum, which they wanted to reduce from 8 to 6 years. The essential knowledge, habits, ideals, and attitudes for individual and social needs, they said, could be learned in that amount of time.

The authors and editors settled on a two-stage process for defining these minimum essentials. In the first stage, curricularists needed to decide which subjects and which parts of subjects were both comprehensible and socially useful for the students at any given level. In the second stage, they developed criteria for excluding curriculum material. To exclude material, its social utility needed to be weighed against the time and effort it took for a majority of students to learn it. When the committee finished its work, the members realized that their results were tentative and incomplete. So the question of the place of minimum essentials was still alive at the time of the *26th Yearbook*.

In the 1940s, it was widely thought that Ralph Tyler had resolved the question by including the needs of society, the needs of learners, and the demands of subject area specialists as the basis for curriculum construction. But actually, what Tyler did was bring to light that the rationale for minimum essentials was not so much science as it was philosophy. In the 1950s, academic traditionalists such as Arthur Bestor and progressive thinkers such as Jerome Bruner attempted to reemphasize the importance of subject matter and the disciplines of knowledge in curriculum building. In the late 1960s and 1970s, a more child-centered approach was championed by educators such as Herbert Kohl and John Holt.

The standards movement, which officially began in 1983, has, ironically, much in common with the advocates of minimum essentials and the work of both Bestor and Bruner. Yet this movement led to the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The assessment approach mandated by NCLB has vitiated any connection the standards movement may have had with the likes of Bestor and Bruner. An almost universal rejection by teachers of current state and local testing practices has garnered responses from curricularists such as Linda McNeil who advocate the collaboration of students and teachers in the cocreation of curriculum.

One promising development in this debate has been a growth in scholarly interest in teacher education. One such effort began in 1991 with the Holmes Partnership, which is a consortium of 80 schools and colleges of education committed to academic improvement of teacher education programs. The Holmes Partnership schools affirm the need for high academic standards in colleges of education, which, in addition to requiring broad and rich liberal education, require teacher candidates to achieve a degree in an academic discipline in addition to their professional education degree. Teachers with such strong academic backgrounds ought to be trusted to develop curriculum at the schools in which they teach. Progressive educator Deborah Meier affirms such an approach to curriculum improvement, and it has been proven effective in the education miracle that has occurred in Finland, where colleges of education are the most competitive colleges in the universities.

#### 14. What Should Be the Form and Organization of the Curriculum?

The form and organization of the curriculum is in every case a matter of choice, the product of a decision. The curriculum is in essence a selection of culture and politics, and the selection that is made depends upon the cultural and political interests of the curriculum designers.

Herbert Kliebard has suggested that there are three major tendencies among curriculum designers that may be expressed in terms of three metaphors: (1) the metaphor of production, (2) the metaphor of growth, and (3) the metaphor of travel.

The metaphor of production has dominated curriculum development since the 1920s beginning



with the scientific rationalist approach of Franklin Bobbitt, W. W. Charters, and David Snedden and continued through the 20th century culminating in *No Child Left Behind*. The form of curricula developed under this metaphor is fundamentally industrial. Curriculum designers delineate the specifications of the results they want to achieve and state them in terms of goals and objectives or standards and benchmarks. They then set out to design and organize materials and procedures in such a way that teachers can deliver instruction in a manner and pace that will produce the desired results. These results are often expressed in terms of grades, grade-point averages, or standardized test scores. The approach is so common that in ordinary conversation one hears graduates of particular schools referred to as products of those schools. The major interest here is the control of the process and the product of the curriculum.

The metaphor of growth is at least as ancient as civilization itself, for it represents the inevitable resistance to the rules and regulations imposed by civilization. It was the basis of the educational classic *Emile*, of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi provided a major impetus to this way of thinking about curriculum by focusing on the inner capacities of the individual child and permitting children to grow first as they observe and interact with the world around them and only later through language, mathematics, and other subjects that would broaden their horizons into personal and social maturity. Friedrich Froebel and, later, Maria Montessori expanded upon Pestalozzi's work through developing elaborate sets of materials and placing them in what Montessori called a prepared environment in which the child naturally grew with the support of a carefully observant, tender, and relatively unobtrusive teacher. Contemporary followers of Jean Piaget, called *constructivists*, have also inherited this tradition. Eleanor Duckworth and Eileen Knight have made significant curricular contributions in science and mathematics from this perspective. The major interest in this case is the growth of the individual child.

The metaphor of travel has much in common with the metaphor of growth, but it moves beyond the growth of the individual child to the broadening of the child's horizons into the world of public responsibility. The content of the curriculum—that is, reading, writing, mathematics, science,

social studies, fine arts, and humanities—are taken as seriously as they are under the earlier two metaphors, but all these studies are understood in terms of how they may be used to engage and in some cases, transform the world. Perhaps the best exemplar of the travel metaphor was Boyd Bode. A progressive, Bode insisted on grounding curriculum on social and public philosophy and understood the subject matters of the curriculum as instruments to inspire students to engage in democracy as a way of life. The major interest served by the metaphor of travel is the emancipation of society, and some curricularists such as George Counts and, later, Michael Apple understood the school primarily as a force to achieve justice in U.S. society and culture. The philosopher Maxine Greene emphasized the notion that the transformation of the individual consciousness of students leads directly to the transformation of society.

Because curricula are grounded in choice, curriculum studies is a normative field of study, and requires scholars to understand the deep connection among the goals chosen, the standards embraced, the materials and textbooks selected, the teaching practices encouraged, and the methods of evaluation adopted. Once scholars grasp those connections, they are required to engage in ethical dialogue about whose interests are being served by each curricular approach. In such a way, curriculum scholars can clarify who is and who ought to carry the burdens of justice in our society.

### 15. What, if any, Use Shall Be Made of the Spontaneous Interests of Children?

The authors of this question were struggling to come up with a way to synthesize their disparate views of curriculum making. This was quite a challenge, for as editors of the *26th Yearbook*, they represented a wide range of opinion precisely about this question. William Bagley, whose views have been called essentialist, held firmly to the primacy of school subjects, especially language, mathematics and science, and had a low regard for the project method advocated by another of the editors, William Heard Kilpatrick. There was a similar conflict between the views of Franklin Bobbitt, whose activity analysis functioned as a method for the reproduction of the contemporary society, and those of George Counts, who was

moving from the child-centered views of some progressive educators to a theory that the school should be an instrument of social reconstruction. In a joint statement, these four and the eight other members of the yearbook's editorial board dealt with their differences with generosity and civility, yet they could not come up with a synthesis concerning the place of spontaneous student interests and the making of a curriculum.

Ten years before the NSSE *26th Yearbook*, in his book *Democracy and Education*, John Dewey defined interest as being enraptured by some object and to be alert and totally attentive. Dewey thought that when students pursue their interests, they develop the required discipline that enables them to reconstruct their original concern into new and vital knowledge, a very reconstruction of experience. Whether or not the interests of the children, conceived in such a profound sense, can serve as the mainspring of curriculum making remains an open question to this day. Clearly, Dewey himself had a nuanced view of school subjects and did not reduce curriculum to a working through of children's interests.

Maxine Greene has recast the question of the curriculum and the child's interest by talking about a student's re-creating the materials of the curriculum in terms of his or her own consciousness. This manner of conceiving curriculum takes for granted that the materials of the curriculum are to be selected as a synthesis of culture and that the task of the student is to transcend the narrowness of his or her own personal world and empathically engage with and be transformed by the curriculum, thereby enriching herself, the curriculum, and the culture. The curriculum maker's task then becomes one of selecting and framing school subjects, materials, and practices in such a way that moves children beyond superficial motivation to vital engagement with the public world in which they are participants.

### 16. For the Determination of What Types of Materials Should the Curriculum-Maker Analyze the Activities in Which Adults Actually Engage?

The term *material* in this question included textbooks, audio-visual aids, and whatever learning situations a curriculum maker might choose for

students. The editors of the yearbook were concerned that people thought learning to be merely the ability to repeat back correct words, phrases, or formulas without genuine understanding of their meaning. To move beyond mere memorization was important to every member of the board, for they understood learning as any change in students' ability to manage their conduct in an increasingly advantageous manner. In fact, they coined the term *advantageous learning* to make this point. It was agreed, therefore, that lifelike learning experiences needed to be discovered and chosen for incorporation into the curriculum. The analysis of adult activities, then, was a method for determining those learning experiences that were most lifelike.

Social efficiency educators have tended to think that materials that most closely resemble adult activities in the home, the workplace, and in leisure time ought to be sought out and utilized in education. Traditional and perennialist educators have tended to find activities for students that move them to think and act like professional historians, mathematicians, scientists, writers, and the like. Progressive educators have tended to find problem-solving activities so that students might grow in the habit of analyzing and solving problems in their responsibilities as citizens and members of communities. In brief, socially efficient materials would aim at efficiency in the workplace and home, traditionalist materials would aim at developing early scientists or mathematicians, and progressive materials would aim at creating informed and pragmatic citizens.

Most recently, the educational philosopher Gary Fenstermacher has advocated studying adults in society to derive standards for curriculum in the schools. He claims that adults who have made a democratic society function have been characterized by four qualities: (1) reasonableness, (2) agency, (3) a sense of relationship, and (4) morality. Each of these, he says, must become a conscious aim of the curriculum. By reasonableness he means the ability to think clearly with the ability to pay attention to evidence and to connect evidence to claims about the world. By agency he means the ability to act on one's own plans and intentions and not solely on the plans and intentions of some other person or institution. By a sense of relationship Fenstermacher means a sense that other persons

are truly other and that relationships require a recognition of the legitimacy of that otherness. By morality he means cardinal virtues such as prudence, temperance, and courage.

Fenstermacher goes on to show that a liberal and progressive curriculum is required to meet those four aims and cites the work of Andre Comte-Sponville, Thomas Green, and Israel Scheffler as sources that support such achievement. The liberal education sponsored by this approach would combine the commitment to achieve the common good that is found in the work of orators such as Quintilian and John Dewey with the commitment to discover the truth that is found in philosophers such as Socrates and scientists such as Einstein.

### 17. How Far Shall Methods of Learning Be Standardized?

The editors of the *26th Yearbook* believed in the right of the individual student to learn what she or he needed to learn in the way that was most suited to that individual. Yet they also realized that there was a need to manage the curriculum so that student learning would not be lopsided. They thought that the weighting of material in the curriculum was primarily a responsibility of a centralized group of experts, and it was the responsibility of the school and the teachers to administer that curriculum. The accountability movement of the past 25 years has inspired the development of standards by subject matter organizations such as the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics and the National Council for the Social Studies for each of the areas of the curriculum. These national standards tend to be fairly general, but the mandate of the federal government has been to render them more specific through the generation of benchmarks and ultimately standardized test items through the agency of state and local boards of education. The tension between efforts to centralize curriculum standardization on the one hand and to rely upon the prudential professional judgment of teachers and school principals on the other has been very high at the beginning of the new century.

Any curriculum today needs to address the specific challenges arising from contemporary life. These challenges include the following: the increasing divide between the rich and poor, both

between and within nations; the mass displacement of peoples and families and the homelessness of millions; the mobility of student populations; the historically disproportionate number of single-parent families; religious, ethnic, gender, and racial conflicts; the rights of handicapped persons; and the dominance of computer and Internet technologies.

In the light of these challenges, Mortimer Adler and others have argued for one curriculum for all U.S. students from the perspective of traditional and humanistic education. They view this unity of curriculum as crucial to democracy and equality of opportunity in society. However, standardization of curriculum requires more uniformity than what these theorists would accept. With the possible exception of legislators, higher level governmental administrators, and single-minded advocates of educational accountability, it is difficult to find a curriculum thinker who advocates a highly standardized curriculum. For the most part, students of curriculum look at the complex set of challenges noted in the previous paragraph and acknowledge there must be a range of ways for curriculum to address them and an acknowledgment that no curriculum can address them all.

On the other hand, the mobility of children from one school to another argues for some level of standardization. In the 19th century, William Torrey Harris had developed a curriculum in St. Louis, Missouri, according to which if a student moved from one school on one day and into another the next he or she would not miss a beat, for all students would be on the same page in the same book. Harris's curriculum congers up an image of a standardized curriculum, which in the context of current technological prowess, shows promise for contemporary social sufficiency advocates. Whether or not the image is realistic is open to debate.

Perhaps the question is best understood through asking another question: What is learning? Is learning limited to exhibiting behaviors sought after by school administrators? If that is true, what could the philosopher of education Eugene A. Walsh have meant when he told students not to let school get in the way of their education? Curriculum scholar William Pinar has spent much of his career exploring the ramifications of *currere*, the Latin infinitive form of the verb *to run*. On this view,

one only understands learning in terms of the lived experience of individual persons and on how they report that experience and standardization if curriculum is in some respects irrelevant to learning. He and Walsh are probably on the same page and in fundamental agreement with the authors of volume 1 of the *107th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*.

### 18. What Are the Administrative Questions of Curriculum Making?

The editors of the *26th Yearbook* were part of the Progressive Era, and even when they disagreed about issues of the curriculum, they believed in the expertise of those who studied education as a science. Thus, they advocated at the same time a more centralized educational system and a more differentiated curriculum, both of which were to be managed by highly trained educational experts. This approach facilitated a divide between curriculum talk and actual curriculum practice, a divide which continues to this day.

In the first half of the 20th century there was a flurry of curriculum innovation including the project method of William Heard Kilpatrick, the Dalton plan of Helen Parkhurst, and the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association. In the second half of the century, innovation continued with the disciplines of knowledge approach spawned by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), a renewed focus on early childhood education supported by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the accountability movement sanctioned by the Educate America Act of 1994. The accountability movement was renewed in the new century by the federal law NCLB.

A major difference between the innovations before mid-20th century and those after mid-century was the growing influence of the federal government on curriculum policy. Before NDEA, most curriculum reform was either endorsed by, supported by, or studied by some independent educational organization such as the National Education Association or the Progressive Education Association. The administrative progressives wanted curriculum to be in the hands of education experts who were independent of politics, but that independence has eroded gradually over the past

50 years. Especially since NCLB, the curriculum field has been floundering in a kind of no man's land. Curriculum scholars, subject area experts, teachers, school principals, social scientists, psychologists, and public intellectuals engage in what Tyack and Cuban call policy talk, while the actual curricular decisions are in the hands of politicians, and the implementation of those decisions are in the hands of standardized test and textbook publishers, computerized school management systems, and state and local board-of-education-level administrators. Some school districts have eliminated their curriculum departments to make sure there are sufficient funds for testing. The question "What knowledge is of most worth?" hardly seems relevant to actual school practice, and the range of contested curricular visions seems to these school districts as no longer important. Critical thought about curriculum is sought in theory, but scorned in practice.

So the administrative questions about curriculum are challenging indeed. A considerable amount of research has shown that when the school principal acts as an instructional leader the school improves significantly. Research on staff development, on the personal practical knowledge of teachers, on teachers' action research projects, on the formation of teachers into learning communities, and on consultancies and tuning protocols are examples of ways that principals have influenced curriculum effectively. School principals, however, need far more support from universities and from professional education organizations to redress the balance that has been lost since the middle of the 20th century.

The hope of an engaged curriculum movement in this country is to be found in trust in schools, trust in teachers, trust in administrators, trust in curriculum thinkers and researchers, and trust that politicians can be persuaded to pay as much attention to democracy and equality as a way of life; to research in neurobiology, educational anthropology, and arts education; and to the lived experience of teachers in schools as they currently do to test publishers and psychometricians.

*Timothy Leonard and Peter M. Hilton*

*See also* Fundamental Curriculum Questions, The 26th NSSE Yearbook



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