INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF CURRICULUM RESEARCH

2ND EDITION

EDITOR

WILLIAM F. PINAR

INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF CURRICULUM RESEARCH

Continuing its calling to define the field and where it is going, the Second Edition of this landmark handbook brings up to date its comprehensive reportage of scholarly developments and school curriculum initiatives worldwide, providing a panoramic view of the state of curriculum studies globally. Its international scope and currency and range of research and theory reflect and contribute significantly to the ongoing internationalization of curriculum studies and its growth as a field worldwide.

Certain concepts reverberate through the chapters—among them technology, assessment, and globalization—but are sounded through structures (schools, policies, and practices) specific to each nation. However hounded it may be by globalization, the curriculum remains nationally based, locally enacted, and experienced in concrete classrooms in specific nations, regions, and localities; its tendencies toward cosmopolitanism or provincialism cannot be ascertained apart from studies of national context: historical, social, and cultural. That is why this handbook is organized by country and emphasizes history. At a time of both consolidation and expansion, it captures the rapidly accelerating internationalization of curriculum research as nationally distinctive fields engage in disciplinary dialogue with each other.

Changes in the Second Edition:

- Five new or updated introductory chapters pose transnational challenges to key questions curriculum research addresses locally
- Countries absent in the First Edition are represented: Chile, Colombia, Cypress, Ethiopia, Germany, Iran, Luxembourg, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, and Switzerland
- Forty-four new or updated chapters on curriculum research in 34 countries highlight curriculum research that is not widely known in North America

As the main text in courses devoted exclusively to internationalization and globalization in curriculum studies or a supplemental text in general curriculum courses, this handbook contextualizes national school reform efforts for prospective and practicing teachers in the United States and elsewhere. As a personal and pedagogical resource, it is an indispensable volume for curriculum studies scholars and students around the world.

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Second Edition

Edited by

William F. Pinar

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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First published 2014
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Simultaneously published in the UK
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

International handbook of curriculum research / edited by William F. Pinar. — Second edition.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Curriculum planning—Research—Cross-cultural studies. 2. Education—Curricula—Research—Cross-cultural studies. 3. Curriculum change—Cross-cultural studies. 4. Comparative education. I. Pinar, William.
LB2806.15.I595 2014
375—dc23
2013006665

ISBN: 978-0-415-80429-5 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-415-80430-1 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-0-203-83169-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

First edition published by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates 2003

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Acknowledgments

I thank my extraordinary editor Naomi Silverman, who persuaded me to undertake this second edition. Joel Spring and Tero Autio helped me secure chapters (Singapore and Finland, respectively): my thanks to each of you. Thanks also to Jung-Hoon Jung, who searched online for contributors from countries not often associated (at least in North America) with curriculum research. Finally, I express my gratitude to each of the contributors to the Handbook.

William F. Pinar

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Introduction

William F. Pinar

> I suggest that internationalizing curriculum inquiry might best be understood as a process of creating transnational "spaces" in which scholars from different localities collaborate in reframing and decentering their own knowledge traditions and negotiate trust in each other's contributions to their collective work.
>
> Noel Gough (2003, 68)

Readers of the first edition (2003) will notice that a number of countries absent in that volume are represented here: Chile, Colombia, Cypress, Ethiopia, Germany, Iran, Luxembourg, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, and Switzerland. There are new chapters of introduction by Tero Autio, Daniel Tröhler, and Hongyu Wang and updated or new chapters by Cameron McCarthy (coauthored with Ergin Bulut and Rushika Patel) and David Geoffrey Smith. All other essays are updated or written anew: chapters on Argentina, Brazil, China (with a separate chapter on Hong Kong), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Romania, South Korea, Sweden, Taiwan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Due to space limits, those chapters[1] that were not updated do not appear here.

For this second edition, I sought reports from countries whose curriculum research is not widely known in North America. I sought additional chapters from Europe where curriculum research has a long (if differently formulated) history. Today, as the chapters on Brazil, China, and South Africa suggest, North America is not necessarily the epicenter of curriculum research. Contemporary curriculum research may have originated in the United States, but its recontextualization worldwide in nations with distinctive histories and cultures underline its localized and reconstructed character.[2] The particular—here the national and regional—remains primary despite globalization and its common denominators: technology, science, and the myth of progress. The distinctiveness of national history and culture continue to structure the curriculum as it is enacted in concrete classrooms in specific nations, regions, and localities.

Due to this situatedness of curriculum research, I wanted introductory chapters that challenge the provincialism that localism can invite. These chapters pose transnational challenges to key questions curriculum research addresses locally. I intended no alignment between the two sections—the introductory essays and the chapters on countries—but instead what the great Canadian curriculum theorist Ted Aoki called "creative tensionality."[3] From that generative unstable state, concepts can be reconceived according to—perhaps in contradiction of—local circumstances, calling on intellectually and ethically engaged researchers to critique the course on which their field and their nation's school curriculum is moving.

While the handbook originates in North America and is published by a British company, it encourages "postcolonial" networks that ignore bifurcations such as "center-periphery." Intellectual liaisons across the South and East would produce handbooks in multiple languages, emphasizing concepts theoretical and practical that report and recommend curriculum research far from London or Vancouver. The creation of such networks is already underway within the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (www.iaacs.ca) with its affiliated organizations, the IAACS journal, and triennial IAACS meetings.[4] This handbook represents, then, a moment of both consolidation and expansion, indicative of a rapidly accelerating internationalization of curriculum research as nationally distinctive fields engage in disciplinary dialogue with each other.

Five Chapters of Introduction

> More and more, young people will have to negotiate a world that is truly cosmopolitan—a world where one must co-exist with difference—not simply control it.
>
> Cameron McCarthy, Ergin Bulut, and Rushika Patel (this volume)

Informing such disciplinary dialogue are politics, culture, and history, each of which complicates the conversation and often in welcomed ways. Engaging in complicated conversation is our professional calling. The concept of calling informs our profession's ethics, our commitment to study, and to teach as we engage in academic research to understand curriculum. Such a situated sense of professional ethics incorporates the concept of the "moral," a term so often "atrophied," Tero Autio points out, when translated into English as "moralistic." In his opening chapter, Autio suggests that it is the "moral" that "makes education educative," as students and teachers engage in ongoing judgment of what knowledge is of most worth, when, and why."[5] "At best," Autio continues, "the moral shifts teaching from transmission to transformation," as the curriculum is no longer test preparation but a "complicated conversation where all the participants at every level think about the basic curriculum question of the worthwhileness of the content and subject matter just taught and addressed." Autio locates this conception of curriculum within the various *Didaktik* traditions in Europe, suggesting that their aim is "to encourage thinking, to make subjective yet knowledgeable judgments and decisions, to think against the subject matter, to think against oneself, to transcend, to transform."

"This is the moment in which we live," Cameron McCarthy, Ergin Bulut, and Rushika Patel point out; it is one of "radical reconfiguration and renarration of the relations between centers of power and their peripheries." Especially within systems of surveillance, globalization accelerates. To illustrate, McCarthy and his colleagues point to "new biometric technologies of information"—face scanning, finger printing, and DNA sampling—now "techniques of immigration control, surveillance and policing." Economic data gathering can also function as surveillance, and there is a "feverish rise" of "economic speculation, risk and economic deregulation." Focused on race, McCarthy and his colleagues suggest "thinking about race in isolation remains counterproductive." Indeed, their "central purpose" in this chapter is to reflect on the "present historical conjuncture" within which "race" is structured through contradictory processes of globalization, localization, migration, and technologies of surveillance. McCarthy and his colleagues identify "three neoliberal tendencies" that characterize the present moment: 1) virtualization, 2) vocationalization, and 3) fiscalization. While underway worldwide, these three tendencies achieve actuality locally, as the essays in his handbook demonstrate.

Today "race" is organized, McCarthy and his coauthors suggest, through "popular culture, identity, and state-public policy." Any conception of racial identity restricted to "origins," "ancestry," and "linguistic" or "cultural unity" is now shattered, disintegrated by "hybridity, disjuncture, and re-narration." Culture is now severed from place, as "migration, electronic mediation, and biometric and information technologies" proliferate and intensify. Given the "existential complexity" of the "lived" experience of "real existing racialized subjects," McCarthy and colleagues conclude, "our research imaginations on race are in sore need of rebooting."

For David Geoffrey Smith, the "debacle" of neoliberalism—privatization, standardized tests, and instructional technologies, all rationalized by the concept of "development"[6]—leaves educators with the resounding pedagogical question: "how can the shape and character of education be reimagined . . . in the face of the dissipation of its basic operating assumptions?" It is this question Smith posed to his students at the University of Alberta, and in this chapter he details the issues and readings through which he and his students addressed it.[7]

Smith invited his students to confront the crisis of the present through consideration of the wisdom traditions, East and West. These we study, he points out, within a culture of *distraction,* a self-undermining tendency encouraged by capitalism. "Within the operation of capital," Smith explains, "cultivating distraction is foundational to all marketing psychology, and the maintenance of distraction is an absolute requirement for product innovation and production." Distraction is built into the technological infrastructure of so-called school reform.[8] Smith discusses the demands to devalue face-to-face teaching in favor of online learning, a presumably "progressive" and "student-centered" recasting of teaching that undermines the very concept of professional identity. Erudition—having something to "profess," Smith reminds, takes years of ongoing study—is replaced with the acquisition of "skills" and provision of "simple facilitation." Indeed, "if learning means only the acquisition and accumulation of information," Smith points out, "teaching in the traditional sense becomes superfluous."

Ongoing analysis of neoliberalism is imperative, but for David Geoffrey Smith, so is the "postcritical" moment when one labors to work through the current crisis, and, crucially, on a human scale. "It is precisely here," Smith reminds us, "that wisdom traditions have the most to say, and their voice is virtually univocal: To heal the world I must engage in the work of healing myself. To the degree that I heal myself, so will my action in the world be of a healing nature." Such healing means "becoming mindful," what Smith regards as "the ultimate condition of our freedom as human beings." A "turn" to "wisdom," he continues, "is a deeply political act, an act of cultural insurrection, because it refuses to take seriously the seductions of secondary gods."[9]

While not always a political undertaking, attentiveness to our "inward freedom" is one lasting legacy of German educational thought, as Daniel Tröhler reminds. Nationally specific genealogies are integral to understanding curriculum research internationally, Tröhler demonstrates, as present-day schools and educational policies become intelligible only when their (sometimes religious) prehistories are excavated. He makes the contrary case as well: "in order to reconstruct the past (as key to self-awareness) comparison is a precondition." Indeed, Tröhler continues, "probably the most noble effect of learning other systems of reasoning across times and spaces is this chance of becoming aware of ourselves as historical and cultural constructions."[10]

In her reflection on the marginalization of "nonviolence," Hongyu Wang reminds us of "our own implication in the logic of control that renders nonviolence unthinkable and unimaginable." It is, she notes, "long overdue" for the field of curriculum studies "to embrace nonviolence as an educational vision." It is a vision that could inform our daily practice as educators, including, Wang notes, our intellectual and organizational work in curriculum studies.[11] Wang addresses the "nonviolent relational dynamics" of the intersecting domains of local, the national, and the international.[12] Like David Geoffrey Smith, Wang draws upon wisdom traditions as well as examples of international nonviolence activism in envisioning "nonviolence as a guiding principle for internationalizing curriculum studies." Central to the conception of nonviolence that Wang elaborates is an embodied sense of "interconnectedness" that affirms "compassionate" and "affiliating" aspects of humanity. Such affirmation of "fellowship" and "shared life" she finds in several philosophical, religious, and ethical traditions, including the Christian principle of "love your enemy," the African notion of *ubuntu,* the Chinese notion of *Tao,* as well as in indigenous peace-making traditions in North America. Referencing the role of gender in violence and nonviolence, Wang cautions that we must not now resort to another mode of "domination" to destroy violence, "but we must work *through* it." Recalling the simultaneity of self-healing and political insurrection Smith invokes, Wang asserts that nonviolent activism is "*both* internal *and* external." It is "fundamentally an educational project." Wang emphasizes that "inner peace is the basis for outer peace." "Ultimately," she notes, "violence and nonviolence are felt by the individual body, and the fundamental task of education is personal cultivation."[13]

That education is simultaneously personal and collective is a point Wang affirms by quoting David Geoffrey Smith's call, in his chapter in the first edition of this handbook, for engaging "a new kind of global dialogue regarding sustainable human futures" and for forming "a new kind of imaginal understanding within human consciousness" (2003, p. 35). "Responding to such a call," Wang suggests that the "grassroots movements and organizational efforts of nonviolence education locally, nationally, and internationally provide such a vision for internationalizing curriculum studies." Through such multi-placed, multi-tiered "grassroots" and "organizational" efforts to enact such an "imaginal understanding," we can internationalize curriculum research in nonviolent ways.

Thirty-Nine Chapters on Thirty-Four Countries

> [C]urriculum must address identity and nationalism directly in a way that is invested with, rather than divested of, emotion and passion.[14]
>
> Cynthia Chambers (2003, 246)

In her updating of the 2003 chapter on Argentina, Silvina Feeney acknowledges that the "almost uninterrupted succession" of curriculum reforms imposed by the State since the 1990s has "not been matched" by a corresponding increase in theoretical research. But empirical research has proceeded, focused on the "impact" of curricular reforms in Argentine schools, especially on the daily labor of teachers and principals. The curriculum is the site of schools' daily activities, "determining their aims and providing guidelines for teachers' action." Sociology—specifically the contributions of Bernstein[15] and Bourdieu—has been influential, but curriculum history is also present in the Argentine field. Mainstream curriculum research, however, follows state policy and exhibits a "technical" orientation. Perhaps distinctive to Argentina, there are what Feeney terms "outreach magazines"—she names *Novedades Educativas* as an example—that feature "recommendations on how to implement the new curricula" or "research findings" that address teaching problems. Perhaps this apparent "democratization" of curriculum research will support not only state-sponsored "reform."

In their chapter in the first edition, Alice Casimiro Lopes and Elizabeth Macedo emphasized the Brazilian field's porous boundaries and its hybrid character. Curriculum research focused on literacy, knowledge, interdisciplinarity, and culture as well as on specific curricular innovations, specific subjects (often informed by varieties of constructivism), and new technologies. Today, Lopes and Macedo report, this multiplicity of theoretical approaches remains the case. There continues to be what they term a "theoretical dispersion," including a "crossover" of research "aiming at improving teacher activity" in classrooms, in "specific subjects," but also encompassing "school culture or schooling as a whole," as well as theoretical studies of politics, culture, history, daily life, and the dynamics of knowledge. Lopes and Macedo view this plurality as the "appropriation" and "reinterpretation" of a wide range of scholarship (including that in sociology and philosophy). They conclude that there is no epistemological consensus concerning what constitutes knowledge about curriculum.

The "incorporation" of poststructuralism in the Brazilian field precipitated a "hybrid process" with "critical perspectives." Lopes and Macedo do not judge this "hybridity" as a problem to be overcome. In political terms, the "subject" is construed as "capable of transcending the structure, while it can only act because this same structure constitutes itself." Because the subject is constituted by lack, it is compelled to undertake "political action for social transformation." In this formulation, "politics is not designed by centrality of the utopian project, with a predefined meaning. Politics is the terrain of conflict, contingency, and undecidability." Rather than foreshadowing the end of politics, Lopes and Macedo predict a "hyper-politicization" of curriculum research. No longer a "project of knowledge to be universalized," the curriculum becomes the "space-time of cultural boundaries in which one disputes the significance of the world." What "hyper-politicizes us," they conclude, "is the possibility of inventing today, without guarantees, what will be the past for the future that we desire, without much clarity on where this desire will be. This ability empowers us as agents of this invention, in which the meaning of who we are as subjects is always postponed."

In her chapter for the first edition, Silvina Moraes focused on the 1996 Brazilian curriculum reform. In her updated chapter, Moraes reflects on what has happened during the last decade. "[W]e can say," she reports, "that there has been effort in overcoming the positivistic, fragmented and alienated conception of science that dominated the school curriculum." The "traditional, obsolete" curriculum—in which students worked only individually memorizing concepts that had "no connection with their lives or even their remotest interests"—is being "replaced by a more contextualized, integrated, interdisciplinary curriculum." The reform is "slowly (and painfully) being accepted."

Globalization, Moraes asserts, "incorporates the concepts of diversity and sustainability, conceiving the world as an interconnected whole." It affirms the "fundamental interdependence of all phenomena, and the fact that, as individuals and societies, we are all connected and depend on the cyclical processes of nature." Moraes has found Habermas's conception of dialogical rationality useful in addressing issues of cultural and epistemic complexity, as "intense dialogue" is prerequisite to understanding curricular questions of "integration, inclusion, multiculturalism, empowerment, critical thinking, intersubjectivity and interdisciplinarity." Only through such complicated conversation can one "contemplate" the multiplicity of "interests" and "voices" that comprise the curriculum in Brazil.

In Chile, Claudia Matus Cánovas reports, neoliberalism has been associated with educational reform since the Dictatorship. Then the Chilean system was remodeled after the so-called free market, shifting funds, oversight, and accountability from government to individuals and corporations. For-profit education, high-stakes testing, and accountability now dominate discussions. At present, there are three major curriculum reforms operating at the same time, Cánovas continues, organized around "abilities, themes, and attitudes." The latter, she argues, represents a form of "affective regulation" in the service of the State's strategy "to secure its economic future, and at the same time to secure the well-being of its population." This regulation risks rendering the school as another "totalizing" institution. In such circumstances, Cánovas is clear that "we must recognize and act on connections between classrooms and societies in a critical and creative way, particularly in these neoliberal times."

In China, it seems the future will be achieved through the reactivation of the past, a view I embrace (2012). In conducting curriculum research in China, Zhang Hua and Zhenyu Gao explain, one seeks "curriculum wisdom embodied in the true, the good, and the beautiful, and understanding curriculum history, reality and process." History and wisdom are thus intertwined: "Curriculum wisdom is also a historical being." Historicity becomes crucial because the "history of curriculum discourse dwells in the reality of curriculum." Zhang and Zhenyu draw upon three wisdom traditions in China—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—to provide visions of "society, nature, and self respectively." These traditions surface in the "dominant paradigm" of curriculum research in China—that of "curriculum development." The dominance of curriculum development is due in part to China's present engagement in "an unprecedented curriculum reform." Given these present circumstances, they conclude, "how to develop curriculum effectively is an urgent call for Chinese scholars."

The present may be focused on curriculum development, but the future of the Chinese field will include "understanding curriculum." To understand "what it means to know" and "to be educated" in China will follow, Zhang Hua and Zhenyu Gao suggest, from sustained reflection on "our own traditions" as well as "international conversation." Neither can be conducted, they continue, "without cultural, political, economical, global, and spiritual understandings of curriculum." Such understandings incorporate immersion in the everyday life of schools but, Zhang and Zhenyu appreciate, "to understand curriculum at a deeper level must be accompanied by the difficult task of transcending the direct and instant needs of curriculum practice so that the critical and creative potential of theory can be released." The future of curriculum research in China is promising, as "the Chinese curriculum field will keep up with its good tradition of historical studies, attempt to inform curriculum research by traditional curriculum wisdom, participate and contribute to worldwide curriculum discourses, reflect on the reality of curriculum practice, and construct its own distinctive curriculum theories." Zhang and Zhenyu conclude: "China has now entered into a 'golden age' of curriculum studies."

The situation is quite different in Colombia, as Juny Montoya-Vargas makes clear. There, curriculum as a concept was discredited by its association with "foreign interests" and the "industrial era and its preoccupation with efficiency." Despite the shift in the U.S. field—from curriculum development to understanding curriculum—many scholars prefer the concept of "study plan" to "curriculum," as the latter term still implies the "technical control of education." Despite this legacy, Montoya-Vargas believes that the concept of curriculum has a "promising future" in the work of those teachers and researchers devoted to the "development" of "participatory forms" of curriculum design; "socio-culturally relevant curricula"; "problem and project-based" curricula; and curriculum structured by flexibility, interdisciplinarity, and integration.

In Cyprus, Nikoletta Christodoulou acknowledges, history and politics have also been formative in curriculum thought and research, both which developed "rapidly within periods of turmoil." A formalized field remains absent and, as a result, curriculum continues to be regarded as a "set of technical guidelines," objectives, and strategies for teaching and learning. There is no systematic effort to "understand curriculum" in its various dimensions and "explore the ways in which 'what knowledge is of most worth' can be answered." Despite this history and present circumstances, Christodoulou's presence promises a more complicated future for the Cyprian field.

The Ethiopian tradition in education includes indigenous education, Woube Kassaye explains, evident in both *Church* and *Quranic* schools, wherein the curriculum is "unchanged and uncontested." The medium of instruction in the *Church* curriculum was *Geez,* while in *Quranic* schools it was Arabic. After modernization, English has predominated, but more recent policies have endorsed a multilingual curriculum. Kassaye provides not only a history of these developments but focuses on the 2010 *Curriculum Framework for Ethiopian Education: KG-Grade 12.* Kassaye draws a map of the contemporary field, identifying sites of support for curriculum development and research at universities, research centers, and government agencies. The Ethiopian Curriculum Studies Association also provides crucial support and advocacy for scholars and researchers. With such infrastructure in place, the future of curriculum research seems promising.

Education in Finland, Antti Saari, Sauli Salmela, and Jarkko Vilkkilä explain, represents a "singular concoction" of *Bildung* from Germany and (after World War II) the Tyler Rationale from the United States. The latter emphasized behaviorally defined, measurable aims of education, easily incorporated into capitalism's market model. The "challenge" today, Saari, Salmela, and Vilkkilä assert, is constructing a "new communal and collective public space for free self-expression." The past may provide passage, as they suggest "we might extract from what is still powerful in the *Bildung*—tradition, a vision of an autonomy that is aware of historical traditions, while being able to transform them into something new. This understanding might open up a space for freedom." The liberty sustained study of the *artes liberales* enables, Saari, Salmela, and Vilkkilä suggest, an "inner freedom." "An individual controlled and regulated by the economy," they warn, "will never be free, and no educational system governed by the economy can produce freedom."

In Germany, curriculum, evaluation, and control are interrelated. Wolfgang Böttcher's title summarizes present circumstances—dominated by "standards" and a new governance structure following participation in PISA[16]—but he reminds readers of the past. In the 1960s, Saul B. Robinsohn had reintroduced the term "curriculum." While Robinsohn acknowledged the worth of ancient thinking and ancient languages, it was "change" that drove reform, especially in science, technology, and globalization. Böttcher recalls Wolfgang Klafki's emphasis upon "global and epochal key problems," among them peacekeeping and international understanding, human rights, social inequity, technology assessment, equality between men and women, labor, environment protection, and the pursuit of happiness. After PISA, the curriculum debate has become "trivial," inadequate for the "complexity" of "global problems to be solved." The test-driven curriculum not only trivializes but contradicts what Böttcher points out is the very rationale for "standards-based reform," namely the reduction of inequality. It is not the students' purposes "reform" serves, "but, rather, the purposes of testers and politicians who can, after Germany has gained a few places in the education rankings, fool an innocent public believe that this was the effect of smart politics."

In her analysis of "competence-oriented curriculum reform" in Germany, Charlotte Röhner works historically as well. But it is the present that compels her attention, and so it is curriculum debates after TIMMS[17] and PISA on which she dwells. "All efforts," she writes, focus on how the "skills" children bring to school can be improved. "In particular," Röhner continues, "the initial language skills of children from families with a migration background . . . have become a focus and have resulted in extended language support measures at the prep-school institutions of all federal states." While enjoying only "average" success, these measures served as the "starting point for a comprehensive reorientation of elementary education." In 2004, there was for the "first time" a "binding agreement among all federal states and the field of schooling and youth aid on the tasks of prep-school teaching and support." Also referencing Klafki's key contribution and continuing relevance, Röhner points out that contemporary concepts of competence emphasize "cognitive" tasks and problems of "learning," in sharp contrast to Klafki's more sophisticated and multimodal formulation. Such a constricted conception has been accompanied by curriculum development as "informed arbitrariness" in the service of a "nationwide orientation" and "standardization." A "critical analysis" of "curriculum discourse," Röhner concludes, "must still be developed."

"What makes Asian countries successfully produce children with high aptitude for science, reading, and mathematics?" asks Edmond Hau-Fai Law. Countries with a "Confucian heritage overemphasize examinations, accord excessive priority to rote learning and memorization," and they "depend heavily on teacher talk and transmission models." This is a paradox, Law notes, as Confucian perspectives in fact contradict these practices, valuing, instead, "thinking, investigation, authentic learning, the experimental nature of learning, self-reflection, application, and a personal attitude toward learning." Law associates these ancient concepts of learning and pedagogy with "modern" progressive education.

In contrast to those Western countries where public debates over curriculum have been absent, Law reminds readers of the July 29, 2012, protest against Beijing's 2013 curriculum reform. Approximately 90,000 protestors—including students, parents, and teachers—took to the streets to decry what they perceived to be an ideological assault on the historic diversity of the Hong Kong curriculum. Because Beijing wants to "engineer a strong sense of national identity with Mainland China," including "recognition of the Communist Party as the legitimate and sole representative of the Chinese people," the school curriculum in Hong Kong is now a "battleground" between "contrasting ideologies that are deeply rooted in two different cultural and political traditions." Perhaps paradoxically, curriculum research in Hong Kong, while it tends to be "closely related with key policy directions and reform agendas," is not openly "political." It is instead preoccupied with "learning and assessment, decentralization, and distributed models of teacher curriculum deliberation and empowerment." Started in the 1970s, this "search" for an "effective and quality" curriculum "continues to the present." The standardization implied in this research tradition is mediated, Law suggests, by "negotiating" a curriculum for the "diverse needs of different ethnic and cultural groups." He concludes: "I believe that the search for a diverse curriculum is the search for a curriculum that allows for a postmodernist Hong Kong."

Curriculum research in Iran, Mahmound Mehrmohammadi reports, proceeds with the "intention of detecting, disclosing and codifying the seemingly strong curricular current that exists at the deeper layers of education." Efforts are now underway that "would give voice to the now silenced practiced curriculum discourse." In a nationally recognized project known as the Iranian Curriculum Encyclopedia (ICE)—an initiative of the Iranian Curriculum Studies Association (ICSA)—an entire section is devoted to reflecting on "schools' innovative curricular experiences." As is the case in the United States and elsewhere, in Iran, curriculum specialists' "participation in policy formation and policy evaluation is quite negligible." The "centralized curriculum system" has a "negative structural impact" on the "development of the curriculum field." It appears that in Iran, the paradigm of the field is "understanding curriculum" rather than systemic "curriculum development." Mehrmohammadi appreciates this issue as one of "disciplinarity."

In recent decades, Kevin Williams and Elaine McDonald report, curriculum inquiry in Ireland has been "vigorous and extensive." As elsewhere, curriculum research in Ireland is interdisciplinary, with contributions coming from curriculum specialists, philosophers and sociologists as well as from those "not directly involved in the academic study of education," including industry representatives. "One irony of curriculum inquiry," Williams and McDonald note, is both Left and Right "share the same critical view of the 'system.' " It fails to do enough for the disadvantaged, the Left complains; it fails to be responsive to the needs of industry, complains the Right. Williams and McDonald focus on the former, and specifically the issue of "inclusiveness," a concept that underpins the five themes they examine.

In Irish curriculum inquiry, Williams and McDonald report there is a "commendable emphasis on research evidence rather than anecdote and impression in policy development." Inquiry is "seeking to analyze how the curriculum is defining and giving practical content to cultural identity and aspirations." Indeed, the school curriculum is "theorized" as an "instrument of public policy through which the country's self-understanding is expressed and communicated to the young generation." In studying curriculum, Williams and McDonald conclude, "we are therefore also studying ourselves."

In their updated chapter on curriculum research in Israel, Yehoshua Mathias and Naama Sabar acknowledge that curriculum is often the reflection of power struggles among various groups. But it is not only a "reflection" they note: "curricula are not merely reproductions of what is taking place in other sectors, but are also influenced by autonomous educational factors." While its cultural, religious, and political elements are obvious, the state curricula have not been "uniform," as the State Education Law "recognized that the religious had the right to pedagogic autonomy." As a consequence, there have been "differences" between state elementary school curricula and those in religious schools, "particularly in regard to the scope and content of the study of Jewish Law (written and oral)."

Even in its early years, the state acknowledged "the need to adapt curricula to the special needs of the Arab population." While the language of instruction in schools in the Arab villages may have been Arabic, Mathias and Sabar report, the state "refused to recognize the right of Israeli Arabs to nurture their national culture." Reform followed in the mid-sixties, influenced by trends in the United States "following the launch of the Sputnik," and "intensified by The Six Day War in 1967." From this time onwards, the curriculum emphasized economic and technological topics.

Investments in science, technology, and economics are insufficient. Ideological "polarization" as well the "strengthened status" of "national and cultural minorities" underline, Mathias and Sabar point out, the "political shortcomings of a uniform curriculum." Now the Ministry of Education is attempting to expand its attention to "cultural disparities."[18] Indeed, the "new core curriculum," they report, attempts to "instill" the "knowledge" and "skills" youth need in a "technological globalized economy" as well as "nurture a cultural platform based on the perception of Israel as a modern, national, Jewish and democratic State." The question of its success, Mathias and Sabar acknowledge, remains "open."

Despite an "unusual diversity" of people, Italy, Paula Salvio points out, has "fallen into step with what is perceived as a global market demand for a unified curriculum that is homogeneous with the rest of the continent, as made evident, to provide one example, by its participation in the PISA program." How will such standardization impinge upon the evolving "idea" of Italy? Salvio recalls the *Riforma Gentile* of 1923, set in motion by Mussolini's first Minister of Public Instruction, Giovanni Gentile. Gentile abolished instruction in all languages other than standard

Italian: "The belief that the individual practices his or her individuality by merging with the state, Italy, was, of course, a hallmark of Italian fascism." With Italy's defeat in World War II and a subsequent sense of "lost greatness" associated with memories of a "mythic Roman past," the postwar Italian curriculum communicated a "heroic victimhood" that effaced the facts of Italy's colonialist past. Not until the student protests of the 1970s were high-school textbooks revised. As elsewhere, in the 1980s, neoliberalism arrived, embraced by Right and center-Right political parties. "No one is quite sure what PISA measures," Salvio sagely asserts, "but what we do know is that PISA is a private corporation sponsored by the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and supports the OECD's promotion of STEM curricula (science, technology, engineering and mathematics)." What is not valued by such "corporate auditing systems," Salvio continues, is the "art" of "cultivating historical consciousness . . . that would illuminate rather than obscure aspects of Italy's history of colonization."

Competition has once again intensified in Japanese school culture. Tadahiko Abiko cites the 2003 PISA scores as cause. National standards were revised, and what had been the maximum number of school hours became a *recommended minimum.* Since reform, violence has escalated in Japanese schools, including an increase in the incidence of bullying. Reforms now follow one after the other. The fact remains, Abiko rues, that university entrance examinations still convert the school curriculum into test-preparation. It is no occasion for the "healthy growth and development of students." Perhaps the disasters of 3/11 will prompt people to "think about formal education more deeply," Abiko hopes.

Controversies over the curricular treatment of Japanese history and minority groups, Shigeru Asanuma acknowledges, couple with strict discipline and intense pressure to excel in university entrance examinations to create an image of education in Japan. Less known internationally is the "very flexible" and "progressive curriculum policy" that has been administered in recent decades. Three concepts—Living Power, Relaxation, and Education for Mind—informed Japanese curriculum reform in 1990. These concepts continued those 1980s reforms that emphasized individual development (*Koseika*) and globalization (*Kokusaika*), reforms contesting "traditional" conceptions of curriculum and instruction emphasizing "rote learning" and "factual knowledge." Since 2011, however, it has been "Back to the Basics" in Japan. "There is no rationality in this transition," Asanuma observes.

In the aftermath of PISA, Thomas Lenz, Anne Rohstock, and Catherina Schreiber report that curriculum deliberation in Luxembourg became centralized and more "scientific." Both developments represented a "rather radical break with the past" as during the past two centuries curriculum research in Luxembourg occurred in schools and had not been "scientific." Indeed, practitioners conducted curricular discussions in Luxembourg. Subsequent efforts to follow international reforms were "contradicted" by "national and local" classroom practices "prevalent at least since the founding of the nation in the early 19th century." Trilingual, the state recognizes Luxembourgish, French, and German as official languages, and the school system incorporates all three. A distinction between "realistic" *Volksbildung* and "humanistic" *Bildung* is inscribed in the Luxembourgish curriculum and structures curricular debates. From the beginning, Lenz, Rohstock and Schreiber report that the authorities have "fostered differentiation: social and regional, in language teaching and in moral and science education." Since Sputnik, conservatives have fought to preserve the "humanistic educational ideal," emphasizing the "dangers" of new technologies and hoping to avoid the "American way." Now a multicultural society, Luxembourg struggles to integrate migrant children into the trilingual education. "It is yet uncertain," Lenz, Rohstock, and Schreiber conclude, "how the PISA studies will affect the Luxembourgish curricula and the school system as a whole."

There have been three phases in the history of curriculum research in Mexico, Frida Díaz Barriga reports. In the 1970s, the work of Tyler and other Americans espousing a "technologic-behaviorist approach" was "imported."[19] In the 1980s, a complication of the field occurred, as critical pedagogy, constructivism, interpretative school studies, and studies of professional training and practice displaced technologic-behaviorism. The third phase started in the 1990s and is characterized, Díaz Barriga explains, by globalization-associated curriculum reforms and models, including neoliberal notions of innovation and accreditation. There are now theoretical interests in postmodernism and poststructuralism as well. "This last phase," she concludes, "seems to have reached a stage of internationalization with important strains among the global, national and local spheres." After García-Garduño (2011), Díaz Barriga references processes of "acculturation" and "satellization," concepts denoting legacies of colonization.

As in South Korea and elsewhere, there is an ongoing recontextualization of imported theories. In Mexico, Díaz Barriga reports, a "hybridization" occurs as "structures and practices that stem from diverse origins can combine in order to create new entities in a kind of crossbreeding process which is never free from contradictions and exclusions." Such hybridization encourages "cosmopolitanism" that, within the Mexican field, is associated with "multicultural perspectives, openness to diversity and the balance between local and universal values." Díaz Barriga concludes: "Despite the acknowledged polysemy of the term 'curriculum,' this term is still the intellectual and organizational focus of educational processes in the teaching institutions, the ground where goals, contents and processes are defined and discussed and is, after all, the space where groups and actors compete for the power."

Wedged between Continental and Anglo-Saxon spheres of influence, the Dutch, Willem Wardekker, Monique

Volman, and Jan Terwel remind, have found their own way. Dependence on foreign trade has translated into a curriculum emphasizing foreign languages, not nationalism. “Dutch thinkers,” Wardekker, Volman, and Terwel write, “seem to have engaged mainly in connecting and ‘trading’ in ideas formulated elsewhere.” This “commercial” history may also explain why curricular conflicts have tended to be resolved “by pragmatic compromise rather than by open conflict.” Conflicts have tended to be more religious than class-based, as Protestants and Catholics each comprise approximately one third of the Dutch population. Only in the second half of the twentieth century has secularization provided a third alternative. Today, there are state-funded Islamic schools.

The Dutch state cannot prescribe detailed curricula or textbooks, and so schools are largely autonomous in their choice of books marketed by independent commercial publishers or created by the teachers themselves. There is a state institute for curriculum development but, Wardekker, Volman, and Terwel note, its influence is limited to creating examples of curriculum; it has no power of enforcement. In recent years, the institute has gained influence by coordinating and directing curriculum deliberations; the educational publishing houses remain powerful. Curricular change occurs by changing the content of examinations. When the PISA ratings dropped, fears of economic decline were invoked, and this campaign translated into an increased curricular emphasis on Dutch, English, and math.

For 150 years, the curriculum in Norway served the cause of nation-building, Kirsten Sivesind and Berit Karseth explain, but in recent decades this “tradition” has been “challenged” by Europeanization and globalization. Curriculum guidelines have shifted from being “content-oriented” to being “learning-oriented,” evident in the 2006 “Knowledge Promotion” reform which, Sivesind and Karseth report, “aimed to strengthen the core aspects of learning rather than detailing curriculum content.” Despite present circumstances, one strand of curriculum research in Norway is “historical-descriptive,” focused on both the history of educational movements and ideas as well as systems and institutions. Contemporary Norwegian research also focuses on the school subjects and on curriculum development. In addition, there are studies that link specific questions of curriculum reform to a “wider societal, cultural and educational frame of reference.” Curriculum research in Norway has, to a “high degree, been open to international influences.” As in other countries, this openness has its dangers; in Norway, the “restrictive function of assessment in education hinders the use of differentiated theoretical perspectives.” Sivesind and Karseth “question how new policies reduce the complexity that has characterized the curriculum for decades. For this reason, we question how much knowledge and learning can be standardised without losing meaning and purpose.”

In Nigeria the concept of curriculum remains “narrowly conceived,” Rosita Okekenwa Igwe reports, “associated with design, planning, implementation and evaluation.” Researchers labor to implement Universal Basic Education (UBE), dedicated to “eradicate illiteracy, ignorance and poverty as well as stimulate and accelerate national development, political consciousness and national integration.” The Nigerian curriculum is conceived to enable children to achieve approriate levels of literacy. “Each graduate,” Igwe summarizes, “should be useful to himself and to society at large by possessing relevant ethical, moral and civic values.” These “expansive” objectives have extended the curriculum, now including woodwork, home economics, electrical electronics, agricultural science, and technology. Especially technology is emphasized, and Igwe reports that Nigeria’s “huge” investment in science and technology is reflected in enrollments in tertiary institutions, where 60 percent of students are studying one of the sciences. Questions of gender and sustainability also inform curriculum development. It is “culture,” Igwe asserts, that “is the substance of education.”

Affirmations of culture are present in Peru, Lileya Manrique, Diana Revilla, and Pilar Lamas report, even if reforms have emphasized economic modernization. Despite these circumstances, the curriculum remains committed to principles of “ethics, equity, inclusion, quality, democracy, interculturality, environmental awareness, creativity and innovation that promote the production of new knowledge in all the fields of knowledge, art and culture.” As in Mexico, the concept of “study plans” takes precedence, as the concept of curriculum kept “its regulatory character.” During the 1990s, curriculum was defined as “competencies” regulating teaching practice. “Curricular sustainability requires certain conditions,” Manrique, Revilla, and Lamas appreciate, and “one of them is not to be subject to the continual changes of government.” They supplement that important insight with an affirmation of “the participation of the different social stakeholders to ensure a consensually-built proposal.” Also crucial to curriculum is clarity for teachers. “Finally,” they affirm that “the curriculum needs to have a sense of pertinence that will decisively incorporate the perspective of intercultural education, so needed in this country.”

During the first decades of the last century, Aleksandra Łuczak reports, the Polish school curriculum stressed young citizens’ obligations to the nation. These were not narrowly conceived but asserted a “comprehensive” education that emphasized “social, artistic, academic and physical development as well as self-development.” After 1939, Łuczak reminds, “education in Polish was banned and punished with death.” Despite this disaster, “during the war clandestine classes were organized all around the country.” Today, economic issues influence education in Poland “to a great extent,” and technology is emphasized. Officials demand closer relationships between education and business.

Polish students seem to prefer the liberal arts, however. History courses have been bleached of Soviet influence and once again feature Polish content. Religion returned and PISA scores improved. Citing the problem of unemployment, the Ministry is now emphasizing vocational subjects: information technology (IT) studies, physics, mathematics, environmental protection, biotechnology, and chemistry. Study of these subjects promises "mobility," but "internationalization at home" is also important, expressed in "international curricula, foreign visiting academics, the requirement for Polish students to take some courses in a foreign language, and the development of an European dimension in curricula." Łuczak is optimistic:

> New curricula that are being at the moment introduced will definitely serve the students well preparing them for the challenges of the job market and enabling offering them the advantages of mobility and internationalization across Europe which draws on the best European tradition going back to Golden Ages and the times of Nicolaus Copernicus when the value of obtaining knowledge and experience at several academic centers was appreciated.

The Portuguese curriculum, José Augusto Pacheco and Filipa Seabra report, is a "broadly political project disguised as a shared technical consensus." The academic field of curriculum studies consolidated in the 1990s, especially at the Universities of Lisbon, Minho, and Porto. While there is a "significant theoretical production," the predominant discourse of curriculum research is "technical" and "school-based," focused on politically motivated "reforms." Neither Pacheco nor Seabra is submerged in present circumstances; they imagine a future when the curriculum serves "as a point of departure rather than a destination, implying a conversation, namely a national and international conversation, supported by Portugal's membership to the European Union."

In Romania, Rodica Mariana Niculescu explains, the curriculum is based on "borrowed, transformed and assimilated models" with "many hybrid features, but still very Romanian." Like the nation itself, Niculescu continues, the curriculum contains traces of Latin and Greek cultural influences on one hand, and of Slavonic culture on the other. The recent history of curriculum in Romania has been marked by a series of reforms, of which Niculescu is quite critical. "In spite of several good points," she writes, the National Education Act (2011) "does not offer a sound educational policy base for an adequate curriculum reform." Institutionalized during the last two decades, curriculum theory, Niculescu worries, is insufficiently internationalized and is too often only "added" to traditional studies in "pedagogy."

Russia's renowned writers, Vladimir Blinov reminds, addressed questions of education. Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy "departed" from official pronouncements and endorsed "being open to the world." After 1917, communism superseded humanitarianism, "subjecting the school to a new ideological setup," converting Russian "schools of study" into Soviet "schools of labor." In the first few years after the Revolution there remained an openness to the world, including to U.S. progressive ideas. (The Dalton plan and Kilpatrick's project method were imported and adapted.) In post-Soviet Russia, Blinov reports, the curriculum has become increasingly aligned with "structures of the shifting economy," emphasizing technology. There have been efforts to redress this imbalance; Blinov cites the 1990s prioritizing of the humanities, a curricular response, he suggests, to the "facelessness" of Soviet schools. Today, the Russian curriculum is faced with two challenges: the creation of a "civil society" and contributing to an economy not based on the oil and gas sector. "At the heart of these processes," Blinov explains, "lie the actions aimed at coping with the consequences of totalitarianism, the psychology of which has wormed its way incredibly deeply into the national consciousness, assimilating all forms of mimicry and touching on the moral values of both adults and children." There is an optimistic scenario, Blinov concludes, one derived from Russian history, one that encourages Russians to "learn now from other countries, selecting and then implementing the best examples and practices."

Singapore faces a past it wishes to supersede as well. The "centralized, standardized, top-down system," with its emphasis on "socialization" and "rote learning" and its "quiescence of students"—once considered "crucial" to the "state's agenda of economic growth and nation building"—is now, Viniti Vaish reports, an "impediment." In the present postindustrial moment, policy-makers agree that a radical transformation is required, one marked by a shift from an "efficiency" to "ability-driven" school system. Now conducting research where "the old efficiency-driven system is still in place," Vaish is confident that "holistic" reform can transform "every single aspect of the school ecology," taking Singapore's school system from "good" to "great."

Recounting the recent history of curriculum research in South Africa, Lesley Le Grange emphasizes the early 1990s National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI). Twelve reports were produced, including one on curriculum. These were followed by three iterations of outcomes-based education (OBE): Curriculum 2005, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), and the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The introduction of OBE generated a broad public debate and stimulated curriculum research.

OBE was wholeheartedly embraced and severely criticized; the Minister of Basic Education signed its death certificate in 2010. In the new national curriculum—the Curriculum Policy and Assessment Statement (CAPS)—"outcomes have been removed." In Le Grange's judgment, outcomes-based education has been a "red herring," and its removal will not guarantee that classroom practices will improve. He provides a map of the South African field, noting, in particular, those whose research is informed by Basil Bernstein and those committed to decolonization. Invoking Deleuzian language, Le Grange expresses hope that the "tribes and their territories" will become "deterritorialized" in order to "enable complicated conversations to occur between South African curriculum scholars on local soil that will invigorate lines of flight and the transformation of the field."

South Korea, Yonghwan Lee reminds, enjoyed its own "unique" educational system for thousands of years. In this system, the humanities—not vocational or technical subjects—were prized. Western missionaries changed everything as they communicated their "belief not only in God but also in the superiority of their own culture." Western-style schools followed. One of the most "noticeable features" of twentieth century curriculum reform is, Lee emphasizes, that "major political transitions were always followed by reforms of national curricula." Curriculum reforms legitimized new governments and reflected changing curricular theories. "Every national curriculum since 1945," Lee argues, has been the "result of the subtle, sometimes very odd, combination of these two purposes." Given the centralized, authoritarian assertion of school reform, Lee concludes, "there was, and still is, little room for teachers, students, parents, and even curricular theorists."

Young Chun Kim, Dong Sung Lee, and Jae Hong Joo start their story in 1945 when Korean scholars were sent to the United States to study curriculum. Upon their return, curriculum studies were established. "Since then," Kim and his colleagues report, the South Korean field has been influenced "principally" by the United States. From Tyler, Taba, and Bruner in the 1970s to "reconceptualist" discourses in the 1980s, U.S. curriculum research has been determinative. More recently, however, Korean scholars have not only translated U.S. research, they have been reconstructing it according to Korean traditions and circumstances. Kim and his colleagues call for postcolonial curriculum research, encouraging teachers, researcher, and students to "decolonize" consciousness. Postcolonial curriculum research requires the formulation of new curriculum languages that address the unique legacies, present circumstances, and future prospects of the Korean nation. While focused on the nation, the postcolonial Korean research will not be nationalistic, Kim and colleagues insist. It will embrace internationalization. They suggest the Korean experience of colonization and decolonization might inspire colleagues worldwide to undertake their own post-colonial campaigns to reconstruct curriculum research.

In Spain, César Coll and Elena Martín explain that the curriculum has proved pivotal in adapting the education system to the "new democratic order." Most curriculum research has been focused on "curriculum change in pre-university teaching." The curriculum model adopted there was "based on a set of social constructivist-oriented psychopedagogical principles" focused on the "abilities" of students that the curriculum should cultivate. These abilities, involving "all areas" of human development, constitute the "starting point" for choosing curriculum content. What is to be incorporated into the school curriculum is that knowledge that contributes "most" to developing abilities with the "greatest social relevance." This model means a "more open curriculum," offering teachers "greater autonomy" but accompanied by intense assessment. The *Instituto Nacional de Calidad y Evaluación* (National Institute for Quality and Assessment) was established in 1993.

Spanish schools have seen an increase in students' ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. This fact has strengthened the link between curriculum revision and regulatory policies. Citing the first edition of this Handbook, Coll and Martín acknowledge a "similar association" in other countries and regions, but, they add, "this relationship is particularly strong in the case of Spain." In addition to the "huge increase in immigrant students," Coll and Martín reference "the increased use of digital information and communications technologies (ICT)" requiring the incorporation of new content and competencies into the school curriculum. Interculturality and ICT are "two central themes shaping the field of curriculum in Spain," but for Coll and Martín, three other research areas may prove more significant: 1) assessment, 2) competency-based curriculum, and 3) what to teach and learn in schools.

Understanding curriculum research in Switzerland, Rebekka Horlacher and Andrea De Vincenti note, is complicated by terminology. The two common terms used in German, "*Lehrplan*" (instruction plan) or "*Lehrplanung*" (instruction planning), are included in the concept of curriculum, but they do not exhaust its meaning—never mind that Switzerland is officially quadrilingual (German, French, Italian, and Romansh) and that even German terms in Switzerland may not coincide "fully" with their meanings and historical resonance in Germany. Horlacher and Vincenti remind that the *Lehrplan* is "strongly tied" to German culture, linked with German understandings of "good life" and the "good citizen," concepts that cannot be comprehended apart from *Bildung.*

The curriculum movements of the 1970s and 1980s shifted the emphasis from "inputs" to "outcomes," rationalized by theories of "human capital" and conceived in terms of "standards" and "competencies" that made "measurement" a "core mission." Efforts to supersede the "humanistic *Lehrplan* discourse," Horlacher and Vincenti report, "must be given a failing grade." "It is precisely in this thematic area," they conclude, "that curriculum research has the opportunity to establish itself as a competent interlocutor in questions that relate to education, schooling and the future of our society, without the need for a moralistic discussion or one that is confined to the logic of numbers."

During the last decade in Taiwan, Hwang, Jenq-Jye; Chang, Chia-Yu; and Chen, Derwen report, a "localization-indigenization movement" has affirmed the inclusion of Taiwanese culture in the curriculum. With the prominence of multiculturalism, curriculum research is now forefronted among the education sciences in Taiwan. "At present," Hwang, Chang, and Chen explain, "how to design models for multicultural curriculum from kindergarten to university . . . are all on the agenda of curriculum study." Multicultural models must also address the concerns of the aboriginal Taiwanese. Commitments to gender equity challenge gender stereotypes and prejudice in schools. As in Korea, the fact of "international marriages" poses curriculum questions, as do continuing concerns for "environmental protection, sex education, parents' education, human rights education, drug education, information education, moral education, career education, marine education, etc."

There is considerable infrastructure in support of such curriculum research and development. Hwang, Chang, and Chen report that there are several institutes and centers of curriculum and instruction. There is as well the Association for Curriculum and Instruction, a national and nongovernmental academic organization that has published the *Curriculum and Instruction Quarterl*y since 1998. Envisioning the future, Hwang, Chang, and Chen suggest that curriculum study in Taiwan still needs to: (a) establish more research organizations to coordinate national, local, and school-level projects; (b) coordinate the efforts of existing institutes, schools, and nongovernmental agencies; (c) invite more colleagues for international and interdisciplinary collaboration; and (d) form systemic and integrated research projects through teamwork. "The task of curriculum study belongs to not only learned scholars, but also to teachers," Hwang, Chang, and Chen conclude, as the "aim of curriculum study is to establish theory and improve practice."

In his chapter on curriculum research in Turkey before 2000, Sümer Aktan reports that religion informed education in the Ottoman Empire. "The verses of the sacred scripture of Islam," Aktan reminds, "emphasize the importance of knowledge, wisdom, reading, intellectuality and comprehension." The "sayings of the Prophet Muhammad," he continues, which "praise reading and learning, provide rationale for the importance attached to education in Islam." Despite nineteenth-century demands for socioeconomic development, Islamic influence remained strong, indicated in Regulations introduced in 1892 emphasizing Islamic curriculum. "The duties of the teacher were not restricted to instruction," Aktan explains, as "the teacher was also required to serve as a role model to the students," teaching "obedience" to the sultan and the state as well as to one's parents, elders, and teachers. Aktan concludes that the "predominant force in curriculum theory through the end of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century was Islam."

After the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Aktan continues, "the answer given to the curriculum question 'What knowledge is of most worth?' changed, now informed by positivism and secularism." No longer ethical exemplars, teachers constituted "a scientific and cultural army" considered even "more important than the military." This association of education and military training was reflected in the curriculum. Despite this militarization of education, the Republican government invited John Dewey to study Turkish education. Dewey arrived in Turkey on July 19, 1924, and remained four months, after which he filed the report he had prepared for the Ministry of National Education. Dewey's influence was discernible, but the 1936 curriculum, while claiming a pragmatist perspective, was, Aktan judges, "more ideological than democratic."

World War II was a "turning point" for curriculum research in Turkey, Aktan writes. During the first years of the Republic, concepts originating in Continental Europe—especially in Germany—had dominated. After 1945, Turkish attention turned toward the United States, where students were sent for advanced study in education. U.S. experts traveled to Turkey and positivist models of the social and behavioral sciences became prominent. "Curriculum," Aktan notes, "became a technical field composed of curriculum development and assessment rather than an academic field of study." Micro-curricular topics—among them teaching and learning, technology, and assessment—preoccupied the now "technical-scientific-rationalist" field. Macro-curricular concerns—such as gender, ideology, curriculum history, and the role of government—were exported to other specializations.

This exclusion of macro-curricular concerns remains the case today, Aktan complains: "Tyler's Rationale and its variations remain to be the predominant paradigm." He blames the training post-World War II students received in the United States. While the 1970s, reconceptualization of U.S. curriculum research installed the significance of macro-curricular perspectives there, not so in Turkey. Key curriculum questions—especially historical and theoretical questions—remain the province of other specializations, even other academic disciplines such as political science, history, and philosophy. There are hopeful signs, Aktan suggests, among them the 2009 founding of the Turkish Curriculum and Instruction Association. As well, "criticism of the educational sciences in general and the fields of curriculum and teaching in particular may provoke a reconstruction of the curriculum field in Turkey." Aktan looks to a redefinition of the Turkish field as "multidimensional" and no longer exclusively a "subspecies of the school and of teaching."

The 2005 curriculum, Dilek Gözütok reports, failed to "serve the general objectives of Turkish National Education." In that document, nationalism is condemned, and nor is there adequate appreciation for Turkish language, history, and culture. "No matter which globalization process we are experiencing," Gözütok reminds, it is "the nation" that provides its history and present circumstances. The 2005 curriculum was the first national curriculum prepared in Turkey without the participation of curriculum specialists. The education law of March 30, 2012, Gözütok continues, "passed by the government using repressive methods, was harshly criticized by academics of educational sciences, teacher associations and the Opposition party." Since 2000, Turkey has deemphasized its own distinctiveness by adopting "other countries' programs" while inserting "religious values" into the curriculum. "Unable to resist these developments," Gözütok laments, "leaves scholars uneasy."

In his reflection on curriculum research in the United Kingdom, Ivor F. Goodson points to the "obsessive contemporality" of our time, "allied with a belief that past curriculum traditions could, given conviction and resources, be transcended." There has been, Goodson continues, the refrain of "innovation," endless endorsements of "radical change in education," and repeated promises of "revolutionizing classroom practice," all accompanied by constant confidence in "redrawing the map of learning." Not only is the past effaced in such phraseology, so is the present, including the power of the teacher, often inflated to ensure her or his culpability should test results disappoint. These circumstances have histories, as Goodson's crucial contribution makes unmistakable.

The history of curriculum research in the United States is structured by three paradigmatic moments: (a) the field's inauguration as and paradigmatic stabilization as curriculum development (1918–1969), (b) the field's reconceptualization (1969–1980) from curriculum development to curriculum studies, its research organized around understanding curriculum (1980–2001), and (c), most recently, the field's internationalization (2001-), which I construe as ethical engagement with alterity, accenting the concept of "understanding" with history, activism, and the forefronting of difference.

Epilogue: The "Obsessive Contemporality" of Our Time[20]

> Historical study has a valuable role to play in challenging, informing and sometimes generating theory.
>
> Ivor F. Goodson (this volume)

While certain concepts reverberate through these chapters—among them technology, assessment, and globalization—these are sounded through structures specific to each nation. These structures—schools, policies, and practices—become intelligible to researchers when studied historically. However hounded by globalization, the curriculum remains nationally based and locally enacted and experienced. Whether that fundamental fact supports tendencies toward cosmopolitanism or provincialism cannot be ascertained apart from studies of national context: historical, social, and cultural. That is why this Handbook is organized by country[21] and emphasizes history. In political terms, such an organization challenges the "obsessive contemporality" that effaces history and thus renders globalization "reasonable."

Globalization is rationalized, Stephen Carney, Jeremy Rappleye, and Iveta Silova explain, by technology, science, and the myth of progress. One such rationalization—"world culture theory"—is challenged by the evidence, e.g., the "local enactment" of global demands (Carney, Rappleye, and Silova 2012, 367). The "evidence" cited by world culture theorists does not support claims of a "world culture," Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 368) conclude; instead, it tends to "*produce* them."[22] What the evidence makes clear is not the achievement of globalization that world culture theory imagines but the "incompleteness, pragmatism, and chaos of so much education reform" (Carney, Rappleye, and Silova 2012, 385). These present circumstances represent not failures of implementation but recontextualizations of imported[23] models of "reform." Future research, Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 387) recommend, is better focused on "how" and "under what conditions ideas travel, transfer, and take form as practices." Several of the chapters in this handbook do just that.

Not only does the local contradict world culture theory, so does the theory's retrospective historiography. This "harmonizing" method, Daniel Tröhler (2011, 182) points out, starts with positing a globalized world and then works from present to past: from modernity and secularity backward to Christianity (see Tröhler 2011, 188–189). Another form of "Whig" history, Tröhler (2011, 182) notes that this grand narrative displays a "teleological progression" towards ever-increasing "individual liberty" and "enlightenment," formulated as liberal democracy and scientific progress. If the present is posited as following the past, however, a more complicated reality is revealed.

Working retrospectively, however—as Daniel Tröhler (2011, 183) explains—world culture theory misconstrues globalization as a "linear process" that became evident during the nineteenth century, when the various nation-states emerged not from internal or indigenous processes but from "exogenous" ones instead (2011, 184). Rather than embedded in national histories and cultures, national education systems were—in this tale told backwards—"homogenized" by global models that became institutionalized through projects of "development." These processes of homogenization and standardization accelerated and expanded through technological means, including organized international networks of communication (see Tröhler 2011, 184). This "transnational process," Tröhler (2011, 185) notes, "was accompanied by universalization of the notion of development," which by the 1970s became the "core concept of modernity par excellence."

Modernity is now construed, Tröhler (2011, 185) observes, as the "permanent" obligation of "continuous self-development," a national undertaking that (over)relies on the educational system. Although crippling questions remain concerning the alleged link between educational and economic-social-political development,[24] these have not been acknowledged in demands for "development." The on-world society, Tröhler (2011, 185) argues, "requires both the nation-state and its overcoming in the age of globalization." Perceiving this apparent paradox requires bifocality, conveyed in the concept of "glocal" (see Mathias and Sabar, this volume).

The paradox of "glocal" is evident in Hongyu Wang's theorization of the term "international" as "in-between" and as "fluid spaces" wherein "multiplicity" and "differences" are neither "excluded" nor "self-contained." In contrast to "globalization," the "internationalization" of curriculum studies, Wang underscores, "supports the decentering of both the national and the global through a focus on interaction and relationship that leads to the transformation of both locality and globalness." The "shared meaning" world culture theorists project on the actually existing world of endless difference is, as these chapters testify, enacted locally through academic study, teaching, and research. Shared meaning is not enforced by standardized testing, but rather is constructed in complicated conversation informed by our expertise—theoretical, practical, and historical—and animated by our professional ethics.

Contesting the neocolonialism of globalization, such cosmopolitan curriculum research is "glocal" and is characterized by nonviolence, "a thread," Wang reminds, "that weaves through many non-Western and Western countries and cultures," and in so doing "may heal the divide between East and West, North and South, or the first, second, or third world." Expressive of the "vital, life-affirmative, and best part of each culture," nonviolence, she suggests,"may have the potentiality to unite us across differences to cocreate more compassionate and creative expressions of humanity." *That* "shared meaning"[25] would surely be knowledge of most worth.

Notes

1. I was unable to secure updated reports from Australia, Botswana, Canada, Estonia, France, Malaysia, Namibia, New Zealand, Sweden, and Thailand.
2. This fact is evident in the chapters organizing curriculum research by country, but even these chapters are "local" as somewhat different portraits would be painted by different individuals. These reports would also shift if aligned with regions or linked with other countries. As in currency exchange markets for instance, it would be valuable to map the Portugal-Brazil "cross" or a Switzerland-Singapore "cross" and not only in English. If UNESCO honored dialogical encounters rather than authoritarianism through standardized testing, it would sponsor a series of conferences and translate into various languages studies of these nationally distinctive fields and their "crosses" with others. "Resonance" is a more appropriate concept for me than "cross" as I am less interested in determining an "exchange value" of concepts than their localized recontextualization and reconstruction.
3. See Aoki (2005 [1986/1991], 161–165).
4. The last meeting was held in Rio de Janeiro in July 2012, chaired by Professors Elizabeth Macedo and Alice Casimiro Lopes. In 2015, the meeting moves north to Ottawa—to be chaired by Professor Nicholas Ng-A-Fook—before returning to Asia in 2018.
5. Unless otherwise indicated, all quoted passages come from this handbook.
6. Daniel Tröhler also acknowledges the central role this concept has played in rationalizing neoliberalism (see Tröhler 2011, 184).
7. This is a unique form of curriculum scholarship, composing essays in the form of elongated syllabi, theorizing a course—an instance of curriculum—and specifying its answers to the canonical curriculum question: What knowledge is of most worth? It is an innovative example of the synoptic text, a genre specific to curriculum studies in North America (Pinar 2012, 61). Smith juxtaposed two courses—one on globalization and one on the answers to the questions it poses, e.g., the wisdom traditions—into one, as he describes in his chapter.
8. "The curriculum," Silvia Moraes points out in her chapter, "always has its feet in a nation/country and today, more than ever, it also means having eyes and ears outside frontiers. We are all situated in a particular culture, speaking a particular language, belonging to a certain family and at the same time we are connected to a larger world, portrayed in the daily news, Facebook, Twitter, e-mail."
9. For curriculum as meditative inquiry, see Kumar (in press).
10. As Tröhler (2011, 192–193) writes elsewhere: "As there seem to be no Archimedean point from which we can perceive the subject of inquiry objectively, the inquiry needs to address the researcher as well—not in order to eliminate the researcher's own worldview and epistemological frame but in order to become aware of it."
11. "Because curriculum is the heart of education," Wang explains, "nonviolence needs to be at the center of curriculum studies." If we affirm a "new internationalism," she continues, "then nonviolently mobilizing organic relationships *within* and *across* the local, the national, and the international becomes important." Wang asks us to "envision nonviolent relationality as the central thread of internationalizing curriculum studies."
12. Indeed, "the simultaneity of the local, the national, and the international dynamics is important for orienting curriculum studies towards nonviolence education," Wang suggests.
13. Not only is social justice intertwined with subjectivity, so is history, as Tröhler (2011, 193) appreciates: "I see no other way than to historicize not only a topic but the construer of the topic as well."
14. This passage occurs in a paragraph wherein Chambers has referenced Canadians' discomfort with nationalism. The complete sentence reads: "Richardson (1997) ironically suggests that nationalism has become the 'new love that dare not say its name,' and argues that if Canadians are to create a shared public space, that is tolerant of difference and inviting to youth, curriculum must address identity and nationalism directly in a way one that is invested with, rather than divested of, emotion and passion" (2003, 246). The Richardson reference is: Richardson, G. 1997. "The Love That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Nationalism and Identity in the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum." *Canadian Social Studies* 31 (3): 138–141.
15. As in South Africa, if there in racialized ways. See the Le Grange chapter (this volume).
16. Program for International Student Assessment
17. The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) provides (presumably) reliable and timely data on mathematics and science achievement.
18. Since the late 1980s, Mathias and Sabar report, "it has become common knowledge within the educational field that the recognition of the civil and cultural rights of Arab Israeli citizens is one of the decisive tests of the country's democratic-pluralistic character. This recognition has mainly become manifest in Civics studies, where educational efforts in Israel are concentrated on nurturing universal, democratic values."
19. Such work was imported forcibly, part of the U.S. campaign to "re-educate" Mexicans away from the Communist threat the Cuban Revolution posed. See Pinar 2011, 209.
20. The phrase is Ivor Goodson's (this volume). My term is "presentism" (2012, 58–58), but both reference the same phenomenon.
21. It is "too early to mourn the Nation-State's demise," Mathias and Sabar appreciate, "since it is quite often the driving force behind standardization and reforms" (this volume). Because the State continues to play a "dominant role in defining the educational curriculum, allocating hours, mobilizing pedagogical and organizational

reforms, evaluating achievements and training and supplying the educational system's workforce," it is the State, Mathias and Sabar point out, that maintains the power to "interpret" what is meant by "global educational reform."

22. First outlined by John Meyer in the 1970s, world culture theory's central theoretical claim, Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 368) explain, was that educational "expansion" was not especially responsive to the political, economic, and social structures of individual nation-states, but to global demands for world society. Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 371–373) outline the intellectual history of world culture theory, working from Weber through Parsons, referencing its revisions and additions (such as globalization as "shared meaning": see 2012, 374). As have Daniel Tröhler (see 2011, 184) and others (including myself: Pinar 2011, 51–52), Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 377, 379) are critical of the research of Ramirez and his colleagues, not only methodologically but also due to its apparent endorsement of standardization as effective, efficient, and equitable (see Carney, Rappleye, and Silova 2012, 383). Carney, Rappleye, and Silova (2012, 387) advise "all scholars to look inward and question the values embedded in their own science." Interesting, that admonition—"look inward"—coincides with Tröhler's (2011, 193) conclusion: "Doing history is essentially the self-discovering of one's own standpoint."
23. Sometimes forcibly so, as in Mexico in the 1960s: see Pinar 2011, 209.
24. See Coyle 2007, 51.
25. How would such shared meaning come about? "We believe the study of the genesis and consolidation of an international curriculum field may contribute not only to analyses focused on specific settings," José Augusto Pacecho and Filipa Seabra (this volume) write, "but also for the construction of an international field built upon the diversity and the recognition of realities that, in many ways, are intersected. The internationalization of curriculum studies represents the contestation of globalization, defined as common parameters through which national governments predict educational policies and practices of curriculum control or as circuit for the global flow of commodities, culture and communications."

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Section I

Five Essays of Introduction

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1

The Internationalization of Curriculum Research

Tero Autio

My main motive in the first edition of the Handbook was to introduce the two major transnational curriculum theories and practices, Anglo-American Curriculum and European-Scandinavian *Bildung-Didaktik,* and demonstrate their intellectual affiliations and commitments by situating them within broader theoretical and historical frameworks. The subtitle of my chapter (Autio 2003, 301–328) "The Confinements of Rationality in Curriculum Studies," displayed my interest to articulate how "very different intellectual systems" (cf. Westbury 1998, 48) those two are and what kinds of education policy, curriculum theory, and practice implications they contain in their respective baggage. I still attach my point to this difference because the gap during the first decade of the millennium between those educational curriculum ideas seems, on one hand, to deepen by the dominance of the American reform model. On the other hand, some countries more or less (consciously) affiliated with German-Scandinavian education models and not faithfully following the American reform formula of accountability and standardization are doing better in (questionable) international comparisons, like PISA, which is a surprising side product of their system that was not at all designed for tests or external comparisons but rather for education process without exaggeration of assessment and control (like Finland). The international comparisons in their present, "evidence-based" forms are the symptoms of a worldwide educational disease caused precisely by the same education logic that guides those comparative surveys rather than being diagnosing, ameliorating, or improving education measures.

From the Anglo-American point of view, the last 10 years have experienced a continuity of highly instrumental education and curriculum policy that even the change in the U.S. governmental education policy from the Republican *No Child Left Behind* to the Democratic *Race to the Top* policy programs has left education policy in the same if not a worsening state.

The continuity between *No Child Left Behind* and *Race to the Top* discourages those who expected sharper ideological differences between the Bush and Obama administrations. In certain areas—financial regulation, health care reform, consumer protection—there are significant differences. In military matters, there is less difference—the phased withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan proceeds slowly—and in educational matters not at all (Pinar 2012, 17).

Pinar is not entirely happy with the field of curriculum research in the United States, either, which still, in the aftermath of Reconceptualization, has seemed to make remarkable intellectual advancements in the field by introducing many new insights and "post" approaches into the field.

> To point out that the primary sectors of scholarship in the US field—efforts focused on power, identity, and discourse—are exhausted is not criticism but, rather, acknowledgement of their success. Their basic assumptions—that power predominates, that identity is central, and that discourse is determinative (e.g. our research provides only narratives, never truth)—are widely shared. While each conception of curriculum is in tension with the other, the three share the same tendency toward totalization. Power, identity, and discourse are no longer conceptual innovations or provocations precisely due to their taken-for-grantedness. As assumptions, these concepts circulate as accepted truth—even the poststructuralist truth that there is no truth!—and have thus become abstractions split-off from the concrete complexity of the historical moment. . . . In their triumph they have become markers of our defeat: our expulsion from the public sphere. (Pinar 2013, 7)

Pinar's argument for intellectual reconstruction of the curriculum field in the United States (that, of course, is not restricted to the United States only) emphasizes two points: the study of the past of the field and even more the international scholarly exchange of research, ideas, and concepts.

> New concepts are required for the reconstruction of curriculum studies in the United States, but these be found not in the present, but in the field's past, and not only there. This time the future of the US field may not be found in the US at all, but elsewhere, both geographically and culturally. (Pinar 2013, 7)

In this chapter, I will make an effort to contribute to this requirement "both geographically and culturally" by updating here and there my former chapter in the Handbook's first edition. In my country of origin, Finland, (I work currently in post-Soviet Estonia), we have a kind of nationally distinctive curriculum cocktail between Anglo-American curriculum and German *Bildung-Didaktik* in use from the beginning of official education in Finland—the first educational legislation for compulsory schooling is from 1921. The German-Scandinavian terminology and concepts related to education are never very exact in the Anglophone analytical-philosophical and empirical-analytical sense—a kind of index of the complicated understanding of education. There are a host of overlapping, imbricated, or discrete concepts that in English refer to education and curriculum: *Bildung, Paedagogik, Didaktik, Erziehung, Lehrplan,* and also *Curriculum.*

Bildung can be referred to as a theory of education with a two-layer sense and in with a broader meaning than the English "education." *Bildung,* at least in its Finnish interpretation, "sivistys" (Saari et. al, this volume) means to become, first, socialized to one's culture through school and other official curricula, and then, second, individuated by one's own studies, activities, and hobbies and "transcending" (the Hegelian *Aufhebung*) the official education and curriculum. The final, ideal aim of *Bildung,* or "sivistys," is the individual's competence to be able to lead public life; to participate in a knowledgeable way in cultural activities, public affairs, and politics; and to critique—ideally to reconstruct—society by transforming one's self through continuous study and different, idiosyncratic activities. This educational and curriculum ideal prevailed in Finland between the World Wars. After World War II and the defeat of the Nazi régime, the ideas and models of education were sought not from Germany but from the United States; nevertheless, education in Finland has maintained a hybrid nature in terms of American and German—and Scandinavian, particularly Swedish—influences.

As a kind of umbrella term, *Bildung* becomes a general theory of becoming human, with secularized theological connotations. Another major German concept, *Didaktik,* refers more closely to the Anglophone concept of curriculum; it can denote curriculum theory, "general didactics," but also curriculum practice as *Fachdidaktik,* subject matter or content or pedagogic issues related to teaching. As if these concepts weren't complicated enough, pedagogy can also be considered the theory of (institutional) education and also refer to educational practice. Hermeneutics is the intellectual core of all variants and schools of thought in *Bildung-Didaktik* traditions. *Didaktik* or "didactics" is often recoded in U.S. or U.K. circumstances as dull, authoritarian, strictly disciplinary and moralistic, patronizing, and a drill kind of approach to education and teaching. *Didaktik,* even "general didactics," draws on a broader concept, *Bildung,* comprised of four constitutive elements that form the basic structure of any curriculum (*Lehrplan:* literally "teaching plan") in the *Bildung-Didaktik* sense. These are (see Klafki 1991) *moral, cognitive, aesthetic,* and *practical* elements. The cognitive, aesthetic, and practical belong to the domain of instrumental rationality (*Verstand);* they serve as means to some external goals rather than being ends in and of themselves.

The key point is that the moral element belongs to the non-instrumental domain and rationality (*Vernunft*) of educational reality, and I am suspecting that the term "moral" is atrophied in "moralistic" terms in English translations. The "moral" makes education educative in the real sense of the term; other elements are weighed by the moral and judgmental faculties of the teachers and students alike. At best, the moral shifts teaching from transmission to transformation; the curriculum content is not delivered with tests in sight, but renders, in principle, every single lesson a "complicated conversation" where all the participants at every level think about the basic curriculum question of the worthwhileness of the content and subject matter just taught and addressed. Ideally, the educational and educative aim of the moral in *Didaktik* traditions is to encourage thinking, to make subjective yet knowledgeable judgments and decisions, to think against the subject matter, to think against oneself, to transcend, and to transform. I think we all have happy memories of such moments at school or elsewhere.

Such educational thought and practice is aversive, even immune, to the mentality of "teaching to the test." The moral serves as a yardstick of education and curriculum policy level as well as a total judgment of the worthwhileness of reform. My speculation is that the so-called Finnish exceptionalism manifested in unintended consequences by Finnish education policy in otherwise questionable international comparisons rests on this understanding in which education reforms are embodiments of this primal image of basic educational and pedagogic process. This thinking is greatly intellectually indebted to the Finnish national philosopher, Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), who, and this is my speculation that I hope to explicate in the future, both rejected psychologism and transcended and superseded the tacit and totalizing instrumentality of the subject in Hegel's account of the unfolding of the Spirit where the individual subject remains subordinated to Objective Spirit (particularly nation-state) and Absolute Spirit (world historical forces) (Snellman 1841; Salmela 2012). This abstract sounding philosophy has far-reaching consequences when engaged with Snellman and the *Bildung* tradition, with open-ended concepts of the individual in general and the intellectual positioning of the teacher in society in particular. At the practical reform level, Sahlberg (2011) demonstrates how education reforms in Finland against the neoliberal mainstream thus far focus on professionalizing teachers' work, developing educational leadership in schools, and enhancing trust in teachers and schools.

Thus, one of the most decisive and significant differences from the traditional Anglo-American curriculum is implicated in the conception of the teacher—basically, how the profession is intellectually and organizationally designed within the education system and curriculum theory; how her or his professional autonomy, professional judgment, and freedom is defined and supported; and how and at what academic or non-academic level teacher education is organized. Bluntly put, is the teacher implicitly or consciously defined as a passive agent of the system (what s/he never is in reality!); an assumed conduit for external administrative, political, and scientific ideas, disciplines and mandates like in "implementation" policies; or an academically educated intellectual whose most significant work is trusted, supported, and encouraged by surrounding culture and society? The image of the teacher is most crucial because that image is, consciously or unconsciously, always embodied in curriculum and education policy decisions on local, regional, or (trans) national levels; how we think about the teacher constitutes and even determines the basic mentality and atmosphere of our education systems. (That is the blessing of our postmodern, individualized times; we can decode directly the political and psychological state of the organization through the interpellation of the individual without mediating or interfering structures.)

Signs of Shifts?

These images and conceptions are reflections of and engagements with intertwined historical, political, and theoretical ideas. I prefer to limit my brief account on the two differing notions of subjectivity/the subject in those two "narratives" that debatably have far-reaching consequences in education and curriculum policies and practices. The decisive concepts that render Curriculum and *Bildung-Didaktik* "very different intellectual systems" are the mutually differing concepts of *freedom* and *rationality* that, as such, are intertwined and constitute the theoretically and historically variegated scaffoldings of the subject.

Partly caused by the succession of deadlocks and failures of Anglophone education reforms in the United Kingdom and United States and elsewhere in the world where those reform models have been copied, there is perceivable in the literature a determined desire to find alternative imageries of curriculum theories and practices. Now in its worldwide instrumental excesses, "education reform," in the succinct characterization of David Berliner, as "the hardest science of all" (in Lather 2010, 93) renders the Constitutive Other even for the most detached (from school curriculum) curriculum theory. Berliner's appreciation captures the double meaning of "the hardest." On the one hand, there are the simplistic, evidence-based, de-intellectualized, and uninspiring imaginings of neoliberal educational reforms where the numbers (Taubman 2009) and routinized statistical mathematics that render the first "hardest." On the other, Berliner's judgment would seem to imply the real "hardest": the intellectual and political complexity of the reform task in the face of which the neoliberal, economist, and political efforts has proven its limits in the recognition of the requirements of successful reform.

The effort to give identity to curriculum theory in the 1970s in the increasingly instrumental context—known in retrospect as the Reconceptualization—by introducing theory into the field that effectively demonstrated since then the complexity of education and schooling allows us to speak now in another and debatably more original sense about education reform as "the hardest science of all." Yet, the challenge of "hard" is conceived almost in fundamentalist spirit of repositivization, or rather, even more simplistically, re-'digitization' of education research in numbers where only the bottom line matters: even the abstract, decontextualized, universalized learning discourse by educational psychology is not fashionable anymore in favor of learning outcomes as numerical testing scores. This shift toward results and "outcomes" marks education policies worldwide. The behaviorist black box of human consciousness, even without bothering to refer to it or naming it as such, at this historical juncture is here again, and the ever-frustrated hopes of raising test scores would render the political and educational goal as the global simulation of education proceeds. The accountability and standardization have been reaching their extremes that, in a bigger picture, denote the demise of democracy for totalitarian capitalism. The marriage between economic liberalism and political democracy seems to be destroyed by their incestuous offspring neoliberalism.

Meanwhile, the mismatch between advancing theory and education policies is deepening. Still, there are some signs of changing times that would give some cautious hope for finding alternative forms of education policy and bridging the glaring gap between internationally and intellectually vibrant dynamics of curriculum theories and simplistic education policy efforts on schooling, teaching, and learning. In the Anglophone world, there is widely recognized the urge to move toward the "Post-Standardization Era" (Hargreaves et. al 2011), but the obstacle among many of the post-standardization reform advocates is their strict intellectual adherence to top-down methodology, "system," and "evidence" at the cost of experience and, by implication, implicit and structural distrust of teachers. There are promising attempts to cope with the necessary "messy side" of the reforms (Lather 2010)—the "messy" that is now discarded by the methodology of evaluation ushered to simplified policy decisions and "teaching by numbers" (Taubman 2009).

These detrimental effects of instrumental, neopositivist "what works" reforms recognized now by reform researchers themselves have long ago shaped the critique of curriculum theorists, starting from the late 1970s and summarized in a comprehensive theoretical mapping of the possibilities to conceive of the curriculum field in 1995 by Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman's *Understanding Curriculum.* The topical point of that massive volume is to show the limitations of the psychologized curriculum, the four-step Tyler Rationale as its icon, and pave the way for curriculum not only as a organizational centerpiece of education but as promoting the conceiving of the genuine intellectual complexity of curriculum. This nexus between organizational and intellectual is of utmost importance in any teacher education curriculum and the cornerstone of any successful education reform. Like in any teaching process, curriculum is always "threaded through the subjectivity of the teacher" (Pinar 2011), likewise education reform is always "threaded through," translated, and reinterpreted by the "targets" or the "objects" of the reform: schools and teachers. The popular but misguided notion of "implementation" as a "term referring to any tool or mechanical device used for a particular purpose," even as a metaphor, poorly catches the actual, non-mechanical, complicated process.

The recognition of the complexity of education in its myriad manifestations is in process also in the Anglophone world, though not in actual reform practice (see Pinar's [2013] critique of President Obama's education policy and reforms). In total, that recognition and "*Such critique asks how social science might serve us better than the parade of behaviorism, cognitivism, structuralism, and neopositivism that have all failed successfully study human activity in a way modeled after the assumedly cumulative, predictive and stable natural sciences*" (Lather 2010, 37 [my italics]).

One of the most intriguing processes in that sense of the "post-parade" is taking place in China as the huge country is liberalizing and modernizing its education systems and developing curriculum theory and practice internationally receptive and well-informed but adjusted to the national, regional, and local traditions, circumstances, and future projections. China's modernization and its impact will not just be economic, but essentially cultural.

> The reason for China's transformation . . . has been the way it has succeeded in combining what it has learnt from the West, and also its East Asian neighbors, with its own history and culture, whereby tapping and releasing its native sources of dynamism. We have moved from the era of either/or to one characterized by hybridity. (Jacques 2012, 562)

China's hybrid modernization may signal a cultural feedback to Western notions of modernity and a future of the emergence of contested modernities. If we think the Enlightenment of the great educational project, China's modernization, and its global cultural impact would imply the urge for the reconsideration the European *Bildung/Didaktik* as well as Anglo-American Curriculum as two (Western) master narratives of curriculum theory.

In the ongoing research process lead by William Pinar, *Curriculum Studies in China: Intellectual Histories, Present Circumstances,* the papers by Chinese curriculum scholars bear witness to the decisive turn away from the similarly authoritarian Soviet model and the globally spread U.S. reform model of accountability, standardization, and teaching-to-the-test—all based on superficial and misguided notions of human psyche; human activity; and on narrow, disciplined instrumental rationality. Intellectually profiled, emerging Chinese curriculum theory and practice seem to be affiliating with the North American postreconceptualization *Currere* and older European *Bildung* thought localized and hybridized by the Chinese wisdom traditions: *Buddhism, Confucianism,* and *Taoism.* The particularly interesting feature in current Chinese emphases on curriculum theory is its intellectual reconsideration and affiliation with the traditional Eastern wisdom traditions (Zhang, forthcoming in Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in China*) that, as such, works like an antidote to simplified instrumentality and the "teaching-by-numbers" mentality in education policy and practice. Zhang's engagement with curriculum theory echoes the hybrid resonance with the Eastern wisdom traditions and the European *Bildung* tradition based on classical German idealism with the Pinarian North American reappraisal: "No Freedom, No Curriculum" (Zhang, forthcoming).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and against the atrophy of liberalism and democracy by neoliberalism and neoconservatism in the United States, educationally manifested in the totalitarianism of accountability and standardization, the Chinese opening might shed new light into the world of education. Also, the ongoing school reforms in China resonate the renewed sense of marriage between agency and freedom so vital to successful education via the recognition of intellectual and practical positioning of the teacher as main curriculum theorist and practitioner in the workable education system. The vital role of any single school in society is emphasized, like recollecting the teaching concept in John Rawl's *Theory of Justice* in a school context: a society/school system is as strong as its weakest element. For instance, Yuting Chen (forthcoming in Pinar's *Curriculum Studies in China)* speaks powerfully against the grain of Western top-down reforms controlled by standardization and accountability by alternatively accounting for the vital role of the school unit as the "*Reform Subject*" when schools' role is transformed from the target of implementation, standardization, and accountability, "[F]rom Follower to Creator," to the active agent of reform. At large, so it seems to me at the moment, the simultaneous enthusiasm, careful analysis, and creation of multilayered, synthesizing flows of information and knowledge as the core of the dynamics of the modernizing Chinese education system might, in its part, arguably create the conditions of possibility for alternative, contested modernity after all the Western ones and "post" ones since the Enlightenment. The big cultural shifts are often marked by the shifts in educational ideas and logics.

In the Western world, there is a certain tradition of resonance to the emerging Chinese educational insights and reappraisals. On one hand, the desire for the shift to the "Era of Post-Standardization" among Western reform scholars (Hargreaves et. al 2011) at a practical level and, on the other hand, theories that would vitally inform that shift: the North American Reconceptualization and its aftermath, signal a reconsideration of German *Bildung* theories as Western variants of "wisdom traditions" historically drawing on ancient Greece and medieval mysticism. German national identity, according to Jürgen Habermas (1996), "irreversibly tainted since the Holocaust," is reflected in the cessation of German curriculum theory ("general didactics"):

> In Germany, it has become quiet around general didactics. The controversies of the late 1960s and early 1970s have died down; the theoretical situation has been basically stable for decades. . . . this is surprising because one might perhaps expect, given the widespread talk about the crisis in instruction, in school, and the teaching profession, that the wheat of didactics would bloom on a theoretical level. Just the opposite is the case! In general didactics, there has been no theoretical discussion worth speaking of for around 2 decades. . . . genuine theoretical discussion has been largely replaced by the development and defense of certain teaching methods on a more practical level. (Terhart, 2003, 25–26)

Yet, those intellectual resources and concepts available in the German tradition and which are already implicitly at work and incorporated into efforts to move beyond Anglophone standardization and accountability in China's reforms and selectively established in other areas in the world—some Canadian provinces, Finland, and Singapore—are in need of intellectual rehabilitation through reappraisal. "One hundred years ago", writes William Pinar (2011, xiv), "Americans traveled to Germany . . . to study concepts of education. It seems to me it is time again to selectively incorporate German concepts in North American practices of education."

The concept that would make the difference is *freedom* and its highly consequential embodiments in all elements of education: from a single teacher and school to national curriculum design and education policy adopted.

In the German *Didaktik* tradition (see Klafki 1991)—that was uniquely reinterpreted and re-developed in the Finnish context by J.W. Snellman (1806–1881; see Saari, Salmela, and Vilkkila this volume)—each individual is ideally seen as a cultural and social force by becoming socialized into one's culture by education and then being able to transcend one's culture by individuation and study (*Aufhebung*). In this view, *individual freedom as necessary for individuation is always constituted and restrained but never completely determined by the effects of external and internal power and influences.* Judith Butler's account of "subjectivation," drawing on Foucault and Althusser, reactivates the conception of freedom and autonomy of an individual in *Bildung-Didaktik:*

> [S]ubjectivation . . . denotes both the becoming of the subject and the process of subjection—one inhabits the figure of autonomy only by becoming subjected to a power, a subjection that implies a radical dependency. . . . Subjection is, literally, the *making* of a subject, the principle of regulation according to which a subject is formulated or produced. Such subjection is a kind of power that not only unilaterally *acts* on a given individual as a form of domination, but also *activates* or forms [*bilden* in German, my addition] the subject. Hence, subjection is neither simply the domination of a subject or its production, but designates a certain kind of restriction *in* production. (Butler 1997, 83–84)

This North European conception of individuality, *where intersubjectivity precedes subjectivity,* contrasts with the view of individuality based on the Anglophone liberal political theory that ideal(istical)ly prefer to seeing *individual freedom as liberated from any external restraints whatsoever, particularly economic and political ones.*

Liberal political theory adopts its model of freedom and individuality from Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) mechanics that broke the Aristotelian thinking about the movement of a particle. For Galilei, movement is not something in need of explanation, but it is the *status quo,* the basic state of affairs. According to Galilei's intellectual breakthrough in physics, all particles are in free motion if nothing prevents them from their smooth movement. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) in his famous *Leviathan* (1651/1962) transformed Galilei's *idea of free motion into the idea of human freedom.* Free motion is paralleled by the capacity of a human subject to freely act upon her will. Hobbes writes that freedom essentially means the absence of resistance or interference. Hobbes began with his notions of Freedom and Will, an unprecedented strong tradition in political theory. His concept of freedom has been the prevailing preconception in liberal political theory over three centuries. Complemented by John Locke's theory of pleasure as the meaning of life (Autio 2006), freedom means liberty to act upon one's will and desire without obstacles. Society, and the nation-state as its instance, in this liberal conception always denote a serious limitation and obstacle to freedom.

We could say that this Hobbesian-Lockean view has been realizing in full force in the current economic globalization after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The presence of the Soviet system kept the Western world in a kind of moral hostage: America was never fully certain about the superiority of the capitalist system (cf. the Sputnik shock) before the collapse of Communism, and that event launched an unprecedented political euphoria that has reshaped all the social institutions across the world: education is no exception. In Hobbesian terms, this neoliberal revolution consciously set the "free motion" of the economy as the first priority on the political agenda, or actually the political was replaced and subsumed by the economic. The prime model even for public sector organization, too, was and is the American business corporate enterprise. In the Hobbesian sense, society and the nation-state (so central for *Bildung*) with their traditional institutions dictate only detrimental restraints for economic freedom.

Along with the atrophy of the public sector at large, education is also imbued with the corporatist vocabulary and economic imaginaries and discourses. Parents and students are clients or consumers of educational services; business managerialism is replacing educational leadership proper in schools (Rajakaltio 2011). Morality, responsibility, vocation, desire for knowledge, and intellectual and aesthetic curiosity as prime concerns of education are replaced by "accountability," production-line-discourses of "quality" instituted by the vast array of surveillance and assurance systems (Autio 2006; Kelly 2009; Pinar 2011, 2012b).

The production line and factory model of education has roots in nineteenth-century America, related to the demographic factors on the one hand, and to the urgent needs of industrialization on the other. Immigration that increased the population in the New York City tenfold between 1800 and 1850 (Westbury 2000) made it impossible to even imagine of any kind of uniform national identity. Unlike in Europe, where the nation-state created the "objective structure" of education as an embodiment of the "*conformity of wills,*" the United States had to resort to science, namely (educational) psychology, in its effort to create a sense of belonging among its population. Educational psychology, but also psychoanalysis to some extent (Taubman 2009), worked in tandem in order to *produce normalcy and prediction of behavior as the substitute for the lacking shared sense of national belongingness.* Psychology, rather than solely being an "objective" academic field of study, ideologically neutral and universalizable in terms of its results, was primarily *a political construct* in the U.S. context to govern the masses. Quoting my 2006 Presidential Address lecture to the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum studies, William Pinar notes that:

> Autio claims [American Herbartianism] reduced the complexity of education to "proceduralism" and instrumentality, rationalizing sequence that, in the US context, became behavioralized. . . . Autio suggested that *bureaucratic–administrative control became restated, in the United States, as the prediction of behavior.* (Pinar 2011, 185)

Pinar emphasizes the historical continuity of the U.S. mainstream educational logic: "Since *No Child Left Behind,* 'behavior' itself has been reduced to test-taking. It is in this sense that I have asserted that accountability in the United States is a form of neo-fascism" (Pinar 2012a, 185).

The succession of the American educational logic from psychology to bureaucratization and, increasingly, to the present form of commodification and privatization instead of conceiving of education as a public good has been spread out across the education world after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This Anglo-American education policy, with its international followers, that could be summarized at the school and teacher level as the neoliberal educational doctrines of "teacher-proof curricula," "accountability," and "teaching to the test," *is just the contrary to many best-achieving countries* (e.g., Finland and Singapore) in numerous international educational comparisons—the same countries that perform well on international ratings of economic competitiveness, too. This educational logic spreading from the Anglophone world and creating broader international interest to large-scale reform on the basis of "outcomes," tests, and standardization has exposed its systemic shortcomings in international comparisons.

The ironic effect of international interest in large-scale, corporate, and business models of educational reform, according to the U.S. scholar of education policy and teacher education, Linda Darling-Hammond, is that

> . . . it has exposed the how the countries and systems that have actually been the most successful educationally and economically are ones that provide greater flexibility and innovation in teaching and learning, that invest greater trust in their highly qualified teachers, that value curriculum breadth, and that do not try to orchestrate everything tightly from the top. (Darling-Hammond 2011, xv, in Hargreaves et al.)

The globalized American mainstream model of education and curriculum policy and practice has proved detrimental to the goals of education proper. The radical turn of mind in one of the most powerful advocates of accountability, privatization, and standardization movement in education, Diane Ravitch, is an authoritative sign of the urgency to rethink the task of education in national and transnational contexts—and an expression of the need to learn from countries that have followed different, more creative and non-standardized paths. Ravitch wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* on March 9, 2010:

> By the time I left the government service in January 1993, I was an advocate not only for standards but for school choice. I had come to believe that standards and choice could coexist as they do in private sector. As *No Child Left Behind's* (NCLB) accountability regime took over the nation's schools under President George W. Bush and more and more charter (private) schools were launched, I supported these initiatives. But over the time, I became disillusioned with the strategies that once seemed so promising. I no longer believe that either approach will produce the quantum improvement in American education that we all hope for. . . . In short, accountability turned

> into nightmare for American schools, producing graduates who were drilled regularly on the basic skills but were often ignorant almost everything else. Colleges continued to complain about the poor preparation of entering students, who not only had meager knowledge of the world but still required remediation in basic skills. This was not my vision of good education. . . . The current emphasis on accountability has created a punitive atmosphere in the schools. . . . Schools are often the anchor of their communities, representing values, traditions and ideals that have persevered across decades. . . . The best predictor of low academic performance is poverty—not bad teachers.

Two Very Different Intellectual Systems

Despite their variegated current manifestations and national idiosyncrasies, many national curriculum theories and designs worldwide outside Germany and the United States have drawn their initial theoretical and organizational inspirations from these two predominating discourses. The ideas presented 2002 in the *Didaktik and/or Curriculum* by Gundem and Hopmann rekindled some interest in the *Didaktik* tradition—especially in the U.S. context—arguably for the first time since the American Herbartianism at the turn of the twentieth century. Ian Westbury (1998, 47–78) sees in his chapter *Didaktik and Curriculum Studies* these two traditions "embedded in very different practical, cultural and structural contexts. They are very different intellectual systems developed out of very different starting points, and seek to do very different kinds of intellectual and practical work." He attempts to outline a theoretical framework that would offer "a way of seeing a constructive complementarity between the two traditions." This interest in promoting *Didaktik* in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of curriculum grew into another book-length historical and theoretical account in English by Ian Westbury, Stefan Hopmann, and Kurt Riquarts (Eds.) (2000), *Teaching as a Reflective Practice: The German Didaktik Tradition.* That book finished in the early 1990s started a research project between *Didaktik* and Curriculum. Apart from the general mapping of the trends and traditions in respective intellectual traditions in the project, one theme was emphasized especially Ian Westbury's (in Gundem and Hopman 2002, 47–78) instructive contribution to it, where he analyzed both the commons interests and differences in both traditions. *One of Westbury's main concerns focuses on the void of the active and professionally independent role of the teacher in the American educational policy and educational settings as well as in curriculum theory more generally, and for that "void" he seeks remedies from the traditions and practices of Didaktik theories.* "It is their view of the teacher, and the role of the teacher within their theoretical and institutional systems," Westbury (1998, 53) writes, "which represents the most dramatic difference in viewpoint between *Didaktik* and curriculum studies." Westbury's criticism based on the institutional history of the American school systems shows the detriments to education and teaching that follows when teachers' work is subdued mainly and mechanistically to the systemic interests. He writes (1998, 52):

> Thus, from the origins of curriculum work in the urban school bureaucracies of the 19th century, through the period of reform of the 1920s and the 1930s which created the modern comprehensive high school, through the curriculum reforms of the Sputnik era to the concerns of today with nation-wide systemic "reform" and the national curriculum, the focus has been on public needs and on the adjustment of the system to the perceived public "needs" of each time. Within the perspective of the curriculum, teachers are always . . . the invisible *agents* of the system, to be remotely controlled by that system for public ends, *not* independent actors with their own visible role to play in the schools. They are seen as "animated" and directed *by* the system and not as sources of animation *for* the system.

Westbury's critique continues to maintain that to focus on "systemic technologies" of perpetual school reforms tends tacitly to emphasize that "the curriculum and its transmission, teaching, is ideally 'teacher-proof.' "

> Thus both traditional curriculum theory and "practical" curriculum work have seen the abstracted teacher as a (if not the) major brake on the necessary innovation, change, and reform that the schools always require, a "problem" which must be addressed by highly elaborated theories and technologies of *curriculum implementation.* Teachers are seen as the conservative source of the "failure" of much innovation. It is the task of teacher education to prepare teachers as effective vehicles for delivering the curriculum and its goals to students by equipping them with the most effective methods for delivering that content. *It was and is not their task to reflect on that content* (53).

Westbury locates the broader concerns of actual practices of educational and curriculum policy visible worldwide in the Anglophone curriculum.

It could be contended, however, that it is not as much the curriculum itself as its theoretical amenability to the uses of broader political initiatives of neoliberalism where curriculum is employed as its operational core in education. In this context, however, education loses its Deweyan specificity as an institution and practice as it comes to be drawn to the universal regime of other organizations, a regime of corporate managerialism where, parallel to the economic profit-loss, the bottom line discourse equals the educational-organizational performance of the individual: success-failure in accountabilities and tests in the context of the neoliberal Evaluative State.

> In the American case, the dominant idea of animating the curriculum idea has been *organizational,* focusing on the task to of building systems of schools that have as an important part of their overall organizational framework a "curriculum-as-manual", containing the templates for coverage and methods that are seen as guiding, directing,

> or controlling a school's, or a school system's, day-by-day classroom work. These manuals replicate, in place after place, the somewhat open categories of the national, institutional curriculum; but, it is seen a major responsibility and task of each school system to decide, for itself and after appropriate public deliberation, what the larger national curriculum means for this place in the light of its circumstances. The resulting curricula are sometimes progressive in spirit and sometimes not so progressive, but that difference is not essential. What is essential is the idea that public control of the schools means that, whatever the character of the curriculum that is developed for a school or school system, teachers as employees of the school system have been, and are, expected to "implement" their system's curricula—albeit with verve and spirit—just as system's business officials are expected to implement a system's accounting procedures or pilots are expected to implement their airline's rules governing what they should do. . . . Teachers are, to use Clandinin and Connelly's . . . apt metaphor, seen as more or less passive "conduits" of the system's or district's curriculum decisions. Curriculum as a field of study with in American education has traditionally sought to address, and to prescribe for, the problems involved in developing and implementing curricula seen in this way. (Westbury 2000, 17)

Conceived as Westbury does, the remedies for the detriments of the Anglo-American curriculum theory offered by the *Didaktik* discourses to orchestrate the curriculum, the teacher's work, and the school seems prima facie appealing:

> In the German case, on the other hand, the state's curriculum making has not been seen as something that could or should explicitly direct a teacher's work. Indeed, teachers are guaranteed professional autonomy, "freedom to teach", without control by a curriculum in the American sense . . . *Didaktik* is centered on the forms of reasoning about teaching appropriate for an autonomous professional teacher who has complete freedom within the framework of the *Lehrplan* to develop his or her approach to teaching. *Didaktik,* as a system for thinking about the problems of curriculum, is not centered on the task of directing and managing the work of system of schools or of selecting a curriculum for this school or this district. Instead *Didaktik* . . . provides teachers with ways considering the essential what, how, and why questions around *their* teaching of *their* students in *their* classrooms. These are, of course, the core issues that are the heart of a reflective practice of teaching! Within *Didaktik* the range of possible answers to these questions is further elaborated to become, in turn, frameworks for structuring, and sometimes assessing, the larger *rationales* teachers have for their classroom work. The centrality, *Didaktik* gives such rationales for teacher thinking reflects its starting point that every teacher must, necessarily, assume a role as reflective educational (and curriculum) theorist in order to teach anything, anywhere. . . . As I have suggested, it is these starting points around *Didaktik,* and the ways in which they are elaborated and worked out in relation to the idea of *Bildung,* that makes this tradition so interesting to those from outside its northern and middle European worlds. *Didaktik* offers ways of thinking about issues that have been, to this point, barely identified, and certainly not elaborated, in American educational theory. We argue . . . that a better-developed relationship between curriculum and *Didaktik* would promise a great deal for Anglo-Saxon educational theory, curriculum studies, and teacher education. However, seeing the promise of *Didaktik* takes work—because as Reid . . . pointed out, the *Didaktik* tradition, like the curriculum tradition, is rooted in the particularities of a national history, national habits, and national aspirations. (18–19)

Westbury's account implicates not only the issue of the role to which the teacher refers, not just to the unfertile comparative benchmarking of the national systems, but to the need for the understanding of broader political, cultural, and educational genealogies. What is implicitly at stake in Westbury's analysis is the aspiration toward academic freedom of teachers that would be at least in principle manifest in *Didaktik* practice. But as McKernan (2008, 51) poignantly remarks, "There is a huge difference in the freedom to plan curriculum enjoyed by college faculty and those who labor in schools . . . schoolteachers in both sides of the Atlantic today perform more as functionaries in a top-down bureaucracy." I like to add that it has been that way throughout the history, and the *Didaktik* tradition does not make any exception. Schoolteachers have never and nowhere been able to follow their educational interest in the spirit of academic freedom, and the teacher education curricula has hardly ever sufficiently provided them with the respective intellectual resources: "The school has been considered the real space and the university the theoretical space" (Baker 2001, 41). Consequently, Pinar (2004) discusses "the deep-seated and pervasive anti-intellectualism in the field of education, obvious in teacher education, and expressed in the anti-theoretical vocationalism found not only in that field" (9). The question of the academic freedom of schoolteachers deserves serious scholarly attention in the times when "teacher educational policy has been managerial and technical-rational . . . when there is an unreal rhetoric of excellence that does not have any fidelity with education practice in schools, . . . policies that fly in the face of true autonomy and teacher professionalism" (McKernan 2008, 55).

Westbury's keen enthusiasm about *Didaktik* raises questions of more profound theoretical affinities and historically longer roots than just the professional status of the teacher. In the *Didaktik* texts there echoes more generally, without always explicitly articulating it, the voice of the German Idealism where the discourse between the balance between freedom and rationality creates the core of modern mentality and its cultivation in educational settings: To liberate oneself, in Kantian terms, from the "self-induced tutelage," a *sapere aude* (dare to use your own reason)—attitude, to become human would mean to become free, but within the parameters of reason. Yet, to find a balance between freedom and reason is an arduous personal, organizational, and political dilemma where the conditions, as well as the obstacles, of possibility for becoming a free, autonomous subject are formed by the existing society as Kant's account implicates as a kind of history of the present in terms of curriculum and *Didaktik* debate:

> One of the greatest problems of education is how to unite submission to the necessary *restraint* with the child's capability of exercising his [sic!] *free will*—for restraint is necessary. How am I to develop the sense of freedom in spite of the restraint? I am to accustom my pupil to endure the restraint of his freedom, and at the same time I am to guide him to use his freedom aright. Without this all education is merely mechanical, and the child, when education is over, will never be able to make a proper use of his freedom. He should be made to feel early the inevitable opposition of society, that he may learn how difficult it is to support himself, to endure privation, and to acquire those things which are necessary to make him independent. (Kant 1991, 27–28).

The German program of modernity explicitly geared to education that Kant articulates in the late-Enlightenment context and what culminated in Hegel, who sees the whole world history as a process of becoming where Spirit frees itself through the constant interplay between subjective, objective, and absolute realms of Spirit manifested itself in the spheres of individuality, family life, bourgeois society, and the state (Hegel 1905). German Idealism and how Hegel envisioned the social and political processes anchored to it foreshadowed Marx's and Engel's materialistic and critical theories between the economic basis of society and its embodiments in human consciousness. The multilayered educative dynamism manifested in the German Idealism discourse of permanent becoming and its often critical and variegated receptions formed the mental landscape and intellectual heritage of Western thought—and as such it set the educational potential in the I–World (*Ich – Welt*) framework, which is both the bottom-line denominator of the theoretical commitments in *Didaktik* theories and the basic nexus for more nuanced and specified educational and curriculum theorizing (see Klafki 2000, 85–107). Basically, this framework between subjectivity and its belonging still provides a structuring but critical vocabulary for the current social, educational, and philosophical thought from post-structuralism to postcolonial and subaltern studies. Yet, paradoxically, the dynamism of permanent "becoming" of a human as a resource of *Didaktik,* resting on the pillars of classical German idealism, which took seriously the view that intersubjective, *I-World* relationships constitute our subjectivity and thus avoided "in advance" the fatal flaws of atomistic individualism in liberal political and psychological theory, seems to have been exhausted (Terhart 2003, 25–26).

The suffocation of the theoretical conversation in *Didaktik* and its respective collapse into the "culture of method" (see the genealogies of this phenomenon: Autio 2006, 34–57; Doll 2005, 21–75)—against the abundance of historical resources of German intellectual history—is quite surprising. The consideration of the distinctive epistemic qualities of the human and cultural studies that led to the conclusion that those disciplines should not to be understood as sheer copies of the natural sciences was a result of the succession of German "critiques," the conditions of possibility of variegated forms of human reason: theoretical, practical, aesthetic, and historical, from Kant to Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). The original of *Didaktik* in its most influential, hermeneutically inspired form was theoretically sketched just by Dilthey in his hermeneutic efforts (Dilthey, 1910/1981). The cessation of the theoretical conversation during the last decades around *Didaktik* might have something to do with the obvious reluctance regarding "post" approaches of any kind. This in turn might have related to the German genealogy of rationality, its theoretical affinities, and its institutional manifestations.

Emerging Challenges for *Didaktik* and Curriculum and Their Neoliberal Offspring

The concept of rationality in Bildung and Didaktik, as in German social theorizing more generally, featured in Habermas's theory of communicative action (Habermas 1984, 1987), *deals with egalitarian practice rather than instrumental efficacy.* Instrumentalism is there in Habermas's theory, but it is immersed and contextualized within the ideals of communicative action and democratic practice, which in turn is located *within the discourse of universalized nation-state.* This ambivalent stance on not-simply-calculative, comprehensive yet tightly controlled, nation-state bound notion of rationality present in theorists from Kant to Habermas might be one reason for the seeming German intellectual embarrassment, manifest also in the exhaustion of *Didaktik* discourses, with post-modern or post-structural or any other "post"-theorizing. In Habermas's eyes, for instance, the Grand Narrative of modernity is still unfinished under the authority of reason conceived of as egalitarian practice (Habermas, 1996): the world is not ready and the *End of History* was just one phase of continuing discursive debate in the Habermasian "still unfinished project of modernity."

The intellectual atmosphere is very dissimilar in France, where the vast array of the postmodern contributions by Baudrillard, Derrida, Foucault, Irigaray, Lyotard, etc., can be conceived of as an effort to register and resist the long French intellectual history reconceived as obsessed with instrumental rationality, starting from the Cartesian method or French Enlightenment "*l'homme machine*" kind of fantasies and rationalities of human progress. French postmodernism and post-structuralism is in one sense a reaction against absurdities and excesses of instrumental rationality as a part of the larger transformation of human sciences, where the organization of knowledge and its epistemological premises and *régimes,* was questioned, as in Foucault's re-visioning of Enlightenment science as deeply invested in the project of control (Foucault 1989).

Against these general European developments, the American Reconceptualist turn in the Curriculum tradition (Pinar et. al 1995) most interestingly manifests historical and intellectual crosscurrents that resonate like an instance of the Hegelian cunning of history, between *Didaktik* tradition with its original disinterest in instrumentality, empiricism, and Explanation in favor of humanities, arts, cultural studies, and Understanding—and at the same time strongly advocating French "post" approaches.

In their "pre-post," modernist forms, both curriculum traditions, Curriculum and *Didaktik,* are intellectual heirs of the Enlightenment, yet in different ways. I have elsewhere (Autio 2006, 99–124) tried to depict the locales of control in respective traditions and their mingled intellectual undercurrents between "conformity of wills" and "prediction of behavior" as competing strategic political alternatives to massifying schooling in the nineteenth-century United States. History tells us that the U.S. solution was to choose psychology as the core discourse about the curriculum when there was no hope to find conformity of wills amidst nationally and culturally disparate immigration masses.

In the Anglo-American Curriculum tradition, individualization takes place in terms of collective interests stated and organized top-down, from the normalizing pressures of scientific universalism generated by the psychological discourse of a "learner" intertwined with the social requirements to rule-obeyant behavior as a citizen. As such, a close affinity between Weberian instrumental rationality and the Tyler Rationale, "the bible of the curriculum field," could form. In the Tyler Rationale, a four-step model of education based on means-ends logic, faithful to the self-understanding of the modern era, instrumental rationality manifests itself on the one hand *through empiricism*—it is through "truths" as they are related to the existence of states of affairs in the world. On the other, instrumental rationality is featured *through effectiveness,* through interventions in the world with whose help states of affairs can be brought into existence (see Habermas 1984, 8–9). By psychologizing subjectivity and curriculum, stripped out of metaphysical, moral, or political considerations, the Tyler Rationale would form a kind of circular reasoning in curriculum planning ("Curriculum Development"), where educational-psychological goals are constantly revised and shaped with the most recent empirical findings and empiricist fashions ("brain-based," "evidence-based," "research-based," etc.) and with improvised "skills and competencies" rather than analyzed current "needs" of society. This double-bind between psychologized subjectivity and society are to be tested against its effective applicability indicated as preferred behavior changes in students (Autio 2006, 114).

If the pinnacle of the regulation of selves in the American curriculum was a "learner" around whose behavior the empirically produced psychological discourse would legitimize the universal features of the subject and, consequently, administrative standardization of education and its systems, a different but discursively similar project of control is manifest in *Didaktik* discourse. "Conformity of wills" was a more convincing form of political and educational thinking among more homogenous German and Scandinavian populations as common history and national language, similar geographical locales, and shared contestation between religious and cultural values bind people together. In this context, the nation-state as a particular form of organization of the interactions became possible and desirable.

Thus the directions of trajectories curriculum and *Didaktik* created for governing the formation of subjectivity were opposite: in the U.S. context from micro to macro spaces, in *Didaktik* vice versa, reproducing and reclaiming the old Greek microcosmos–macrocosmos model of *paideia,* where macrocosmos is eventually drastically reduced to the secularized nation-state as the container of educational ideas and innovation, and as a locus of control.

The curriculum of the German *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition, by intertwining if not spiraling subjectivity and society together through imposed national ethos, has constituted instrumentality by its claims of unspecified notions of human nature, humanistic values, and by its special emphasis on the role of the nation-state as an "objective structure" of education. The tradition may appear as a powerful discursive attempt to inculcate in the teacher's mind and behavior not only the procedural tenets and prescriptions of the tradition but even to subordinate their pedagogic intentions and will to the speculative and, in the context of globalization, increasingly untenable values manifested in the mythical "inner form of the State," where "the state is the pure form of *Bildung*": . . . the state as an educating entity *is* school and is represented by the singular order of educational processes within it" (Weniger 2000, 120, italics in original).

Genuine professional consideration, necessary freedom, and self-responsibility are subtly but effectively harnessed, through the doctrines and discourses of the essentialized and unified self, to the interests of the nation-state intensified by humanist science and ethics. This rigid institutional and intellectual framework strives toward governing subjectivity via the subtly mixed discourses of nationalism and humanity (Autio 2006, 5–6). Yet, the role of the nation-state as the moral framework as well as the financial and material guarantee of *Bildung* is no longer self-evident. Nation-state policy is subordinated to claims of a global economy, the result being the adoption of corporate logic as the operational philosophy and policy of nation building. In this rhetoric, education worldwide under the reifying and colonizing effect of the (educational) market is converging toward a standardized performativity culture where there is decreasingly space for the humanist or national values promoted by the *Didaktik* tradition. The onto-epistemological kernel of the educational discourse in both curriculum traditions becomes visible: Individualization and standardization go hand in hand, though in different guises and at different levels.

For curriculum theory, the question for the emerging educational scaffolding for subjectivity and its belonging still remains after the crisis of the double nexus of psychologization and the nation-state, when different forms of postnationalism and respective forms of belonging challenge the conventional locales of curriculum theory. This means that curriculum theory would necessarily detach itself from intellectually supporting intensified bureaucratic structures that are always reinvigorating themselves in renewed guises, most recently introducing "quality assurance systems" and other organizational corporate imitations, administrative structures, and discourses that are spreading institutional mistrust as well as doubling and externalizing the control already inherently in the processes of learning, teaching, education, and study. Emerging discourses of belonging transcend those flaws based on atomistic individualism of liberal political theory present in traditional Tylerian curriculum, or the German nationalistic-humanistic *Didaktik* discourse, or likewise the current self-aggrandizing, autarkic rhetoric of neoliberal individuality à la Margaret Thatcher: "there is no such thing as society, but just a set of potentially entrepreneurial individuals . . ." (Lash and Urry 1994, 6).

Transformations in successive historical patterns to define subjectivity, agency, or self have been traveled through the *Didaktik conformity of wills* to behaviorist-cognitive *prediction of behavior* to neoliberal individual *performativity* (Autio 2006, 155): from the nation-state citizenry of *Didaktik* to the behavior of a learner in Curriculum to the capacity of the individual to deliver "learning outcomes" at the lowest cost in neoliberal education discourse. The shifts in educational emphases reflect and draw on the shift in the scope of science traditionally understood: "'performativity' rather than 'truth' has become the criterion of scientific knowledge" (Lyotard and Luhmann in Crook et al. 1992, 216). The emphasis is on the production of individuality in the collectivist terms characterized not only by the quest for objectivity and universality, but also by the other extreme of unfettered neoliberal relativism and individualism:

> Not only the subject of the psychological laboratory, but also the humanist self, is ahistorical and asocial. The ideal self has freed itself from tradition and authority and dissociated itself from the society it inhabits. (Kvale 1997, 42–43)

And,

> neoliberal economics rest upon the autarkic human self, it assumes that individual alone can master the whole of their lives, that they can derive and renew their capacity for action from within themselves. Talk of "self-entrepreneur" makes this clear. Yet this ideology blatantly conflicts with everyday experience in . . . the worlds of work, family and local community, which show that individual is not a monad but is self *in*sufficient, and increasingly tied to others, . . . The ideological notion of the self-sufficient individual ultimately implies the disappearance of any mutual sense of obligation. (Beck et al. 2002, xxi)

What might then be the further conditions of possibility for subjective belonging in the context of globalization characterized by the exhausting or untenable intellectual resources offered by the discourses of traditional critical theory, academic psychology, the nation-state, or of the outcomes and performance-oriented society governed by the rules of economic globalization? The common tie of Western rationality in these otherwise very disparate discourses still is "the unified, monolithic, essentialized subject, capable of fully conscious, fully rational action, a subject assumed in most liberal and emancipatory discourse" (Lather 1997, 103).

The New Belongings of Subjectivity

Despite the fundamentalist kind of return to the modes of instrumentality in education and curriculum policy manifested in quality and performance discourses as new locus of external control and supported by the neo-objectivist attachment to psychological and sociological theories, the basic structure in educational and curriculum theories, the relationship between the *individual and society*, has been drastically deconstructed by the processes of globalization. Even more, it has been radically renting asunder the very basis for social scientific research in general. In education, the traditional manner of thinking, either in terms of individual psychology or discrete, geopolitical territories, remains largely untenable in the face of youth culture, economic upheavals and instabilities on the free market, immanent prospects for eco-disaster, and rapidly shifting technological possibilities. The fading of the main framework of research, the nation-state, as a discrete territorial space and as a unit of analysis, is the case with other social sciences, too. The modernist discourse of the nation-state in the social and educational sciences, that assumes a *container theory of society* (see, Beck 2000, 23–24), became an absolutely necessary concept in and through the work of the classical theorists. Beyond all the differences, such classical social theorists as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and even Karl Marx shared a territorial definition of modern society, and consequently, a model of society centered on the national state. This view where society equals a nation-state as a center of social, political, and educational activity—and as a unit of scientific analysis—has today been shaken by globality and globalization. In the past, all kinds of social practices—production, culture, language, labor market, capital, and education—were stamped and standardized, defined and rationalized, by the nation-state—or at least were labeled as national economy, national language, literature, public life, history, national education, and so on. *The categories of the state's self-observation became the categories of empirical social science, so that sociological, psychological, and other social scientific definitions of reality confirmed those of bureaucracy* (Ibid., italics added). Today, the beginnings, endings, and interconnections of those activities such as production and education clearly exceed the borders of any one place, complicating if not obfuscating the role of nation-states and "the individual" in governance in general.

These recognitions are extremely important. It has led to revision of how to account for who and where we are: neither subject-formation (psychological accounts of development or theories of *Bildung*) nor nation-formation in terms of container theories of society suffice in the context of globalization. Important reinterpretations have emerged through the field of curriculum studies already since the 1970s when the Reconceptualization Movement (Pinar et al. 1995) uncharacteristically in regard to the otherwise reactive and anti-avant-gardist and anti-intellectual tradition in education research was among the first to recognize the need for a paradigm shift implicated by the linguistic turn and postempiricism, not only for education, but for human studies and social sciences alike. The Reconceptualization Movement encouraged theoretical curiosity that created a springboard for more genuine interdisciplinary discourses in the field of curriculum studies that broke the tight boxes between the divisions of educational research as history, philosophy, psychology, and sociology of education, and was instrumental in recognizing the partisan alliance between empiricist science and (state) bureaucracy.

Through a closer look at "post" approaches to the reality of fragmentary and dissensual identification and subjectification processes, the presupposition of coherent, fully formed identities that psychological, humanist, and nation-state-centered theories of education and curriculum held are already crumbling. Important reinterpretations have emerged through the field of curriculum studies, especially since the 1990s and urged consideration of the different planes upon which the inter-linkage between subjectivity and society can be understood in the context of the myriad of role options and of the recoding of citizenry of globality. As an implication informed by the big pictures of curriculum studies, the method-driven didactical models are being replaced by the more diversified and hybrid notions of learning, teaching, and knowledge-production—paying critical attention to multiple intelligences, psychoanalytical accounts, different learning styles, constructivist teaching strategies, virtual learning environments, and integrated curricula, to name a few.

The lesson of those shifts was that neither nation nor state nor isolated individual are still available categories for organizing education. Globalization is undermining the project of modernity by disembedding the political project of the state from the cultural project of nationhood. The most striking feature of these new discourses is the contested nature of national belonging. National culture has lost its integrative function, and the nation has been deconstructed in contemporary public discourse. As a result, the nation code is opened to new interpretations arising from global cultural opportunities. This has loosened or even decoupled the tie between citizenship and nationality; citizenship is no more unequivocally definable by nationality as a result of the growing presence of transnational processes in peoples' lives as well as the result of the impact of globalization on the nation-state. While the nation-state is still the single most important geopolitical unit, it has not been able to reverse the worldwide swing towards transnational politics with new forms of citizenship, for instance, cultural citizenship, ecological citizenship, and technological citizenship with respective new rights and responsibilities. The classical duties of citizenship are no longer simply framed in terms of the obligations of the citizen to the state, which has been one of the classical frames of reference in traditional educational theories, but they concern responsibility for humanity, for future generations, all of which are increasingly wrapped within responsibility for nature and environment. Political, social, and cultural globalization contribute that participation in political community no longer occurs exclusively on the national level. The new forms, flexibilities, and differentiations of citizenship separate it from nationality at the same time when there appear ruptures between nation and state (see Delanty & O'Mahony 2002, 173–175).

The dissolution of modern society and the social as a unit of analysis, fully-fledged in globalization, was foreshadowed already in the discourses of modernity and its rational embodiments. The intensified individualization is tied to globalization and has become, consequently, but somehow paradoxically, "a *structural* characteristic of highly differentiated societies" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, xxi, italics added). This paradox, explaining the social by individualization, could be accounted for as an index of the completion of those modernist theories of society that took for granted the coherence of the idea of society as an institutional embodiment of a rational, transparent actor. In more recent approaches to social theory, "society as a fixed and objective reality has been replaced by global flows and mobilities, networks between diverse things, by forms of collective action, communities of interest, cultural discourses, self-constructing systems." . . . The contingency, transience, and uncertainty that has been a feature of recent theorizing, especially while related to the processes of globalization "highlights the multiple ways social reality is continuously created in processes that cannot be reduced to either agency or structures" (Delanty and Rumford 2005, 2).

What would be, then, the mediations between the subjective and the social that are not fixed or reducible to institutional structures under the manifold conditions of globalization—and that would recreate education and curriculum as social and cultural reconstruction in societies that can no longer be easily regulated by neo-objectivist imaginings of modernist science and the nation-state? A closer look of the recent study at the prehistories of the nation-state reveals that many forms of national consciousness have emerged out of polyethnic contexts, that polyethnicity was actually the norm in history until the arrival of the nation-state.

> Reacting against the view that in fact the identities that did evolve in the last 200 years were predominantly primordial and exclusivist, several theorists have emphasized the hybrid nature of nationalism. Thus, rather than looking beyond nationalism for a cosmopolitan future, these figures see *within* nationalism the signs of a more reflexive and hybrid consciousness, but one which cannot be understood as liberal patriotism. (Delanty and O'Mahony 2002, 182)

Thus, in a closer post-structural and postcolonial scrutiny, the nation itself shares the qualities of the narrative to a much larger degree than the former approaches to social sciences circulating around, consolidating, and reproducing the nation-state bureaucracy would admit.

The postcolonial view of the nation defies more effectively the narratives of closure that were at stake in the heydays of the nation-state, when society was to be conceived of as a closed territorial and cultural container. The nation is a narrative and discursive construction that does not exist outside language and imagination. The experience of difference underlies all kinds of identity, including national identity. This means that the nation today as a multicultural society is always beyond a narrative of closure, and it is constantly transgressing boundaries, when new peoples and different kinds of meanings are incorporated, and, at the same time, as a parallel process, the self must define itself to another as a process of hybridity within self/other, inside/outside discourses (see ibid.). In these recodification processes, nations and selves as unified or unitary and their hegemonic status are becoming more and more contested as a normative basis of nationalism and national identity. For instance, like Delanty and O'Mahony (183) argue, referring to Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic,*

> the diasporic identities are not purely negative conditions, or shaped entirely by the dominant culture, its elites as well as publics, but instead are dynamic. Black consciousness . . . is transnational, drawing from the Caribbean, the United States, Africa and Britain. In other words, many forms of consciousness are formed in the context of social relations that are located in transnationalized and marginalized contexts. . . . To reveal how the nation can be reread in terms of hidden histories involves a deconstructive approach, which also has a constructive moment in bringing to consciousness subaltern voices. In another sense it is an attempt to "rescue history from the nation."

In Europe, the old nationalisms give way to new interpretations of postnationalism within the culturally more porous frames of the nation-states. In Ireland, for instance, postcolonial Derridean perspectives have informed a new Irish postnationalism with the demise of the older forms of nationalism. This move "is characterized by a shift in the nation code from the state to culture and the rediscovery of the marginality as legitimate difference and the self as hybrid" (Ibid. 182).

In Germany, in a different way, Jürgen Habermas has advocated in the context of public debates about the future of the German national identity, "irreversibly tainted since the Holocaust," the view that the only viable form of national identity is one that is based on identification with the principles of the constitution. The abstractness of moral universalism drawing on universal human rights is balanced by the cultural distinctiveness of the processes of globalization. This view of cosmopolitanism, rooted in the concrete contexts as the realities of globalization, "is always more than the homogenous standardization" unlike the older Kantian decontextualized cosmopolitanism, because "it involves a wide range of responses from the lifeworld." In the context of multicultural societies, national identity cannot be based on any single ethnic or cultural identity any more than it can resist the reflexivity and self-confrontation that is irreversibly integral to all aspects of life. In these new deconstructions of the nation code, "the emphasis is on a transnational, postcolonial cosmopolitanism in which, under the conditions of globalization, national identities are reconstituted as sites of resistance. Like nations, cosmopolitanism becomes pluralized and instead of being founded on an ideal of unattachment, the new cosmopolitanism is a rooted one" (Delanty & O'Mahony 2002, 183).

These hybrid forms of subjectivities with their intranational recodings, rooted in local contexts but being marked by global impact, is looking for their normative basis, however, more on the malleability of culture than the rigid bureaucratic structures of state or polity. Still, the cultural and psychological inertia guarantees that transnational forms of identity, despite their "under the permanent construction" character and due to their global sensitivities, "are a good deal more stable than the postmodern accounts suggest" (Ibid. 186).

These new constellations between subjectivity and the nation-state informed by a vast array of "post" theories confirm the observation that "nationalism was one kind of reaction to the particular constellation of social, political, and cultural forces that shaped modernity" (Delanty & O'Mahony 2002, 169). The same is true of the partisan role of the social sciences that were instrumental in the modernist nation building and its political authority. The respective view on education in particular as a modernist enterprise having drawn mainly on national, even nationalistic, views based on the unitary notion of the self and a container imagery of society have, as indicated shortly above, become highly contested in recent social and curriculum theory.

While this contestation is increasingly intensified by the ambivalent process of cultural, political, and economic globalizations in education and curriculum policy worldwide, this ambivalence and variety is still viewed as reducible towards uniformity, ironically, from a theoretically articulated concern for diversity. In a sense, such precepts uncritically reclaim the historical and cultural presuppositions and limitations of Anglo-American Curriculum and European *Bildung/Didaktik* traditions. Or, more likely, such precepts are losing the intellectual heritage of those traditions; they are not any more in accordance with the psychological, humanist, or bureaucratic tenets of the self and society, but rather, being articulated in terms of economic competitiveness and individual performativity, as a conflated theory of individualized society and of the collectivized self accordingly.

Apart from the shifting intertwinements between the nation-state, nationalism, related issues of cosmopolitanism, and the neoliberal political penchant for conflating totalitarianism as a kind of fundamental attack upon the world particularly through education by colonizing the language and models of action by its economistic premises, the theoretical and political urge increases to take into (re)consideration at more deeper level a fundamental nexus between psyche and society. This concern through psychoanalysis has been on the research agenda of many curriculum and education scholars (e.g., Britzman 2006, 2011; Pinar throughout his prolific research career; and most recently, Taubman 2009, 2011). The barren and most disinformative view of human psyche provided by educational psychology and a host of learning and cognitive theories, as extended and embodied institutionally in education reforms, latest in our times reveal their politically manipulative, psychologically, and intellectually impoverishing and standardizing maneuvers in the name of science and scholarship.

Psychoanalytically informed accounts of human psyche, manifested in the works of, for instance, Castoriadis (1997), Elliot (2004), Kristeva (2001), and Laplanche (1999), which underscore the radical creativity, imagination, and incessant psychic work of the mind are radically at odds with the mainstream "learning" theories of educational and cognitive psychologies as well as with instrumental logics of education policies that provide hardly more than lip service for the vital question of the subject in education.

Those psychoanalytical insights, together with the Eastern wisdom traditions or the basic *Bildung* or *Currere* concepts, are not just things to be "implemented" and amenable to educational and political institutionalization; their task is not so much to serve the systemic interests only but to better and, in a relational way, enhance understanding of the complicated conversation of education and curriculum by informing the field by contesting cultural, political, international, and intellectual resources available. The enhancement of imagination, fantasy, and the complexity of the incessant internal psychic work in all of us, the real substance of education, curriculum, and learning (theories), would strategically and potentially prove fruitful given the disappearance of big political and social vistas by neoliberal globalization. When economic rationalism has debased our sense of community and common good, destroyed our public language, flattened the public imagination, and is opening doors for the emergence of the dark forces of totalitarianism more broadly than the present systems of accountability and standardization already do in their intolerant, exclusive, and punitive practices, we need more intellectually, economically, and politically honest theories of learning, curriculum, and reform than the present ones of perverted liberalism and conservatism.

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2

Race and Education in the Age of Digital Capitalism

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> *It is very important. . . to keep track of the metaphors*
>
> Stuart Hall
> (http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2007/02/28/stuart-hall-globalization-cartographies-of-power/)

Introduction

A fundamental rigorism scars and constrains most contemporary writing on racial antagonism. This is manifested in a methodological nationalism that creates limited horizons of examination of race relations and applies, too often, strategies of insulation and partitioning of racial analysis from other critical discourses that might materially strengthen and deepen our understanding of contemporary developments within late modern societies (McCarthy, Rezai-Rashti, & Teasley, 2009; Wallace, 1990). In other words, there is a profound methodological isolationism associated with contemporary scholarly treatments of the topic of race. This is particularly the case with respect to discourses and practices, such as multiculturalism, that separate the discussion of race from other critical intellectual traditions, such as Marxism, feminism, and post-structuralism (McCarthy, 2011; McCarthy, Giardina, Harewood, & Park, 2003). In what follows, we will situate the topic of race within the context of a discussion of globalization and neoliberalism, focusing particularly on how developments associated with these dynamic processes present us with new philosophical and practical challenges in addressing the topic of race within the school and the university in the new century.

There are at least two reasons to deal with the issue of race in new terms and far from the logics of methodological nationalism (Chernilo, 2006), taking especially movement, policy, and technology into serious consideration. First of all, we argue that such a theoretical and methodological move is particularly important against the background of policy-making and the historical positioning of non-white populations within the United States and their constantly shifting representation and location within the labor force and educational strata. For a powerful example of how racial dynamics are impacted by globalization, neoliberalism, and 9/11, let us consider historical contradictions and re-articulations in the model minority thesis as it is applied to South Asians. The model minority discourse emerged with the multicultural paradigm of the 1960s when it attributed the success of Asian Americans to a relatively superior cultural value and belief system. Not coincidentally, it emerged at a time when there was major anti-Black and Latino backlash as well as a desire on behalf of the State to recruit a labor force that would allow the United States to compete with the USSR for the role of global superpower. When the discourse showed up in the U.S. popular media, the majority of Asian immigrants were at least middle class, skilled male workers and students who came to the United States through selective immigration policies that filtered labor into the high tech U.S. industries. Because of these immigrants' class position and level of education and training in countries such as India, China, and Korea, they had a competitive edge against U.S. non-white working class and poor groups from the very beginning. Their success relative to other working class and non-white racialized groups can be completely attributed to their class status in the mother country, as opposed to some innate or cultural superiority, as the model minority thesis and its promoters would have it. Those Asian families who did not succeed in the high tech industries or who became female heads of household occupied class positions and a quality of life that was similar to other poor or working class minority groups. However, the discourse of model minority rendered them invisible from the welfare policy outlook, and this contradiction becomes even more apparent as neoliberalism has become the dominant economic and cultural logic of the last 30 years.

9/11 and the so-called War on Terror raised the stakes even higher. South Asians were racialized almost overnight, and the Muslim population was targeted within the media—with Muslims and Sikh South Asians experiencing the worst of the backlash. The model minority discourse of authenticity is used even more desperately, particularly intra-racially, to create lines that deflect the impact of a heightened climate of racism and patriotism back onto Arabs and Muslims. Because South Asian youth are racialized as model minorities from a multicultural education policy outlook, their actual educational, social, and economic needs become erased and invisible and they often slip through cracks in the education system.

The second issue we want to consider as the background to this chapter is the emergence of digital technologies and their assertion to claim truth and representation at a time of neo-conservative and racist attacks on the gains of the Civil Rights movement. To put it more simply, digital technologies and the belief that they can truly mediate "reality" have become dominant when claims for a post-racial society are forcefully (and in reactionary ways) made. Take, for example, the astounding analysis of Anna Everett (2012) who attributes the election of Barack Obama to his tech-savvy personality and the youthful energy in his campaign to deploy social media. Nevertheless, it is also again through practices of new media that online racism has erupted to the digital public sphere. It is through new media outlets and user-generated content that Obama's "race-neutral" personality is challenged, and the President is even accused of being racist. Following the lead of Anna Everett (2012), let us further take the discussion to the convergence of video games and education. In the contemporary context, digital technologies not only "herald" the end of a racialized society but also are regarded as the tools to make the United States rise like a phoenix from its ashes. For instance, U.S. president Barack Obama has recently endorsed two competitions as part of his "Educate to Innovate" campaign, stating "our success as a nation depends on strengthening America's role as the world's engine of discovery and innovation." Named "The National *Stem* Video Game Challenge," the campaign aims to foster interest in such areas as science, technology, engineering, and math by exploiting students' desire for video games. One needs to note that this campaign is sponsored by such giant institutions as Entertainment Software Association, Microsoft, and the AMD Association in partnership with the Joan Ganz Cooney Center and E-Line Media. The campaign website is designed to appeal to enthusiasts, with the slogan "Are You One of the Nation's Middle School Top Game Designers? Our Nation's Leaders Want to Know. Design a Game, Have Fun, Take the Challenge," with different font sizes and design tricks. The website invests in racial codes and desires in that it includes a picture of a black girl with a cell phone in her hand and smiling, while her picture is positioned next to the list of sponsors. It is also worth quoting the website as to why games are used in these efforts to inculcate certain skills:

> The success of complex video games demonstrates that games can teach higher-order thinking skills such as strategic thinking, interpretative analysis, problem solving, plan formulation and execution, and adaptation to rapid change. These are the skills U.S. employers increasingly seek in workers and new workforce entrants. These are the skills more Americans must have to compete with lower cost knowledge workers in other nations.[1]

The dynamic video on the website of this campaign features participants and winners, some of whom had the chance to meet President Barack Obama, who addresses these young students and states that "You guys inspire me. It is young people like you that make me so confident that America's best days are still to come."[2] Then, we seem to be witnessing the convergence of the nation-state's desire to respond to the gradual transformation of global capitalism in a multipolar world and the supposedly neutral character of education through which racial logics are being materially reconfigured. Nevertheless, games are not just about teaching hard core skills that are crucial in the global labor market. Apart from math and science, digital games are also deployed in relation to more social realms in order to "*Save Darfur*," to understand malaria in Africa (*Deliver the Nets*), or to eradicate hunger in the Third World (*Free Rice*). In other words, games have become educational and are used to teach youth history or contemporary political problems.

This chapter, then, is formulated against the backdrop of important changes in social dynamics taking place on a global scale—dynamics that have profound implications for racial affiliation and "its" cultural and social uses in the new century. In the early 1990s, scholars such as Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994), Cornel West (1993), Jurjo Torres Santomé (2001), and Ernest Cashmore (1997) began to call attention to the increasing pattern of instability and uncertainty in the processes of racial affiliation and communal identification that had become apparent at beginning of that decade. The postwar political terrain, defined since the 1960s by civil rights struggles, the feminist movement and the anti-war movement, the mobilization of "solid identities" (Asante, 1993, 2007), and clear lines of collective struggle now seem to be warping into something else. The ideological, social, and economic cement that had held together advanced capitalist societies such as the United States had begun to crack and fall apart. Much of this uncertainty has been informed by the material reality of economic downturns in industrial economies and the continued influx of immigrants from the former colonies of imperial powers right into the heart of the major institutions, cities, and new industries of the metropolitan center. Added to these economic reconfigurations is the omnipresent simulation that surrounds life under late capitalism. Indeed, as David Harvey (2003) argues, new ICTs constitute the privileged technology of neoliberalism and are indispensable for enabling mobility of capital, while only selectively enabling the movement of labor and resistance.

This intensification of multiplicity in demography, culture, technology, and economy posed serious philosophical and practical challenges to schooling. These multiplicities cut at right angles to and against the grain of enforced boundaries of culture and the disciplinary insulation and confinement that had marked and continue to mark the production of knowledge within schooling. In the process, the power and reach of scholarship on racial antagonism was particularly undermined. Paradoxically, the confinement and parochialism within the disciplines were not just features of the old established knowledges, but rather characterized new discourses, such as multiculturalism, which rigorously avoided an engagement with critical knowledges, privileging instead a managerial discourse of cultural sampling in which all contending ethnic groups would be given their preserve in the heavenly disposition of the curriculum (Appadurai, 1996). This full scale retreat from critical discourses was also associated with an even more vigorous retreat from popular culture and what was deemed to be its corrosive hold on the young (McCarthy, Hudak, Miklaucic, & Saukko, 1999). A great battle over the iconography and representation of the present and future and the ethnicization of culture was taking place as modern life was being reordered by globalization, mass migration, and the amplification and rapidity of movement of images around the world. Ironically, educators seemed to be out to lunch, overtaken by events, insisting on old ways of negotiating difference and school knowledge and clinging on to a transcendent, idealized sense of the past as the fruition of Western Civilization and Western Culture (Ravitch, 1990).

This reactionary framework still mars innovation in schooling today. But what then had appeared in the beginning of the 1990s as emergent cracks in the racial order and the scholarly paradigms that had been advanced to understand these developments had by the end of the last century grown into a full-blown metamorphosis in the terms and conditions in which race could and would be articulated and struggled over. No longer could the old defenders of the status quo school curriculum comfortably hold Western Culture before the onslaught of racial and ethnic multiplicity like a vast antiballistic shield of protection. No longer could liberal and progressive scholars comfortably "place" culture with race into predictable multicultural slots. For as Ernest Hemingway's narrator had noted in a moment of premature exultation in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940/1996, p. 159): "time . . . stopped . . . the earth moved out and away from under them. . . ." Culture and identity had been dirempted from place. And, the cultural porosity precipitated by the movement of people, economic and symbolic capital, and the proliferation, amplification, and circulation of images across the globe now deeply unsettled ethnic enclaves, even the dominant Eurocentric preserves. This is the moment in which we live—a historical moment of radical reconfiguration and renarration of the relations between centers of power and their peripheries.

Nothing has more powerfully illustrated and underscored this for us in the United States than the radical, historical, and earth-shattering events of 9/11. For if there is anyone who still resists the ideas of globalization, transnationalism, postcolonialism, and their implications for how we live with each other in the modern world, their implications for the taken-for-granted organizing categories such as "race," "nation," "state," "culture," "identity," and "Empire"—the idea that we live in a deeply interconnected world in which centers and margins are unstable and are constantly being redefined, rearticulated, and reordered—then, such a person must have been awakened from their methodological slumber by the events of 9/11 and all that has followed afterwards. The critical events of that day—the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and the crescendo of the fallout attendant to these extraordinary acts—threaten to consume us all. It is striking, in the language of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* (2000), how fragile modern forms of center-periphery arrangements of imperial rule are. It is striking—with the intensification of representational technologies, mass migration, the movement of economic and cultural capital across national borders, and the work of the imagination of the great masses of the people (the sorts of things that Arjun Appadurai talks about in *Modernity at Large* [1996])—how radically compressed and annihilated are time and space—how it is now possible to send shock waves from the margins to the epicenters of the modern life in the world in which we live. These aftershocks and multiplier effects now sustain themselves indefinitely. Indeed, in addition to all the destabilizing effects and modulations taking place within the U.S. metropolis itself—the declaration and prosecution of the war on terrorism, the war on Iraq (now firmly shifted to Afghanistan under the Obama administration), and the attendant pacification at home, the extension of the policing powers of the state, economic tremors of recession, deflation and downsizing across corporate enterprises, the daily hemorrhaging of the U.S. labor force as lay-offs continue unabated—there are extraordinary ripple effects around the world. All of these developments have complicated the matters of race, identity, and representation considerably. And we see, for example, new, very tenuous, alliances built under the symbolic umbrella of the flag and patriotism sucking in otherwise excluded racial minorities, such as African Americans and Latinos, along with traditionally hegemonic Anglos, into a newly expanded cultural dominance built around jingoistic symbolism and service to country. This has only consolidated with the wars of the twenty-first century—Iraq, and now Afghanistan. This process of new temporal and spatial configuration in certain contexts (contexts such as the constantly rising concerns about national security) is effectively displacing "others," namely, Arab Americans,[3] for instance, who are now being declared in a wholesale manner as the newly conspicuous enemy within and abroad. We have seen, with the war on terrorism, the war with the Taliban in Afghanistan, and with Iraq, greater extension of regulation and surveillance at home in the United States as concerns and alarms are raised about the security of our borders, particularly the one to the south shared with Mexico. New biometric technologies of information gathering associated with face scanning, finger printing, and DNA sampling are being integrated into techniques of immigration control, surveillance, and policing as the United States attempts to widen the net of national security to the entire globe (Gates, 2011). We have been witnesses, too, to new, radically destabilizing logics of accumulation occurring in the U.S. economy and society—logics that were not stanched by 9/11 and the war on terrorism but enabled and facilitated in part by these developments as a sort of distractive cover story, as Naomi Klein notes in her book, *The Shock Doctrine* (2007). This is the feverish rise of an economic model defined by speculation, risk, and economic deregulation. This model upended the production of things, discarding the Fordist factory at its core, investing instead in brand share, stocks, and speculative maneuvers—broadly speaking, in immaterial production, liquid modernity, temp work, and the discarding of investment in human labor. Nevertheless, the "dismantling" of the factory did not necessarily bring the end of work or the affluent society much heralded by those like Daniel Bell (1973) or Richard Florida (2005). On the contrary, electronic mediation and amplification of mass-produced images across national borders caused the diffusion of work into the minute details of the everyday aesthetics and consumption. As a number of scholars have pointed out (Papacharissi, 2010; Nakamura & Chow-White, 2011; Terranova, 2000; Peters & Bulut, 2011; Everett, 2008; Andrejevic, 2007; Boyd, 2011; Fuchs, 2011; Dyer-Witheford & de Peuter, 2009), new forms of racialization and extraction of surplus value have invaded the domain of leisure. This is precisely why we contend that educators and critical scholars of race need to engage with such changes and understand how thinking about race in isolation remains counterproductive.

The central purpose of this essay, then, is to bring concentrated theoretical, methodological, and policy reflection on this present historical conjuncture characterized by new dynamics associated with racial formation and structuration and their broader connections to the crises in the accumulation, legitimation, boundary maintenance functions of modern states as they are impacted by logics associated with globalizing capital, information and surveillance technologies and network systems, and the movement of people and cultural and economic capital across borders. For some time now, scholarship on racial antagonism in education and society has not quite kept pace with these extraordinary developments in the historical moment in which we live. Indeed, it might be argued that there is a growing atrophy of critical theoretical and empirical work on race within the educational field and the social sciences generally.

In what follows, we interpret and confront this context—this network of new relations that defines race relations and schooling in our times. This is a context shaped by neoliberalism as a specific political economic interpretation and articulation of globalization and multiplicity in the modern world—the world we live in. It is a context that has generated a set of dynamics that has affected the transformation of modern subject relations to the state and society at the dawning of the twenty-first century. We, modern citizens, more than ever, are being seduced, inducted, and incorporated into ever-larger discursive systems and materialisms—led forward as much by the state as by multinational capital. We are being seduced by large-scale programs of renarration, of affiliation, and exclusion, holding out the possibility of identity makeovers, place swapping, and material exchange and immaterial rewards. Our daily lives are being colonized by massive systems of textual production that transgress the boundary lines between private and public life and that seem to have at the same time the ambition to conquer all of global and planetary space. Here we are talking about the continuing war on terrorism, new interoperable information technologies aimed at gaining fuller access to human characteristics for the purpose of sorting human bodies in a vast domestic and international project of surveillance and human capital extraction, the rise of state-driven post-Fordist authoritarianism in the name of national security, the human genome project and the dream of human perfectibility, the aspirations of corporate American sports like basketball and football to conquer the globe, one brand name after another, and one world series at a time.

How might we understand these developments? How might we theorize their conjunctural relationship to schools? What general organizing principles or terms might we deploy to both sum up these developments and identify their dominant vectors? It is not enough, as Dennis Carlson maintains in *Leaving Safe Harbors* (2002), to offer generalizing formulations at the level of abstraction of the mode of production. Neither is it enough to seek to isolate the variable of race from the other complicating factors of modern life in the pursuit of some vain form of methodological individualism and identity politics of clarity and authenticity. We need to pay proper attention to patterns of historical incorporation and the work of culture and identification practices in specific institutional contexts and programmatic applications.

Neoliberal Re-Articulations

One dominant but underdiagnosed complex or network of relations affecting schools can be conceptualized and identified as neoliberal re-articulations and transformations. It is this context of neoliberal hegemony itself and its relationship to what Michel Foucault (1991) has called *government* (i.e., the regulation of conduct of populations through systems of administration, the generation of media-driven discourses of truth, and the promotion of the self-management of everyday life) that we must examine in order to better understand the specific impact of current political, cultural, and economic forces on education, understood here as a public good. We must try to understand, particularly neoliberal governance, its particular interpretation of globalization and multiplicity, and its transforming impact on schools. (We are arguing here that we have a neo-liberal dominance in the United States that has not been displaced by the arrival of Barack Obama to the White House—that, in the university context, for example, these logics are intensifying).[4] One way of talking about neo-liberalism as it has arisen in the social science and political science literature of the last two decades has been to define neoliberalism in terms of the universalization of the enterprise ethic (Miyoshi, 1998). This is to see its logics in the context of the strategic translation of globalization by multinational capital and the usurpation of the role of the state in a broad range of economic and political affairs. Within this framework, neoliberalism is simply a new form of liberalism that marks the emergence of the new Right and its distinctive fusion of the political and economic that integrates eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions of free market and laissez-faire into potentially all aspects of contemporary life. This is marked by policies since the Anglo-American pact of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher of extensive deregulation of the economy and markets, the overturning of Keynesianism, and the disinvestment of the state in projects of welfare for the minority and working class poor. It is defined further by the systematic reordering of state priorities in which the state's accumulation function is predominant in the modern systems of rule and subordinates the processes of legitimation and the democratic involvement of citizens. Of course, many corporations like Nike, Starbucks, and Disney have appropriated Keynesianism, rearticulating "it" as an ironic substance or residue in the form of philanthropy and thereby morphing themselves into the role of state-like promoters of ecumenical, feel-good affiliation, self-help forms of involvement in community, and so forth. Disney, in fact provides a super model of community ("of the way we are supposed to be") in the form of the fabricated town, Celebration—the new urbanist heaven in Central Florida that Andrew Ross (1999, p. 228) insightfully calls "Privatopia." For as the state disinvests in the public sphere, corporations move in to redefine community in neoliberal terms, absorbing and folding philanthropy into cause-related marketing, the building of new synergies and brand share, and the wholesale appropriation of ethnicities in the cultivation of new products, new consumers, and new niche markets (King, 2003, 2008). If we were to follow the ideological direction of neoliberal projects such as *Teach for America* and the *No Child Left Behind* Education Act for example, by this logic, then, IBM and Xerox, Bill Gates and, earlier, Ross Perot can do more for schools than the government or the state or we the intellectuals in the university—"the bright but useless ones."

The second logic of neoliberalism, we want to argue, operates decisively through culture, at the point of integration of modern subjects into social institutions and the architecture of domestic and institutional space. Here, neoliberalism strategically addresses the new post-Fordist subject, the new cultural citizen of mobile privatization who exists within the self-contained unit of the home, of the school, and so forth, and who mediates his or her environment through the new smart technologies driven by computer hardware and software—the smart Zenith TV and VCR that we can program, the remote control, the cell phone, video/digital games (hand-held or console-based), and the ultimate phenomenon since 9/11 of the flag car[5] as the symbol of the nation riding on the back of the mobile patriotic citizen, the moving ground, so to speak, of a popular post-Fordist authoritarianism (Roman, 2005). These new technologies have helped to elaborate a discursive order and rearticulate time, duration, and the rhythm of production, consumption, and leisure in the constitution of our everyday lives, mobile and sedentary. We now have the ability to look out from within, to be vicariously active, and to move while staying completely in place, to intercourse with the world while hiding in the light and in a state of retreat. The surveillance camera, the scanning machine, the cable network uplinks in the school now allow us the illusion of control over environment while we monitor, often ourselves, from the safety inside. It is through these new social densities associated with electronic mediation, computerization, and the new digitally and genetically driven biometric technologies of surveillance, identification, and verification that neoliberalism operates as a supported master code translating the new terminologies of the Age associated with globalization, movement in stasis, place-swapping, and identity makeovers.

The university and schooling are not inured from these dynamic material practices associated with neoliberalism. There are three dimensions of neoliberalism or the universalization of the enterprise ethic that we argue are transforming the racialized context and life world of schools and universities—understood as institutions for the optimization of the public good—molding culture, economy and politics, and ideology into a template of the new educational order. These three neoliberal tendencies can be identified as follows. First, there is *virtualization,* or the process of managing the university as an online community and a paperless world. Second, there is *vocationalization,* or the insistence on consistently derived and derivable returns on education. The third tendency in the process of educational neoliberalization is the practice of *fiscalization,* or bottom-line budgeting as the ruling measure of viability of all departments and units of educational institutions. Nancy Cantor and Paul Courant (2003) understand these trends as fiscal and budgetary dilemmas; we see them here as deeply cultural in the sense that they set off particular configurations of interests, needs, desires, beliefs, and system-wide behavioral practices in the life world of universities and schools with respect to ethos and milieu and the organization of knowledge, the regulation of individual and group relations in these institutions, and the sorting and sifting of social and cultural capital. We will discuss very briefly below some of the main features of these neoliberal trends in schooling, highlighting their impact on racial relations in education. First let us talk briefly about virtualization.

Virtualization The first trend that we want to discuss is the rise and intensification of virtual interactions in our educational activities, our online proclivity towards information craving, speed, efficiency, optimization, and maximization that now, as a set of dispositions, is rapidly displacing face-to-face interaction and embodied decision making and community feeling in our institutions. Education in its virtualizing tendency is susceptible to the "Internet paradox"—the other side of deregulation as the centrifugal logic of neoliberalism and laissez-fair; that is, "dependence on a social technology that often breeds social isolation" and insulation of knowledges and disciplines as much as it facilitates interaction (Cantor & Courant, 2003, p. 5). This is not a Luddite argument; it is as Cantor and Courant suggest, the proper concern that "the delivery of education solely on the Internet may rob students of the experience of the clash of ideas out of which emerges empathy with others and a desire for compromise" (p. 5). The arrival of the Internet for some heralded yet another clean technological break with past. But unlike car manufacturers and fashion designers, we in the humanities need the past for more than nostalgia and the ephemeral. We cannot jettison it, ruthlessly bringing on stream the latest gizmo. We need the past to study it, to better understand the present and the future. This raises questions of the public sphere and the fact that we have a multiplicity of publics in educational institutions in the Nancy Fraser sense—publics where conversations are shorn off by essentialism and tribalism (Fraser, 1997). Virtualization has not lived up to the promise of universalizing and transforming our particularisms. Indeed, these ethnic particularisms, it might be argued, have intensified in the generation of a great digital divide between ethnic groups and especially between racial minorities and Anglos. The coming of the virtual world may have heightened these latter tendencies—each man turning his key of endless data, in his own door, to use the imagery of T. S. Eliot ("And each man fixes his eyes before his feet" [Eliot, 1954, p. 53]). Second, let us discuss the matter of vocationalization.

Vocationalization As Masao Miyoshi (1998) warned over a decade ago, in his essay "Globalization, Culture and the University," transnational capital has overridden the line between the university and its outside, enveloping its sinews, reorganizing its infrastructures, and closing the distance between education and economy in the privatization of the organization of knowledge. As Miyoshi argued, then, students and administration seek to empty the rigorous content out of curricular knowledge, re-labeling it "for sale." The goal is to maximize returns on investment as in the market: "our students' course-taking preferences often focus on areas likely to maximize future returns (pre-professional, technology-intensive-globalization)" (Cantor & Courant, 2003, p. 5). This investment in the enterprise ethic within the university has meant that, on many campuses, there has been an eroding of support for humanities and humanistic social sciences. For example, as Cantor and Courant have pointed out, "Representation in superior humanities programs at public universities has dramatically declined between 1982 [and the present]" (p. 5). Indeed, it precisely these courses that provide the best preparation for democratic citizenship and critical thinking. Here, we have sacrificed this critical investment in knowledge for taking the pig to the market. Vocationalization of school knowledge also has the effect of marginalizing emergent knowledges such as African American Studies and Asian American Studies or Latino/a Studies as too ideological, too non-practical, etc.

Fiscalization There is also the matter of fiscalization of the university and schooling, or the application of "bottom-line" budgeting. We live in a context of budgetary crisis within the economy generally and within education. There are increasing demands for accountability and fiscalization—the application of bottom-line rationality to all education decision making. These pervasive measuring, accountability, and feasibility pressures have forced the humanistic disciplines and alternative postcolonial and indigenous minority knowledges on the defensive. Neoliberals have proven themselves masters at blurring and bending political, ideological, and cultural faiths to achieve viability. We live in such a time on campuses across the United States where the pressure of rationalization has placed humanistic programs in doubt, forcing them to establish new codes and rules of the game. Even programs such as literature, art history, philosophy, and so forth that are unlikely ever to be profit-making enterprises are feeling the pressure of the bottom line. We are trapped in the market place logic of student credit hours and sponsored research objectives. More teaching, less pay! Our relevant models are now the business school, the law school, and the natural sciences. Wherever and however money is to be made there lies justification and validation. The immediate casualties are ethnic and area studies programs, interdisciplinary research, collaborative research, and writing projects. The broader casualties are both our minority and majority students, who now see their teachers and academic mentors less as models of thoughtfulness than as purveyors of knowledge fast food. Ultimately, education as a public good is being compromised to privatization. Our greatest challenge, then, is to preserve the autonomy of the teaching–learning process, the autonomy of intellectual production, and the reproduction of critical minority and majority scholars. All of this has hit minority education quite hard, making it difficult for subjugated knowledges in the field of African American Studies and other ethnic studies programs to gain sure footing, except at the most elite universities.

Researching Race in Transforming Contexts: Matters of Culture, Matters of Identity, Matters of State and Public Policy

An understanding of the neoliberal contexts of education and society leads us to a third way or course of analysis—away from the traditional opposition of theory versus practice, abstraction versus concrete studies, and so forth that now dominate both mainstream and radical approaches to race. Our aim here is to eschew the customary tendency to separate out these different strategies of race analysis. Instead, we want to consolidate efforts of fellow travelers in the postcolonial tradition, such as Stuart Hall (1980, 1996), Arjun Appadurai (2006), Gyatri Spivak (2012), and Chela Sandoval (2000), aiming at models of research that cut across and integrate the theoretical, the empirical, and the practical. Moreover, to adequately address the complexities of race in this contemporary historical moment, students of race, cannot study race alone (Hall, 1980, p. 339) but must pay greater attention to contextualization, relationality, and conjunctural analysis. For, as Stuart Hall maintains:

> One needs to know how different groups were inserted historically, and the relations which have tended to erode and transform, or to preserve these distinctions through time—not simply as residues and traces of previous modes, but as active, structuring principles of the present society. Racial categories *alon*e will *not* provide or explain these. (1980, p. 339)

Rather than offering vain formulations at the abstract level of the mode of production, we call attention to patterns of historical incorporation and the work of culture and identification practices in specific institutional contexts as well as the spread effects across and beyond local settings, linking the urban/local to the cosmopolitan/global. Specifically, we want to focus on three critical organizing categories through which we maintain neoliberalism has precipitated transformed circumstances for the practical and theoretical appropriation of racial logics in the new century. These central organizing categories are: *popular culture, identity,* and *state/public policy.* We foreground these categories here because we believe they materially and discursively embody some of the principal contradictions and tensions through which twenty-first century race relations in education are expressed. And, they ultimately force us to think about the operation of racial logics beyond the school, into society and the globalizing world context where the intersection of popular culture, identity, and state/public policy constitute critical fault lines through which the transformations and reconfigurations concerning race relations in the new century are being expressed.

Why then study culture? Why study identity? Why study the state/public policy? What are the new developments affecting these categories of social, political, ideological, and economic organization through which contemporary race relations are being reconstituted and renarrated? Let's consider the matter of "culture."

Culture First, with respect to the organizing category of popular "culture," we believe that scholars must consistently work toward the reformulation of this concept. We must offer retheorizations and reformulations in ways that are often not pursued in race-related debates in education and the associated identity politics in which the field is now conflagrated. One such area of debate, for example, would be the canon versus multiculturalism. The fact is that, though pivotal to such discourses, "culture" is significantly undertheorized. "It" is often treated as a pre-existent, unchanging deposit, consisting of a rigidly bounded set of elite or folkloric knowledges, values, experiences, and linguistic practices specific to particular groups. Moreover, we argue that even the critical perspective of the cultural studies paradigm that some of us continue to invoke, and in which culture is defined as the production and circulation of meaning in stratified contexts, is also inadequate to a discussion of the new work of culture in a globalizing and information age, especially as it bears upon race. Instead, we maintain that it might now be more useful to think about "culture" along the lines suggested by Tony Bennett in "Putting Policy into Cultural Studies" (1996) and *The Birth of the Museum* (1995), as well as the work of Toby Miller (see his *Technologies of Truth* [1998] and his discussion of governmentality with Lawrence Grossberg in Bratich, Packer, & McCarthy, 2003). These approaches combine the neo-Gramscian understandings that underpin the cultural studies paradigm with Foucauldian insight on the role of the discursive and the cultural in the differential production of citizenship and power discriminations in modern society. Here, too, theorization of culture moves beyond the "whole way of life" formulation in the Raymond Williams sense (although his linking of culture to moral sensibility and feeling and his discussion of hegemony as a form of cultural saturation in *The Long Revolution* [1961] clearly apply). Rather, we conceptualize culture as a set of dynamic, productive, and generative material (and immaterial) practices in the regulation of social conduct and social behavior that emphasize personal self-management (i.e., the modification of habits, tastes, style, and physical appearance) and the expanded role of civil society in the state and vice versa in the rule of populations—"rule at a distance." This new emphasis forces us to link the cultural and economic work of difference in education to broader dynamics operating in society at large, to the politics of popular culture and public policy, and to the imbedded discriminations operating in the instrumental and expressive orders of the racialized state. Racial logics are articulated to the new cultural mobilizations precipitated by globalization that work paradoxically to emphasize locality, regionalism, sub-nationalisms, and the steady marketization of difference into commodified culture (Engel, 2007). Thus, local "taste" is also accessible as ecumenical form and address as groups in one location of the world try on the garments of those dwelling in a completely different location. These cultural mobilizations are also articulated to schooling as shrinking budgets and revenues create desperate lines of competition over scarce resources and heightened levels of conflict among new and old ethnicities in the ethnoscape of the United States. For example, early study-abroad Korean youth battle the dominant culture but also with Latino and African American youth over resources, language, and patriotic affiliation. They battle, too, within their families as often the early study-abroad child loses Korean language to English. The logic of cultural hybridity as it is materially articulated within the institution of schooling leads to a form of cultural implosion, rather than the happy celebration of plurality so often found in the literature (http://www.npr.org/2012/07/11/156377938/korean-families-chase-their-dreams-in-the-u-s; http://www.umc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content3.aspx?c=lwL4KnN1LtH&b=2789393&ct=11239457; http://thegrandnarrative.com/2008/11/29/koreas-lonely-geese-families-more-of-them-than-you-may-think/).

As with culture, the category of "identity" is critical to the performance and impact of racial affiliation and antagonism in education and society. And like culture, identity is also a material and imaginary terrain of struggle. How then should we begin to talk about identity in the changing circumstances affecting race in the new millennium?

Identity With respect to the second organizing category to be foregrounded here—the category of *identity*—we want to announce the end of its auratic status. We argue, instead, that the notion of racial identity as residing in "origins," "ancestry," "language," or "cultural unity" has been shattered, overwhelmed by the immense processes of hybridity, disjuncture, and renarration taking place in what Arjun Appadurai (1996) calls the new techno, media, and ideoscapes now disseminated in ever-widening areas and spheres of contemporary life. Migration, electronic mediation, and biometric and information technologies have separated culture from place. And, difference has become an abstract value that can be dirempted from specific groups and settings and combined and recombined in ways that allow, for example, clothing designer magnates like Tommy Hilfiger to appropriate elements of hip hop culture, recombine semiotically these elements into new forms of clothing fashion, and then sell these new designs back into the inner city itself. These stylized elements of black culture are further marketed, with overwhelming success, to an ecumenical community of ethnic cross-dressers. We want to conceptualize racial identity, then, as a contextual performance "produced within specific historical and institutional sites, within specific discursive formations and practices, and by specific enunciative strategies" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). Researchers must pay attention, among other things, to the ways in which minority urban cultural forms, linked especially to music and sports such as basketball and football and now the great spawning of digital games (cultural forms that are a deeply important allure to school youth) are the vital carriers of the new messages of neoliberal imperatives now operating in U.S. education and society and elaborated on an expanded global scale (King, 2003, 2008). In looking at the field of sport for guidance on the matter of racial identity, we are also pointing to expanded terms of reference for understanding educational dynamics, pointing beyond the walls of the institution of schooling itself to the wider culture and society where we believe the practices of the entertainment media, cultural practices of fashion and style, and the general circulation of popular images serve to instruct and educate the young in patterns of identity formation and forms of affiliation, forms of inclusion and exclusion, and so forth. But it is not enough to address the matter of race through the prism of culture and identity, we also must look at the issue of *state* and *public policy* and the regulatory landscape in which racial antagonism and forms of affiliation are administered and modulated.

State / Public Policy What is the specific character of the modern racialized state? Is it, for example, merely a "traffic warden" equidistant from the ruler and the ruled while regulating competing interests, as that venerable group of mainstream social and political scientists such as Gabriel Almond, Lucien Pye, Dennis Jupp, and W. W. Rustow suggest? Or is it "instrumentalist," in the language of Ralph Miliband (1973), the blunt object of the bourgeoisie. Or, just a little more mildly in Leninist terminology, is it the "executive arm" (Lenin, 1917/1965) of the ruling class? Is the state, yet, corporatist as Jurgen Habermas's student Claus Offe (1984) suggests—coordinating the interests of the bourgeoisie and systematically disorganizing the interests, needs, and desires of the working class and racial minorities? Is the state a network of organizations deeply invaded by civil society and combative agents in the Gramscian model and thus culturally surrounded as Rush Limbaugh argues in *I Told You So* (1993). Is the state, yet again, interred in the Foucauldian headless body politic, spreading its tentacles throughout the social order by means of technologies of truth, verification and identification, self-regulation, and discrimination as the sources of a diffused program of government and rule at a distance? There is no simple answer to these questions about state governance. It may be the state articulates policy along all these lines of regulatory practice suggested above. Nevertheless, these are all vital questions bearing upon the modern expression of racial antagonism in relation to which the state clearly plays a role of coordinating dominant identities while disorganizing subaltern ones. But contemporary research seems to be pointing us in contradictory directions about the nature of the state in light of the radical global transformations that we argue are powerfully reconfiguring modern race relations.

On the one hand, scholars such as Henry Giroux (1996, 2012), Naomi Klein (2002, 2007), and Anthony Giddens (1991, 2000, 2012) seem to be saying that, with respect to the racially and socially disadvantaged, the state is decomposing, disinvesting in programs of social welfare, and giving way to the greater centrality of ironic programs of altruism, volunteerism, and philanthropy mounted by multinational corporations like Nike and NGOs like Teach for America and AmeriCorps. These multinational projects of volunteerism and strategic deployment of welfarism are occurring in tandem with the altruistic practices of segments of the highly commercialized U.S. sports industry such as the NFL and NBA which, in turn, target high school and college-age youth as part of a project of image makeovers. These sports institutions have as a critical goal image making in the form of refashioning media-criminalized urban sports stars, reportraying them as big brothers to inner-city children, thoughtful and magnanimous gift givers to good causes like breast cancer research, and positive role models for avid book readers and the like (King, 2003). On the other hand, Michael Apple (2005), Kelly Gates (2008, 2011), Andy Green (1997), and Saskia Sassen (2002, 2003, 2007) seem to be suggesting that the state is consolidating, digging itself back into modernist borders that are paradoxically reinforced by the new post-industrial biometric information technologies of surveillance and regulation, the extension of surveillance cameras and metal scanning technologies in schooling, and the like. They point, too, to the expanded and critical role of the state in brokering the interests of global capital as it seeks out new areas of value in the process of opening up new markets and colonizing new labor forces in the third world and in the periphery of the first.

But it may be the case that both sides of this story of the recomposing state are valid. The U.S. state, for example, is at one and the same time what Hardt and Negri (2000) call a supra-national state, putting out fires in the racialized Empire at great distances overseas (in places such as Iraq and Afghanistan). Yet, at the same time, attempts at pacification abroad involve a rigorous regime of controls and intrusions at home in the name of domestic security, revealing a state that is vulnerable, porous, and deeply invaded. Indeed, when former President George W. Bush talked about interdicting international terrorists, he talked about this project in a policing, deer hunting, and “Wild West” language of the lone star state of Texas. Clearly, current President Obama represents a point of departure in tone, but the idea of prevailing in this war against the terrorism is still a deep investment of the U.S. state. The terms have been too deeply set within the cultural dominance for a radical revision. United States popular authoritarian commonsense calculates its safety against Islamic assertion and the Arab enemy at home and abroad. But the logic of the U.S. racial state, biometric and biotechnological, decisively expands abroad interdicting, policing, and assisting (through treaties like NAFTA, for example) in the reorganization of the economic formulas and Keynesian arrangements of third world national economies in the Global South in a broad range of areas—from telecommunications and the clothing industry to vital areas important to the poor, such as health care and education. The other side of biometric paradigms of surveillance to protect U.S. borders is the loosening of national control in third world countries over significant sectors of their economies and political and social life. A good example is the transformation that has taken place in the area of health care in periphery states at the behest of liberalization and deregulation. This has meant the deepening integration of the heath care of the poor and the middle classes in the Caribbean and Latin America into the health care industry and privatizing formulas of the United States—a development in which the pursuit of new areas of value by the capitalist health care industry in the United States is wreaking havoc on what were formerly self-sufficient nationalized health care systems in these third world countries, creating distortions, and deepening inequality of access for the periphery poor.

Understanding these matters of context on a broad scale is important for understanding the role of the state in race relations in education. For example, the state’s commitment to neoliberal governance is still under Obama a matter of reality as documents such as the *Patriot Act* remain in place and new policies such as *Race to the Top* simply rework old ones such as *No Child Left Behind.* The investment in charter schools, whose goal is the ideological demonstration project that public schooling is a hopeless enterprise, is most powerfully illustrated in post-Katrina New Orleans. There, overnight and under cover of the trauma and dislocation of the effects of the hurricane, the entire Orleans Public School District system was dissolved, and a system of charter schools was put in place. Teachers’ contracts under the old system were terminated, and they were forced to join the new charter-school one. The broad project afoot to deepen the privatization of education in the United States not only exists at the level of schooling but exists in a more heightened form at the university level, as well. This radical swing towards neoliberal privatization in the university is exacerbating the problem of access for racial minorities and the working classes. These developments underscore the point made earlier—which is that the racialized U.S. state is intensely global, acting through multilateral policies like NAFTA to spread neoliberal principles and U.S. interests in an imperialistic manner to periphery countries around the world. But the U.S. racialized state acts narrow-mindedly at home as well, organizing the elite interests of the wealthy and disorganizing the identities and the interests of the white working class and minority poor. All of this must be put in the context of developments associated with globalization, 9/11, the war on terrorism and the war on Afghanistan and Iraq, and the great financial crisis precipitated by speculative capital—developments that reveal in the most fundamental sense both the strength and the vulnerability of the U.S. racial state, the nativistic sense of boundedness and prerogative articulated by the U.S. state agents, as well as the cultural multiplicity that continues to empty itself out into the heart of the metropolitan center. We call attention to these features of the racialized state and public policy, recognizing that developments in the United States are deeply connected to a wider world reality, linking up the particularity of the local/urban realities to the global and the planetary.

Conclusion: Race, Culture, Identity, Public Policy, and Education

What we have tried to underscore in this essay, then, are all the ways these tensions around culture, racial identity, and public policy now play out *vis-à-vis* education. It is now almost common sense that we live in an age of fundamental insecurity and vulnerability. As Karen Ho (2009) insightfully demonstrates in her ethnography—*Liquidated*—of investment bankers on Wall Street, job security is quite a thing of the past and may not even apply to the "best and brightest" of even Ivy League graduates, despite the fact that they do prefer job-hopping at times. This has profound implications for education. More and more, young people must be prepared to live in a world that offers little recourse to personal, social, or economic stability. As Zygmunt Bauman puts it sharply in his conversations with Riccardo Mazzeo, "Nowadays, it is not only people who failed to make the right kind of effort and the right kind of sacrifice who find the gates—expectedly—shut in their face; people who did everything they believed to be necessary for success are finding themselves—though, in their case, unexpectedly—in much the same predicament, turned away from the gates empty-handed" (Bauman, 2012, p. 68). Moreover, these young people cannot fall back on ready-made and stable notions of self and community, as did previous generations (Grossberg, 2005; Willis, 2003). As noted above, these too have been destabilized by global forces, trajectories, flexible modes of being, and digital technologies that label the current generation as Ni-Ni: "not in employment, not in education" (Bauman, 2012, p. 72). Then, the traditional twin roles of schooling—preparing youth for work and citizenship—no longer provide clear mooring. If nothing else, our moment is marked by difference and multiplicity along with the accumulation logics of global capitalism. However, public policy initiatives around schools and schooling have tended to elide this complexity, opting instead to claim a kind of fullness of knowledge and control over the curricula. One sees "resentment" logics informing a range of school activities today, from the cognitive and intellectual to the political and social (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2007; McCarthy, 1998).

First, public policy has placed schools under enormous federal pressure to respond to standards, particularly around Language, Arts, and Math. The most notable of these movements, of course, has been driven forward by the *No Child Left Behind* legislation and its policy offspring, Race *to the Top*. The effects of this legislation have been broad and deep, though they have been particularly profound on the most vulnerable of public schools. At the most basic level, a corporate language has overtaken school discourse, a language that implies clear inputs and outputs and assessments and measurements that can be correlated and compared across disparate sites. A kind of technocratic approach to schooling and curricula has thus come to the forefront of public education today. While these impulses have of course been embedded in school life for nearly 100 years (Dimitriadis & Carlson, 2003), never before have they been so clearly pedagogically out of step with and inappropriate for the emerging social and cultural landscape young people face. According to Hargreaves, students in our so-called knowledge-society must learn to "create knowledge, apply it to unfamiliar problems, and communicate it effectively to others" (2003, p. 24). These require new modes and approaches to teaching and learning—constructivist and cooperative approaches that imply a range of learning outcomes and goals. New testing regimes, in stark counter-distinction, encourage just the opposite. They foster a kind of rote drill-and-skill approach to teaching, one that helps encourage "teachers to focus on low-level knowledge and skills, resulting in less in-depth understanding and less focus on higher-order thinking skills" (Jones, Jones, & Hargrove, 2003. p. 40).

Second, contemporary approaches to difference seem wholly informed by similar technocratic pressures. Narrow notions of "multiculturalism" have taken over discussion of multiplicity and complexity in our schools. Notions of "cultural competence" have provided school administrators with a managerial language that looks to contain difference, rather than engage it in productive ways. Working against the tide of difference, many such educators have tended to draw a bright line of distinction between the established school curriculum and the teeming world of multiplicity that flourishes in the everyday lives of youth beyond the school. These educators still insist on a project of homogeneity, normalization, and the production of the socially functional citizen. Such technocratic approaches to difference insist on bringing the problems of multiplicity and difference into a framework of institutional intelligibility and manageability. Such approaches, however, are not well suited to help young people navigate the complex realities of our contemporary global terrain. More and more, young people will have to negotiate a world that is truly cosmopolitan—a world where one must coexist with difference—not simply control it. Recent world events have, at a minimum, complicated clear demarcations between "here" and "there," "self" and "other," and "first" and "third world." Our evolved reality is quite different—that of eternal and complex encounters between disparate ideas, ideologies, and peoples. Our schools must therefore prepare students to be "world citizens" in the most humble, partial, and reflexive sense of the term.

In sum, contemporary movements over racial antagonism in education can be regarded as attempts to control a reality that far outstrips administrative formulas and authoritarian imaginative capacities. If nothing else, these efforts to contain global complexity and difference both mask and highlight widespread uncertainty about the role and function of formal schooling institutions today. It should not be surprising, then, that many minority youth (but majority youth as well) are turning away from school when they look to the adult world to help them engage with the issues and concerns most relevant in their lives. Indeed, as previously argued, (McCarthy, 1998), young people are turning to popular culture and alternative schooling institutions in the face of these realities. First, young people are using a wide span of cultural forms to navigate their everyday lives today, including popular music, fashion, dance, and art. As several recent critical commentaries and ethnographies have demonstrated, we cannot understand popular culture and young people's identities in predictable ways (Dimitriadis, 2001; Dolby, 2001; 2012). Ultimately, as this work makes clear, we must ask ourselves what kinds of curricula—broadly defined—young people draw on to understand, explain, and live through the world around them. This is messy terrain, one that exceeds a priori notions about identity often privileged by educators. As we have tried to make clear, the multiple uses to which popular culture is put challenge and belie easy notions of "cultural identification." Young people in the United States and around the world are elaborating complex kinds of social and cultural identifications through music like hip hop and techno in ways that challenge predictive notions about texts, practices, and identities.

Ultimately, the enormous social, cultural, and material dislocations of the last decade have destabilized any certainty around the traditional twin roles of schools—preparing young people for work and for citizenship. This new landscape, we argue, demands a different set of understandings as to what constitutes what some call "the research imaginary" in education today (Dimitriadis & Weis, 2007). How we contextualize and understand what we envision as education and how we think about students, particularly minority students, has implications for who gets what type of educational experience and who gets what type of access to schooling. This seems at the heart of any discussion of youth culture today—the idea that we no longer can claim fullness of knowledge over young people's lives, and that we need to renegotiate, in a very fundamental way, what counts as "meaningful" education for youth.

In this chapter, we have sought to expand these terms, showing the ways in which the logics of neoliberalism and globalization (and particularly after 9/11) are defining the new terms and new relations between education and society. In many ways, society has imploded into schooling and education has expanded deep into society, where arguably film, television, the Internet, digital games and media, popular culture, and popular music may be the ascendant centers for educating the young about each other and the foreigner in their midst and the world. It is a context in which radically reimagined ways of theorizing and researching racialization are sorely needed. Against the existential complexity of the lived and commodified experiences of real existing racialized subjects, their constantly transforming conditions of life, and the fundamental problem of the social integration of modern subjects into modern institution, our research imaginations on race are in sore need of rebooting.

Notes

1. http://stemchallenge.org/resources/WhyGames.aspx
2. http://stemchallenge.org/Default.aspx
3. Actually, the "other," the "enemy," "the terrorist" is not so easily defined in practice. As a consequence, national security policies that attempt to "identify" the enemy at various ports of entry, immigration and visa policies, the patrolling of the physical borders and ports of the United States, etc. invariably end up netting innocent Asians (sometimes Asian Americans) or Latinos and Latin Americans who "look" like "Arabs" or even African people who are of the Muslim faith. What 9/11 demonstrated is that the inside/outside logic about the "enemy" could not hold up. And indeed, the very effort of the Bush administration to cleave the other from the West has proven to be wholly inefficient and, perhaps, unwise.
4. For instance, let us think on President Barack Obama's media performance with respect to student loans, where he jams the news with Jimmy Fallon. When one reads the comments on YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vAFQIciWsF4), what is striking is not the racist attacks on Obama. Rather, the re-articulation of race with the neoliberal moment and how the audience reacts to Obama's unwillingness or slowness (or maybe just the political stance he wants to deploy) to respond to student loans is astounding. The audience has complex remarks that range from the camera move from Fallon to Obama (hence from White to Black as they call it) to political commentary and debates with respect to outsourcing of jobs from the USA, as well as accusations towards people for being stuck in race. One needs only to read the comments to understand the white male anxiety towards the multiplicity and difference and their re-articulation with global capitalism that we want to underline throughout this essay.
5. "Flag car" as used in this text refers to the phenomenon, popular among a significant sector of the U.S. public after to 9/11, to attach a flag to their family vehicle in a manner akin to that of lead car in the procession of a head of state. Of course, this act was both popular and deeply commercialized (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0IO_jNPpXBQ&feature=relmfu) but at the same time, it served and continues to serve as a vent for popular jingoism and nationalistic expression of solidarity.

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3

Wisdom Responses to Globalization

David Geoffrey Smith

To seek enlightenment by separating from this world is as absurd as to search for a rabbit's horn.
Hui Neng, founder of Ch'an [Zen]
Buddhism, seventh century CE

We are drowning in propaganda. . . . It's threatening our lives, cutting off our air.
Mark Crispin Miller, Professor of Media,
Culture and Communication, NYU [2011]

Distraction is the cause of the intellect's obscuration.
Peter of Damaskos,
eleventh century Greek Orthodox theologian

The wise are mightier than the strong . . . [and] the tongue of the wise brings healing.
Proverbs 24:5 and 12:18

Wisdom is proven right by all her children
Jesus of Nazareth

Introduction

This chapter is essentially a report on a graduate seminar I developed at the University of Alberta over the past five years. The title of the chapter is the title of the current seminar course. Actually, the course began as two separate but consecutive courses, *Globalization and Education* and *Teaching as the Practice of Wisdom.* In the first, we studied the burgeoning literature on globalization from the mid 1990s to the collapse of global markets in 2008. The second course was a kind of experiment to see if a collective reading and reflection on global ancient wisdom traditions (Buddhism, Taoism, Indigenous knowledge, Sufism, sapiential biblical literature, etc.) could be made to speak directly to the practices of education in today's secular, materialist, and technocratic environment. Two years ago I collapsed the two courses into one to make a conversation between the two topics more direct, even urgent.

The financial crisis of 2008 exposed the fallacies of the dominant version of globalization, namely neoliberalism, a so-called philosophy whose genealogical godfather was, ironically, Friedrich Nietzsche, but whose more contemporary theorists in the realm of economics and social policy were Fredrich Hayek and his American expositor, Milton Friedman. The ideas of both men anchored the economic and social reforms implemented in Britain and the United States by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, respectively, beginning in the late 1980s. Under the logics of market deregulation, withdrawal of government support for a plethora of social services in the name of privatization, celebration of the autonomous self-interested individual, unfettered domestic and international competitiveness, and the reduction of education to the training of "human capital" for the global market, neoliberalism has now found itself facing the inherent venality and unsustainability of its basic presuppositions, linked to its contemporaneous sibling, neoconservatism.

Neoconservatism was/is another so-called philosophy that saw the end of the Cold War and bipolar world as an opportunity for the world's last remaining superpower (so self-defined at the time) to assume unilateral control over the rest of the world, quite literally. This vision was articulated through such documents as *The Project for a New American Century* and a theory of "Full Spectrum Dominance" (Engdahl 2009). The essential hubris of both neoliberalism and neoconservatism led the United States, and its ally Great Britain, into two disastrous wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, creating not just their mutual economic bankruptcy (a $16 trillion debt in the United States), but, perhaps more important, to the exposure of their moral and philosophical bankruptcy.

The social and cultural implications of the failures of neoliberalism and neoconservatism have yet to be worked out, and currently a global vacuum in both philosophy and politics is emerging from the exhaustion, even death, of this former "order," with no comprehensive global planning or strategizing possible under a condition now characterizable as civilizationally pluralistic, with Asian, African, and Latin American countries seeing new opportunities for global leadership, or at least more autonomy within a reconfigured world order. The contemporary global space may in fact be in the midst of World War IV (the Cold War being WW III), waged on five fronts: a paranoid Western civilizational campaign against Islam characterized as "Islamofascism" (Podhoretz 2008); a U.S. war against Russia and China based on a struggle for global domination (Bzrezinski 2012); a global struggle for control of essential natural resources, especially petroleum, but also minerals such as coltan required for cell phone manufacture (Engdahl 2009); and a global war over currency; that is, which currency (dollar, euro, yuan, etc.) will control the global market (Engdahl 2009).

The "neo" debacle, then, is symptomatic of a much larger problem, which is the erosion of the possibility of a unipolar world dominated by only one "civilization." The question is, pedagogically speaking, how can the shape and character of education be reimagined not just in the aftermath of the "neo" debacle, but, more specifically, in the face of the dissipation of its basic operating assumptions? This is no small matter, since neoliberal reforms in education have now become entrenched in most societies of the Western world, to say nothing of their cultural intertwining among ideological acolytes in countries such as South Korea, Zimbabwe (neoliberalism co-opted by a fundamentalist African nationalism, Mugabeism [see Hwame 2012]), and the new China. Privatization, site-based management, funding tied to performance on standardized tests, teaching reduced to "facilitating," economistic assessment of all human values, children viewed as an "investment" in the future, education reduced to an "industry" for global export (U.S. and British satellite campuses springing up everywhere), research and development geared largely for a chimerical "new knowledge economy," and the ascendant subordination of traditional understandings of pedagogy to new instructional technologies—all of these features of the contemporary educational landscape find their basic scaffolding in the economic philosophy of neoliberalism and the political charge of neoconservatism.

Part of the problem is that all of these developments have ridden on the rhetorical coattails of long-accepted philosophical tropes: democracy, freedom, human rights, and the rule of law. The fact is that these rhetorical flourishes have now been revealed as consistently operating as a mask to cover both global and domestic imperial venturing, most often today in the name of an Anglo-American constructed "War on Terror," that what has been inspired is not just an epistemological crisis, but also moral and indeed mental ones. The epistemological crisis is a symptom of the War on Terror through the saturation of the public domain with false information (propaganda) to support it (see Harvey 2011; see also multiple links on globalresearch.ca). Under such a condition, how can I any longer trust what I think I know? The moral and mental crises are inspired, at least in part, by the emergence of surveillance culture (Google Earth, the Patriot Act, tracking technology in vehicles, "backdoor" monitoring chips in computers, etc.), itself a feature of the War on Terror, producing what is now understood as a "Culture of Fear" (Fisher 2011), a symptom fully reflected in popular video games such as *World of Warcraft,* Hollywood movies such as *Enemy at the Gates* and *Independence Day,* and the preponderance of crime-show television programming. The moral crisis is reflected also in political cynicism and a sense of helplessness produced by the split between the rhetorics of possibility and the crushing realities of everyday life. Mental illness is now the fastest growing medical condition in North America (Whitaker 2010).

The point is, a schizoid situation has now been created for teachers, parents, and all people of good will, since the values of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, as dominant economic, social, and political ideologies, are largely unworkable and unsustainable in the context of localized communities, for which schools, classrooms, and families are the foremost expression. Insofar as both *neos* are also incipiently recipes for war, local communities increasingly find themselves faced with new forms of aggression in behaviorally defiant students, in self-interested client-service provider relationships, in the monetarization of human values, in the hyper-competitiveness of a dualistic axiology (I have to "get" you before you "get" me), and so on. What happens to practices of forgiveness, compassion, forbearance, generosity, and good will when these are defined in the new dispensation as human weaknesses, not worthy of serious support or consideration? Or is the situation today such that in public I need to be tough, self-interested, competitive, and paranoid, while in my family, school, or classroom I must shed all this and become sweet, gentle, accommodating, forgiving, generous, and supportive of others? Who can survive such a dichotomous understanding of the world? Why should anyone be expected to accept this as "normal"? What form of pedagogical insight can address this situation in a way that is genuinely helpful both for teachers and students? Is there not a way of seeing the world more comprehensively, more wholly (lit. healthily < OE *health,* "whole"), indeed as holy, in a way of caring that is not naïve but wiser and more attuned to a deeper truth of things? A recent joint study by the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto and the University of California, Berkeley, has revealed a direct relationship between excessive wealth accumulation and moral indecency: The rich are more prone to lying than the poor (Mittelstaedt 2012).

For those of us living within the Anglo-American nexus, a basic difficulty is that we are ignorant of the inherent rules of operation that define the conduct of daily life, with economics, since the nineteenth century, regarded as providing a transcendental logic deemed superior to all others for solving human problems (Polanyi 1944/2001). This ignorance does not mean that most people cannot parrot "the Law of Supply and Demand," discuss the meaning of "Market Share," or confidently declaim "Let the Market decide!" What it does mean though is that when cognitive saturation by such clichéd understanding is taken as the real or true condition of our lives, an attendant disability also arises; namely, the failure or unwillingness to perceive or appreciate the deep human liabilities that accrue when economic determinism is deferred to as god. Most poignantly, the liabilities include (a) the inability to imagine life differently, (b) a contiguous difficulty in seeing the connection between philosophical pathology (as it might be termed) and pathologies in the social and cultural realm, and (c) an acceptance of human victimization as an "unfortunate but inevitable" byproduct of an operating paradigm that tolerates no criticism of itself. Political philosopher John McMurtry (2002) has summed all this up very well: Contemporary economic theory is embedded in "an acculturated metaphysic that has lost touch with the real world outside of its value program" (136).

Hence it is, then, that in the graduate seminar I collapsed the two themes of globalization and wisdom. I saw the necessity for careful deconstruction of the philosophical principles guiding the neoliberal and neoconservative globalization agenda along with an opening of ancient global wisdom traditions for their insight on what it means to live "well" together on the earth as our planetary home. If globalization theory, and its base in market economics, is constructed as a form of philosophy, then, as educational philosophers, we must live up to our philosophical calling as "lovers of wisdom" (Gk. *phileo,* "to love," + *sophos,* "wisdom") and not just live as passive enablers of a decaying worldview.

Understanding the Character and Liabilities of a Transcendent Market Logic

It is not the place here to review all of the material that we read in the course to better understand how human values have come to be monetarized to the extent they have, a condition in which "everything is for sale" (Kuttner 1999), even our emotions, which in the realms of both pedagogy and retail are prized only if we can show that we are relentlessly happy and upbeat (see Hochschild 2003). I will, however, draw attention to some particularly helpful material that we have read. Jerry Z. Muller's (2003) *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Western Thought* is a brilliant, beautifully lucid, and accessible genealogical study of the evolution of market logic in the Western tradition. The journey moves from the classical republican visions of Greece and Rome that stigmatize merchants as being involved in "material" practices rather than the more elevated work that involves mind and spirit; through the age of Christendom under the Roman Catholic church when usury—lending money at interest—was regarded as a mortal sin; eventually to the radical (neo)liberalism of Hayek (1944/2007), the guiding mentor whose ideas led to the collapse of global financial markets in 2008, a collapse from which there will likely never be a recovery to prior conditions, according to Mark Carney, former Governor of the Bank of Canada. I have summarized much of this evolution in a previous paper titled "Can Wisdom Trump the Market as a Basis for Education?" (Smith 2011).

One particular theme from Hayek is worth noting given the current exposure of the compensation levels of financial elites during the market meltdown. Like Nietzsche before him, Hayek believed in leadership by elites and that the gifted few should be entitled to the special privileges that their creative work has accomplished. Democracy is a problem for those Hayek called the "Originals," the rare breed of truly creative thinkers whose ideas should be given free reign for the genuine advancement of society. Indeed, it is the dynamic and resourceful few who must force the less resourceful to adapt through what Hayek called "impersonal compulsion." This in turn creates what Nietzsche termed (Ger.) *ressentiment,* or resentment, among those "who must be content with a smaller reward" (in Muller 2003, 358); hence today the Occupy Movement, articulating a revolt of 99% of the population against the top 1%.

Canadian philosopher John McMurtry has written a series of books that deconstruct Market Logic as a form of "Moral Syntax." In *Value Wars: The Global Economy Versus the Life Economy* (McMurtry 2002), he illuminates how the global market mindset is "self-referential" to the point that "facts do not deter its certitude" (12). The "inconceivable is now normalized," contained in the paradox that we are "destroying life to save it" (28) through, among other things, environmental plunder in the name of progress. The following is worth quoting at length:

> Humans are value-bearing beings and their ultimate ground of value is life itself; but because the ruling economic order has no life-coordinates in its regulating paradigm, it is structured always to mis-represent its life-blind imperatives as life-serving. . . . Thus, the freedom of unfreedom, the terror of anti-terrorism, the peace-seeking of war are, like the life-endowing properties of dead commodities, contradictions which are generated by the global market system's syntax of meaning itself. (55)

In pedagogical terms, the problem with this "fanatic value-set" is that it "has no feedback loop whereby its life-destructive effects can register on its bearers" (51).

Clearly insinuated in McMurtry's work is the way that a transcendent Market Logic operates hypocritically, with a deliberate but hidden nonlinkage between its promises and its deliveries. This hypocrisy is well worked out by writers such as David Macarov (2003) in *What the Market Does to People: Privatization, Globalization, and Poverty,* which shows the Social Darwinism that is necessarily at work for the market to survive in its current form. Society *must* be constructed on a bifurcation between winners and losers. Losers in turn can *never* be allowed to win. Hence, the unrelenting continuance of poverty in African countries; the residual White Supremacist character of the International Banking system (now under challenge by organizations such as Brazil, Russia, India, and China [BRIC]) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization [SCO] of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; Libya's Muammar Gaddafi's attempt to establish a Pan-African currency against the dollar and euro based on the Gold Dinar (Wile 2011)—which resulted in the NATO-led revolt against Gaddafi in 2011; and the ongoing use of Anglo-American models of education in so-called developing countries with *development* a euphemism for the "colonization of the mind" (Wa Thiongo 2011) etc. etc.

John Perkins (2006) addressed this hypocrisy directly. In his bestseller, *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man,* John Perkins tells of his life as a career operative of a shell company tied to the highest levels of the American government, in turn linked to the world's largest corporations and financial institutions. In his own words:

> Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign "aid" organizations into the coffers of huge corporations and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet's natural resources. Their tools include fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization. (xi)

The basic purpose and strategy of EHMs is to seduce world leaders into borrowing billions of U.S. dollars to construct massive infrastructure projects in their home countries in the name of "development." This borrowed money is then paid back to U.S. contracting companies such as Bechtel, Enron, and Halliburton, all of them linked to the deep sinews of Washington power. Debt becomes the key instrument of political control over the countries concerned. The new infrastructure then allows ease of access to and exploitation of desired natural resources.

Korean economic historian Ha-Joon Chang (2012) has written a whimsical yet serious book titled *23 Things They Don't Tell You About Capitalism.* He examined the splits between promise and reality within the economic globalization paradigm. For example, in common discourse about economics, even in university courses, we are *not* told that there is no such thing as a free market, free market policies rarely make poor countries rich, more education in itself is not going to make a country richer, and good economic policy does not require good economists. The last point is relevant here to the extent that within a fuller context of what is "required," humanly speaking, economic matters might indeed be a very subordinate concern.

In the most recent offering of the course, we have used David Harvey's (2011) *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* as a basic text for gaining understanding of some of the fundamental contradictions of capital's operation, including the creation of credit society to fund imperial wars, the politics of criminalization and incarceration of the poor as a way of dealing with unemployment, and an undermining of the meaning of work through the fetishization of technological and organizational innovation. Given the rhetorical urgency for teachers and professors to technologize their teaching practices, Harvey's words seem sagacious:

> The "fetishism" (of technologization and innovation) is fed upon to the degree that innovation itself becomes a business that seeks to form its own market by persuading each and every one of us that we cannot survive without having the latest gadget and gismo at our command. . . . Opposition arises because the more workers are positioned as appendages of the machines they operate, the less freedom of maneuver they have, the less their skills count and the more vulnerable they become to technologically induced unemployment. (91–96).

As a 65-year-old academic myself, whose research, writing, and teaching have most typically involved working with written texts and face-to-face engagements with students, the pressure to technologize most of these traditional aspects of professorial life into online learning, Moodle course management systems, and so on has inspired a certain crisis of identity, since having something to "profess" (a quality of scholarly being that takes years to develop) has given way to skills of simple facilitation. Indeed, it can be argued that if learning means only the acquisition and accumulation of information, teaching in the traditional sense becomes superfluous. Today, access to information is ubiquitous, and in many ways, if not most, this is a positive development, although the multiple ways the new technologies of information both frame and monitor what can be known is a feature yet to be investigated and theorized adequately. No, teaching and the teacher only matter if education is about something much more profound, which is the cultivation and embodiment of sagacity and discernment, which in turn sponsor genuine humility (hence "humanness" < L. *humus*) in the face of our species-specific love of ignorance in the name of knowing. Paradoxically, it takes years of study to learn an essential and abiding truth: As human beings, we don't really know very much. When knowledge and its production are reduced to economic interests alone, *qua* The New Knowledge Economy, the very concept of knowledge metastasizes into a commodity form that necessarily stands apart from any necessary embodiment in a knower. It need not make any difference to the "I" that knows. "I" can simply pick and choose anything I think I need to know to achieve predetermined "ends" or goals that "I" have predetermined to be necessary for the preservation and continued success of "my" predetermined self-identity. Needless to say, this is all true of self-defined cultures, societies, tribes, and groups just as much as it is of individuals, and it speaks of how, in the name of progress, the new knowledge economy, often referred to as a "knowledge revolution," is actually a very conservative development. Hence it is that in most wisdom traditions, problematization of the concept of the ego, or identity, is the highest priority, along with suspicion of the ego's use of knowledge as power. As Taoist philosopher Lao Tzu put it two and a half millennia ago, "Whoever wishes to rule the country with knowledge alone will destroy the country" (in Henricks 1989, 32).

To conclude this discussion of Market Logic and its vulnerabilities, a few final points need to be made.

1. As writers such as John Gray (1998) and David Harvey (2011) have argued, today it is no longer appropriate to think of "capitalism" as a purely Western phenomenon, since countries around the world have taken up Market Logic but are reimagining or redeveloping it out of the context of their own historical and political experience. So Chinese capitalism, for example, still retains the residues of its earlier socialist revolution tied to the interests of "the people" commanded by a strong centralized government. The political infrastructure of Japanese capitalism is still controlled by ancient warlord families such as Toyota, Honda, and Mitsubishi. More important though, lingering within these newer capitalisms are, on the one hand, remembrances of historical suffering under the foot of Western imperialism and, on the other, ongoing respect for ancient sources of traditional wisdom rooted, in the Asian case, in Confucian philosophy, itself a product of both Taoist and Buddhist insight. In the African context, the so-called African Renaissance relies not just on commitments to economic development, but also on forms of traditional wisdom now generically termed *Unhu Ubuntu* (see Battle 2009, Connell 2007, and Swanson 2007). These Asian and African examples signal a point that I will develop later; namely, the importance of understanding wisdom as an imminent, indwelling reality rather than as just one more concept in competition with a global plethora of other concepts.

2. A second point is related to the first. David Harvey (2011) has astutely recognized that attempts at radical social reform usually founder because leaders fail to recognize the complexity of the situations with which they are dealing. Certainly this is true in most attempts at curriculum reform. Specifically, Harvey (123ff.) suggested that seven clear "activity spheres" that are always in play need to be addressed comprehensively. These spheres are technologies and organizational forms, social relations, institutional and administrative relations, production and labor processes, relations to nature, reproduction of daily life and species, and, finally, mental conceptions of the world. What I and the graduate seminar attempt to do is place "mental conceptions of the world" at the forefront of consideration, since how we imagine the world, the nature of reality, and the meaning of good living all lie at the heart of our intentions and actions on a daily, minute-by-minute basis, and they both inflect and infuse all other aspects of human activity. Hence, our "mental conceptions" must be the first to gain our attention if we are to imagine the world differently. It is precisely here that wisdom traditions have the most to say, and their voice is virtually univocal: To heal the world I must engage in the work of healing myself. To the degree that I heal myself, so will my action in the world be of a healing nature. Presuppositions are at work here, of course, the most significant being of an essential dialogical co-creating unity between self and other. The concept of a pure, independent, autonomous ego (individual or collective) that lies at the heart of the Western tradition's self-definition is nothing but a grand illusion, to be held responsible for so much of the violence perpetrated in its name. The point here is that the Western conception of Reason, as *Logos,* is better understood to imply *dia-logos,* a process whereby no one person or group can ever claim possession of truth in its fullness. Something unknown and at work is in every knowledge claim. Hence it is then that, no matter where one finds oneself within the seven "activity spheres," one lives and acts within a consciousness of one's essential openness and incompletion. This in turn is the ground of human hope; namely, a recognition that the constraints of certainty are delusional, there being always a Way that is fuller, deeper, truer, a condition that only "we" can create, but a "we" possible only to the degree that each of us has relinquished our "I". How is this "Great Relinquishment," as Chan master Hui Neng (1969) once called it, possible? I will explore this question later. Again, one implication of this is how authentic social change rests most effectively on the operation of immanent action rather that action "upon" the world taken from a conception of the world as "other" to myself. Authentic social reform is like leaven, intimately intermixed in the bread of life rising as a source of human nourishment.

3. One of the biggest challenges in taking on a transcendentalized Market Logic is to denaturalize it; it is not to be accepted as the natural basic condition of human life. Any reading of economic history quickly reveals this, although to raise a challenge today is often to invite ridicule. Part of the difficulty is that the preferred option of modern economic theory is to pose as a science, with science itself posing as the basis of secular certitude. In the nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill (1874/2010), like others of his time, looked for a "scientific" basis for conceptions of human life. He argued "in the abstract" that Political Economy must

> presuppose an arbitrary definition of man, as a being who invariably does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries, with the smallest quantity of labour and physical self denial with which they can be obtained in the existing state of knowledge. (144)

Mill's point was later interpreted by economist Gary Becker (1992 Nobel Prize winner in economics and recipient from George W. Bush of the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2007), as a celebration of the human being as "self-maximizing" animal. This became part of the justifying rationale of radical free market economics (see Becker 1976). Social theorist Raj Patel (2009) has recently provided evidence for the inadequacy of Becker's view, in particular on the matter of human generosity and altruism. He cited, for example, Martin Broken Leg's 1999 study of generosity amongst young people in Native American cultures compared to youth under the spell of consumer capitalism. Patel also noted preliminary neuroscience experiments that suggest that in fact humans have evolved "complex behaviors that include in-built desires for altruism and fairness" and not just for selfishness and avarice (32). The point is that it *is* possible to imagine communities and cultures built on values other than self-maximizing individualism and that the time may be ripe for such imagining.

4. A fourth and final point marks a transition from our discussion of globalization, Market Logic, economic theory, and so on to a serious consideration of wisdom traditions. It arises from a recognition that Market Logic has its roots in the resolution of specifically religious concerns, thus it is very appropriate to resuscitate religious sensibilities, in the name of wisdom, to address our contemporary global concerns. Capitalism in its many forms (finance capitalism, merchant capitalism, asset trading, state capitalism, etc.) is intimately linked historically to the two great monotheistic traditions of the West, Judaism (see Muller 2010) and Protestant Christianity (see Weber 1920/1980; Tawney 1926/1960). What needs to be deconstructed, wisdomly, is how these traditions are plurivalent rather than monolithic, so that conceptual archeological work can tease out the moral and ethical dimensions of both traditions that are still alive and well, serving in counterbalance to the hard-line greed and avarice that have come to be celebrated as indeed sacred virtues in contemporary times.

It needs to be recognized also that imperial conquest is written into dominant narratives of both traditions, from the military conquest of the "Promised Land" possibly ca. 1300 BCE ("Do not leave alive anything that breathes" [Deuteronomy 20:16]) to the Christian exhortation to "make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:19), but so too do those same traditions preserve a deeper contemplative voice that actually indicts the narratives of domination ("My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" [Isaiah 56:7]). The West can save itself and work to construct a more peaceful polyvalent world to the degree that its deeper heart of wisdom can be brought forward. I have tried to address this issue somewhat in my 2011 paper. Max Weber (1920/1980) in his classic *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* argued that the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century overturned the spirituality of the Middle Ages by converting *orare est labore* to *labore est orare.* By this maneuver, the beginnings of entrepreneurialism were given spiritual meaning. Instead of prayer (*orare*) being a meaningful form of work (*labore*), work itself became celebrated as a form of prayer. Indeed, today "work" is fetishized to the point that questions of its meaning and place in the development of human dignity have been supplanted and charged into an abstract concept of "labor," identified as *human capital* within the paradigm of economic globalization. Can the practice of prayer, better understood as meditative or contemplative practice, be revivified as being of legitimate assistance in the building of a more just, humane world? If so, how?

The Turn to Wisdom

According to a Pew Research Center poll in December 2011, only 50% of Americans now believe in capitalism, with 40% reacting to the term in strongly negative ways. Only 25% trust banks to do the right thing to solve the current financial crisis (Kristof 2012). Rick Groen (2011), film critic for Canada's national newspaper *The Globe and Mail,* noted the pervasive atmosphere of the films of 2011 to exude "a pervasive sense of loss." Again, it is as if an old order is dying; but what can or will unfold from its expiration? Is it possible to turn to the sages of the past and present for a voice of wisdom to guide the way forward, if indeed forward, with its links to ideological understandings of progress, is something to be desired? One option must not be chosen, even though it seems to be the preferred option of so many today who are calling for a return to wisdom: We cannot begin by trying to escape our circumstances; we must find new life in the middle of our circumstances, *in medias res,* as hermeneutical philosophers like to say. As British social theorist Glenn Rikowski (in McLaren 2006) has insisted, "We *are* capitalism" (78), capitalism-is-us. It has taken up residence in our bones, our brains, our muscular tissues, and in the structures of everyday life, from commuting, to eating, to playing, to how and why we "educate." It cannot be run away from, only better understood so that new dreams may emerge from the fetters of the taken-for-granted.

It is not easy to speak about wisdom without insinuating that one knows what it is. Any such insinuation is itself simply foolish if not highly dangerous. "If you meet the Buddha, kill him" is an adage well known in Buddhist circles. In other words, if you think you have finally found what you have been looking for, let it go; otherwise it could quickly turn into another illusion to cling to in the name of enlightenment. In the Western tradition, from the pre-Socratics to Plato, wisdom was understood as a unified understanding of "the highest principles of things that function as a guide for living a truly exemplary human life" (Delaney, in Audi 1999, 976). Later, Aristotle split this into a distinction between theoretical wisdom (Gk. *sophia*) and practical wisdom (Gk. *phronesis*), the former an ability to see into the true nature of things, and the latter an ability to use the mind (Gk. *phren*) to discern appropriate modes of action in specific situations. All of these understandings have certain parallels as well as divergences in other global traditions. In the Hindu and Buddhist "Ways," wisdom is equated through the term *prajna* (Sk.) with "consciousness." In Hinduism, *prajna* denotes the condition, whereby Self-Consciousness (Sk. *atman*) unites with Ultimate Consciousness (Sk. brahman), producing the deepest composure in all experience, since the basic alienation inhering in a conceived separation between Self and Other is transmuted into a singular unified field of unselfconsciousness or self-forgetfulness. Through such experience one is genuinely free to act without guile or self-interest.

In Mahayana Buddhism, *prajna,* as wisdom, is one of the six "perfections" (Sk. *paramita,* lit. "reaching the other shore") indicative of full enlightenment, marked by insight into the true nature of things; namely, their nonreducibility, or emptiness (Sk. *sunyata*), with no human concept able to contain things in their essence. Hence, here, emptiness does not mean void or vacuum, but indeed full potentiality, since, the certainties of Western science notwithstanding, life exists nonconditionally; it simply *is.*

The earlier remark about composure is important across a wide range of global wisdom traditions, because it points to how stillness/peace is both the mark of wisdom and the ontological state out of which appropriate (wise) action arises most effectively. In early Gnostic Christianity (second to fourth centuries CE), salvation (Gk. *soteria*) was interpreted as "being at rest." Indeed, Jesus, as a messianic wisdom teacher (Borg 2008), explicitly declared "Come to me . . . and you will find rest" (Matthew 11:28–29). In Taoism human effort is directed to finding the "still point" from which all of life radiates and attuning oneself with it. In Islam, the Arabic word *waqt* conveys much the same meaning. The various Orthodox traditions (Greek, Russian, etc.) emphasize *hesychastic* experience, the experience of stillness that implies not quiescence or passivity but, rather, openness and deep, active listening (Gk. *hesychia*). In the Hebrew tradition, we are exhorted to "be still" to "know" life more comprehensively (Ps. 46:10).

What is implicit in these various calls to stillness or composure is an appreciation of how *distraction* lies at the root of our deepest human ills. Within the operation of capital, cultivating distraction is foundational to all marketing psychology, and the maintenance of distraction is an absolute requirement for product innovation and production. If people could learn to be happy with the car, the clothes, the house, the spouse, the school, the neighborhood, and so forth that are currently part of their lives and not find them somehow unsatisfactory or disposable in very short order, even though still perfectly functional and of ongoing value, well, the whole economic system would fall apart without much delay. Manufacturing would decline, retail services would shrink beyond current comprehension, engineering sciences, most of the trades—indeed, every single product or activity that relies on *demand* turning into the cultivation of *supply* would fall into much more limited use. Economic historian J. K. Galbraith once remarked, perhaps tongue in cheek, that the entire field of contemporary psychology rose to prominence when it became more difficult to *sell* an automobile than to make one. The point is, learning how the human mind operates, its suggestibility and capacity for fantasy, and indeed its delusion, lies at the epistemological heart of capitalism—in other words, knowing how to keep people constantly dissatisfied with their lives and in search of fulfillment through an endless chain of inherently unsatisfying yet full-of-promise material, aesthetic, and even "spiritual" objects. Hence, the call to wisdom is also a call to mindfulness, to the end of distractedness, a form of "recollection," as Benedictine spirituality names it, a recovery of oneself in deeper unity with the essential nature of the world. This recovery or finding of one's deepest self is at the same time a form of losing oneself in the fullness of Being, or what in Buddhism is called the "Ocean of Dharma." *Dharma* (Sk.) can be translated as "the Law of Life," but also "that which carries and sustains us." To become mindful is to learn to be sustained by Life in its truest sense, the sense that lies beyond language, culture, and tradition. In effect, becoming mindful is the ultimate condition of our freedom as human beings. It also identifies the way in which a turn to wisdom is a deeply political act, an act of cultural insurrection, because it refuses to take seriously the seductions of secondary gods.

One key aspect of cultural life certain to diminish under a condition of less distraction is an obsession with formal health care. This is because mindfulness is intractably linked to the welfare of the body's central organ, the heart. In Chinese, heart and mind share the same word, *h'sin.* In the Greek tradition, too, this link is well understood. Noted at the beginning of this essay is a quotation from eleventh-century Greek orthodox sage Peter of Damaskos. Peter's work can be found in volume III of the *Philokalia,* a compendium of Orthodox spirituality from the fourth to fifteenth centuries (see Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware 1990). *Philokalia* literally means "love of the beautiful, the true." Peter declared, "Distraction is the cause of the intellect's obscuration," "forgetfulness is the greatest of evils," and "stillness [marks] the beginning of the soul's purification [and is] the first form of bodily discipline" (182). When Peter referred to the "intellect's obscuration," he used the Greek word *nous* for intellect rather than *dianoia,* which refers to the functioning of the intellect to formulate abstract concepts and then arguing on the basis of this to conclusions reached through deductive reasoning. The intellect, as *nous,* is the highest human faculty through which a person begins to "know God"; that is, the reality that transcends all concepts, hence enabling perception of the inner essences or principles of created things, and our participation in them. Even more important, *nous* also constitutes the innermost aspect of the *heart* and is sometimes called the "organ of contemplation," the "eye of the heart" (for further discussion see Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware 1990, 360).

"Distraction is the cause of the intellect's obscuration." Is it possible to grasp the utter importance and relevance of this elusive saying? *Obscuration* literally means "darkening" (L. *obscurus,* dark). So, when our minds have become darkened through “distraction,” we are in deep trouble. When our highest human faculty has become subjugated and dominated by nonsensical phantasms perpetrated by intense and powerful media, when education reigns as a project of human engineering to serve only the material prospects of the market, when we invite violence into our minds and imaginations as a form of entertainment—in short, when distraction rules—we become “forgetful of Being,” as Heidegger put it, and there is only one possible consequence as a long-term phenomenological reality: We start losing our minds. And when we have lost our minds, “darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people” (Isaiah 60:2), as the Hebrew prophet Isaiah declared sapientially some two and a half millennia ago. In North America, antipsychotic drugs now outsell all other medications, including those for heart disease and stroke. There is a now a psychosis at the heart of Western “civilization,” induced by the lies and duplicities the corporate and financial elites use to protect their interests, even in universities. A new epistemology is needed that begins with an understanding of the essential unity of the world, an understanding to be gained through piercing the superficial veils of difference to a comprehension of our lived interdependence within a unified field always lying anterior to anything you or I might say about it. This is the mystical vision that underwrites virtually all wisdom traditions of the world, articulated in the *coincidentia oppositorum* (coincidence of opposites) of medieval philosophy and the Taoist intuition of *yin/yang.*

How is this comprehension to be cultivated? If composure is the mark of wisdom, meditation or meditative sensibility is its modus. Unfortunately, the common stereotypes of people engaged in meditation include monks sitting for hours in a meditation hall, or a practitioner perched on a mountaintop in a yogic position, or someone in a trance disengaged from the realities of everyday life. These stereotypes are unfortunate because they hide the deeper meaning and purpose of meditation behind a misunderstanding of meditation as a form of detachment. In *The Miracle of Mindfulness: An Introduction to the Practice of Meditation,* Vietnamese Zen master Thich Nhat Hanh (1999) illuminated the ways that meditative practice needs to be cultivated as a practice of ordinary daily living, a form of mindful attention to the objects and conditions of life that are always ready at hand, from dishes in the sink, to peeling an orange, to sitting in a traffic jam. The basic truths of life are revealed in the simplest, most common details of living, not (just) in cataclysmic events that in any case are themselves simply culminating agglomerations of seemingly incidental events over time. Hence, Hui Neng, the seventh-century CE founder of Chinese Ch’an Buddhist, could declare, “To seek enlightenment by separating from this world is as absurd as to search for a rabbit’s horn” (34). Rabbits don’t have horns: Searching by disengagement from the world is not just a futile exercise, but also misguided.

In English the word *meditation* has an interesting Proto-Indo-European etymological root—*med*—which is linked to many other Latin words lying in the heart of English, such as *medicus,* a physician; *mederi,* to heal; and it links to meter and measurement (see etymologyonline.com). In the practice of meditation, there is therefore a triple linkage: mindfulness as an act of healing gained through a taking stock of oneself, of one’s culture; an act of “measurement” that begins by a kind of ritual “stopping” (Trungpa 1988, 78) of the ordinary flow of consciousness to attend to the things of the world as they arrive in consciousness Now. In a way, meditation is the practice of facing oneself and one’s culture precisely in the things and events of the world that lie at hand. There is a parallel insight to this in the Hebrew tradition of prayer, with the Hebrew word *l’hitpalel,* translatable not just as “to pray” but also “to judge oneself.” As Rabbi Hayim Halevy Donin (1980) expressed it, “All prayer is intended to help make us into better human beings” (5). Even more profoundly, in the Hebrew *Mishnah* of Talmudic law, the term *mav’eh* is used as a synonym for a human being, which is derived from the same linguistic root as “to pray.” In other words, as Nosson Scherman (2011) said, in the Talmud the human being is “the creature that prays” (XII).

Attention to the material body as the site of one’s salvation (composure, healing, self-facing, etc.) is well understood in the Hebrew tradition as a preliminary requirement of prayer, of being human. The garment that the praying person puts on, the *tallit,* is composed of stringed fringes, with each string representing “my two hundred and forty eight organs and my three hundred and fifty-five sinews” (Sherman 2011, 4–5), each organ representing a positive commandment, each sinew a negative one. To wrap oneself in the *tallit* is therefore to signal a recognition that whatever salvation might mean, it takes place through my body, my embodied being. Certainly salvific events might take place “outside” of me, in other places and persons, but for salvation to mean anything *to me,* somehow it must register in my body, my materiality.

Hence it is, then, that in the graduate seminar one of the assignments is to engage in *encounter studies.* Students are encouraged to consciously stop and take notice of daily encounters that register on the body and then mindfully unpack what is personally “at work” in the encounter, and also to explore how the encounter fans out into broader cultural implications. Ordinary daily encounters are emphasized rather than grand or earthshaking ones, although those can be important as well, constructed as all grand events are from the minutiae of daily, largely unnoticed phenomena. Examples of encounter studies include losing one’s keys, being approached by a homeless person, standing at the cashier line in the grocery store, sitting in one’s car in a traffic jam, a teacher’s experience of being “talked back to” by a defiant student, etc. etc. In each of these cases, through class dia-logos (lit. submitting our individual reasoning to a collective attunement to a more transcendent Logos [or Word, or Tao, or Way]; that is, the very manner of the world that makes individual reasoning possible) we are able to consider them not defensively, ideologically, or from the point of view of self-interest, but phenomenologically, how they simply register in experience. But equally important, as the phenomenological experience arises, so too arise questions of experiential origin and queries as to why we live in this specific way, materially speaking, and considerations about living differently. Being stuck in a traffic jam on the way to school invites one to consider the many political, economic, and cultural interpenetrations that are involved in such an experience—the domination of public space by the automobile and its links to global wars over petroleum resources, to name obvious examples. One student happened to be stuck behind a school bus on the way to school, and the question arose, "What do students learn from being bused to school?" "They learn how to commute" was one response.

If the actualities of the encounters put us in touch with the material arrangements (political, economic, cultural) of our personal and collective situation, equally important from a wisdom perspective is how we respond to them affectively, mindfully, and hence, in a way, pedagogically. What is to be learned about our human nature from such experiences—and it is on this matter that the wisdom of millennia can come into play—and not just leave us abandoned to personal subjectivity? Buddhist theory identifies three "poisons" to which we most commonly fall victim: greed, anger, and delusion (see Loy 2003 for further elaboration). Greed is about always wanting "more," but always within the same psychic grammar as one's current conditions, so that instead of satisfying desire, it only intensifies it. In Seoul, South Korea, traffic jams are a perpetual problem. One proposed solution has been to build a second level of highway on top of existing ones. If one form of punishment fails to change a defiant student's behavior in desired directions, another form of punishment may be tried, perhaps in the name of "behavior management." In both examples, for any true healing to take place, it is the fundamental assumptions that need to be examined, the very desire for "more."

Anger is the most typical response of ego frustration and can be caused by other people or circumstances that get in the way of the ego's desire. This is the foundation of war perpetrated by those who believe in the possibility of their own pure identity. "The world would be a wonderful place if I could just get rid of *you!*" Stuck in a traffic jam on one's way to school is likely to produce anger that arises from the frustration of not being able to fulfill one's sense of parental or professional responsibility. "The whole class is waiting for me!" "I don't want Jason to miss his math test!" Wisdomly, by putting the ego to rest, one can see more clearly that the situation isn't actually about oneself at all and, out of the ensuing sense of relief, one can also see more clearly the absurdity of what is occurring. Laughter might even be the result. Wisdom teachers are known for their sense of humor.

Delusion refers to the condition that pervades all unmindful experience and is sometimes called simply "ignorance" (Sk. avidya). Primarily, ignorance is the result of being trapped in cultural and parochial understandings and accepting them as universal truth. Aristotle defined this as "bad infinity" (Gk. *pleonexia*), a seduction into infinite desire incapable of restraint. Today I received in the mail a glossy magazine celebrating the "good life." Pictures of beautiful young women and men draped in the finest clothes, images of expensive cars, exotic vacation locales, and so on—all of these were put forward as something to be desired by anyone who might wish to call themselves successful in life. What is important is not to simply dismiss this as delusional per se (recall the long, deep, philosophical respect for the link between truth and beauty), but to underscore its onesidedness, or better, its incompleteness. In the same mail arrived letters soliciting financial support for an Alzheimer's disease care facility, for assistance for War Amputees, and for the Big Brothers/Big Sisters organization, which assists children in difficulty. These letters serve to remind us that the truth of life, indeed its beauty, has to be found somehow in acknowledging and embracing such human suffering as well if life is to be appreciated in its fullness. In fact, by acknowledging such suffering, one can turn it back on the images of success in the glossy magazine. Who in fact are these "beautiful people," and what are their lives really like? They may be called "models," but what is it that they actually model? Perhaps more than anything, they are modeling the duplicity of the image.

The Buddha began his life as a young prince, having everything of a material nature that he might desire, yet he knew intuitively that this could not possibly encompass the full range of human possibility, so he felt compelled to leave his environs and embark on a long search for the deeper truth of things. The purported failures of public schooling might have something to do with this understanding of delusion. If educational theory and practice cannot articulate this multidimensional nature of reality, celebrating only successes of a culturally parochial kind, schools become places of suffocating oppression, both for successful students and for those less so. For the latter, the oppression is obvious. Less obviously, successful students may be oppressed by their ignorance of, or ignoring of, the "other" side, which ignorance they may have to face later as they encounter life's inevitable paradoxes and difficulties.

What is meant by the term *wisdom traditions* when it is used in the context of appealing to wisdom as a source for pedagogical, indeed social and cultural, insight? The question pulls us into some very murky water, as issues arise regarding the commensurability of meaning across massive differences of historical and geographical experience. Is it possible, or even realistic in any sense of that word, to talk about Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Sufism, sapiential Biblical literature, Indigenous knowledges, the African *unhu ubuntu* renaissance, to say nothing of the Western traditions of wisdom from ancient Greece through writers such as de la Rochefoucauld (1681; see Willis-Bund and

Friswell 1871), Schopenhauer (1851/1973), and Nietzsche (1878/1996), all in the same breath, as if they each speak with the same essential voice? In a way, the question invites a further one, whether the commonalities in human experience in the world outweigh the differences, and it might be true to say that the contemporary period is unique in providing access to wisdom traditions from around the world through textual translations and enhanced mobility of persons, so that articulating the commonalities may become increasingly possible. Even though persons, groups, and cultures find themselves at different times and places on the planet and hence have different material bases out of which experience of the world arises, it is still the same planet for everyone, an insight only recently reinforced through images of earth from outer space. Likewise, while living in a desert is a very different experience from living in a tropical environment and an urban life is quite different from a rural one, human struggles reveal a remarkable commonality across the entire range. How can I be happy? What do I do about feelings of jealousy and ill will? How to deal with relationships among both friends and "enemies"? What is a moral life, and how might I live it? What is my responsibility to the common good in the midst of immense political corruption? How might future civic leaders be "educated" to serve well? These are all questions that global wisdom traditions try to address, each in its own way. The point is, there is indeed great commonality across wisdom traditions, and, historically, there has been widespread intermingling of the same, as the desire for practical guidance bears its witness across time and space.

As biblical scholars have noted, for example (see Herbert 1963), most of the sapiential literature of the Hebrew bible can also be found in the wisdom literature of ancient Sumeria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Ugarit from as early as the third millennium BCE, thus forming a commonality of tradition not claimable by any one tradition alone. Again, this speaks to the fact that wisdom, as basic human prudentiality and the power of discernment into the true nature of things, is actually no unique respecter of any one particular tradition, even though different traditions make their own interpretations out of their own circumstances. As Jesus of Nazareth expressed it, "Wisdom is proven right by all her children" (Lk. 7:35). The remark was a response to a query as to why, in his personal lifestyle, he was not more ascetic, a common stereotype assigned to people pursuing wisdom. Jesus' point is that wisdom practice is not about asceticism or nonasceticism, but truth seeking and one's collective life with others. The Tibetan teacher Chögyam Trungpa (2001) spoke of honoring "crazy wisdom"—that sometimes the face of wisdom seems crazy, absurd, wild, even conspiratorial. Today, many of our best wisdom teachers may in fact be "conspiracy theorists" who have seen through the charade of propaganda surrounding 9/11 and the War on Terror, scholars such as David Ray Griffin (2011) and Peter Dale Scott (2010).

In the biblical tradition of the West, wisdom is sometimes regarded as "God's Consort," with the Greek translation of wisdom as the feminine "Sophia" naming the Wisdom of God. Philo, the Hellenized Jewish philosopher of the first century CE, equated Wisdom with the *Logos*—in a sense, the mind of divinity active in the world and present in human beings as they "think through" the *Logos* to solve their problems (lit. *dia-logos,* "dialogue"). In one of the creation stories of Genesis (there are actually two), an oft-neglected aspect of a famous verse implies quite directly the masculine-feminine unity of both divinity and humanity. Genesis 1:26–27 reads, "Let *us* make humankind in *our* own image, . . . so God created male and female." I like to think, therefore, that the call of wisdom in the biblical tradition is in fact a call for the feminization of that tradition against hyper-patriarchy and masculocentrism. The call of wisdom is the call for balance in human affairs, as the Taoists have always insisted, and this is most poignantly revealed in the profoundly intimate interdependence between men and women as co-creators of human experience. It is an unfortunate historical turn that gave precedence to the other creation story of woman, with Woman taken from Man's (lit. Heb. *Adam*) rib, to become a perpetual "side issue" of the masculine agenda (see Genesis 2:18–23).

When we look at the various modalities of wisdom literature, it is possible to see that the *way* the questions are taken up is quite different from the usual analytic and hyper-rationalistic formality one usually finds in the social science and humanities disciplines of the Western academy, for example. Whether it be the ancient morality tales of *Aesop's Fables,* using the character traits of different animals to illustrate the virtues and foibles of human beings, or the stories and ceremonial practices of Indigenous people that reveal the continuity between material and spiritual realms, or the aphoristic guiding of Hebrew *Proverbs,* the paradoxical puzzles of Zen koans, or Taoist principles of harmony and balance—all of these speak in a way unique to wisdom; namely, as a *call* to consider the auspices of our living. If the existential questions of capitalism are "How can I/we become rich?" "How can I/we gain a competitive advantage over others, and maintain the same?" "How can I/we secure the material resources of the world before anyone else?" and so on, the responsibility of wisdom is to emphasize the narrowness and existential poverty of such preoccupations and point to something deeper, something more nurturing and mutually sustaining.

In the graduate seminar, no attempt is made to harmonize all of the different traditions into a single voice, but simply to allow each tradition to speak to us as directly as possible. I like to use the analogy of a person lost in the desert and dying of thirst. Imagine yourself in such a condition. As you are about to die, a stranger appears who offers you a drink. What are you going to do? Of course, you are going to accept the drink! If someone offers me a drink when I am dying of thirst, I do not ask, "Are you a Jew, a Christian (Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant?), a Muslim, a Buddhist, a Taoist?" No. First I accept the drink. Questions of origin, politics, interpretive contestation, and so on can all come later, but only after the fact of my resuscitation.

When I began teaching wisdom traditions in my own faculty of education, I described the inaugural course as "Teaching as the Practice of Wisdom," emphasizing the matter of practice both in the sense of both practical action and trial and error experiment. Wisdom is both a product of teaching (one learns over time how to teach well), just as wisdom is a prevenient guide for the teacher based on years of experience. Teachers are *always* practicing, with perfection an ever-elusive goal that teaches true humility. In the Greek Orthodox tradition, humility is the true mark of wisdom. Indeed, no one is exempt from the true difficulties of trying to live a more ethical, disciplined, and mindful life. One can study and practice for a lifetime but still "fall" into habits of thought and action that diminish human life rather than dignify it. As the *Philokalia*'s Peter of Damaskos noted of the biblical tradition, most of the exemplary figures, from Moses through King David to Peter, the first Christian Pope (< Gk. *pappas,* "father"), displayed serious weaknesses of character at certain points in their lives. More important, though, is that they struggled to the end of their lives to overcome their weaknesses to be able more faithfully to fulfill their respective human callings. To "fall" is not the issue; to rest complacently in one's fallen condition out of pride, stubbornness, self-justification, or even inordinate guilt is a greater missing of the point of life, which is the literal meaning of "sin" (< Gk. *hamartia*). In the sixth century CE when Benedict of Nursia (later "St. Benedict") was developing his first monastic communities in Italy, as one way of dealing with a rotting-out Roman empire, curious passers-by would often ask, "What do you and members of your community do all day?" Benedict would reply, "We fall down, then we get up. We fall down again, then again we get up, fall again, get up, fall, get up, fall, and still try to get up" (see deWaal 1989). According to contemporary Buddhist teacher Sayadaw Pandita (1992), the mark of maturity on the spiritual path is not whether one falls or makes mistakes; maturity is marked instead by increased speed of recovery time. In other words, it is important not to nurse grudges, hold anger internally for long periods, or engage in unconstructive behavior as a matter of habit. Learn to read one's responses quickly, for what they are; learn from them and, by so doing, redeem them through more positive action.

Contemporary Chinese scholar Zongjie Wu of Zhejian University has recently published a stunningly brilliant piece on the problems of teaching Confucianism in today's Chinese schools (see Wu 2011). A neo-Confucian renaissance is taking place all over China as part of an effort to recover a deeper sense of authentic Chinese identity in a globalizing world. As Wu pointed out, however, educational theory in China today has fallen victim to the precepts of Western modernity, based primarily on linguistic theories of "representation" whereby language is taken to represent the "real" world and students are required to learn what is real. Hence, in Chinese classrooms today, students are required to memorize and recite Confucian sayings, but in a way that completely violates the spirit and truth at the heart of Confucianism itself. There is a reason that Confucian literature, like most wisdom literature in the world, is mainly in the form of aphorisms, brief conversations, axioms, verses, and stories rather than complicated and convoluted arguments: because the aim is to be suggestive, hinting, and open, rather than pedantic and heavy handed. The point is to open a space where students can begin to consider the auspices of their lives, and this is best done through a simple remark or point that offers itself for reflection in the context of the students' life situation. Wisdom language points to the much larger and fuller "remainder" of everything that is "said"; it opens out into the authentic silence beyond formal language, to where the actual possibility of finding one's self might be found, paradoxically in the very way that one can be liberated from it. It is appropriate to quote Wu at length here, given the importance of the point:

> For Confucius, learning is a constant modification of self by day-to-day engagement towards a *Junzi* (good person), a process of gradually becoming shining but silent. However, a discourse that constitutes today's pedagogic practice is dominated by the concept of learning as accumulation of representational language, which makes learning a process of collecting facts and propositions—as many as possible. For the Chinese ancients, the purpose of memorizing the classics is to catch spiritual enlightenment by removing the shadow of language. Memorization is to make language ready for decoding meaning in everyday life. What is memorized is not the ideas, facts, theses, or truths, but the nets, the traps which have to be fore-taken, fore-grasped so that the fish and rabbits could be caught. Once a rabbit is caught, the trap is forgotten. Forgetfulness is the only reason that students have to memorize. . . . [Today] the memorization of language is no longer for its ancient use of uncovering the ineffable, the secrets of life, but to grasp the illusion, the false consciousness residing entirely in the signification of signs [i.e., things only seemingly made "real" through processes of representation]. (566)

I indicated earlier that there is no attempt in the seminar course to harmonize all traditions into a single unity. We read primary sources such as the Tao te Ching, the Confucian *Analects,* Indigenous knowledges such as that found in the work of Dooling and Jordan-Smith (1989), and feminist Buddhist scholarship such as that of Charlotte Joko Beck (2007) and Pema Chodron (2004). Increasingly, however, sources can be found that helpfully attempt to pull together multiple traditions in a way that can speak of Wisdom's commonalities. Jack Kornfield's (2000) *After the Ecstasy the Laundry: How the Heart Grows*

Wise on the Spiritual Path is a text I have used to great benefit over the past several years and to which students have responded very favorably. In a concluding statement of my own, I simply identify here seven characteristics of Wisdom traditions as I have come to learn them after years of study, and then I will attempt to relate them to the practice of pedagogical wisdom. I have worked out some of these themes more fully in Smith (2011); unfortunately, there is not enough space to elaborate them here in detail, so in brief:

1. *Wisdom acknowledges the inherent unity of birth and death.* While Vietnamese master Thich Nhat Hanh (1988) once remarked that "birth and death are fictions, and not very deep" (10), our mortality is encoded in the very fact of our birth, so that if we choose to live as if we will never die, our living will be somehow dishonest, just as a preoccupation with death will also produce just a half-life. Living in the inherent unity of birth and death means always accepting one's situation in the "now" as the site in which the fullness of human experience is always already present. There is an ancient Buddhist saying, "Life cannot be made more perfect," which means not that life is without difficulties and problems, but that the full range of its possibilities is always present, immanent in every present moment. A culture obsessed with "progress" such as that of the West, easily pathologizes death and dying as a problem, when actually acceptance of one's mortality is the key to wholesome living. Ironically, the two defining features of human experience, birth and death, both reveal the limits of human choice and hence render the "Choice Theory" favored by the Western liberal tradition of education somewhat illusory. Pedagogically, inducting children into a belief that life is a matter of will, and willpower, under the guise of clichés such as "You can do anything in life that you want to do if you work hard and put your mind to it" can be a recipe for despair in the face of failed dreams. Similarly, preoccupations with goal-setting, curriculum-by-objectives and so on are not ill-advised in themselves but quickly become so if they evolve into blinkered constraints against the fullness of life's beckoning.

2. *Wisdom contradicts values of power by revealing the paradoxical nature of experience.* This theme reveals itself in many different forms and ways. Here is one example: In classical Christian theology is a term, "The Happy Fault," that respects the relationship between the breaking of a taboo, or law, and the foundation of love in mercy and forgiveness. The primary example begins with the *Genesis* myth of Adam and Eve (Gen. chs. 2 and 3). The Creator God tells them they are free to do anything except eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, lest they die. Of course, they succumb to temptation, ironically because, among other things, the tree was "to be desired to make one wise"—an important caveat against seeing wisdom as an object of desire; also to be noted is the link between death and the assumption of power in moral reasoning. Instead, somehow, the story implies, the free life of the genuinely human resides not in the power of judgment, but in faith in a prevenient order never fully transparent to human "knowing."

The *Genesis* story attempts to account for the origin of the human experience of alienation from perfect existence, from paradise (hence, for example, the ordinary but universal experience of frustration and anger), and the embarkation on the long journey to return "home," *the myth of eternal return,* as philosopher of religion Mircea Eliade (1954/2005) called it. This hope for a return to perfect life provided, and still provides, the messianic vision of Judaism, eventually taken up in the Christian tradition of Jesus being the messiah, literally, "the anointed" (Heb. *masiah*), with the act of anointing denoting kingship within a new dispensation marked by mercy, forgiveness, generosity, and so on. Jesus's words such as "Judge not . . ." and "The rain falls on both the just and the unjust" (Mt. 7:01 and 5:45, respectively) is a form of call back to what is formally termed the *prelapsarian* (before the lapse) human condition, life before the breaking of the taboo. "The Happy Fault," therefore, names the paradox that breaking a taboo provides the necessary condition for the revelation of mercy, forgiveness, generosity, and so on. Without breakage there can be no reconciliation; a mistake is the requirement for rectification.

This paradox is widely understood by teachers who can stand the test of time. Rules, regulations, expectations, and standards, even—all of these are an inevitable part of any human community made up of diverse personalities, histories, and ethnic and cultural origins. However, any rule, law, or taboo will eventually be broken. But such breakage also provides the necessary condition for reconciliation under a broadening of understanding, a bearing of witness to authentic compassion, and a sharing of mutual forbearance. Under neoliberal policies, the rising call for "zero tolerance" regarding aberrant student behavior are deeply regrettable as signs that the adult world is losing a sense of its own complicity in the construction of youthful difficulties and the subsequent collapse of compassion as an essential element of human dignity. Ironically, paradoxically, tolerance itself easily slips into dogma when taken as a literal code, thereby losing its character as a "field" through which the complexities, ambiguities, and uncertainties of life can reveal themselves for mutual edification between teachers and students of life's deeper meanings.

3. *Wisdom fractures the temporal enframing of conventional interpretation.* The Western tradition has two basic concepts of time, *chronometric* and *kairotic.* The former is derived from the Greek god Chronos, famous for eating his own children lest they grow up to usurp his power. Chronometric time is the measured time necessary for scheduling, planning, and anticipating and is most commonly experienced through an instrument called, tellingly, a "watch." Chronometric time is the principle form of time for the operation of capital and efficient labor/productivity ratios. Under capital, "Time is money," so time is not to be "wasted" on tasks not related to production. In educational circles, even today, one hears of students' "time on task,"

as if overt behavior "on task" were the most important measure of pedagogical efficiency, rather than dreaming or wondering.

What is occluded under the reign of chronometric time is kairotic time (< Gk. *kairos*), which can roughly be translated as cosmological time, which is always everywhere in operation behind the scenes of ordinary human action. Think of the million-year frames of geologic time, for example, or the light-years of space. More experientially, kairotic time registers when we speculate that something happened when "the timing was right," a moment not measurable to a single source by any instrument, but intuitively understood as arriving when various elements converge to give cause.

Under the reign of kairotic time, many things might seem to be dead, inert, or inconsequential, when all of a sudden there may be a bursting forth to reveal dimensions of their nature heretofore ignored. I used to teach in Southern Alberta, Canada, a semi-desert area where a certain flower blooms only every 60 years. For 59 years the plant lies dormant, almost invisible, and seemingly dead. Kairotic time provides a reminder that much of life is like this; it lies hidden, dormant, awaiting its appropriate moment. Teaching mindful of kairotic time appreciates how many gifts of young people are sensitive to conditions of revelation; the gifts will not reveal themselves if the conditions of the time are not right. This is one reason that wise teachers constantly discipline themselves to a kind of "karmic attunement," attending to the young not according to a "watch," but according to a sensitive attunement to life's broader rhythms, paradoxes, and indeed mysteries.

4. *Wisdom understands the natural world as pedagogical.* To be natural means to "be born" (< L. *nasci nat*), so in a sense every human being is part of nature. It is a conceit of Western self-consciousness to conceive of a human-nature separation, a situation that turns nature, under the exigencies of capital, into either a romantic love-object (e.g., eco-tourism or exotic travel) or a brute object that requires domestication, exploitation, or both. The cultural loss is the pedagogical wisdom only a mindful attending to human nature in its unified sense can produce. The recovery of this wisdom has a number of requirements, one of which is related to my suggestion above about kairotic time. Learning to let nature speak to us means silencing any predisposition to speak before plants, animals, mountains, and rivers have spoken to us. This may sound absurd, but it is best understood through the practice of silence in nonhuman settings. One may go into the woods to commune with nature only to find it silent, without realizing that such a perception is only a symptom of the noise already existing in one's own head or a feature of the way the noise of one's simple presence forces everything else into silent hiding. Instead, sit down, be silent, be still, be patient, and learn to be amazed.

To learn from nature means to be present to it, both within oneself and in relation to everything else. Under conditions of illness, attending to the body mindfully can produce forms of insight into those same conditions not available to conventional interpretation. Observe how a tree bends to accommodate a neighbor, and learn something about generosity. Listen to birdsong, and hear how every song is a response to someone else's song, and learn the inadequacies of the concept of personal autonomy. Sit around a campfire on a romantic evening, and suddenly observe the eyes of a mountain lion gleaming in the summer moonlight, focused directly on your beloved, and from your terror learn respect for the territory of others.

The death of multiple species, to say nothing of the demise of languages and cultures under the juggernaut of Western theories of "development," is a form of speaking back to those same theories. If the speech is not heard, beware of the consequences. When the Western powers first invaded Iraq in 2003, I asked one of my Chinese doctoral students what he thought of such action. He was also a Taoist Tai Chi Master, quite famous in his homeland. His response? "The West is digging its own tomb." Of course, given the inherent unity of life and death, this prognosis can be taken as another example of paradox: The more one tries to secure one's interests, the more insecure they become, and the so-called war on terror becomes itself a form of terrorism.

5. *Wisdom honors the intermingling of implicate and explicate orders.* In a way, this is implied in everything that I have discussed so far. More deliberately, the continuity of implicate and explicate orders has been articulated by Bede Griffiths (1989), a Benedictine monk who went to India in 1955 to search for the common ground of spirituality between East and West. The explicate order is easily understood as the world that lies at hand, available for empirical investigation and comment. The implicate order is everything else that is "implied" in the explicate order. Needless to say, the implicate order is vast, infinite, incapable of human measurement; yet still, it is "here," in this thing or that, explicitly. Even more important though is how the relationship between the orders is deeply political, insofar as the explicate is always subordinate to the implicate. In Hinduism, this lies at the heart of the Sanskrit understanding of language: The Word (Sk. *vac*) lies subordinate to Silence, the uttered to the yet-to-be-uttered (see Padoux 1990).

By honoring the continuity between these orders, wisdom finds its voice in the *politics* between the said and the unsaid, the visible and the invisible. It does not rest in an easy acceptance of conventional interpretations, in the awareness that no matter what is said, there is still more to be said, waiting in the wings, so to speak. Hence, vigilance and wakefulness are common hortatory terms in wisdom literature. A true teacher is one who honors not just the child who is "present," but also the human being who is yet-to-come.

This theme has another connection, which is to the importance of Place in the unfolding of Wisdom's call. Earlier here I noted distraction as a cause of human emotional and intellectual darkening. Phenomenologically, in terms of experience, constant motion and moving are deeply contributive to such distraction. This can be called the condition of *placelessness* and explains why operations of displacement and destabilization are common military strategies in contemporary warfare. In the Benedictine tradition, on entering the order, every monk makes a "Vow of Stability," a commitment to *this* place as the place where the journey into truth will occur. The understanding is that indeed *any* place can suffice for the work of such a journey when it is appropriately understood as containing, paradoxically, in its singularity everything that is necessary for truth's fuller unfolding; that is, for the revelation of the implicate in the explicate. It is interesting to note in the contemporary resurgence of Indigenous knowledges the importance attached to Place, not simply as political possession of land, but as the necessary condition for sacred understanding. As Indigenous scholar Keith Basso (1996) expressed it, "Wisdom sits in places." How might schools be such places?

In closing, the following remarks may be appropriate. According to Thai teacher Ajahn Chah (2002), the primary vision of wisdom is for us to become "fearless," which involves the long and difficult work of learning to know "phenomena as they are" (93). As noted earlier, Michael Fisher (2011) has characterized the pervasive atmosphere, particularly in Western societies, as a "Culture of Fear." It may be, therefore, that the first responsibility of wisdom work is, as Chah suggested, to examine the phenomenon of fear itself, and specifically what it is that is feared, the specific sources of fear. In the context of this paper, fear of the consequences of the collapse of Market Logic as a recipe for human well-being is understandable since the failure of Market Logic (see Kevin Mellyn's [2012] *Broken Markets*) inspires a fear of loss of everything promised through utopian market rhetoric; from more efficient schools; better health care; more individual wealth; more celebration of personal autonomy; firmer, more secure global dominance in the name of freedom, democracy, and the rule of law; and so forth. Following Chah, I suspect the way forward lies in two unified paths. One is the urgent need to rethink economic theory around, not profit taking and wealth accumulation, but what economic historian Robert Heilbroner (1999) described as "the art of human provisioning," a work that under positive interpretations of globalization will necessarily involve what Pasha and Samatar (1996) have called "intercivilizational dialogue." A starting point for this, I believe, will involve a recognition of the respective *poverties* of every civilizational tradition, rather than starting from triumphalist national and ideological affirmations, which only put others on the defensive. To begin by affirming our mutual poverty inspires an openness to the relative contributions of others, as well, importantly, openness to mutual criticism.

A second path may be the one that confronts fear itself, and its existential auspices. This is the work of wisdom that I have tried to articulate, stumblingly, here. The primary human fear, said Freud, is the fear of insignificance, or self-annihilation. Ironically, regarding the condition of human insignificance relative to the vastness of cosmic realities and the loss of self within the interpenetration of all phenomena, it is recognition of this very conditionedness that is the necessary starting point of sagacious living. "Reverence for the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," says the Hebrew writer of *Proverbs* (1:7). This language can be de-theologized to name the phenomenological experience of an immanent transcendence in life that inspires both wonder and genuine humility in the face of all-that-is. Japanese Zen scholar D.T. Suzuki (1994) decried the "homocentric fallacy" (65) lying at the heart of the West's self-narrative. Learning to live together on the planet, in peace, may require a relinquishment of this fallacy in the name of a more comprehensive view. Maybe there are signs of progress. Nietzsche's "Death of God" in the nineteenth century could only result in Foucault's "End of Man" in the twentieth, since the death of an anthropomorphic god merely announces the death of an anthropogenic self-fantasy. Constructively, this may mark "the end of the world as we know it" in the twenty-first century, as the *R.E.M.* song says. The best sentiment may lie in the remainder of the song's line, "and I feel fine." That the end of the world as we've known it is at hand may be true, arguably, depending on who the 'we' is. It is the world yet-to-be-known, however, that is the source of our hope, insofar, as the sages say, "that which you seek, you already are" (Loy 2000, 228).

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4

International Curriculum Research

Why and How?

DANIEL TRÖHLER

"Education" is a tricky notion because it refers at least to two practices that are clearly distinct, but also interrelated. First, it indicates a set of formal and informal social practices; second, it refers to a distinct academic discipline in which research activities are designed to generate academic knowledge about these formal or informal social practices. The blurred boundaries between these two practices—social practice and research activity—have obscured the fact that in different cultural and/or national systems, the mutual relationship between these two practices have been and still are constructed in different ways. Whereas in the United States, for instance, research aims at generating knowledge about social practices in order to make them more efficient, in Germany, for example, research tends to clarify educational ideals in order to transcend social practice.

One of the effects of these different cultural and/or national understandings in the relationship between the two practices related to the notion of "education" was that, for instance, educational discourse in the United States was, when facing immigrant problems in the large cities around 1900, inclined to think about the interrelation between education and democracy. Democracy was construed as "social progress," including in terms of mutual interaction and communication: John Dewey's publication *The School and Society* is paradigmatic (Dewey, 1900). A comparable approach to education cannot be found in Germany. Neither before nor after 1900 did democracy or social progress play an important role in German educational discourse. Instead, philosophers postulated the concept of *Bildung* (see Horlacher, 2012), the ideal of inward self-realization as counter-thesis to a world that was understood as dangerous: diverse, plural, and democratic (Tröhler, 2012).

Whereas the American tradition of research in education—oriented towards service of social progress emphasizing social unity in diversity—depended on experience, knowledge stemming from experience, and mutual exchange of this knowledge, the German discourse in education—oriented towards inward unity understood as opposed to external plurality—depended on inward transformation by the aesthetic education, especially Greek art and German E-literature (Goethe most prominently). The "E" in E-literature derives from the German adjective "*ernst*" (serious, earnest) and is opposed to the "U," deriving from the German adjective "*unterhaltend*" (entertaining, amusing):[1] *Bildung* is the earnest process of the aesthetic education of the soul, with the aim of transforming an uneducated soul to an aesthetic unity. Given this aim, it is no coincidence that Plato's educational philosophy—foremost developed in his *Republic*, with its emphasis on περιαγογε *(periagoge)*,[2] played in Germany an incomparably more important role than in France, in the United Kingdom, or in the United States. The aim of education is the transformation of the soul in the (educational) process from an enchained state to the encounter of the very cause and recognition of eternal truth. In this "transformation," the soul of the student accesses the sun, which has, in Plato's metaphysics, two fundamental functions: it is ontologically the cause of everything (by virtue of its energy) and epistemologically the cause of knowledge (by virtue of its light) (516c, 518c, 537d). In other words, in order to (get to) know the ultimate cause and truth of everything, one has to transform his/her soul through education.

The difference between the United States and Germany is not restricted to educational theories; it includes the self-construction of scholars in education, too. Whereas a characteristic autobiography of an educator in the United States is likely to focus on learning and advancement in knowledge, German autobiographies of educators narrate their lives as stories of sacrifice and salvation (Tröhler, forthcoming). Differences in education or educational theories encompass more fundamental ways of interpreting the world, the child, and the ideal citizen. Understanding education—or understanding curriculum (Pinar et al., 1995)—means to understand the cultural construction of the child and the future citizen; and to understand this cultural construction as a construction asks for reconstructing its genealogy.

The following deliberations make this thesis explicit. First, I will examine the already indicated general differences between the United States and Germany with specific regard to curriculum research. I deduce from these an epistemological problem in curriculum research, namely cultural and/or national narrowness. Then I advocate a difference between trans-nationalization as relevant to curriculum policy and internationalization as a promising research paradigm to understand curriculum, delimiting differing cultural and/or national constructions of curriculum, and the reconstructing of their genealogies. Fourth, I suggest a concrete approach to perform this research on curriculum, namely to understand curricula as educational designs to create future citizens along lines of dominant perceptions of sameness and distinction. Finally, I summarize my arguments in regard to international research on curriculum research.

International Variety in Understanding Curriculum

Plato's unmatched popularity in German idealism in philosophy and philosophy of education promotes, as Plato's allegory of the cave tells us, the freedom of the soul—an idea that echoes in Luther's theology, leading him to the dualistic conclusion that the freedom of the soul was an "inward freedom," opposed to "outer freedom," which is political freedom.[3] The idea of a higher-ranking inward freedom (as opposed to outer freedom) has been a paradigm in German philosophy ever since, and it was John Dewey who, in his lecture series *German Philosophy and Politics* (Dewey, 1915), identified the willingness of Germans to march for the emperor with this dualism and its emphasis on inward (rather than political) freedom. Be that as it may, the fact is that the German tradition aimed at transforming the soul, and in so doing, devalued that knowledge to be learned at school. Knowledge (and certainly empirical knowledge) is not the important issue but the inward transformation of the soul. The well known historian of education, Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, said in accordance with this German tradition in an interview on August 15th, 2011: "*Bildung* is what remains if we forget everything that we ever learned in school" (Tenorth, 2011).

It is not surprising, then, that in Germany, research on education questions of curriculum or syllabus are side issues. A more or less continuous research tradition under the catchword "curriculum" has never existed, and the interest in relevant research abroad has been marginal. Ralph W. Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Tyler, 1949), for instance, was not translated until 1973 (Tyler, 1973), taking the 31st printing of 1971 as its basis. (The 45th printing in 1989 seems having been the last one in the United States, whereas the German translation never enjoyed a second printing.) In the same manner, none of the three editions of Herbert Kliebard's *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893–1958* (Kliebeard, 1986) has ever been received in Germany, and almost the same applies to Michael Apple's *Ideology and Curriculum* (Apple, 1979) or to the classic *Understanding Curriculum,* edited by William F. Pinar et al. first in 1995.

Accordingly, institutional support for curriculum studies does not exist. "Departments of Curriculum and Instruction," easily found in the North American contexts (the most famous of all probably in Madison, Wisconsin), do not exist in Germany, and the counterpart of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) in Germany, the DGfE (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* [German Educational Research Association]), has no comparable division to the AERA-division B Curriculum Studies. The lack of relevant chairs in curriculum research expelled interested scholars from Germany: Stefan Hopmann taught, after having completed his studies in Germany, first in Trondheim and Kristiansand, Norway, and since 2005 in Vienna, Austria (Hopmann and Riquarts, 1995), and Moritz Rosenmund as a Swiss has made his career in Switzerland and has been teaching since 2009 in Vienna, Austria, too (Rosenmund et al., 2002).

There was only one time that "Curriculum" became more broadly accepted in Germany, and that was after 1961, when the OECD urged the member states to found national institutions for the dissemination of their educational ideology. The Germans founded the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in 1963/1964, and one of the first directors was Saul Benjamin Robinsohn, a Jew who had fled Germany in 1933 (to Jerusalem), returning to Germany 25 years later, in 1959, as director of the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) in Hamburg[4] before being appointed to the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. With reference to relevant research in the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and the Soviet-Union, Robinsohn developed the theoretical fundaments of curriculum research, often criticizing the traditional liberal arts curriculum ("*Lehrplan*") in Germany (see the R. Horlacher and A. De Vincenti's contribution "From Rationalist Autonomy to Scientific Empiricism: A History of Curriculum in Switzerland" in this volume). His widely read publication *Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculum* [Educational Reform as Revision of the Curriculum], first published in 1967 (Robinsohn, 1967), had five editions and several printings, the latest in 1981. Robinsohn died in 1972, and a year later, Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* was published in German. A decade later, the notion of curriculum vanished.[5]

Epistemological Problems

These comparative points concerning "curriculum" in the United States and in Germany serve to identify an epistemological problem in understanding curriculum, for they demonstrate how research itself can be bound to the respective cultural or national preferences. Today, there is hardly any doubt anymore that curricula are cultural constructions, as Thomas S. Popkewitz states: "Curricula are historically formed within systems of ideas that inscribe styles of reasoning, standards, and conceptual distinctions in school practices and its subjects" (2001, p. 151). Being unaware of the overall cultural dispositions behind the individual curricula, research runs the risk of reinforcing cultural or national conditions of curriculum constructions rather than identifying and analyzing them (Cowen, 2011). Comparing curricula means, therefore, not to state more or less obvious differences (for instance in timetables), but to compare different "power" systems and thus "systems of ideas," and that is exactly where Foucault, not much of a comparatist at all, leaves us a bit out in the rain.

The major epistemological problem is how to design and conduct research on curriculum (be it national or international) without being blindly trapped by one's own cultural or national "systems of reasoning." Transcendence (idealism's solution since Plato) has been identified as culturally biased, too (see, for instance, Dewey's Clifford lectures in 1929, *The Quest for Certainty*),[6] and it would be intellectually rather easy to identify Immanuel Kant's ideal of a pure reason (theoretical and practical) as a Pietist reaction against the progress of the natural sciences in order to save the "purity" of the inner soul, called reason. In other words, the quest for an Archimedean point is a cultural construction itself and the Foucauldian reference to inescapable power systems is of little help.

Between the illusion of transcendent idealism and the fatalism of inescapability, there seems to be only one way out of the dilemma, and it is certainly an imperfect one. The idea is to combine two different ways of comparison in the analysis of "systems of reasoning" (Popkewitz 2010, p. 15), namely synchronous and diachronic analyses. Synchronous comparison—so far dominant—compares elements within one space of time; the model in the United States would be, probably, Horace Mann's *Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland* (Mann, 1846) or something like *Curriculum Reform in the Early 1960s in the United States and Soviet Union.* There are diachronic comparisons of elements between several selected spaces of time—e.g., the *Curriculum Before and After the Second World War* in either of these countries, or the impact of the OECD in curriculum construction of the European nation-states in after 1960 (OECD, W. Stoke, H. Löwbeer, and J. Capelle, 1966).

The latter of these would be normally subsumed within curriculum history, which, traditionally, has not been very comparative. Bernadette Baker has advanced the notion of *New Curriculum History* (Baker, 2009) in order to open historical enquiries into comparisons—and vice versa to lend traditional un-historical comparisons more historical depth. If curricula are, according to Popkewitz, historically formed within systems of ideas, research cannot but proceed with historical methods, understanding curriculum genealogically. In order to escape the risk of any historical research—reinforcing the same cultural convictions that brought forth the curricula—then research must take a synchronic comparative stance in order to gain emancipatory energy. William Pinar's genealogy of whiteness of the Western culture in his *Race, Religion, and a Curriculum of Reparation* is an impressive example of transcending taken-for-granted assumptions for the "practical" use of teaching in schools (Pinar, 2006).

The problem is that curriculum research is—by nature of its object—inclined to be caught by the taken-for-granted assumptions behind the object of study: "More than other fields perhaps, curriculum studies tend to be explicitly situated within the national borders in which they are conducted" (Pinar, 2003, p. 2). In other words, a German theory on the course of study in primary school had to be aligned with the German *Volk* and the German nation, as the eminent German educational theorist Wilhelm Rein stated in his important *Encyclopedic Handbook in Education* (*Enzyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*) in 1906. All the aforementioned difficulties in developing curriculum are "solved" if the curriculum designers consider that the "becoming of the individual personality is nourished by the becoming of the national culture" (Rein, 1906, p. 551). Accordingly, a German scholar at the same time could not avoid reaffirming that more than fifty percent of the curriculum of the Upper High School *had to be* devoted to Greek and Latin, simply because he himself had undergone this curriculum and became socialized with the cultural ideal of *Bildung* that depended on competencies in Greek and Latin (Tröhler, 2012).

Trans-Nationalization as Process and Inter-Nationalization as Research Paradigm

To escape this (often unintended and unconscious) nationalism, researchers have recommended the use of the notion of globalization or at least refer to globalization as a phenomenon, whereas William Pinar suggested using the less intrusive notion of "international." The decision has fundamental epistemological consequences: "It is a question contextualized in our national cultures, in the political present, in cultural questions institutionalized in academic disciplines and educational institutions. It is question that calls upon us to critique our own national cultures" (Pinar, 2003 p. 3). Observing the difference between curriculum policy and curriculum research, it is easy to underline Pinar's epistemological argument in favor of the notion of "international" over "global," and history shows why.

The first acknowledged comparatist in education was the French officer, diplomat, and man of letters, Marc-Antoine Jullien, living an extremely eventful life between the French Revolution and Napoleon's Empire. In 1816, he initiated a comparison of the educational systems in Europe, in a first step in the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland, parts of Germany and Italy, and, in a second step, of all other European nations (Jullien, 1817). Antecedent to his initiative was the end of the Vienna Congress (1815), bringing the old political structures of the dynastic territorial powers to an end by defining clearly territorial boarders of the nation-states. Despite the Vienna Congress and its program labeled "Restoration," Europe was not the same anymore: the new nation-states had to define their legitimation (mostly the common language), their fundaments of cohabitation (constitutions), and how they wanted to integrate people into the new entities (the new mass schools and also the army). The question was how to organize the new mass schooling as guarantor of the nation building and national unity. Marc-Antoine Jullien suggested a systematic approach of what today is called "best practice."

In his preliminary sketch of this comparative endeavor (which was never completed), Jullien summarized a European feeling after the end of the Vienna Congress in 1815: after almost a quarter of a century of wars, no one expected progress anymore by military conflicts, but rather by improved education. In this process of educationalizing social problems (Tröhler, 2011) Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, with his institute in Yverdon (Switzerland), had become a star in the European scene, courted by kings, dukes, wealthy parents, and the like (Horlacher, forthcoming). Marc-Antoine Jullien himself had sent his own children to Pestalozzi and published on the educational enterprise of the Swiss (Jullien, 1812 a, b) and served as member of the economic committee in Pestalozzi's institute. Legitimizing his comparative endeavor, Jullien wrote: "The reform and improvement of education, true bases of social development, first source of habits and opinions, exerting powerful influence over the whole life-span, are a generally accepted need, almost by instinct, in Europe" (Jullien, 1817, p. 7, freely translated here). Comparative education should, therefore, "indicate the means to satisfy these needs in the surest, most efficient, and most rapid way" (Ibid.).

The method for this attempt was—in the tradition of the French enlightenment—to generate a "*Tables comparatives d'observations,*" a synoptic-comparative table of observations of educations systems.[7] This table should serve to judge "those who progress," "those who step back," and those who don't move in either direction. Furthermore, the table would serve to identify which parts of the individual systems are the weakest and why; why they obstruct religion, social, and moral development; and how one can overcome these obstacles. In other words, such a table would indicate which "branches offer improvements susceptibly being transported from one country to another, with the modifications and changes that the local circumstances would suggest" (p. 9, freely translated here). Comparative education serves the development of the national or even local systems and assumes a trans-national character, for it transfers "foreign" models to other countries.

Although the nation-states—feeling the need to install mass-education after the Vienna Congress in 1815—aimed to emphasize the uniqueness of their respective nations, the practice of peering around the borders was much more than an exception. The French school law, for instance, developed by Condorcet in 1792, was almost literally translated into German during the Helvetic Republic in 1798, where it was somewhat more successful than in France. And when the Dutch King in the 1830s insisted that the German speaking segregated southern parts of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands—the newly founded Belgium—should stay independent as Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, then Luxembourg had first to erect a constitution and then a school law. This school law brought together ideas from the Dutch law of 1814, the French law of Guizot 1833, and the Belgium law from 1835, the latter two depending on the Dutch law of 1814, which in turn, had affinities with the French law of 1792 (Thyssen, forthcoming). Trans-national exchange was common in the process of nation building: successful models elsewhere were always perceived as successful in the eyes of the observer and translated into the national needs and circumstances.

These undeniably trans-national practices in curriculum development have led scholars to detect the effects of "cultural principles exogenous to any specific nation-state and its historical legacy" (Meyer and Ramirez, 2000, p. 115) on national educational systems. The genesis of these trans-national "exogenous" cultural principles was detected in the time years *ahead* of the Reformation, "perhaps 1500" (Meyer et al., 1987, p. 23), when, according to the authors, the church had become "trans-national" and thus able to comprise a multitude of cultures symbolically. This historical narrative enables these scholars to construct the narrative of globalization that resembles a postMarxist idea of development by interpreting diversities as antitheses that are synthesized and historically interpreted as "globalization" (Tröhler, 2010). "Globalization" is then less a concept of history than of history of philosophy, obscuring the difference between trans-national policies and international research. However, today we are asked to take the step "from curriculum development to understanding curriculum" (Pinar et. al., 1995, pp. 3–11), from the concern for τέχνη (téchne) to the concern of πιστήμη (episteme).

National-Cultural Aspirations, the Cradle of the Citizen, and Curriculum

When after the Second World War the Germans were in the need of—among many other things—reconstructing their school system, one of the speakers at a teacher's association in Bremen reminded his colleagues that the curriculum as a whole reflects the ideal of citizenship. He said: "All the schools have to emphasize citizenship education and democratic attitudes by their curricula, textbooks, and teaching aids and the organization of the schools itself. . . . The curricula must have the aim of fostering the mutual understanding and respect of the modern people and has therefore also to foster the modern languages, too" (Berger, 1947, p. 17, freely translated here).[8] Such citizenship education is clearly not limited to specific aspects of the curriculum, such as civics or democratic education, but related to the whole curriculum. The modern school and its curriculum aimed, as stated in a Memorial of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in 1828, to serve as the "cradle of the citizen" (Witry, 1900, p. 34), and the same idea Benjamin Rush, one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, expressed in his *Thoughts Upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic* a year before the ratification of the Constitution (Rush, 1786): "A form of government we have assumed has created a new class of duties to every American," Rush emphasized, and that the United States needed now "an education of our own" in order to generate 'patriotism.' " Religion is a self-evident part of the ongoing citizen: "A Christian cannot fail of being useful to the republic," and the Bible must be part of the curriculum (p. 12). Physical education is crucial (p. 15), music as well (p. 16), but Latin and Greek excluded (p. 18). In contrast, eloquence and history (p. 19) are important for the converse of men into republican machines (p. 17), economy, too, and also chemistry, military exercises, and "the nature and variety of treaty" (pp. 20f.).

When Marc-Antoine Jullien published his project on comparative education in 1817, he thought in the categories of French cosmopolitanism. Together with many other contemporaries he recognized the educational need of the newly "born" nation-states after 1815, but in his optimism he underestimated the cultural differences between the new autonomous territories. Blinded by French enlightenment and its belief in the positive effects of knowledge and religion, Jullien ignored the differences in the political, social, and economical visions of the formally similar nation-states, and education was designed to emphasize these differences, most of all teacher education. It is no coincidence that in the curriculum of teacher education towards the end of the nineteenth century the subject history of education—basically invented for teacher education—was the major subject in implementing national-moral values. Accordingly, the German histories of education emphasized almost exclusively German heroes of education (often by naturalizing the Swiss Pestalozzi), whereas the French histories of education copied formally the German model but replaced the German by French heroes of education (often by naturalizing the Swiss Rousseau) (Tröhler, 2006).

These differences make sense, because behind them we find different ideals of citizenship. The American citizen is culturally distinct from the citizen in Canada or in the United Kingdom, and the French *citoyen* is something distinct, too, and the same applies to the German *Bürger.* Lexically spoken, the *Bürger* means citizen, and the citizen means *citoyen,* but semantically they are very different. The difference is not linguistic in the sense of natural languages, but linguistic in the sense of ideological languages that usually have (nowadays often hidden) religious roots, whereby the different denominations reveal themselves in the different cultural traditions of education and curriculum: The differences between the United States and Germany, mentioned in the beginning, are to a large extent expressions of the differences between American reformed Calvinism and German Lutheranism (Tröhler, 2011).

These differences become evident, for instance, in the four completely different ideological constructions of the *Bürger* in Germany, the former German Democratic Republic, Austria, and Switzerland. These differences have long historical roots. The Swiss *Bürger,* for instance—ideologically much closer to the U.S. citizen than to the German or Austrian *Bürger*—represents a concept of being fundamentally responsible for the common good and quite the opposite of a subject. The German *Bürger* has always been basically compatible with the status of subject. Therefore, the *Bürger's* reference group is not the state but the private family. The difference becomes particularly obvious with regard to the public interpretation of politics. Recently, when President Barack Obama introduced universal health insurance, he was labeled a socialist by many right-wing citizens in the United States. However, when the first chancellor of the German Empire at the end of the nineteenth century, Otto von Bismarck, introduced the same issue, it was in order to prevent the workers turning to socialism, and Bismarck was successful because the German *Bürger* expected as a matter of course broad protection by the state, rather than feeling responsible to provide this protection him/herself (Tröhler, Popkewitz, and Labaree, 2011, pp. 3f.).

It is differences like these that cause today's empirical comparative research severe problems for they cannot work with the traditional binary coding of input and output. For example, when in the 1990s comparative study of civic education in six countries (Hahn, 1998; Mellor, 1998) and the International Association of the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IAEEA) study of the relation of civic education and citizenship identity in 28 countries (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) had to interpret their results, they were indignant because the German results did not correlate at all with the enormous German effort in citizenship education. These "failings"—in contrast to other countries, there were hardly any effects in Germany despite the immense inputs—show the limits of this kind of quantitative empirical comparative research, ignoring the different ideals of citizenship across the different cultures/nations. It results in confusion about "illogic" data: "Whether they are rooted in culture, history, or some aspects of schooling is not evident," the Hahn (1999, p. 246) concluded. The results appear to be some sort of a "combination of all those factors," which cannot be operationalized by empirical research. The problem is, Hahn goes on, rightly, that what works in one political culture with its "distinct set of values" cannot simply be adopted in another with "differing traditions, values and meanings" (p. 231). That is exactly the problem of comparative research, especially in national ventures such as curriculum.

Outlook

Curricula of the modern mass school have been designed for two purposes: for creating the national citizen, and at the same time for creating different social citizens. The first purpose reflects the fact that, in their constitutions, the new nation-states were obligated to define their autonomy by fashioning from the former inhabitants (noblemen, clergy, bourgeois, and peasants) the same kind of national citizen. The second purpose was to assign social differences, and this assignment had two principles, the liberal principle of meritocracy and the conservative principle of schooling children with respect to their presumed future social roles: curricula could differ along the lines of gender, between urban and the rural, or according to dominant regional economies (for the case of Luxembourg, see Schreiber, 2012).

The tension between the ideal of national homogeneity and the need of social diversity created either by meritocracy or predestination in school can, together with the textbooks and the organizational establishment of different school branches and rules of transitions between these branches, serve as Ariadne's thread of curriculum history. In the United States the comprehensive public school system expresses the reformed Protestant idea of earthly equality, whereas the high rate of private schooling expresses the old monarchical desire of social distinction. In contrast, the German state-run *Vorschule* (literally: pre-school) was the essential alternative to the primary school, but subject to tuition (expensive!). It had Latin in its curriculum, and promised access to the *Gymnasium,* the Upper High School, itself the precondition for entering a University. This sequence reflected the aristocratic denial of earthly equality, a denial that had been sustainably reinforced by Luther's political theology.

Understanding curriculum encompasses more sources than those directly connected to schools or to educational policy, and it encompasses a longer history than the history of modern schooling and the need of comparing internationally different genealogies. Regarding Quentin Skinner's assertion that "to learn from the past—and we cannot otherwise learn at all—. . . is to learn the key to self-awareness itself" (Skinner, 1969, p. 53), I would add that in order to reconstruct the past (as a key to self-awareness), the comparison is a precondition—and vice versa: probably, the most noble effect of learning about other systems of reasoning across times and spaces is this chance of becoming aware of ourselves as historical and cultural constructions. It seems to me that this effect should not be undervalued when it comes to international research that aims at more than to reinforce cultural preferences to which we have become accustomed in one way or another.

Notes

1. In Germany, the same distinction plays in the realm of music. E-music is often restricted to the music of Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, or Ludwig van Beethoven, whereas U-music covers all the popular and commercial music such as the Beatles, Bruce Springsteen, or Stefani Joanne Angelina Germanotta (alias Lady Gaga). It has to be admitted, however, that these distinctions are increasingly challenged.
2. In his famous allegory of the cave, Plato refers to the need of "περιαγογε ολης τεζ ψνχηζ" ("Periagoge holes tes psyches"). In the English translation it is given as: "turning round of a soul" and in the German translation it is given (here translated into English) as "transformation" of the soul.
3. Luther's disdain for political freedom was the cause of a dispute between him and the Zurich reformer Huldrych Zwingli, who was much more in the tradition of classical civic humanism (classical republicanism) than the Augustinian monk Luther. Many of the English Reformers, before they left as "puritans" to the American colonies, received Zwingli's political theory of a republic.
4. "It was UNESCO's commitment to post-war Germany, expressed during its 5th General Conference held in Florence in June 1950, which led to the creation of the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE). . . . UIE was intended as a vehicle to promote human rights and international understanding. The first meeting of the Governing Board was held from 17 to 19 June 1951 in Wiesbaden. . . . During that meeting, the Governing Board members drafted the statutes and appointed Professor Walther Merck, Chair of Comparative Education at the University of Hamburg, as Director" (http://uil.unesco.org/about-us/news-target/history/e031759c1a14f14ad80fb5fd40c321b7/) (28 December 2012). Walther Merck had been the very first appointed professor in comparative education at the University of Hamburg in Germany (1950).
5. For three of four decades after 1960, the notion of "*Allgemeine Didaktik*" (General Didactics) tried to build a bridge between the German ideal of *Bildung* and the school curriculum. It was mostly appreciated and popular in the context of teacher education. See, for instance, Klafki 1963 or Meyer 1994.
6. And Dewey's critique is embedded in reformed Calvinist Protestantism (Tröhler, 2006).
7. The model was the *Tableau économique* or Economic Table, first described in 1759 by François Quesnay, with which he laid the foundation of the Physiocrats' economic theories.
8. I wish to thank my colleague Sabine Doff (University of Bremen) for this hint.

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5

A Nonviolent Perspective on Internationalizing Curriculum Studies

Hongyu Wang

> I have not the shadow of a doubt that any man or woman can achieve what I have, if he or she would make the same effort and cultivate the same hope and faith.
>
> —Mohandas K. Gandhi

Nonviolence as a political movement has dramatically drawn worldwide attention in recent years. Curiously though, compared to the proliferation of such discussions in political and social realms, there is a relative silence on the role of nonviolence in the realm of education, except on those occasions when tragedies occur (for example, see the special issue of *Harvard Educational Review,* Fall 2007). Perhaps this silence is due to the narrow definition of nonviolence as peaceful uprising against social injustice, dictatorship, and colonization. Perhaps it is due to the nature of schooling which, in many nations, is incompatible with the message of nonviolence (Galtung, 2008). Perhaps the silence is due to misunderstanding nonviolence as soft and passive. I also think, perhaps it is due to our own implication in the logic of control that renders nonviolence unthinkable and unimaginable. Whatever the reasons may be, it is time for the field of curriculum studies to embrace nonviolence as an educational vision. It is long overdue. The recent internationalization of curriculum studies through the intellectual and organizational work of the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS) and its various national affiliates provides a creative site for cultivating such a possibility. But it is a possibility that can only be realized by laboring in the field nonviolently.

Since the notion of nonviolence is underdeveloped in the field of education, I will start this chapter with conceptual issues; then I will discuss three approaches to nonviolence education; and finally, further address the nonviolent relational dynamics of the local, the national, and the international. This work draws upon not only international wisdom traditions but also international nonviolence activism to envision nonviolence as a guiding principle for internationalizing curriculum studies.

What is Nonviolence?

Both as an idea and a way of life and co-living, nonviolence has existed throughout human history in many different traditions (Lynd & Lynd, 2006; Smith-Christopher, 2007; Zinn, 2002). As an English translation of the Sanskrit word, *Ahimsa,* however, nonviolence is less than a century old (Nagler, 2004). An important principle in Indian traditions including Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, *Ahimsa* means doing no harm and being kind to all living beings. *Ahimsa* is the absence of violence in word, thought, and deed, and its basis is the unity of all life. Michael Nagler (2004) argues that the English translation of *Ahimsa,* due to the negation of *himsa* (which means desiring or intending to harm), conveys a negative sense of the term "nonviolence." As a result, the positive quality of nonviolence is somewhat obscured in its English translation. However, "unlike the English situation, in Sanskrit abstract nouns often name a fundamental positive quality indirectly, by negating its opposite" (p. 44). Sunanda Y. Shastri and Yajneshwar S. Shastri (2007) affirm that "*Ahimsa* is a positive doctrine of love, friendship, and equality among all living beings of the universe" (p. 59). Here we can see that nonviolence is a way of living everyday life, not merely a response or reaction to violence or war in dramatic situations.

Arguing that nonviolence is fundamentally a positive force, Nagler (2010) further defines it as:

> a powerful method for harmonizing relationships with people, and other forms of life, for the establishment of justice and the ultimate well-being of all parties. It draws its power from awareness of the profound truth that all cultures, modern science, and common experience bear witness: that all life is an interconnected whole—is one.

Based upon a sense of interconnectedness, nonviolence evokes the compassionate and affiliating aspects of humanity to not only transform negative energies or dissolve violence but also enact mutually beneficial relational dynamics for the well-being of all members in a community, including nonhuman life. This sense of affirming fellowship and shared life can be found in many philosophical, religious, and ethical traditions such as the Christian principle of "love your enemy," the African notion of *ubuntu* in its relational ontology (Tutu, 1999), the Chinese notion of *Tao* in the interdependent movement of opposite forces (Wang, 2004; Zhu, 2009), or various indigenous peace-making traditions in North America (Smith-Christopher, 2007).

Affirming the human capacity for nonviolence does not deny the existence of psychic and social violence in multiple dimensions across different scales. Just as many a spiritual tradition has a core principle of nonviolence, there is always a contested interpretation of the same tradition through violence as well (Smith-Christopher, 2007). Much of psychoanalysis is based upon the notion of psychic aggression as part of humanity. Current social, cultural, and ecological disasters are testimonies to various forms of violence. Precisely because we have coexisting narratives of violence and nonviolence, the aspect that is actualized in reality more fully will depend on which course—nonviolence or violence—we choose to follow. If we intentionally cultivate nonviolence to its full potential, the world will become more nonviolent and loving.

The root cause of violence is dualism (of mind and body) and the sense of separateness (of self and other) (Bai & Cohen, 2008; Shastri & Shastri, 2007). Control of and domination over *the other* (whether this other is individual, group, nation, or an ecological other) as the result of such a dualistic split feeds the cycle of violence. Here violence does not merely refer to physical violence but includes many realms, such as intellectual, emotional, spiritual, social, and cultural violence (Wang, 2010), and includes both individual and structural violence. To treat the root of violence, to dissolve its fundamental mechanism, and to work *through* the knot of violence take nothing less than nonviolence. In the case of gendered violence, for example, Allan G. Johnson (2005) argues, "there is no way around or over [patriarchy]—the only way out is through" (p. 232). We cannot ignore the social reality of patriarchy, neither can we use another mode of domination to destroy it, but we must work *through* it. To undo the mechanism of violence in its domination, we must confront and transcend the psychic and social dualism in such a way that the cycle of control and domination can be broken. Racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, colonization, imperialism, and other forms of violence are all caught in such a cycle. Only nonviolent pathways can work *through* violence to unravel the knot and carve out lines of interconnections.

As a positive force, nonviolence is *both* active *and* receptive. One of the misconceptions about nonviolence is that it is too soft and passive. So entrenched in the logic of control and aggression, especially in the United States, we often associate the evocation of nonviolence with being soft, despite the long-standing American tradition of nonviolence in feminist, civil rights, and other social movements (Cooney & Michalowski, 1987; Howlett & Lieberman, 2008). A person, a group, or a nation is *either* tough *or* soft, and there is no other alternative. But there *are* alternatives: nonviolence activism (Sharp, 2005; Stiehm, 2006; Zinn, 2002) is based upon compassion.

Nonviolence is not soft but radical in its denouncement of all forms of violence: Even though political leaders repeatedly evoked the ideals of democracy, justice, freedom, or even peace to lead armies into war, none of them could use the ideal of nonviolence as an excuse. Nonviolence does not accept sacrificing others' interests in order to serve one's own interest in any disguised way. And its active nature blends with its receptive quality to form a particular mode of strength capable of enduring attacks from inside and outside. Without the capacity for receptiveness, there is no capacity for compassion. In our dualistic world, we split active and passive, or aggressive and receptive, as if the two poles cannot be compatible. But reception is an action, and it takes more effort for such a response than for an impulsive aggressive reaction. By combining activeness with receptiveness, nonviolence shows us a different path, a more sustainable and humane way.

Nonviolence can be enacted not only from bottom to top, but also from top to bottom as a way of governing. The modern use of the term "nonviolence" has mainly referred to grassroots political uprisings against authority, such as Indian independence and American civil rights movements. But Nagler (2004) points out that nonviolent governing has existed. His examples include the Emperor Ashoka, who based his rule on Buddhist nonviolent principles (p. 111–117), or William Penn's governance of the Delaware Indian tribe by nonviolent principles (also see Lynd & Lynd, 1995, p. 1–3). My example is Taoism in China, which historically played the role of restoring the economy and society when a new dynasty was established, such as the successful restoration policy of the Han Dynasty leading to peace and prosperity in its initial periods (Cai, 2002).

Such a vertically downward motion has significant implications for establishing nonviolent pedagogical relationships and educational communities. Only if the teacher, as the authority, practices and embodies nonviolent principles, despite institutional constraints (e.g., the hierarchical system of schooling in most countries), can it become possible to educate about, for, and through nonviolence. Ultimately, every member of a community becomes an important site for enacting nonviolent dynamics. Nonviolence is situated in the web of relationships, not only vertically, but also horizontally, between and among different individuals and groups. When it becomes the major orientation of a community in all directions, nonviolence can be fully practiced and have rippling effects.

Nonviolence is "a feminist issue" (Pinar, 2009, p. 68). Jane Addams' intellectual and life history, both in establishing Hull House to engage a democratic, communal life and in leading peace movements at national and international levels, demonstrate this fact (Knight, 2005, 2010).

It was women who joined together during the First World War across enemy camps, ignoring the battle lines of the war, to work together for peace and to pressure their respective governments to negotiate, leading to the establishment of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. As its president, Jane Addams called for creating new channels to establish a "new internationalism" (Knight, 2010, p. 202) for peace. Addams' effort was not an isolated act, as Ian Harris (2008) points out: "many leading peace educators in the early twentieth century were women" (p. 17).

A twenty-first century example is the Liberian Women's peace movement, which, in 2003, ended a bloody civil war of more than a decade's duration (Disney & Riticker, 2008; Gbowee, 2011). Their nonviolent protests, organized efforts, and persistent involvement in democratic elections not only ended the civil war but also elected the first female president in Africa in 2005. These nonviolent activists understood that peace is not a discrete event, but a process of daily engagement in democratic life. In this case, motherhood subverted patriarchal warfare through women uniting together across class and religious differences to work for peace. The notion of maternity here is not the traditional notion of isolated reproduction and care-giving in a nuclear family, but a communal notion of motherhood working for social change. Danielle Poe (2010) gives another example of a mother, Naar-Obed, who participated in nonviolent activism and was held in prison, away from her two-year-old daughter (who was cared for by her partner and the community).

Women's influence has also been reflected in the formation of philosophical thought. According to Xiaopeng Zhu (2009), in contrast to Confucianism, which followed the hierarchal and patriarchal society of three ancient Chinese dynasties, especially the Zhou, Taoism went back even further, before the Zhou dynasty, to reach into matrilineal culture. If so, it would not be surprising that the *Tao Te Ching* emphasizes the power of the feminine and maternal, not only incorporated into Chinese literary and philosophical traditions, but also directly embodied in a long history of women intellectuals' works (Wang, 2008).

The gendered implications of nonviolence require a separate essay, but I can point out here that the interconnectedness and compassionate aspects of femininity (existing in men as well) should be embraced by both women and men in order to create a more loving society. Mohandas K. Gandhi's grandson, Arun Gandhi (2003), credited three women for influencing his grandfather's commitment to nonviolence: his mother, Putliba, who taught M. K. Gandhi "inner discipline that comes through spiritual awareness" (p. 28), a babysitter, Rambha, who taught him how to overcome fear, and his wife, Kastur, who taught him about nonviolent responses in her own relationships with him. While Gandhi fought for independence from British rule, he also fought against the oppression of women and "untouchables," insisting that any source of oppression cannot be tolerated.

Nonviolence is *both* internal *and* external, and it is fundamentally an educational project. In fact, many philosophical, cultural, and spiritual traditions emphasize the internal search for peace and nonviolence as the bridge to collective efforts to transform the world. As Christopher Key Chapple (2007) explains Jainism, its emphasis is on personal discipline and strict observance of the nonviolence ethic, and public engagement is secondary. In Islam, according to Rabia Terri Harris (2007), the word " jihad," quite contrary to the Western public understanding of it as "holy war," means struggle or effort, including "the Greater Struggle—the inward effort" of confronting ourselves and "the Lesser Struggle—the outward effort of confronting social injustice" (p. 108). The emphasis, again, is on the effort to transform oneself first. In Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, inner peace is the basis for outer peace.

The important role of education is made evident in such an emphasis on personal transformation as the basis for social transformation. Education here is defined in a broad sense as cultivating nonviolent orientations from within and transforming internal negative energies, not in the narrow sense of schooling, although school curriculum should be part of the project. (Unfortunately, school curriculum mostly focuses on warfare and other forms of violence versus peace and nonviolence: see the Gemstone Peace Education Team's work, 2008). If we read the biographies or autobiographies of nonviolence and peace activists—Jane Addams (Knight, 2005, 2010); Nelson Mandela (1994/2003); Martin Luther King, Jr. (1998); Mohandas Gandhi (1927 & 1929/1993); and Leymah Ghowee (2011), the leader of Liberian women's peace movement—we can see that all have gone through an internal journey before and during their engagement with political activism. For instance, both Jane Addams and Leymah Ghowee had to undo gendered violence imposed upon their lives in different historical periods and in different forms. Their inward journeys were painful at times, yet illuminating of an upward movement of the human spirit. It is this type of education that we should advocate in our educational work both in and outside of schools.

While unlearning is an important part of learning to shed the effects of violence both internally and externally, could we also teach our children and youth nonviolent principles? What might happen if the content, purpose, and means of education were united through nonviolence? If we participate in internationalizing curriculum studies, is not nonviolence education an inspiring vision for which we can work together? An educational project of nonviolence involves intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual cultivation of personhood situated in history and culture, and the message of nonviolence should be embodied in the heart of curriculum studies.

By defining the notion of nonviolence, I hope that by now it is clear *why* I advocate nonviolence in internationalizing curriculum studies. Simultaneously incorporating the ideals of democracy, justice, or equality *and* going beyond their individualistic basis (see Ted Aoki's [2005] analysis of these ideals as rooted in the individual), nonviolence constitutes an inherent mechanism for working through violence for a better life for all members of this world and this planet. Not negating the importance of those ideals that come largely from Western political and social history and have become the shared heritage across the globe, I see nonviolence as a thread that weaves through many non-Western and Western countries and cultures and thus may heal the divide between East and West, North and South, or the first, second, or third worlds. It belongs to the vital, life-affirmative, and best part of each culture and may have the potentiality to unite us across differences to co-create more compassionate and creative expressions of humanity.

Different Approaches to Nonviolence Education

Nonviolence education is closely related to peace education. Humans have taught each other how to solve conflicts without violence throughout history, but peace studies as a formal program was historically rooted in international studies and initiated after World War II (Harris, 2008; Hakvoort, 2010). To a great degree, peace education is about establishing nonviolent international, cross-cultural, and multicultural relationships in the midst of conflicts (Bajaj, 2008; Lin, Brantmeier, & Bruhn, 2008; Iram, Wahrman, & Gross, 2006; Salomon & Cairns, 2010a). As scholars suggest (Galtung, 2008), peace education has lagged behind peace research and peace movements, but it has developed rapidly for the past several decades.

There are many definitions of peace education but, as Gavriel Salomon and Ed Cairns (2010b) point out, the underlying idea is that "peace education is to negate violence and conflict and to promote a culture of peace to counter a culture of war" (p. 4). Peace education involves cultivating knowledge, skills, and attitudes that can lead to peace rather than to violence through a formal curriculum or community-based activities (Gemstone Peace Education Team, 2008; Hakvoort, 2010). Education for and about peace is its primary message. Originally dealing with the causes of war and its prevention, peace education has recently evolved to embrace new paradigms that locate unity (Danesh, 2010) or harmony (Brantmeier & Lin, 2008) as the center of attention and shift the focus from negation to creation. As Edward J. Brantmeier and Jing Lin (2008) argue,

> Peace is to be understood as both a process and result of balance and harmony that is negotiated and renegotiated over time. It inherently transcends duality and dichotomy. In other words, peace is not "lack of" this or "absence of" that, but a balance, harmony, and interplay of opposites that constitute a living, ongoing interdependent dynamic. (p. xv)

This definition of peace is compatible with the conception of nonviolence rooted in nonduality. Within peace studies literature, nonviolence is often perceived as a means through which to achieve the end of peace; nonviolence education is considered one aspect of peace education (de Rivera, 2010). But I approach nonviolence, a nondualistic cultivation of interconnectedness and creativity, as *fundamental,* not merely instrumental, to all education. I think that the content, means, and purpose of education should be united through nonviolence, and that the message of nonviolence must permeate all dimensions of education to fully play out its potential. Moreover, I prefer " nonviolence" rather than "peace" due to its clear-cut position against all forms of violence, which includes "negative peace," which Martin Luther King, Jr. (1961/1986, p. 50) defined as repressive acceptance of racial oppression. Furthermore, I think nonviolence has a broader meaning and significance for education while peace is usually perceived as an opposite to war.

Nonviolence-oriented education requires a radical approach of curriculum transformation. We usually perceive violence as physical aggression, but violence is much more than physical, and many practices at schools are impositional rather than educational, such as the labeling and tracking of students, concentrating on students' intellectual development at the expense of emotional growth, constraining their freedom to explore through standardization, teaching narrow-minded ethnocentric nationalism, and glorifying war, to list just a few. To contest such imposition and to challenge its basis in dualism, the educational system, teaching contents, and pedagogical relationships all need to undergo transformation to locate wholeness, integrity, complexity, embodiment, and freedom at the center of educational practices. When the integrative power of nonviolence plays out in multiple dimensions of education, differences do not lead to violence but to the expansion of horizons of students to adopt new lenses, form new relationality, and acquire new knowledge. Even if conflicts emerge, they can be resolved peacefully, as evident in the three approaches to nonviolence education that I review next.

Human Rights

At the beginning of the United Nations' International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, the UNESCO published Jean-Marie Muller's (2002) "Non-Violence in Education."[1] This philosophical text represents a vision that many conflict resolution education and human rights education efforts adopt, initiated by various international organizations.

Based upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, teaching the ethics of non-violence to children and students is based upon "respect for and the dignity of each and every human being" (p. 8). Associating nonviolence with democracy and human rights, Muller (2002) further claims that "all anti-democratic ideologies are associated with the ideology of violence" (p. 9). Defining the notion of violence and non-violence, he suggests that nature and culture are not opposite to each other, and human nature is not a given but interacts with culture, and that the important issue is "which part of ourselves we decide to *cultivate,* both individually and collectively" (p. 60; emphasis in original).

The question of what to cultivate is essentially related to the question of education. Educators need to teach children how to think critically, how to embrace democratic values, and how to find alternative ways to solving conflicts constructively. In dealing with bullying and violence at school, Muller emphasizes the role of mediation and by-stander intervention. When everyone participates in breaking the cycle of violence, bullying and violence are less likely to happen, or when they happen, they can be resolved in educative ways. Muller also argues that the history of non-violence is absent from school textbooks and official speeches but must be taught if we want to create a culture of nonviolence to replace a culture of violence.

This assertion of everyone's rights and following nonviolent and constructive ways of dealing with conflicts is an individual-oriented approach. While creating a culture of non-violence emphasizes the role of a community, the community is perceived more or less as the sum of individual persons. This orientation comes predominately from the principles of Western philosophy, even though Muller also explicitly draws upon Ghandi's principles. Ghandian nonviolence is based upon the notion of the unity of life, in which relational dynamics are essential, characterizing the second approach, as I discuss next.

Relationality

While Indian educational history embodying the principle of *Ahimsa* has existed for a long time, modern schooling in India has been westernized. However, Takuya Kaneda (2008) identifies four modern educators—spiritual leaders—who set up residential schools compatible with traditional teachings of *Ahimsa* but different from the mainstream schools in the twentieth century. I briefly review the nonviolent principles of their educational efforts.

Ravindranath Tagore's (1861–1941) experimental school, Santiniketan, was located in a peaceful environment away from busy city life in order for students to experience oneness with nature. Tagore emphasized the role of meditation and aesthetic sensitivity with a school life filled with creative artwork such as poetry, painting, music, dance, drama, and literature. For Tagore, "the true principle of art is the principle of unity" (quoted in Kaneda, 2008, p. 178). Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950) thinks that "nurturing inner peace is an essential part of an integral education" (Kaneda, 2008, p. 180). His integral education is fivefold, including physical, vital, mental, psychic, and spiritual education. The role of silence and stillness for achieving a peaceful mind is emphasized, and the growth of inner peace is the goal of education.

Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986) emphasized the importance of the individual's inward transformation, argued for "the necessity to be aware of violence within our minds" (p. 182), and called for going beyond nationalism, organized religions, and identity politics, which lead to conflicts and violence (also see Kumar, in press). In Rishi Valley School, simple lifestyles, optional yoga classes, farm work, and community service (Kaneda, 2008; Piirto, 2008) all contribute to students' well-being. Sri Sri Ravi Shankar (1956–), a contemporary leader, has conducted various educational endeavors to help children and teens to "effectively handle stress and negative emotions such as fear and anger and to live harmoniously with others" (Kaneda, 2008, p. 184). He advocates educating children holistically through the interconnectedness of body and mind. He believes that the natural tendency of our consciousness is "essentially to be at peace" (p. 185).

From these modern and contemporary examples, we can see that the underlying message is the nonduality of body, mind, and spirit and the wholeness of life. When such nonduality is at the center of education, the unifying force of life—nonviolence—permeates students' intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual life. Here, personal cultivation goes hand in hand with going beyond a separate sense of the individual self to be in communion with others and with nature, through stillness, meditation, yoga practices, and aesthetic activities. While such an orientation happens in alternative school settings, these leaders don't present "systematic curriculum structures to embody their educational visions" (Kaneda, 2008, p. 188) but adopt various forms as beneficial for integrating body and mind, and self and other. In other words, the principle of nonduality can be implemented in regular schools if the vision of nonviolence is shared by teachers, staff, and administrators. Many reform efforts across the globe focusing on educating "the whole child" are compatible with such an orientation.

Community

Based upon the nonviolent principles of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., community-based efforts through youth outreach programs, extracurricular activities, or internet-mediated global nonviolence youth alliances have been a mode of nonviolence education in the United States and international settings. Although they don't receive mainstream attention, their influences have been spreading and profound. These efforts involve public lectures by nonviolence and peace leaders, film discussions, art exhibitions or concerts, workshops about nonviolent principles and practices, and other forms of public education. Sometimes students can obtain school credit for taking such workshops, and teachers also can participate in the professional development workshops to learn the lessons of nonviolence and how to incorporate them into the curriculum.

Different projects have used different creative strategies. For instance, the Teens on Target program in Oakland first trains high school students on violence prevention and then lets them teach middle school students, with the hope that the message of non-violence will have more influence when it comes from peers (Federis, 2012). Another example is the nonviolence education and training provided by the Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Center for Nonviolent Social Change. The King Center has been developing its K-12 school curriculum, "which strives to not only describe Dr. King's life and accomplishments, but to impart his timeless teachings of nonviolence and service" (see http://www.thekingcenter.org). Educators around the world can learn how to weave the message of justice, peace, and nonviolence into their daily teaching through its online resources. Some centers or institutes, such as the Metta Center for Nonviolence Education (www.mettacenter.org), oriented by Gandhian nonviolent principles, use webcast courses to reach a wider audience.

Such community-based efforts are not new; they have had a long history. The women's settlement movement, such as Hull House in the Progressive era, is a good example. The educational function of Hull House was to create a democratic, communal life in a poor neighborhood through classes, activities, and services for immigrants. Through many years of dedicated work, Jane Addams was able to "perceive the connections between different kinds of oppression" (Knight 2010, p. 96), including the links between social injustice in the domestic realm and warfare in the international realm. Thus she advocated "newer ideals of peace" (Addams, 1906/2007), which reject a "peaceful" society based upon class and gendered oppression or conquest of other nations, but favor a dynamic notion of peace as "the unfolding of worldwide processes making for the nurture of human life" (p. 131). Her peace activism at various levels was guided by this vision. The community-based education at Hull House still has much to offer for nonviolence education.

Today, very few U.S. school programs adopt the language of nonviolence, although individual teachers sometimes choose to integrate teachings about Ghandi or King's nonviolent resistance movements in their curriculum (Coghlan, 2000; Gill, 2000; Fishman, 2003). Educational activities that are not school-based can become powerful sites for spreading the message of nonviolence, and the collaboration between community and school can infuse positive energy into schooling.

These three approaches intersect between and among one another, and nonviolence education activism usually blends different approaches. While the starting point might be different, be it individual, relationality, or community, the issue is how to deal with differences nonviolently to promote the welfare of all students. Respect for others as individuals must be combined with the effort to transcend ego boundaries; otherwise, such a respect can easily retreat into self-defense. We need to combine all approaches to fully realize the potential of nonviolence, not only in dissolving violence but also in fostering an open-minded and loving community that does not lead to violence in the first place. Histories, principles, and practices of nonviolence must be taught; educational violence at schools must be deconstructed; and a shared vision of a nonviolent world must be fostered. Only through a systematic re-envisioning of education can nonviolence education be fully implemented. But we can start from different beginnings, small or big, and proactively infuse nonviolent principles into different dimensions of education.

Nonviolent Relationality and Internationalizing Curriculum Studies

Because curriculum is the heart of education, connecting macro and micro levels, nonviolence needs to be at the center of curriculum studies to influence the educational network. If we cultivate a "new internationalism," as Addams challenged us to do, then nonviolently mobilizing organic relationships *within* and *across* the local, the national, and the international becomes important. To envision nonviolent relationality as the central thread of internationalizing curriculum studies, I discuss the issue of power, identity, and difference in their relationships at various interactive levels of the local and the global as follows.

In the first edition of this Handbook, William F. Pinar (2003) discusses the importance of focusing on education and curriculum, rather than international political tensions, for the internationalization of curriculum studies. If we have scholars acting as if diplomatic representatives of their own countries, the intellectual and educational possibility will be lost in power struggles. Actually, in political and social movements, the egocentric pursuit of political authority and control, either for an individual or for a group, can hardly lead to any success. Ghandi (1942/2007) specifically points out that the nonviolence movement is "not a program of seizure of power" but "a program of transformation of relationships" (p. 40). In the Liberian women's peace movement in 2003, they adopted the strategy of not criticizing the political policies of the dictatorship—even though there were more than plenty to criticize—but demanding of peace unyieldingly and wholeheartedly (Disney & Riticker, 2008; Gbowee, 2011).

Paradoxically, the key to winning social and political victories in nonviolence movements is to abandon the politics of power struggle and instead to mobilize every participant in the *powerful* process of transforming the nature of relationships from dominating/being dominated to organic interconnectedness. If we cannot go beyond the confinement of national, group, or individual self-interest, there is no possibility of achieving "heart unity" with others who are distant or/and different from us. Here it is essential not only to dwell in *inter*national space, but also to move towards *trans*national space.

The inter-space and trans-space are both important for creating nonviolent dynamics of the local, the national, and the global through transforming relationships. The term "international" acknowledges the "in between" fluid spaces where multiplicity and differences are neither excluded nor self-contained. Moreover, internationalization as a concept supports the decentering of both the national and the global through a focus on interaction and relationship that lead to the transformation of both locality and globalness. To borrow the language of chaos and complexity theory (Doll, 2012), the newness of the global comes from a dynamic interaction of local parts. Also as Peter Hershock (2009) argues, it is a fallacy to assume that "whatever is good for each and every one of us (individually) will be good for all of us (communally or ecologically)" (p. 156) since what is good for the local may become detrimental to the ecological or the global. Therefore, the global as the whole is more than the addition of the national or the local, but emerges from interactive dynamics and is marked by organic relationality.

Noel Gough (2003) suggests that "internationalizing curriculum inquiry might best be understood as a process of creating transnational spaces in which scholars from different localities collaborate in reframing and decentering their own knowledge traditions and negotiate trust in each other's contributions to their collective work" (p. 68). The very usage of "trans-" indicates both an intense experiencing of the boundary and an effort to go beyond that boundary. Such transnational spaces not only sustain hybrid movements but also support embodied work to negotiate collaborative trust. Nonviolence education must be an embodied process. Sherry B. Shapiro (2002) asserts that it is the joy and suffering of the human body that extends "beyond the boundaries of nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, social class, or sexual or religious preference—all the ways of marking ourselves off from others" (p. 149). Peace and nonviolence education need to sensitize us to the collective body, and pedagogically we need to begin with the body as the connector between the public and the private, and between social identity and a wider shared experience.

In such dynamics of international and transnational movements, identity is destabilized, power struggles are displaced into fluid modes of relationships, and nonviolent relationality across differences become multidimensional—both horizontal (among the local) and vertical (between the local and the global), and both top-down (from the global to the individual body) and bottom-up (from the local to the international)—to form a network of nonviolence. Instead of intensifying the fragmentation (due to dualism) that marks the fragility of the modern life we share, the nonviolent modes of relationality we choose to establish can contribute to the integrative potential of the network.

For the dynamics of intergroup relationships within the national, I reference the American field of curriculum studies as an example due to my familiarity with it. Pinar (2013) identifies "power, identity, and discourse" as the key concepts of the reconceptualized curriculum field in the United States, but he suggests that these concepts have become assumptions—due to their success—and that these newly taken-for-granted concepts have tendencies toward totalization and reductionism. Now the assumption that "power predominates, that identity is central, and that discourse is determinative (e.g. our research provides only narratives, never truth)—are widely shared" (p. 8). Accepted as given, they have become "abstractions split off from the concrete complexity of the historical moment" (p. 8) and exhausted in self-referentiality. Ironically, the central emphasis of identity leads to the casualty of individual agency and subjective specificity.

As both an observer and participant of the American field of curriculum studies who came from China in 1996, I also would like to add another causality: organic relationality. The complexity and richness in the singularity of each individual or group coexists with the complicated and organic relationality of humanity and life, and when one side of the coin is undermined, the other side deteriorates as well. While Pinar (2013) discusses the proliferation of "uncertainty" and "dispersion" in post-structural discourses and their effects, I also think the distance between self and other stretched by the post-structural discourses of otherness and the unknown Other may lead to the difficulty of not being able to bring self and other back into the fabric of relationality (Wang, in press). In addressing "difference-centered politics of recognition and respect," drawing upon the Buddhist philosophy, Peter Hershock (2009) argues for "a concerted shift from considerations of how much we are the *same* or *different from* each [sic] another to how we might best *differ for* one another" (p. 160; emphasis in original).

In a nondualistic, nonviolent view, subject and object, body and mind, and self and other exist interdependently. Hershock's perception of differences as essential for mutual contribution and shared welfare, as something positive that should not be erased or elevated, but as a part of a relationship network, is a challenge not only to the liberal notion of the individual as autonomous, but also to the identity politics of static diversity or the postmodern radicalization of singularity. The nonviolent relational dynamics of "differing for" rather than "differing from" are particularly imperative under the context of a profoundly shared sense of crisis in American public education. While particular differences such as racial or gendered differences must be discussed, the discussions need to orient towards changing our ways of relating to others and addressing the root course of social violence, rather than fixing on any particular social identity. Nonviolence cannot exist without social justice, but social justice for one group at the expense of the welfare of others does not do justice to the shared human struggle for the common good of all.

Confronting the crisis in American public education, I suggest that challenging the violence of the conservative forces and working through the depressive position of educators in relation to the external attack from non-education sectors, we are called to form nonviolent relationships among different social groups and their affiliated scholarly camps. Identity-based struggles, when contextualized in the interconnected web of life, have played a progressive role in the field. However, without contextualizing and complicating one's own investment in a broader project of education for all, without taking a step back from one's own particular subjective positioning to see a bigger picture, any *fixation* upon one group's struggle—along or within the lines of either race, gender, class, sexuality, nation, or other social factors—at the expense of the collective good arrests democracy as an unfulfilled dream.

If we can initiate and participate in nonviolent dynamics of "differing for" an educationally informed, compassionate community across local and national borders, we are also challenging the international domination of American politics, along with its domestically repressive educational "reform" demand for raising test scores and maintaining global control. This suggestion is certainly not about subsuming diversity into uniformity, as any network has room for breaks and fragmentations. The organic relationality of nonviolence welcomes differences and does not avoid conflicts because it has the ability to stretch, transform, and rebuild.

Moving from the national to the international level, the dualism of "us" versus "them" has played a violent role in global relationships, and the possibility of moving beyond such a fixed boundary depends upon our capacity for refusing to dehumanize the other, both the friendly other and the hostile other. Through the psychoanalytic notion of "the stranger to ourselves," Julia Kristeva (1993) invites us "to recognize ourselves as strange in order better to appreciate the foreigners outside us instead of striving to bend them to the norms of our own repression" (p. 29). If we are aware of our subconscious rather than repressing it, aliens are no longer a threat to us. Kristeva believes that a transnational or international position is situated at the crossing of boundaries, which simultaneously affirms and transcends national borders. The idea of nation "at the same time affirmed as a space of freedom and dissolved in its own identity" (p. 32) affirms both the protective function of identification and the necessity of border-crossing. Situated at the fluid border, "nations without nationalism" support nonviolent relationality.

At the boundary of conflicts, international—or intergroup which is often related to international—education for peace and nonviolence has focused particularly on bringing citizens, teachers, students, and youth together from opposite sides in conflict situations, such as Palestinian and Israeli teachers (Bar-On & Adwan, 2006), dialogues and multilogues between Indians and Pakistanis in cyberspace (Naseem, 2008), German-Jewish life-story workshops (Bar-On, 2010), promoting peace in Northern Ireland (Gallagher, 2010), and Americans and Muslims in international hosting programs (Radomski, 2008). Sometimes tensions are related not only to national/ethnic conflicts but also religious conflicts in intercultural contexts. The assumptions of bringing people from opposite camps together is to engage them in dialogues and trust-building for challenging biases and prejudices and promoting empathy for others' pain.

While different modes of curriculum are adopted for these projects, I highlight one case here. A project of developing a joint school textbook through the efforts of peace educators working with both Palestinian and Israeli teachers was initiated in 2001 in the midst of violence between these two countries. Because developing a joint narrative of their histories that can be accepted by both sides is impossible, the project adopts the strategy of presenting "at least two competing narratives to account for their past, present, and future" (Bar-On & Adwan, 2006, p. 310) and both narratives are presented in the joint curriculum so that students on each side can learn the two storylines of the history rather than only the familiar storyline of their own country. The team working on this project includes two cofounders of Peace Research in the Middle East—Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On—two history professors, six Palestinian history and geography teachers, six Jewish-Israeli history teachers, and six international delegates, as well as one Jewish-Israeli observer. The collaborative nature of this project is reflected in the choices of team members, and teachers first worked together to develop narratives around certain historical milestones and then implemented this curriculum in their teaching. The workshops that teachers participated in, sometimes interrupted by violent episodes between the two countries, not only involved the activities of developing narratives, but also involved sharing their own stories. The role of emotional work, essential to peace-building efforts (Yablon, 2006), is evident in this case, and nonviolence is a whole-being experience that involves the intellect/emotion/soul and the conscious/subconscious/unconscious.

In 2003, the curriculum that had been developed in Hebrew, Arabic, and English was carried out in teachers' classroom. According to teachers' feedback, Bar-On and Adwan (2006) report:

> In general there was a surprise effect by presenting the two narratives, a surprise that created interest and curiosity. We could feel a general feeling of ownership and accomplishment of the teachers from both sides, in spite of the deteriorating external situation. They felt that they are creating something new for the future, which no one tried to do before. (p. 316)

This team of teachers and researchers ran various personal risks to carry out this program: curfews, border checkpoints, and fear of shootings or suicide bombing. I think their courage to organize themselves to educate against the grain for nonviolence is not only inspiring for the future but also transformative of the present. Although Bar-On and Adwan (2006) perceived this project as in the "intermediate phase" that would lead to a joint narrative in the future when peace is reached between the two countries, I find the juxtaposition of two conflicting narratives generally applicable for international, intercultural, and transnational projects that are not necessarily situated in hostility and war. Juxtaposition without final solution

(Miller, 2005) in North American curriculum studies has become an acceptable way of allowing ruptures and differences to both mutually challenge each other and bring out the unknown potential from each other. Juxtaposition can be an effective strategy of nonviolence education.

As we can see here, the simultaneity of the local, the national, and the international dynamics is important for orienting curriculum studies towards nonviolence education. The case discussed above, even though involving a limited number of participants (a dozen educators and hundreds of students), mobilizes all levels of interaction towards nonviolent relationality, against the official curriculum of violence. Participants were dealing with religious, cultural, national, and ethnic conflicts all at the same time, but they persevered and were able to negotiate out of the conflicts a space that recognizes differences and opens their students' eyes to another view of the shared world. Not just in wartime, but in time of peace, such a spirit of nonviolent sharing across differences is also important. Whatever starting point we can begin with, teaching against the grain for nonviolence, as difficult and at times dangerous as it is, can spread its influence throughout the network because nonviolence speaks to the humane aspect of life.

Ultimately, violence and nonviolence are felt by the individual body, and the fundamental task of education is personal cultivation. When we discuss global issues, it is relatively easy to forget the embodiment of international, transnational, and global in each particular person, but that is the site for education, curriculum, and pedagogy. One of the differences between education and social movements is that nonviolence movements need mass action to have an effect on society, but education can work on the site of an individual student through an individual educator's efforts. Such an effect of education is necessarily long-term, through the interplay between the personal and the global. While mobilizing and transforming the social occurs through destabilizing the personal, personal transformation is possible only through participating in societal reform and global change (Ye, 2005). In today's world, the international is not an abstract concept but is embedded in the daily fabric of our lives in both the "real" and virtual world. If we work together to find diverse ways of engaging personal cultivation for, about, and through nonviolence at various levels of education, we can carve out pathways from the difficulty of the present moment—competition-oriented national educational reform—towards new possibilities.

In the first edition of this Handbook, David Geoffrey Smith (2003) critiqued the neoliberalism embedded in the tide of globalization, but he further called for engaging "a new kind of global dialogue regarding sustainable human futures" and for forming "a new kind of imaginal understanding within human consciousness" (p. 35). Responding to such a call, I suggest that the grassroots movements and organizational efforts of nonviolence education locally, nationally, and internationally provide such a vision for internationalizing curriculum studies. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1960/1986) stated half a century ago: "The choice today is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence" (p. 39). This call is more urgent today. As educators, are we willing to take on the challenge?

Notes

1. "Non-violence" is the term that Muller uses in his writing. The connotations of "non-violence" and "nonviolence" have a certain difference with the former emphasizing more the negation of violence and the latter the integrative potential of nonviolence. I use both terms in this chapter, following respective uses of different authors/activists, which often indicate their (different) orientations.

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Section II

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6

Curriculum Studies in Argentina

Documenting the Constitution of a Field

Silvina Feeney and Flavia Terigi

Introduction

Today it is possible to clearly visualize the constitution of a field of curriculum studies at an international level. Many are works which, since the 1970s, disclose the main production centers of curriculum studies and the different theoretical approaches characterizing the field. Moreover, the creation of specialized journals and magazines and the organization of national and international congresses are evidence of the consolidation of this field.

We consider curriculum studies as a *discipline or field*,[1] in which not only is an object (the curriculum, understood as a text containing a generalized prescription for schools) produced, but discourse on such curriculum is produced as well: expression of problems, debates, and topics that make an impact on practice.

Although the curriculum subject has been present within the academic circles of Argentina for some time, we can assert that there are some distinctive signs of the constitution of a field that are still missing. For example, there are still no specialized publications on the subject. Under the label "curriculum studies," there are often works of a disputable specialty. However, there are few universities in which there are departments specialized in the subject, which is often presented rather as a matter of Didactics which, in the local tradition, is focused on the topics related to the theory of education or educational procedures, or of educational policy with its focal point on normative analysis and on macro-educational relations. The curriculum could be considered as an object belonging to both fields, but we should not overlook the fact that such a fate would imply the suppression or reduction of some of its central aspects, particularly its connections with a diverse and complex field of culture.

At the same time, the centrality that the curriculum design has gained as a tool for policies of reform of the educational system in our country, has promoted multiple experiences of curriculum design, some works on curriculum assessment, and the formation of teams for research on processes for the implementation of curriculum changes.

In this work, our goal is to present the main issues regarding discourse on curriculum that we have surveyed for the period 1983–1998 and to attempt an assessment of the curriculum field in Argentina.

On the Surveyed Documentation

Within the proposed frame of concerns, we began the work of collecting the local materials with the objective of covering the majority of the production of discourses on curriculum for the period 1983–1998. In the last 40 years, we have witnessed a real explosion of theoretical production in the international curriculum field, strongly innovative from the conceptual point of view. Argentina, which throughout this century has been able to receive and put itself on a par with every intellectual innovation, has been late in incorporating those related to curriculum, even relative to other Latin American countries such as Mexico and Brazil. If the years of the military dictatorship were unfavorable for these incorporations, later we understood that, with the beginning of the democratic transition in the year 1983 and the consequent additional need for restructuring in the education field, a favorable atmosphere was created for the incorporation of a series of foreign productions that were extremely useful for the analysis of the problems of local curriculum practice.

In this work, attention shall be paid to theoretical discourses in those texts that may express ideas and knowledge specialized in the matter in question, generated within what Bernstein (1993) calls Primary Context. According to Bernstein, the primary context of production is the place for the development and production of cultural texts, ideas, and specialized knowledge, which will be selected for their transmission. In the secondary context, contents are reproduced and transmitted through institutions (schools, high schools, universities, and institutes), levels, and specialists (teachers, professors); thus postulating a third type of context (called recontextualization) in which the organization of the texts that will be used in the secondary context is based on the production of the primary context.

Although the curriculum field as a whole may be formed by the three types of contexts defined by Bernstein (1993), if we truly want the creation of a field of studies at a national level, it is essential to understand the role of the primary context of production, and that context is the main objective of this work. Regarding this subject, the corpus analysed includes the discourses on curriculum—in their primary context—produced by Argentine educationalists during the period 1983–1998, which are circulated in the following formats:

- Books (published in the country by publishers specialized in education).
- Magazines specialized in education (in this country, there are no magazines that are specialized in curriculum, as is the case in other countries). Many of these magazines belong to Departments or Institutes for the Research on Education Science from different national universities of this country.
- Other periodical publications, with significant levels of reception at the different levels of the school system.

It was also absolutely essential for us to retrieve documents prior to the time period to be studied, that is, before 1983, and to carry out interviews with some educationalists, with the objective of rebuilding pedagogic traditions that may have influenced the consolidation and present condition of the curriculum field in this country.

Before presenting the characteristics of the curriculum discourse in Argentina, we will allow ourselves a brief digression on the role that—in our opinion—curriculum studies have played in the broadest field of education. And, in turn, this digression will allow us to better understand how the discourse on curriculum has settled in Argentina.

The Growth in Curriculum Studies: Towards the End of Educational Utopias?

It seems reasonable to assert that the growth in curriculum (the focal point of the education reforms in Western countries since the 1980s) and in curriculum studies expresses some kind of response to the criticism issued about the function and the value of school. We agree with Dussel when he says that "Recovering the cultural contents and the notion of transmission within the teaching activity seem to be relatively agreed ways to face the extended crisis of school systems" (Dussel, 1997:11).

In his work "The End of Educational Utopias," Mariano Narodowski (1999) performs an analysis of the transdiscursive paradigms of modern pedagogy and points out several features of postmodern pedagogy. This analysis is very interesting when it comes to considering the field of curriculum studies in Argentina. The author holds that the characteristic devices of modern pedagogy have undergone a sort of mutation in the so-called postmodern era.

One of the characteristic devices of modern pedagogy is that of educational utopias. The function that these utopias provide is to delimit great finalities that guide the order of practices and tend to legitimate different proposals. In modern pedagogy, it is possible to find two dimensions in the formulation of utopias: one related to social order and the other related to the education activity itself.

During the last years of the twentieth century, we can see a growing vacancy of utopian postulations that may tend to provide totalizing responses. A review of current pedagogic literature shows that pedagogy has lowered its strongly disciplinary tone, which used to guide and, at the same time, properly establish what was right, what was fair, and what was true in the education of children and young people. It seems that the crisis in school culture entails the possibility of conciliation between the traditional ideological antagonists, those who are now adversaries, exponents of difference, tolerant, and respectful of the others. Whereas old modern educationalists objected to being combined with the others because that would, presumably, diminish their critical capacity, educationalists of the postmodern condition of culture opt for certain positionings as long as they can maintain their identity.

We could say that, at the beginning of this century, there are two different theoretical paths. One recognizes its origin in the critical theories of education. On this path, the sociopolitical utopias of pedagogy—although they are no longer totalizing—have burst out in favor of the understanding of singular elements: class, ethnic group, gender, and cultural option. What the utopian scholars once wanted to discipline within a uniform frame must now be respected and preserved.

On the other path, the utopia of "what for" shuts itself away within the utopia of "how." Along this line, some educationalists attempt to build an educational will capable of rationally directing the education of children, stimulated by new technologies, by scientific achievements in the field of cognitive psychology and, often, by the prescriptions about what to teach and how in the curriculum.

An event that clearly shows the tension between the paths to be followed is the case of the change in the title of the journal *Curriculum Studies* to *Pedagogy, Culture and Society.* In the words of Hamilton (1999), one of the important reasons for the change in the title is that the Anglo-American conceptions of curriculum have become both limited and limiting. Since *Curriculum Studies* was established in 1993, the theorizing on curriculum has become numb. It has lost contact with more profound topics that for centuries have inspired pedagogy and didactics. It has been reduced to issues on the content of education and its distribution within school classrooms. The idea that a curriculum might be a vision of the future and that, in turn, matters of the curriculum might be related to human education, has become peripheral. The short-term question—what should they know?—came to replace the strategic curriculum question: what should they become?

The curious aspect of this is how different countries of Latin America have gradually taken a stand as regards curriculum studies. Regarding this subject, the cases of Brazil and Argentina, for our region, are really significant examples of very different theoretical positions in curriculum studies.

Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (1999a), one of the most important curriculum theorists in Brazil, suggests a curriculum conception based on a dynamic notion of culture, understood in terms of creation; in terms of production within a context of negotiation, conflict, and power relations. In another one of his works together with Moreira (Moreira and da Silva, 1999) the authors mention subjects and issues—old and emerging—in the field of curriculum in Brazil. Among them, the concept of hidden curriculum, not from the point of view of its frequent and easy use—which has led to a certain trivialization of the concept—but with the purpose of denaturalizing and historicizing the curriculum in order to propose alternatives that may transgress the existing curriculum order. They also express the need to review the disciplinary structure that seems to be one of the untouchable elements of the curriculum, especially for the purpose of understanding that this is one of the problems that has had such a profound impact that it contributes to the indifference that the school curriculum shows to the ways in which "popular culture" (television, music, videogames, and magazines) is presented to young people and to adults. It also highlights the role of new technologies, not only as regards the transmission of knowledge, but as regards the specific contents of knowledge as well.

Although these debates have taken the center stage within the field of curriculum studies today, they can only be slightly related to certain issues that are part of the curriculum discourse in Argentina. We can assert that the situation of the "Argentine field" is rather different from the subject matters that are characteristic of its international peers.

Main Notes of the Discourse on Curriculum in Argentina

What are the central issues and debates in the field of curriculum studies in Argentina? What is the role of curriculum specialists? What are the features of the intellectuals and scholars who work in this field?

Between the years 1983 and 1998, 29 books on curriculum were published and 25 articles on this subject were written in academic magazines specialized in education. The progression year by year tells us that, for the studied period, the publication of books on curriculum has only recently begun to show a significant increase in volume since the year 1994, with a similar situation in the case of magazine articles.

If we analyze the list of authors of books and magazine articles, we will not find significant recurrences. There are only a few cases of authors who have published articles in magazines about something which, prior to or after its publication, became a book on that subject matter.

If we consider the subject matters, in our country there is a concentration of theoretical production on curriculum in the subject matters of design, development, and innovation of the curriculum.

Up to the present day, we have seen a significant separation of knowledge as regards the curriculum: the surveyed discourses account for a wide range of subjects with little development about the theoretical problems of the field. Two types of recurrent subjects appear: one that involves prescriptions about the construction of curriculum design, and another that is the subject of curriculum innovation.

If we consider the field conceptualization by Bourdieu[2] as regards curriculum studies, the interchange among producers of curriculum discourse in Argentina becomes difficult since there are no game rules that are common to all of them: there is no "single market" where intellectual production may circulate. Moreover, the limits that separate them from other similar fields are not clear: for example, from Didactics, or from Educational Sociology, or from Educational Policy).[3] We can also say that there is no degree of accumulated capital, a specific capital, the possession of which may act as a requirement for entering into the field.

All of this reveals a weak structuring and a low relative autonomy of the field of curriculum studies in Argentina, which have such an impact that the decision about what is researched and how and the assessment of those productions is imposed from the outside, from other disciplinary fields with a greater tradition in our country, such as Didactics, for instance. This characteristic, which we shall call "satellization,"[4] of the discourse regarding curriculum in Argentina, is the fundamental feature that allows us to identify the type of discourse productions by Argentine educationalists.

As we have mentioned earlier, the majority of the productions on curriculum, according to their subject matter, can be grouped in matters of design or matters of curriculum innovation. This seems to be clearly in keeping with the issues mentioned by Mariano Narodowski as regards pedagogy in the postmodern era: concerns focused on how, with a real interest in finding ways to perfect practice, infallible methods, and educationalists considered as specialists. This trend is partly justified by the big movement of Education Transformation, which has settled in our country since the year 1989 and in which everything related to curriculum policies has played a central role.

Probably, this may also be related to the "satellization" of curriculum studies, which have been included within disciplinary fields with a greater tradition in our country. Understood in terms of negotiation, conflict, and power—as mentioned by Tomaz Tadeu da Silva(1999a)—the characteristics of the production on curriculum are governed by the theorizing practices[5] that are considered as valid by Didactics. If we are within the paradigm of how, we can expect the production on curriculum to be focused fundamentally on matters of argumentative logic of a technical nature.

Certain conditions of the professional field explain the situation of curriculum theorizing in Argentina. As we have said earlier, our country has few university departments on this issue, and curriculum is usually approached within the programs of education policy or didactics, the specialists of which are generally interested in research subjects that contribute little to the specific study of curriculum issues. Moreover, there are even fewer research projects, and there are absolutely no specialized magazines that may encourage specific production. For those who are interested in the curriculum field, the best opportunity for development has been professional activity, insofar as academic centers pay little attention to this matter.

On the other hand, the processes of educational reform of the nineties have triggered the work of curriculum elaboration, so that today, there are many professionals who have taken part, at least once or for a while, in the elaboration of a curriculum. As a result, curriculum issues have strongly become part of the contemporary pedagogic agenda. Today, we talk about curriculum and about curriculum devices, whereas years ago we talked about planning, minimum contents, or study plan. Within the frame of the reform processes, the curriculum is outlined as a specific object that is becoming the focal point of relevant analyses. It is also presented as a set of contents in the training of future teachers and professors, which is in line with its importance for the understanding of contemporary education processes.

It would be beyond the scope of this work to perform a detailed analysis of the consequences that this proliferation of curriculum design works has had in the production of a normative nature on the processes of curriculum elaboration. Our goal is to focus on specialists and not, at this stage, to analyze the Curriculum Reform. Along this second line, it would be essential to resort to the analysis of the texts elaborated by the Federal Education Council and other technical entities in education in our country.

However, it is necessary to point out that the growing political importance of curriculum and its impact on the configuration of new professional entities do not have a recognizable correlative in curriculum production. In particular, there has been little change, in the case of Argentina, in the situation that Feldman and Palamidessi (1994) defined once as a normative weakness of curriculum theorizing: the reform processes have not even produced recognized design procedures, parameters for the assessment of curriculum policies, or research programs aimed at producing knowledge on the curriculum processes in their different areas.

Recent Productions

Education discourses and theories regarding education are placed within the frame of Social Sciences and are affected by the controversy that has developed around knowledge, science, the notion of reality, the methodology problem, scientific validity, and conceptual rigor, which, although we shall not explain specially, we cannot refrain from mentioning.

The set of meanings that appears in Social Sciences and in education as a part of them requires a conceptual approach that may bear in mind its complexity: like any discourse on education, the discourse on curriculum refers to an object that implies a social action and, because of that, it articulates different functions related to practice, and it uses a type of code that characterizes it.

Understanding that messages overlap and have referents in different areas and that despite that they still become a type of knowledge, which means realizing that the visions generated from a center tend to deny the differences; that is, the others. In the case to which we refer, this allows us to understand why, in our country, the discourse on curriculum appears as a satellite of the didactic and political discourses.

However, it is our intention to point out the lack of continuity that is present in what we could consider as the transdiscursive paradigm of curriculum studies in Argentina. Ruptures regarding certain subject matters that are beyond the purely technical question (in line with the paradigm of how) and that do not refer to matters of ethnic groups or gender or are related to singularities.

Regarding this subject, there are many works which, since the 1990s, have begun to account for a growing concern about the generation of a space of production and research on curriculum studies in our country, though late compared with other countries in our region. These scholars[6] point out the need to encourage the consolidation of a space to consider curriculum in Argentina which, as we have attempted to show, cannot be replaced with other academic traditions.

All of these works have been frequently published in academic magazines or in papers in congresses rather than in a "book" format. Authors who are mostly young work on different subject matters and from perspectives that are different from one another. Some of them are more focused on theoretical issues concerning the normativity of the curriculum, issues related to teaching practices regarding curriculum. Others are definitely in favor of theoretical reflections and practical actions about what they call "curriculum in action."

If a place can be defined as a place of identity, relational and historical, how can we relate this concept to the issue we are dealing with? By showing the possibility of another interpretation of the search for a place for curriculum knowledge in Argentina: trying to understand what this knowledge is generated around, its genealogical construction referring to an instrument (curriculum design), and understanding Didactics as a field for reflection, which is the constituent element in the constellation of curriculum knowledge in Argentina.

Update[7]

It has been 10 years since we presented some ideas in an attempt to build up the map of the Argentine body of work on curriculum on the basis of the fundamental idea that curriculum is a field of study and practices of paramount importance within educational sciences. The almost uninterrupted succession of educational reforms revolving around curriculum that have been imposed by the State since the 1990s has not been matched by an increase in the theoretical body of work regarding curriculum. On the contrary, a noticeable fragmentation can be observed in the knowledge related to curriculum, manifested in a wide range of underdeveloped topics regarding theoretical problems in the field.

When extending the analysis to the 2000–2010 period, most of the local theoretical body of work can be placed within the *curricular design and innovation* category. In line with the concerns that have marked the thinking of curriculum in Argentina from the beginning, the pedagogists' theoretical body of work was linked mainly to the subject of the design and innovation of the curriculum. Still, certain emphases can be pointed out that relocate the body of work in the following dimensions:

1. The impact of curricular reforms on school teachers' and principals' work has been dealt with in a significant number of published papers. Among them, the following stand out:
   - Papers analyzing the meaning teachers attach to the modifications triggered by curricular innovations. They analyze the way curricular innovation may or may not foster some kind of change in the teachers' work perspective; they aim to show the new *key points* in the curricular discourse and policy (Feldman, 1990, 1994; Gvirtz and Palamidessi, 1998; Terigi, 1999; Lucarelli, 1993; Poggi, 1995; Gvirtz, 1997; Amantea, Cappelletti, Cols, and Feeney, 2006; Zoppi, 2008).
   - Papers warning against the advancement of less explicit codes of curricular preparation and administration. These papers highlight the need to adopt a regulatory perspective strengthening the ability to actively intervene in the regulation of practices, contrasting it with a perspective that supports the convenience of an implicit intersubjective agreement and favors it over the explicit statement of arguments and over the value of the regulatory agreement. Some problematic issues are raised as to the new curricular body of work, related to the visibility, consent, and regulatory framework. (Feldman and Palamidessi, 1994)
2. The curriculum as text (project) regulating pedagogical activity. The curriculum shapes the project on the whole, organizing the school's educational activities, determining their aims, and providing guidelines for teachers' actions. It results in a series of philosophical, pedagogical, and psychological principles that display the general orientation of a country, region, or institution's educational system. The aim of curricular design is to make the project explicit in advance, i.e., to set out its objectives and action plan orienting the development of the educational activities as a whole. Understood as a written project, the curriculum is a guide and help for those who are responsible for carrying it out.
3. Papers gathering the approaches of educational sociology—specifically the contributions of Bernstein and Bourdieu. Also, those papers introducing the perspective of curriculum history. All of them are positioned in the productive dialogue between the pedagogical theories, the curriculum, and the history of education in the country.

Finally, there is a relevant body of work that has been written in outreach magazines that have a large readership in the educational system. These texts feature recommendations on how to implement the new curricula or they spread research findings from the perspective of special didactics. Along this line, the magazine *Novedades Educativas* stands out. It is a magazine published monthly and is of interest to professors, teachers, principals, and supervisors at all educational levels and is also of interest to students of teacher training courses and of courses of studies such as educational sciences, psychology, psychopedagogy, and social work.

The materials published in it anticipate macro- and micro-educational situations; contribute elements for analysis; suggest opportunities for actions and resources as well as innovative didactic strategies; provide information on alternative experiences and projects as well as updates and training; cover national and international events; feature articles on and interviews with foreign important figures; and provide information on courses, workshops, conferences, and seminars. Teachers, experts, researchers, and institutions are continuously being invited to submit their articles, papers, experiences, and proposals for publication in the magazine so as to be shared with their fellows.

The magazine *Novedades Educativas* has supported the educational transformation that took place in 1993 and is currently supporting the succession of policy revisions by means of articles written by pedagogists, professors, or other actors in the educational system. Since then, the magazine has devoted several issues to curriculum, laying special emphasis on some articles that translate curriculum-related news into *real* experiences that can be applied in the classroom embracing the special didactics perspective as their linchpin.

Although the introduction of curriculum theory in Argentina has been marked by the rational technical approach adopted by official discourse, some local authors give an account of the impact the critical approach has on the curriculum when it comes to dealing with topics related to the processes of university curriculum design and initial education teacher training. There are not many papers within the Argentine curriculum-related body of work that take a critical perspective; however, a series of papers can be highlighted that follows up Barco's concern with design processes in the area of university curriculum or Remedi's and Furlán's concern with teacher training processes. Along these thematic lines, we can highlight the work of researchers from several national universities: La Pampa National University, Entre Ríos National University, Del Centro National University and Buenos Aires University.

Notes

1. The aspects which, according to Schwab (1964) define a theoretical discipline are: (a) Which are the limits of the discipline field; (b) Which are the ways in which evidence is provided and the veracity of certain statements or generalizations; that is, what kind of methodology is legitimate within a certain field of research, which Schwab calls syntax and; (c) the identification of basic concepts which guide the research and give rise to generalizations of different types; that is, the substantive structure of the discipline. Schwab, J. 1964: "Structure of the disciplines: Meanings and significances." In *The Structure of Knowledge and Curriculum.* Rand McNally: Chicago.
2. According to Bourdieu (1995), a field can be defined as a network or a configuration of relations among positions. The field can be compared to a game: thus, there are bets resulting from the competition between the players, an investment in the game, the players become trapped by the game. And if there are no antagonisms, sometimes ferocious, between them, it is because they place a belief in the game and the bets, an acknowledgment which is not called into question (the players, by participating in the game, accept that such a game is worth playing). In every field there are valid and efficient cards—called victories—the relative value of which varies according to the fields and according to the successive states of a single field. In every field, there is also a capital that is the efficient factor of a given field and allows its holder to exercise a power, an influence, to exist in a determined field.
3. It is appropriate to mention the impact of the disciplinary field of Education Sociology and the Education Policy in the configuration of the "field" of curriculum studies in Argentina. However, it is the central objective of this analysis to refer to the relations that link the "field" of Curriculum with that of Didactics.
4. Satellite: (From the Latin "satelles": member of an escort). It is applied to the state or country that is theoretically independent, but, in fact, subject to the tutelage of another more powerful, generally its neighbor. From Moliner, María (1994): *Diccionario de uso del español* Madrid, Gredos, vol. II. In the field of curriculum, powerful countries would be represented by Didactics and Education Policy, whereas the Curriculum would act as a satellite.
5. In the words of Carr (1996), ". . . One of the ways in which we can begin to take an interest in the relation between theory and practice as a public process is to consider theory and practice in terms of social relations and social structures. We could begin by contemplating these social relations in terms of roles . . . it is not only about separating the places and times in which to theorize from the places and times of practice. . . . The analysis of theory and practice in terms of roles quickly becomes confusing when we think about the complexity of the relations between the theories and practices of the so-called theorists and the theories and practices of the so-called practicalists. We need to clarify exactly what practices (and whose) and what theories (and whose) are considered in each moment" (Carr 1996, 33).
6. Some of them are: Sonia Araujo, María Cristina Davini, Silvia Duluc, Inés Dussel, Daniel Feldman, Mariano Palamidessi, Liliana Petrucci, Daniel Suárez, Flavia Terigi, and Ana MarÌa Zoppi.
7. This update for the second edition of the Handbook was composed by Silvina Feeney.

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7

The Curriculum Field in Brazil Since the 1990s

ALICE CASIMIRO LOPES AND ELIZABETH MACEDO

Introduction

When we earlier discussed the scope of the curriculum field in Brazil in the 1990s (Lopes and Macedo, 2003), we stressed the difficulty of defining the boundaries of the field and from then on defended its hybrid character. At the time, we emphasized how the curriculum descriptor encompassed a multiplicity of educational research in the country, and we used as an example of this multiplicity, the fact that the database of research groups from a major Brazilian founding agency (CNPq) includes 117 entries for the curriculum descriptor, encompassing literacy, knowledge and culture, specific curricular innovations, new technologies, interdisciplinarity, theoretical and practical discussions, and studies on teaching specific subjects, mostly supported by constructivist approaches.

After more than 10 years, the plurality of theoretical approaches and objects of study remains characteristic of the field. The same survey in the CNPq database shows that 614 groups do research described as related to curricular discussions or including lines of research in curriculum studies. Besides indicating the growth of the field, these data show that thematic dispersion continues. There is a crossover of both, research aiming at improving teacher activity in the classroom or in specific subjects involving school culture or schooling as a whole and investigations that produce curriculum theory to analyze the different aspects linked to politics, culture, history, the school daily life, or the dynamics of knowledge.

We interpreted this plurality as being a result of the appropriation and educational reinterpretation by a wide range of sociology and philosophy authors, and it led us to conclude that it did not fit an epistemological priori definition of what came to be knowledge about curriculum, capable of providing predefined boundaries to the field, regardless of the social practices of legitimization of the knowledge. We support our study using the concept of Bourdieu's intellectual field (1983, 1992, 1998) to argue that the curriculum field was constituted as a space in which different social actors, holders of certain social and cultural capital in the area, legitimized concepts of curriculum theory and disputed among themselves the power of defining authority in the area. As an intellectual field, we understood the curriculum field as a producer of theories about school curricula, legitimized as such by competitive struggles in the field and their products being, what Bourdieu terms, objectified cultural capital.

Using this concept, we analyzed the social production of the field focusing on articles, chapters, reports, papers presented in events by group leaders, organized in theoretical trends which were capable of bringing together other researchers around them. We understood that the dominant power relations in the field are what caused certain contributions to prevail according to their specific interests and goals. So, our focus then was on social actors with legitimacy attained by the presence in institutionalized bodies and thus capable of having authority to talk about curriculum and also allow other actors, related to them in research groups, to do the same.

Bourdieu's perspective contributes to an understanding of the character of social construction of knowledge about curriculum and also dispels the classification of curricular trends reliant on methodological forms or choices of objects of investigation. Such an approach avoids the reification of traits that epistemological theories emphasize by not understanding knowledge as legitimized by the internal logic of research, dissociated from power issues. However, the concept of the intellectual field remains supported by an idea of structure able to maintain some degree of essentializing subjectivities operating within it. The focus on actors or social groups active in the field entails establishing their identities as reflections of a given social reality. Actors and social groups are therefore analyzed as constituted identities. As much as this reality is understood as a social construction, identities assume the category of epiphenomena of this reality, making the relational dimension between identities, reality, and their mutual constitution disappear. This approach also helps to minimize the importance of the political game because the investigation remains focused on politics as a result of the rational action of essentialized identities, disconnected from power, conflict, and ontological dimensions that update society instituting a difference (Marchart, 2007; Mouffe, 2005).

Using the theory of discourse and postfoundational approaches that currently guide our investigations, we argue that, to overcome these traces of essentialization still internalized in this first interpretation of the intellectual field of curriculum, we must consider the actors and social groups as being subjectified in mutual relations developed in the political struggle for defining what curriculum means. It is a discursive struggle which momentarily develops the equivalence between different subjects depending on the antagonism to chains formed by differential elements expelled from a given articulation. For these equivalences, discourses are constituted as inevitable temporary fixations.

Laclau (2005) argues that discourse is the primary terrain of constitution of objectivity because the constituent elements do not pre-exist the relations of discursive formation. The relations of combination and substitution between the elements are made while the discourse is produced. One can assert that all identity, all subjectivity is relational, always a process that depends on acts of power, and therefore, exclusion. In representing signifiers—such as, for example, curriculum—in a certain way, some meanings are excluded; other possibilities of subjectivity cease to operate. The full significance is impossible, making any totality the flawed result of a hegemonization because it is always constituted by lack.

In questioning the focus of social science research in the social group, by this being a unit of analysis that does not incorporate the relational approach and the dynamics of articulation, Laclau (2008) defends the focus on demands. Valuing the characteristic ambiguity of the term—as an affirmation of a need through a request and as a claim to a right—the author develops the difference between isolated demands, differential particularities that may or may not be satisfied, and demands that, once being articulated by equivalence, could constitute a particular subjectivity in political struggle. The equivalence between demands ensures an articulation to the extent that explicit needs in a request are assumed as rights to be claimed in a process that constitutes the social. Thus, the claim is not expressed in isolation, but through the process in which social needs are rendered equivalent by being conceived as rights denied by an exterior that, in this way, also contributes to define rights as such. Every exterior is institutive of the border and identities arising from the articulation, but in this case, the identification is not due to some kind of essence, but to the absence that is expressed by the antagonistic exterior.

In shifting this interpretation to the curriculum field, we chose to consider the curricular demands as our unit of analysis. Instead of social actors being the centers from which emanate the approaches and curriculum options that vie for legitimacy, these approaches and curriculum options—understood as demands—are produced in the quest for ensuring certain political purposes of the curricular field. In this way, they constitute the subjectivity of social actors and their integration into communities.

The formation of a community curriculum around these equivalent demands implies at the same time the antagonism to what is excluded and an opposition to the particularities. It is by the permanence of this opposition that the game of difference remains, and the community does not settle once and for all. The undecidability of the structure remains because the antagonism has no a priori determination, no objective sense: it blocks identities and expresses their contingency at the same time that it constitutes them.

The history of the curriculum field can only be the accumulation of sedimentation, always supplemented, which we call traditions (Mouffe, 1996). When we analyze the field and elaborate a paper like this one, we state names, and thereby, subjectify certain groups, building what we call the curriculum field. We know that this construction is dependent on our research and our own performance in the field. The actions in founding agencies, as peer reviewers, in student advising, in dissertation exams and teacher selection, and in writing papers are themselves forms of hegemonizing certain meanings for curriculum, which we now treat as the expression of this field.

Set apart from the pretension of totality, we try to analyze some of the articulations constituted, through which we are also subjectified. We highlight the clash between post-structural and critical approaches, and within, we place specific demands around certain themes: knowledge, culture, everyday life, and politics. We understand these themes as discourses, articulations among curricular demands with some level of equivalence capable of hegemonizing certain practices, in which differences remain operating. We try to give some visibility to this game between equivalences and differences. Thus, the chosen themes put together different theoretical discourses about curriculum in the decades under consideration. They intersect each other, they dialogue with each other, the frontiers fade between them. Each theme can be understood as a product of an articulation between different demands about curriculum that caters to certain political goals.

To do this, we started exploring the prevalence of critical theory in the 1980s and 1990s, the transition to post-structuralism and the various appropriations of post-structural and postfoundational thought. Next, we analyzed the sedimentation around the themes already highlighted, considering the political purposes that ensure these discursive articulations.

Hybridity Between Critical and Post-Structural Perspectives

In Brazil, the 1980s were marked by the ending of a military dictatorship that had lasted for 15 years and was characterized by strong economic dependence on international organizations, alignment with the United States in regard to foreign policy during the Cold War, and an internal nationalist stance in the name of national security. In the educational field, an entire technical tradition introduced in the country by international agreements during the dictatorship began to be replaced by Marxist authors. The Tylerian rationale, as well as perspectives related to the cognitivism of Bruner and Ausubel, fell into crisis, not exactly by their exhaustion, but by political changes through which the country had passed. It was a transition advocated much more in the political field, unlike what had happened in the United State, where, although there was a socio-political environment favorable to the debate, it also took place in the educational field. In short, we can say that the field resurged in the 1980s, marked by the New Sociology of Education (NSE), by North American Marxist authors like Henry Giroux and Michael Apple, by the resumption of the thought of Paulo Freire, and by the historical-critical pedagogy, the latter an educational reinterpretation of the Marx dialectical method.[1]The dialogue also encompassed authors from the field of sociology and philosophy, such as Pierre Bourdieu, Antonio Gramsci and Henri Lefebvre.

Apart from the theoretical debate in the field, curricular policies of the 1980s were also marked by Marxist theories. In the early 1980s were the first direct elections of state governors and then of mayors. The opposition to the dictatorship made virtually all executive leaders, and in the field of education, many state and/or municipal curricular proposals were constructed in dialogue with critical theory, especially with the historical-critical pedagogy and the Freirean approach. The debate between these two theoretical lines was dominant in the field during the 1980s.

In the early 1990s, the globalization discourse and so-called neoliberalism, hegemonic in different parts of the world with the end of the Cold War, was introduced more strongly in Brazil. The barriers against imports decreased significantly, stock markets fell, the concern with the control of public spending increased, and alignment with the global economy was considered urgent. In terms of curriculum policies, the decade saw increasing attempts by the central power to control the curriculum, this control based on the establishment of competence for the international market and the national (and even international) evaluation of school performance. This movement in the field gave rise to a production focused on criticism of State intervention curricula as well as various aspects that this intervention involved. The main theoretical matrix of these complaints was critical. For the most part, this production was not clearly derived from research but had political intentions for questioning and dismantling State intervention.

At the same time, in the first half of the decade, the field held the critical benchmarks of the 1980s. Reviews of critical authors—like Young, Apple, and Giroux—were frequent. Studies on the selection, organization, and distribution of knowledge, emphasizing topics such as ideology and power, were central, focusing formal curricula more clearly. Studies of the schooling constituted a second group of concerns, especially the work of authors who were devoted to the analysis of everyday school life as a space for the construction of curricula. In this case also, the dialogue preferred was in some way connected to the critical theory of Lefebvre and Bourdieu.

Gradually, the hegemony of Marxist thought shared space with post-structural perspectives more generically postmodern.[2] As of the mid-1990s, it was already possible to observe race and gender issues being part of the agenda of the field, but especially the questioning of Modern meta-narratives, and an increase in Foucault studies. Authors such as Deleuze and Guatarri, Morin, de Certeau, and Foucault himself started to tense the Marxist hegemony in the field. Especially important in this regard, was the work of Tomaz Tadeu da Silva who brought to the discussion, through countless translations and papers of his own, the transition between critical theory and postmodernism, as well as a large number of Foucauldian studies in the curriculum field. Throughout the second half of the 1990s and a considerable part of the next decade, Silva retained strong participation in the publishing market, coordinating numerous collections for various publishers.

The trajectory of Silva's work is very expressive of the movement of the field throughout the 1990s. At the beginning of the decade, the main focus of the author (Silva, 1992) was the analysis of the processes of selection, organization, and distribution of school knowledge and the place of curriculum in the dynamics of production and reproduction of capitalist society. At this point, the author did not just defend Marxist perspectives like he repudiated postmodernism as an ideology associated with the triumph of the right. In 1993, however, Silva (1993) began a process of dialogue between critical and postmodern perspectives, identifying ruptures and continuities between them.

Although over the decade and the subsequent one, Silva has moved away from the idea that, in addition to rupture, there are similarities between postmodern perspectives and critical theories, this position initially advocated by the author was (and still is) one of the strongest marks in the curriculum field since the 1990s. Critical theory and postmodernism—and even post-structuralism—have coincided more or less consciously in the curriculum field in Brazil. The theoretical movement of Silva, who in the early 1990s sought to reconceptualize some central categories of critical thought in the light of post-structural and postmodern perspectives, can still be felt in many current discussions of the field. Therefore, it is worth reestablishing how themes dear to the Marxist discussion of the curriculum field were reread, by Silva, according to such views, in a double movement that emphasized the continuities at the same time that it sought "to expand" the way they were perceived.

Silva (1993) highlights the criticism of meta-narratives and of the idea of truth as relevant contributions of postmodern/post-structural thought. Still very early, Silva pointed out the constitutive character of language in relation to reality and stressed the relationship between knowledge and power. The ramifications of this set of issues for the curriculum field were explored, however, still in little depth. The author emphasized the impossibility of limiting interests involved in the selection and organization of knowledge to an economic realm, introducing concerns such as race, gender, and sexuality among those that should be subject to attention in the curriculum field. Assuming the discursive approach, Silva also accentuated the idea that the Marxist concept of ideology presupposed true knowledge—and one unitary idea of truth—and defended the idea that all narratives were partial, there being no privileged position (class) for delivering discourses. Accordingly, there would not be a privileged epistemological point of view, but different non-equivalent discourses, to the extent that the power relations are asymmetrical.

Despite the defense of a relativistic and unrealistic perspective of knowledge, Silva approached it from the concept of social construction of knowledge, present in the work of Young (1978) and the NSE. Although noting that, to the NSE, knowledge remains intersubjectively shared as a referent, the author claims that the post-structuralist theories are not that innovative. They would deal only with the passing from weak relativism to strong relativism. To the author, the process of valuing differences would be present at the NSE, being radicalized in the post-structural approach.

This approximation is important, insofar as it explained Silva's position that post-structural theories were valued, using as a reference some central projects of critical theory, especially its political project. The contradictory movement undertaken by the author in defense of this project would represent an important hallmark of the curriculum field in Brazil. In presenting the postmodern critique to meta-narratives, Silva stressed the impossibility of a future project or an education for liberation or emancipation, as critical theories have proposed. He denounced this claim as a meta-narrative that oppressed the complexity and diversity of the world. In this line of reasoning, the author criticized modern pedagogy for presupposing the subject as unitary consciousness, homogeneous and centered, advocating subjectivity as fragmented, decentralized, and contradictory. At the same time, however, the author pointed out that the risks to postmodernity, when highlighting micro-narratives, constituted in a conservative movement, even bringing it closer to neoliberalism (Silva, 1995a). In contrast, he proposed a commitment to a critical educational project.

Silva's thought, during the first decade of the 2000s, headed towards attitudes clearly more post-structural, with a further deepening of relations between knowledge and power, around Foucault, and between knowledge and representation. Also, the theme of identity and difference, and its unfolding of the concept of culture, is developed by the author. References to Derrida (Silva, 1993), Deleuze and Guatarri (Silva, 2005), and even Nietzsche (Silva, 2001) make the post-structural turning point of the author more visible, from which he abandons the position that there is continuity between critical theory and post-structural thought.

It is not our objective, therefore, that the exercise of emphasizing the continuity between critical theory and post-structural thought in Silva's initial work is seen as critical to the author. This type of association was carried out by different authors (Giroux, 1998; Beyer and Liston, 1993; Shapiro, 1993) when entering the post-structural perspectives in the curriculum field, not being exclusive to Silva's work. Our intention is to simply understand a very present feature in this field in Brazil, namely the blend between post-structural/postmodern concerns and elements of critical theory, especially the defense of an educational project and a certain degree of universalism or weak relativism. This blend will be our guiding principle as we explore those that constitute the main curricular demands of the field in Brazil.

But before we move on to such topics, it is worth exploring, even in general terms, the movement of the field from the late 1990s. The post-structural/postmodern turn constituted a mark in the curriculum field in Brazil from the second half of the 1990s. For one thing, although critical theories may appear to inform the bulk of research on curriculum developed in the country, the control of publications and spaces for the dissemination of academic production by hegemonic groups ensures greater visibility to discussions with a post-structural basis. Secondly, the updating of some post-structural concerns—covering topics that are associated with some of society's demands for attention to culture and difference, for example—make its incorporation inevitable, in very different ways, to the theoretical production of the field. Regardless of the ways in which the dialogue occurs between the field and post-structural, postmodern, and postcolonial studies, since the turn of 2000, writers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Boaventura de Souza Santos,[3] Michel de Certeau,[4] Edgard Morin, Gilles Deleuze, Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, and Ernesto Laclau have become frequent references.

The analysis of the themes that become more central, articulating demands of different groups, now suggests substantial changes compared to previous decades. The focus on culture, multiculturalism, and discussions of identity and difference has become one of the most prominent, as well as the most discursive approach of curricular policies (Carvalho, 2011). Studies of everyday school life and of alternative curricula to what is called official power have expanded from the late 1980s and assume a more visible critique of Modern thought. Discussions about school knowledge remain important, but come to negotiate with post-structural concerns and the centrality of culture in contemporary societies.[5] Following the trend of the previous decade, the discourses of emancipation based on critical knowledge and perspectives exclusively based on the analysis of the social through economic structure were virtually abandoned.

This movement of incorporating post-structural/postmodern theories and concerns did not eliminate, however, categories and commitments of critical theories. As we point out in Silva's early work, one of the more central commitments has been a social change that may somehow be produced by curriculum. The relevance of this commitment is presented in the same way explained by Silva in the early 1990s: a supposedly inexorable trend of nihilistic post-structural and postmodern thought. Thus, the repertoire of post-structural meanings appears imbricated, in a more or less diffuse way, to the utopia that curriculum may come to constitute an alternative space for the expression of innovative and destabilizing subjectivities of hegemonic discourses. To do this, a subject is designed—a teacher, a student, a practitioner, a cosmopolitan, a counter-hegemonic person, an anti-neoliberalist—able to work in this direction and constitute this curriculum.

Although the subjects projected are diverse in many different authors, the idea that education is an instrument capable of producing social change, undertaking a utopian project, remains. The defense of a schooling project aimed at social change is perhaps the strongest expression of critical theories in a field that is characterized by the incorporation of increasingly sharp post-structural/postmodern thought. This is a strongly hegemonic meta-narrative in the struggles for meaning of what comes to be curriculum. We will take, for the remainder of this text, four themes that express the articulation of recent demands of the curriculum field in Brazil—knowledge, culture, everyday life, and politics—seeking to discern the post-structural/postmodern shift and prevalence of this meta-narrative.

Knowledge

During the 1980s, the debate about curricular knowledge was central, involving the clashes between the historical-critical pedagogy of Dermeval Saviani and popular education nucleated by Paulo Freire. Agitated by political differences in conducting the struggles of the Left in the country, the most compelling debate in this period oscillated between the different ways of interpreting the knowledge of students constructed in social practices. The followers of Saviani argued that popular education, in the name of a process of conscientization, neglects systematic knowledge, undermining the possibility of critical view of the working classes. That is why they considered the systematic knowledge as a condition to this critical view. In turn, popular educational theorists criticized that historical-critical pedagogy excessively values the academic knowledge, thus running the risk of separating the transmission and production of knowledge. These discussions, even if they did not necessarily develop in a curricular register, greatly influence the debates of the field, whether by agreement with one of two positions, or by opposition to the limits of both.

Thus, curriculum thought in the early 1990s is marked by issues related to critical perspective around knowledge as a significant—the connection between legitimate knowledge, hegemony, and processes of economic exclusion; reasons and effects of the unequal distribution of knowledge, the naturalization of academic knowledge as being more valid and more accurate; and questioning the selection of school knowledge. Authors such as Michael Apple, Michael Young, Henry Giroux, Paulo Freire, and Ivor Goodson are the basis of many studies about school knowledge and the critical-historical perspective, although questioned for keeping the reification of knowledge and an evolutive claim of student knowledge through schooling remains a reference, explicit or not. There are several studies in which the main concern is to challenge the naturalization of disciplinary organization and of centrality in the logical sequence of content (Santos and Moreira, 1995; Moreira, 1995, 1996). Studies that question the hierarchy between scientific knowledge and school knowledge through the defense of cultural diversity that can provide to the different knowledge cognitive configurations and its own social purposes begin to appear (Lopes, 1999). To the extent that the post-structural studies are incorporated into the field, there is a certain shift towards discussions about culture.

One would expect that over the years, with the deepening in postfoundational and postcolonial theories, the shift would be radicalizing and that knowledge would lose its centrality, passing to be considered one more of many discourses that socially dispute the possibility to hegemonize. However, considering the studies clearly post-structural that begin to emerge in the mid-1990s and the following decades, knowledge still remains a major theme. Interdisciplinarity, different school subjects, planning, and other pedagogical devices are, among others, some of the privileged themes in the studies of the post-structural matrix, especially until the early 2000s.

Even more unexpectedly, the defense of knowledge as a central concern of the field has gained strength since the mid-2000s. Unlike what happens with a similar defense conducted by Young (2000, 2009), in Brazil, the critical matrix, although prevalent, is articulated to post-structural discussions. It is even possible to say that the defense of knowledge becomes even more powerful by the articulation between critical and post-structural studies. It is a defense that attempts to contemplate broader demands, in conceiving that school quality should include, in an associated way, legitimate knowledge and all demands of the difference associated with discussions of culture (Moreira, 2010).[6]

In this direction, the importance of knowledge is advocated in the construction of an autonomous identity of the student and its centrality in curriculum studies, as well as on behalf of the growing importance that knowledge plays in contemporary societies, its centrality being supported in schools (Moreira, 2000; Garcia and Moreira, 2003). At times, there is the return to the idea of "knowledge as knowledge," questioning its possible limitation as a tool for formation, awareness, individual promotion, or greater humanization of man (Moreira, 2007). To develop this argument, even theoretical discussions of Dewey are retrieved in order to emphasize that even progressivism does not neglect the logic of the disciplines in the defense of a student-centered curriculum or activities. In response to the growth of cultural studies, the risk that post-structural and postmodern studies entail a devaluation of content is emphasized (Moreira, 2007). To the extent that the formation of knowledge is characterized as a political formation capable of acting against economic and social exclusion, devaluation that postcritical discourse supposedly makes of politics is connected to a devaluation of knowledge.

Multiculturalism, the concern with analyzing issues of diversity in school that is placed beyond the teaching of subjects and deconstructing boundaries between high, popular, and mass culture is also articulated in this discourse (Canen and Moreira, 2001). Also, blended questions arise around fragmentation of identity and epistemological relativism betting on utopias of social transformation through the effects of knowledge on students. The logic of articulation of these discourses, on the one hand, is merely additive—the school has to take account of teaching while incorporating a contemporary multicultural agenda. On the other, it seems to develop in order to seek by all means to defend a quality public school, despite being hybridized projects that are based on political struggles with different perspectives.

Thus, there is a slide between a description that takes into account the challenges of postcritical theory and belief in a modern project of overcoming the crisis of modern society. This hybridity remains the same in most current studies that try to maintain the centrality of knowledge and school subjects from a matrix that articulates theoretical traditions of the history of school subjects, cultural studies, and theory of discourse (Gabriel, 2008; Gabriel and Ferreira, 2011). A theoretical proposal is to operate with the significant "disciplinary knowledge" in its various contingencies, in this case considered historical, like a trace of a sense of the past that is still active at present. An attempt to move away from what makes the meaning of subject/school knowledge and science/modern school equivalent is carried out by weakening the political role of what is meant by school. But equally, a departure from the perspectives that understand curriculum as culture, is attempted by considering, almost tautologically, that in this focus, curriculum loses its strength (knowledge itself).

The field keeps the focus on the purpose of political democratization of public school and its almost mandatory connection with knowledge is established. The significance of school, knowledge, and discipline are seen as able to unite democratic demands that are considered interesting to invest in, given the social policies and the policies in the field itself.

The discussion about knowledge in the curriculum field during this period starts, therefore, oscillating between relativism of acceptance of multiple knowledge sources as equally valid epistemologically and the universalism to consider the existence of some knowledge with a truth value higher than others, based on the most diverse criteria, but in general, linked to emancipatory, democratic purposes, or social change. Based on this discussion, individuals that dominate knowledge considered legitimate and those that dominate delegitimized knowledge are placed on opposite sides. Also placed on opposite sides, in an absolute way, are the subjects who select the knowledge of the curriculum and the subjects that are submitted to a selection made previously and can only resist or succumb to that given selection. In turn, curriculum is understood as a product of the selection of knowledge, making culture only a contested set of this knowledge.

With the entry of post-structural studies in the field, the debate becomes more complex, questioning fixed identities of subjects starts to coexist with democracy projects that still presuppose that, in some way, a fixed meaning, and thus, knowledge—and the subject formed by this knowledge—to act in this utopian struggle.

As developed in other matters, such clashes spread in both discussion of culture and politics as well as in everyday life discussion, so that knowledge eventually becomes central, even when seeking to question it.

Culture

As we have seen, from the second half of the 1990s, knowledge as a central theme of the curriculum field in Brazil begins to lose ground to culture at the same time the curriculum field is experiencing the transition between critical theory and post-structural perspectives. Even though both are different movements, they are strongly interwoven in the recent history of the field in the country. As part of the appropriation of post-structural and postmodern perspectives, initiated in the 1990s, the contact of the field with cultural studies, largely marked by such theoretical perspectives, widens. Even critical theory, which has been applied to the curriculum field in Brazil since the 1980s, came to incorporate, in later decades, the discussion of culture in a more central way (Apple, 1995; McLaren, 1991). It is important to note that the theme of culture has always been present in the appropriation of critical theory in the curriculum field. The NSE and Michael Apple, for example, bring the contribution of Raymond Williams marked by discussion of culture for the study of the processes of selection and distribution of knowledge. The option of Henry Giroux for the Frankfurt School walks in the same direction towards valuing culture. It is, however, a reading of culture that emphasizes the structural relations of society.

The shift that takes place based on the discussions of postmodernism and post-structuralism concerns the centrality of culture in the contemporary world, as well as its dimension of language. In a text of great influence on the curriculum field in Brazil, Hall (1997) distinguishes two dimensions of this centrality. There is a substantive dimension that stems largely from the transformation of the traditional spheres of society—economic, social, political, and cultural—that can be assimilated into a critical framework like what Apple and McLaren do, as well as Moreira (1999) does, in the curriculum field in Brazil. Hall (1997) calls the second dimension, the cultural turn, designating the displacement of cultural studies towards post-structural approaches, which is present in post-structural (Silva, 1994, 1995b, 1999a, 2000a, 2000b, 2001); Corazza, 2006; 2008; Paraíso, 2007; 2010) and post-colonial approaches (Macedo 2009, 2011a, 2011b).

In a synoptic text of the field published in 1994, culture emerges as a central theme of the critical analysis of curriculum, along with ideology and power, and the linguistic turn is identified as an emerging issue in education (Moreira and Silva, 1994). Discussions about globalization, about the increased contact between cultures, on the fragmentation of contemporary societies, as well as the broadening of the demands of minority groups, precipitate concern about multiculturalism and interculturalism. The universalization of education had also presented a new challenge to curriculum theory since the late 1980s. Thus, studies on multiculturalism become one of the most relevant topics for the field. The North American discussion, already quite present in organized movements, is also a preferred dialogue of the field, which defends proposals called by McLaren (1997) critical multiculturalism in a work of great influence in Brazil. Surveys on the penetration of discussions on multiculturalism and cultural diversity in theory, curricular policies, and in schools are conducted by different research groups on curriculum and start to impact the theoretical production of the field (Moreira, 2001; Moreira and Macedo, 2002; Canen and Moreira, 2001).

In general, this production blends critical thought with postmodern concerns, in line with what Hall calls subjective dimension. This mix is, in many cases, accepted by researchers themselves (Moreira, 1998), which operates on the assumption that society is multicultural and that the school needs to meet the challenges that plurality represent. The restlessness that drives the multicultural discussion of the field in Brazil can be summed up in the idea that, in a multicultural society, the various groups hold power differently within the social game. So the difference, assumed as positive, is associated with an inequality that needs to be fought. The curriculum needs to realize, at the same time, the respect for diversity and the school´s commitment to promoting social justice.

Although easily understandable in a country where there are large numbers of citizens below the poverty line, without access to minimum living conditions, the relationship between the acceptance of cultural diversity and the promotion of social equality makes explicit the power of critical thought. The cultures take on a double meaning: they are discursive productions, but they are also real, repertoires of meanings produced historically and shared by groups constituted previously. Social practices produce meanings, but at the same time, are taken as historical constructs, showing up the permanence of the critical discourse of the NSE that had great influence on the field in the 1990s. Despite cultural groups having lost their class character, being defined by affiliations such as race, gender, sexuality, and religion, the concern for equality is presented as economic, which ultimately replaces, in other words, the primacy of the economy on the culture.

Even with equality and social (and economic) justice being on the horizon, at some moments, cultural aspects are emphasized in the discussion about multiculturalism. The relations between cultures and the tension between universalism and relativism (Candau, 2000; Silva, 2000c) are highlighted, the dialogue between cultures as a way to overcome relativism is defended (Moreira, 2002), and intercultural methodologies for school work are proposed (Candau, 2006, 2009). At other times, culture and school knowledge draw close, whether by proposal that the content selection of school subjects traditionally found in the curriculum contribute to destabilize the dominant Eurocentrism by its confrontation with other logics (Macedo, 2004) or by taking up the idea of curriculum as a selective tradition of culture (Moreira, 2004). In the latter sense, from the late 2000s, the defense of the primacy of knowledge to the field is reintroduced, at times in association with discussions of culture (Gabriel, 2008) and at other times in a polarized debate that disqualifies culture as a relevant theme (Moreira, 2004, 2010).

In regards to the second dimension of the centrality of culture defined by Hall as cultural turn, the links with post-structuralism are clearer, although there are slides toward critical theory, especially at the political level (Macedo, 2006a). Such slides involve the defense that teachers take a critical role—based on moral, political, and ethical decisions—regarding the curriculum as a way to facilitate the combat against a social epistemology that discursively limits the chances of conceiving this world outside of a neoliberal and neoconservative context (Silva, 1999a). Nevertheless, at the epistemological level, the importance of the theme of culture is, by far, sustained in the field by demands of groups with a post-structural matrix.

Since the entry of post-structuralism in the curriculum field in Brazil, culture has been defined as a central theme. The research produced at Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) in the second half of the 1990s as well as the texts translated and published in the early works of disclosure of post-structuralism in the curriculum include culture as a privileged theme. Cultural studies based on the post-structural perspective become one of the important landmarks in the curriculum field in Brazil. The consequences of globalization on culture, emphasizing its potential to homogenize and the possibilities of escape, regulation of subjects operated by artifacts like Disney movies or Hollywood, and pedagogical devices as discourse regulators are a relevant part of the production of the time. Assuming the risk of generalization, we can say that more deterministic post-structural readings are privileged, especially the denouncing of regulatory processes.

At the turn of the 1990s into the new century, post-structural discussion had become firm in the field, and culture started to be related to the production of meaning, developed within a linguistic system. Realistic conceptions of knowledge and essentialist views of culture are criticized, and culture is defined as a productive, creative practice that is constructed through social relations which, by their nature, are always marked by power. It is not, therefore, a productive practice. The subjects, when producing meanings in culture, seek to obtain certain effects of power. These effects are most effective when they fix positions of subjects, create hierarchies, and favor asymmetries, being connected to the production of identities.

With such an understanding of culture, power, and its links with the construction of identities, studies in the curriculum field look to establish connections between curriculum, practices of signification, and representation (Silva, 1999a) and between curriculum and identity (Silva, 1999b; 2000b). Curriculum is defined as a practice of signification, but also with the use of the metaphor of representation, as a system of signification (Silva, 1999a). Curriculum would be one of the systems of meaning that produces a representation of the world, imbricated in relations of power. A power that defines discourses and constrains what can be represented, thus generating effects related to defining the identity of the subjects. As a practice of signification and representation, curriculum is then a productive practice of meanings and representation, which occurs within asymmetrical social relations, aiming at power effects among which stands out the production of social identities (Silva, 1999a, 1999b, 2000a). Unlike the initial studies of the field, there are no references to cultural artifacts—curriculum acts as culture, and culture is the very production of meaning within a system of meanings—indicating more consistent appropriation of the post-structural turn.

With the further consolidation of post-structuralism and the centrality that culture takes in the field, throughout the 2000s, other thematic approaches emerge, especially postcolonialism of the post-structural matrix. Ultimately, hybrid processes—by which cultures are constituted—gain prominence, trying to escape the notion of culture as a shared repertoire of meaning or put in a word like "thing." In particular, Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha become important references for the field in dialogue with both studies in/of/with everyday life (Ferraço, 2011; Carvalho, 2009) and discussions about the difference (Macedo, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2009, 2011a).

Regarding the latter, it is important to highlight the approaches and ruptures between studies of postcolonial matrix and those developed with a focus on multiculturalism. Discussions about the difference can be understood as a development of multicultural studies, which, with different theoretical contributions, focus on the discussion of cultural plurality. There is, however, a number of studies of difference that depart from critical theories, problematizing how stereotypes that mark the difference act in curricula (and in curricular policies) expelling everything that does not fit within the symbolic limits established by the cultures (Macedo, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2011a). It is important to stress that even though the studies are more markedly post-structural, they remain concerned with agency issues and with excessive relativism, making links with concerns related to critical theories explicit (Macedo, 2006c).

Studies of cultural difference assume the links between curriculum, culture, and practices of signification and representation as already described. From the dialogue with Bhabha, curriculum is defined as enunciation practices that create a third space, ambivalent, and where the difference can emerge (Macedo, 2011b). Curriculum is seen as instituting practice that takes into account the reiteration of traces of supposedly shared meaning, such as strategy of representing authority, without these meanings being taken as transparent or mimetic. The notion of culture that underlies this conception is therefore a hybrid, an ambivalent region that articulates tradition and a performative project that, with its mere existence, denies such tradition (Bhabha, 2003). The focus is not, however, on subordinate practices that would allow the difference to be perceived, but in curricular discourses aimed at controlling it or in articulations around the power of meaning that seek to fix temporary preferential meaning in very specific historical and cultural formations (Hall, 2003). In this sense, one bets on the possibility of symbolic displacements, via deconstruction, that reinserts the game of cultural difference, from the deferral of meaning, in a discourse intended to be unitary.

The movement from knowledge to culture as a key signifier in the field is homologous to the one from critical theory to post-structural approaches. Though culture has always been a theme related to curriculum, in critical matrix it is a repertoire from which knowledge is selected, and knowledge would be the central theme. Only by the end of the 1990s, culture appears in the curriculum field in Brazil as a key theme in the same movement that gives prominence to post-structural approaches. The relationship between knowledge and culture is not, however, one of substitution. As culture gains prominence, it spreads its importance beyond the post-structural approach and becomes a disputed signifier that different groups try to fulfill with diverse meanings. It starts to be considered in discussions about knowledge, as well as in studies in/of / with everyday life and curriculum politics. In this movement, culture can be treated, in plural, as diverse repertoires of meanings or as a signifying practice, being understood in a critical or post-structural matrix. Awkwardly, it can even reinforce the defense of universal knowledge as an answer to culture centrality in the field, blamed for not taking economic inequality as relevant. Thus, what culture means in the curriculum field in Brazil also slides between critical and post-structural approaches, though its centrality was marked by the growth of post-structural perspectives.

Studies in/of/with Everyday Life

Studies in/of/with everyday life constitute an important part of curricular production in the curriculum field in Brazil.[7] They date from the 1980s, when they were tied to discussions on teacher education carried out during the development of new regulatory frameworks for Brazilian education at the end of the dictatorship. Following trends of the 1980s, the main theoretical dialogues were given, at that time, by critical authors, especially Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre. Despite the theoretical references of the group being altered over the years, the focus remains on the refusal to deal with the separation between school and other life contexts of individuals. With regard to early work on teacher education, this implied the articulation of spheres, later called contexts, which, inhabited by the subjects, intertwine in a complex fabric. In appointing such contexts—the practices of academic formation, everyday pedagogical practices, the practices of government policies, the practices of collective movements, the research practices in education, and more recently, the production practices and "uses" of media and the practices in cities—another central aspect towards the approach becomes explicit, which is the importance of practice as the theoretical locus of knowledge production (Alves, 1998a, 1998b). Over the years, other contexts were added to the discussion, and studies in/of /with everyday life focused more explicitly on explore the relationship between them, developing the idea of daily living networks of knowledge and practices. The contexts are understood as that which constitute the subjects in their networks of subjectivities.

The visibility of studies in/of/with everyday life expands from the 1990s, which mirrors a general trend of the field in Brazil. It is from this decade on that theoretical work on curriculum broadens, as well as the consolidation of the graduate school program with a focus on research. At the end of the decade, the theses defended in studies in/of/with everyday life gain greater prominence.[8] The increased visibility of studies in/for/with everyday life comes with an expansion of objects in which they engage, as well as of the theoretical dialogues they establish. The fundamental reference to Lefebvre is replaced by Michel de Certeau, especially the work *The Practice of Everyday Life,*[9] seconded by postmodern/post-structural authors such as Edgard Morin, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, and Felix Guattari, as well as by Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Souza Santos.

The dialogue with the sharply post-structural/postmodern matrix, much like in the curriculum field in Brazil, brings some inflections to the discussion of studies in/of/with everyday life. In theorizing about the articulation of everyday contexts, the metaphor of network and the concept of rhizome are used, making the new theoretical links explicit. Understanding that curriculum and educational training are depositories of Modern ideals—following principles of linearity, order, and hierarchy, typical of Enlightenment science—daily life researchers propose that schools are thought from the notion of social practice, in which knowledge is produced according to everyday logic. To the extent that contemporary relations tend to greater fluidity, horizontality, creativity, and collectivization, they advocate that knowledge related to everyday actions should gain emphasis in relation to scientific knowledge.

Despite the centrality in everyday action, a considerable part of the discussion of studies in/of/with everyday life refers to the issue of knowledge, stating the relevance of this topic for the curriculum field debate in Brazil. The very concern, self-defined as understanding the "epistemology" of everyday practice with regard to educational spaces, already demonstrates the dialogue that the studies are establishing in the field. The tension that they aim to introduce refers to the very concept of knowledge, taken in a broad sense as to what is woven into complex networks that interpenetrate different contexts of social practice. This knowledge is described by Certeau as interwoven by means of tactical use of that which is already existing, following the path of certain improvisation. It is knowledge that refuses the pretension of the whole and is punctual and spreads out in the networks where it is practiced. It constitutes itself like practitioner tactics and is not necessarily represented by a text or articulated discourse, but by decisions and actions that "take the opportunity" to emerge (Alves, 1998c).

So, for studies in/of/with everyday life, the curriculum is what is practiced by individuals in the space-times in which they are being educated. It's an "everyday creation of those who make the schools and . . . practice that involves all the knowledge and interactive processes of pedagogical work done by students and teachers" (Oliveira, 2004, p. 9). This creation includes all the multiple contexts in which individuals are constituted as networks of subjectivities. Therefore, the formal curricula, scientific knowledge, and hegemonic practices are in the school as well as the beliefs and knowledge that the subjects bring, within themselves, from elsewhere. Obviously, at one time or another, some knowledge/skills have more power and are mobilized by subjects in the weaving of their alternatives. The forms of its use cannot be predicted when much can be studied after they happened. This study involves a researcher (also a practitioner) who intends to capture everyday life in his own chaotic logic, without trying to tame it (Alves, 2011).

The movement of studies in/of/with everyday life clearly illustrates the trajectory of the curriculum field in Brazil over the past decades, from a critical matrix to structuralist and post-structural perspectives. This passage is made, however, without two main pillars of critical thought being abandoned, which are certain realism and the utopia of emancipation. As for realism, it is necessary to emphasize that such studies incorporate the critique of realism, refusing to see reality as transcendental, hovering above the everyday weaving of knowledge. Paradoxically, it does not escape from the idea that knowledge needs and can refer to a reality. There is a concrete reality to be captured, narrated.

It is, however, the defense of a utopia of emancipation that most clearly approximates the studies in/of/with everyday life of critical theory. Any appreciation of everyday knowledge and questioning of Enlightenment science aims to understand how individuals are constructed as autonomous beings and how curriculum produces emancipatory practices in heavily regulated environments. By recognizing spaces and emancipatory practices in everyday school life, created by teachers in their uses and practices, a pedagogy of emancipation can be developed. Going further, a possible institutionalization of emancipatory practices can contribute to wider social and emancipatory processes (Oliveira, 2005, 2011). The visibility of emancipatory alternatives in everyday life would allow institutionalizing counter-hegemonic curricular acts/knowledge.

Also, in regard to emancipation, studies in/of/with everyday life seek dialogue with historical relevance of knowledge for the curriculum field. Citing Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Oliveira (2005) defends the realization of curricular experiences focused on knowledge-emancipation, defined in terms of dominant knowledge-regulation. Thus, an emancipatory project is not an absolute standard to be achieved, but something that is established in the comparative relationship with devices that regulate society.

Therefore, also with regard to emancipation, studies in/of/with everyday life approach critical theories paradoxically. They use concepts such as counter-hegemony and social change, but the focus on everyday life and on the subjects moves them away from a structural view of society. Emancipation is not an a priori design, but a construction; emancipatory utopias are practiced daily and need to be leveraged so that others can be invented. Thus, the future inventions inscribe the real and emancipatory that already takes place in daily life. They are utopian, as in critical concepts of the Modernity, but their plural character allows questioning the essentialism just as critical theories conceive them, for example, society and school. The invented future is plural by unpredictability, plurality and finitude that are given in daily life. In this sense, the emancipatory project is a project empowering practitioners—everyday individuals—to the extent that social change is no longer tied to a power structure far from everyday lives.

Politics

The curriculum field in Brazil before the 1990s does not give prominence to policy[10] debates, partly because its constitution in a critical perspective is made, based on the affirmation of the context of the practice of schools, in appreciation of the curriculum in action. To the extent that the concept of dominant educational policy in the country has Marxists and State-centric foundations, investigating policies has long been considered synonymous with investigating centralized regulatory provisions, distant from curricular practice, and therefore, not part of the interests of the field in focus .

In the 1990s, with the broadening critique of neoliberalism, globalization, and the effects that marketplace logic and new forms of management culture generated in Education, the focus on curriculum policy spread, especially by way of critical essays to national curricular parameters for fundamental education[11] (PCN/Paramêtros Curriculares Nacionais), published under the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–1998 and 1999–2003) and models of school management by use of total quality models.

The process of preparing the PCN was considered authoritarian and vertical for not counting on the broad participation of the educational community (Moreira, 1995, 1996; Silva, 1996). These policies, following the hegemonic critical thought of the time, were assessed as neoliberal and were analyzed as forming an economic, pragmatic, market- and consumer-oriented mentality in order to achieve profit-generating productive ends. Generally speaking, complaints were about the lack of commitment of the State with funding education, centralized control of the curriculum, and the influence of international organizations like the World Bank in defining curricula. Curricular reforms have also been interpreted as technocratic, by the high degree of association with Tylerian-like principles, although articulated to constructivism. An example of this articulation was found in the thought of César Coll, one of the leading consultants of Brazilian curricular reforms for fundamental education in the 1990s (Moreira, 1997). Many works criticized the notion of competence applied to curricula (Lopes, 2001) and the principles of inter/transdisciplinarity and contextualization used by the proposals (Domingues, Toschi, and Oliveira, 2000; Lopes, 2002). They were also highlighted as major drawbacks in curriculum policy, the naturalization of traditional contents, constituent of official knowledge in the terms of Apple, as well as the claim of a consensus in relation to knowledge, aiming for a common culture, and silence about the conflicts between knowledge in society (Moreira, 1995, 1996). This criticism was associated to allegations that teachers were being disqualified, and there was an intensifying of teaching work, mainly due to the expansion processes of student and school assessment (Silva, 1996).

Such formulations are anchored in the main authors of critical theory. Among those who stand out is Michael Apple, who had his major publications on the subject translated into Portuguese.[12] The political analyses assumed the view that there was a center of primordial power—the agencies that control the international flow of capital, the State, the government (at any level), and the capitalist economic structure—to determine policy. With this, the thesis of McDonaldization of the world—as established by George Ritzer—was reinforced due to globalization conceived as capable of saturating the social fabric of the capitalist world.

Curriculum reform in England, under the governments of Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher (1979–1990) and John Major (1990–1997), was also emblematic in the process of transforming the public education system by introducing neoliberal principles. With this, the spread of texts by English authors, not necessarily linked to the curriculum field, was favored with criticism of educational reforms in the United Kingdom, such as Stephen Ball. Ball (1994), taking on an eclecticism between critical and post-structural studies, gained prominence in curriculum policy studies in Brazil, mainly in the 2000s.

With Ball's appropriation for studies in curriculum policy, the displacement of Apple's more structured and State-centered analysis developed to more discursive analyses. Analyses that are more complex are developed, trying to account for local recontextualizations of global guidelines (Lopes, 2004, 2005; Macedo, 2009). This does not mean in the field, however, an abandonment of critical approaches since there is an agreement with its political purposes and with the possibility of denunciation of exclusionary processes.

The curriculum policy thought in Brazil, maybe even more visible than in relation to other issues, assumes a hybrid character and articulate principles of the State-centered view of Brazilian authors of the historical-critical matrix, such as Saviani and Frigotto, and Apple's Marxist theoretical contributions with the discursive approach of Stephen Ball (Moreira, 2000; Garcia, Hypólito, and Vieira, 2005). At the same time, the focus is directed to multiculturalism, ambivalence, difference/diversity, and identity, and it slides to an analysis that separates policies and practices and language and practices, particularly when seeking to maintain a critical attitude regarding government decisions considered exclusionary or neoliberal. Such slides are explicit even in texts that analyze the difference (Moreira, 2002).

The hybridization between critical and post-structural trends also develops by means of associations between Apple and Foucault, mediated or not by a reading of Stephen Ball's works that value approaches that are more pronounced by the critical perspective (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992; Ball, 1998).

The regulation of the State is, in this case, interpreted based on market categories, management, and performative quality, understood by Ball as technological shaper of reform (Hypólito, 2010). In some analyses, they seek to emphasize that the regulation of teaching also involves construction practices in schools and the life stories of teachers, and is subject to reinterpretations (Hypólito and Vieira, 2002; Vieira, Hypólito, and Duarte, 2009). While not being denied fissures or objections in the social fabric, it is argued that the asymmetries of power become the hegemonic right and are able to impose their conservative, neoliberal, and managerial agenda (Hypólito, 2012).

Thus, the concepts of identity, discourse, fabrication of mentalities, devices, and regime of truth coexist with the prospect of regulation that tends to saturate all social spaces, without large margins for reinterpretations and loopholes, even more striking than in Ball and Foucault, for being influenced by Apple's critical formulations and from the historical-critical perspective in Brazil.

It is interesting to find that Ball was also appropriated by authors who developed a more expressive path towards postfoundationalism. The research groups we coordinated and incorporated the cycle approach of policy and interpretations of policy as text and as discourse (Ball, 1994; Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992). However, rather than emphasizing its analysis of regulation and the international connections of meaning production of these processes, we turned to the further development of inter-relations, structure, and action (Lopes, 2006; Dias and Lopes, 2009; Macedo, 2006b, 2006c). In our early work, we also more strongly assumed this hybrid cut between post-structural theories and purposes focused around social justice and freedom, as formulated by Ball. But, while the Marxist authors questioned Ball about theoretical pluralism and the space given to discourse, we worked towards challenging the idea that his appropriation of post-structuralism is not sufficiently radical to overcome the dualities as much as we thought necessary, particularly in respect to the relationship between structure and action (Lopes and Macedo, 2011).

Many times, the shifts from structural to post-structural and postfoundational theoretical perspectives reconfigure what is called by politics without abandoning some concerns developed by critical thinking in curriculum studies, such as discussions about school subjects and about the curriculum canon (Lopes, 2011). In these studies, however, politics lose a rational, deterministic and objectivistic dimension and are understood as a game of uncertainties and indefinitions by which one can be subjectified. This approximates politics to culture, turning curriculum into a cultural politics. Curriculum policy is no longer understood as a dispute over the selection and the organization of school contents, but as a frontier space-time where meaning is produced in a context of power (Macedo, 2009, 2011a).

Conclusions

We try to demonstrate throughout this chapter that the incorporation of post-structuralist theoretical contributions in the curriculum field started through a hybrid process with critical perspectives. In general, this hybridity is not always assumed and explicitly justified by the authors, but even so, we find that the arguments are sought in both theoretical registers, trying to account for a political purpose of social change. A set of post-structural categories is operated so that the focus remains to train the subject to be capable of performing under this change.

The idea of change becomes a utopian horizon, emptied of exact meaning, but related, even if vaguely, to the destructuring of the social classes, to ensure the democratization of school and society, and to question the social and cultural exclusion at all levels. Traces of a redemptive education, capable of ensuring a utopian future, remain in distinct ways in the different issues addressed.

Even in discussions that take on the death of the subject, the end of utopias, the questioning of the fixed projects, and epistemological parameters rooted in the idea of scientific truth, one can identify a link between curriculum, school, and project of identity aiming for social change. At times, this association still considers that there is an identity of knowledge that ensures change, which implies that the subject remains being conceived as having some knowledge presumed as emancipatory. Subject and identity can be thought of as plural and contested, knowledge can be understood under erasure or even questioned on behalf of other ways of conceiving it, beyond the modern paradigm, yet it is expected that the school, at some level, will fulfill its political purpose of social transformation, and that purpose is the justification for the theoretical hybridity.

In this way, the critical tradition would remain the guardian not only of our diffuse flags—equality, social justice, and democracy—but our forms of agency. The relationship between structure and agency would remain operated by the logic that there is a societal project to be guaranteed through another understanding of the world, another discourse, to be constituted in curricular practices. The nihilism of some postmodern positions, restricted by the contingency of molecular actions, would then be tackled by fixating, on some level, a political position that is supposed to unify democratic demands.

We do not consider that this hybridity is a failure, a mistake, or even an evil to be overcome. We also believe that social changes are necessary. We argue, however, that the most radical expansion in post-structural approaches depends on the problematization of the reasons for maintaining these traits of critical traditions supplemented to postcritical meanings. It depends on understanding the agency in another dimension.

We therefore propose that one of the aspects to be considered is the fact that the appropriation of post-structuralist analysis of culture has been more striking than in the analysis of politics. Even though political studies have broadened, they remain, oftentimes, operating with politics, as if it were the Other of culture, as if the appropriation of post-structural approaches were not able to modify our ways of doing politics.

This goal made us look for other references that attempted to account for this relationship, a move that caused us to approach Laclau's theory of discourse. Deepening the discursive approach, we argue that the space for disagreement and change in social relations is enhanced through the formation of discourse as a decentralized structure, provisionally formed by a given hegemonic articulation. The discourse tries to produce closures of significance, to stem the flow of differences and build a provisional and contingent center in the significance. The decentralization of the structure, however, is guaranteed in the field of discursivity that always holds the possibility that unforeseen new meanings will destructure the discourse.

What ensures, in turn, that the discourse has a provisional and contextual center is the articulation around fighting an antagonist of the possibility of identity constituted by discourse, an exterior that sets the articulation itself. In this articulation, subjects are constituted by processes of identification marked by contingency, to the extent that decisions are made without any a priori rational basis that defines a presumably correct or more appropriate direction for the political process. This subject, constituted in political action, is capable of transcending the structure, while it can only act because this same structure constitutes itself. Instead of considering the subject complete—unlienated, emancipated, illustrated, or conscious—it is a precondition for political action, we see that the split subject, a subject constituted by lack, is the condition for the action. In view of the foundations of this discursive structure, being empty places, is that the political action for change—the agency—turns into a constant attempt to fill this void structure, which is the subject of conferring the fixation of meanings to these grounds, even if in a precarious way. In these constant attempts, we exert political action for social transformation.

This perspective opens the possibility of understanding the relationship between structure and action in a nondichotomous and nonessentialist way. In this sense, politics is not designed by centrality of the utopian project, with a predefined meaning. Politics is the terrain of conflict, contingency, and undecidability. All political projects understood as a conflictual production, indeterminant, without a prefixed direction, as signification in which one bets today to produce unpredictable effects in the future. Curriculum, as cultural policy, would keep the same dimension of conflict and indeterminacy.

We would not have, therewith, the end of politics, as may be thought by those who see a way in structural determination to conceive the possibility of political struggle. Rather, we believe that we are betting on a hyperpoliticization of the curricular field. Instead of this being a project of knowledge to be universalized that attempts to forge the identities of the students in the present for the society of the future, curriculum is the space-time of cultural boundary in which one disputes the significance of the world. As we have already said in other ways in other texts, what hyper-politicizes us is the possibility of inventing today, without guarantees, what will be the past for the future that we desire, without much clarity on where this desire will be. This ability empowers us as agents of this invention, in which the meaning of who we are as subjects is always postponed.

Notes

1. Historical-critical pedagogy is a current Brazilian pedagogy expressed in different areas of education whose representative is Dermeval Saviani, one of the most important Brazilian educators working with research and graduate studies since the 1970s.
2. We are not considering that post-structural and postmodern perspectives are the same (Peters and Burbules, 2004) but that they come close many times in the curriculum field in Brazil.
3. Santos operates an eclectic theoretical framework that merges critical theory, postmodernism, and postcolonialism.

4. While the author cannot be considered post-structural, the use made of his work, associated with post-structural authors like Deleuze, in the curriculum field in Brazil led us to include him in this list of references.
5. Regarding the thematic, we highlighted in the first edition of this Handbook, the discussion of the history of curriculum, which still remains to be developed, especially by Ferreira, 2007 and Selles and Ferreira, 2010, has been less present in the curriculum field. Also, Foucaultian studies, named there as post-structural, developed at Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, lost power in the field.
6. This articulation is also evident in the curricular proposals prepared under the direction of the Ministry of Education (Macedo 2012; Lopes, Dias, and Abreu 2011).
7. See Oliveira, Alves, and Ferraço in Pinar (2011).
8. With the publication of two series of books called *The Meaning of School (O sentido da Escola)* and *Culture, Memory and Curriculum (Cultura, memória e currículo),* coordinated by Nilda Alves, the first in partnership with Regina Leite Garcia.
9. It was originally published in French as *L'invention du quotidien. Vol. 1, Arts de faire'*.
10. In Portuguese, the word *política* means the conceptions of *politics* and *policy* in English. So, in this paper, we use the term *policy* when we write about curriculum policy and the term *politics* as a blend of politics and policy in English.
11. In Brazil, fundamental Education is mandatory for children ages 6–14.
12. Gimeno Sacristán, a Spanish researcher of curriculum, is also translated in Brazil at this time.

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8

Curriculum Tendencies in Brazil

Silvia Elizabeth Miranda de Moraes

Introduction

In the first edition (Moraes, 2003), I presented the curricular and administrative reform that the Brazilian public school system had undergone since 1996 when the National Curricular Parameters were launched. The reform has been structured around three main axes: 1) the new interdisciplinary vision of knowledge; 2) the inclusion of ethics, cultural pluralism, environment, health, and sexual orientation as transversal themes; and, to implement these changes; 3) a democratic and autonomous administration of which a fundamental element is the development of a pedagogical project by each school. It has been the mission of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) to universalize education and build higher standards for schools. In this chapter, I discuss what has succeeded so far and the directions the reform has taken. I will also attend to new tendencies in the university curriculum.

Going Beyond Fragmentation and Alienation

For a start, we can say that there has been effort in overcoming the positivistic, fragmented, and alienated conception of science that dominated the school curriculum. The traditional, obsolete view of students working individually and memorizing concepts that had no connection with their lives or even their remotest interests (Moraes, 2003) is being replaced by a more contextualized, integrated, interdisciplinary curriculum.

A study undertaken in Fortaleza schools (Moraes, 2008) showed that the space accorded interdisciplinary work has grown, and the transversal themes—ethics, cultural pluralism, and environmental education—are being included in textbooks and becoming an integral part of curriculum practice. The National Curricular Parameters have contributed to this change because they organize the curriculum into areas—Languages, Codes and their Technologies, Natural Sciences, Mathematics and their Technologies, and Humanities and its Technologies—emphasizing the development of skills and competences.

The reform is slowly (and painfully) being accepted. Since it requires much discussion in the search for consensus, it is natural that it demands more effort than simply updating curriculum programs and contents. In many cases, the process of collectively planning a pedagogical project has occurred but its implementation delayed due to the radical changes it required in the curriculum structure and rationality—a shift towards a Habermasian rationality no longer basing itself on subjectivism and individualism but on granting voice to all participants in acts of communication in an atmosphere of collaboration and solidarity.

Interdisciplinarity is not new. One of the starting points of interdisciplinarity is the Frankfurt School: philosophers, sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural critics who worked in the period before and after the Second World War at the Institute of Social Research. Among these legendary theorists and scholars were Friedrich Pollock, Henryk Grossmann, Arkadij Gurland, Franz Neumann, Otto Kirchheimer, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Leo Löwenthal, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, and Felix Weil.

During the 1930s, Horkheimer became the director of the Institute and laid the foundation for collective work, innovative for his time, known as "interdisciplinary materialism." Researchers from different disciplines worked collaboratively and with unity ensured by the reference to the work of Karl Marx (Nobre, 2004). This new research paradigm was then called "critical theory" and had four main characteristics: it was interdisciplinary, reflective, dialectical, and critical.

The Frankfurt School approached questions of morality, religion, science, reason, and rationality from a variety of perspectives and disciplines simultaneously. They believed that bringing different disciplines together would yield insights impossible to obtain within narrow and increasingly specialized academic domains; they also challenged the empirical approach to the natural sciences widely seen as the only valid one. Their reflectiveness was thought to unmask the positivist view of knowledge; dialectics regarded knowledge as part of an ongoing dynamic historical process in which we view the world; the critical aspect was that theory was not just to determine what was wrong with contemporary society but also to identify progressive aspects and tendencies within it to help transform it for the better (Finlayson, 2005).

In 1961, Georges Gusdorf submitted a proposal for interdisciplinary work in UNESCO that would bring together scientists from different areas to develop a project focused on the convergence of the human sciences (Fazenda, 2010). Another event pertinent to this trend was the international seminar on interdisciplinarity held in Nice in 1971, promoted by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation Development), which issued a document that would become the first systematization of the concept of interdisciplinarity, *L'ínterdisciplinarité: Problemes d'enseignement et de recherche dans les universités* (Apostel, 1972).

At that time, Jean Piaget launched the concept "transdisciplinarity" as a step subsequent to the interdisciplinary perspective: without disciplinary boundaries—still present in the concept of interdisciplinarity—transdisciplinarity should stimulate connections and interconnections within a total system, without the established borders between disciplines. Transdisciplinarity would be "a superior stage, which will not be limited to recognize the interactions and or reciprocities between the specialized researches, but which will locate these links inside a total system without stable boundaries between the disciplines" (Piaget in Nicolescu, 2006, p.1).

One of the most significant contributions in this regard—widely known and quoted in Brazil—was the presentation of a document entitled *Interdisciplinarité et Sciences Humaines* published by UNESCO in 1983 and elaborated by Leo Apostel, Jean Marie Benoist, Tom Burton Bottomre, Kenneth Ewart Boulding, Mikel Dufrenne, Mircea Eliade, Celso Furtado,[1] Georges Gusdorf, Daya Krishna, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Edgar Morin, Massimo Piatelli-Palmarini, Mohammed Allai Sinaceur, Stanislav Nikolaevitch Smnirnov, and Jun Ui. The collection dealt with meeting points and cooperation of disciplines that make up the humanities, the influence they exert on each other, and their various points of view. Several contributors were also interested in the relations between natural sciences and humanities. It is a study that identifies important concepts about the nature and scope of interdisciplinarity. It establishes a distinction between interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity. The first involves, in effect, the encounter between and cooperation of two disciplines or more, bringing these disciplines (at the level of theory or empirical research) their own concept maps—the ways they define problems and their research methods. The second implies that contact and cooperation between different disciplines takes place mainly when these disciplines have evolved to adopt the same set of fundamental concepts or some elements of the same research method.

Although the text expresses various views about the topic, Buttomore identifies some common points: for there to be interdisciplinarity, there must be disciplines; interdisciplinarity develops from the disciplines themselves, without one being able to predict or plan its development, but it can also change these disciplines, bringing sometimes—even if only temporarily—a certain unity of knowledge, or generating new disciplines. Like specialization and formation of disciplines, interdisciplinarity has always played an essential role in the development of knowledge: it has revealed new problems and incited experts to offer new types of analysis.

The key discussion about interdisciplinarity was put forward in 1976 with the publication of Hilton Japiassú's[2] book *Interdisciplinaridade e patologia do saber* (Interdisciplinarity and Pathology of Knowledge), part of his doctoral thesis in philosophy (Epistemology and History of Sciences) at Université des Sciences Sociales de Grenoble (France) entitled *L'épistémologie des relations interdisciplinaires dans les sciences humaines* (1975). As George Gusdorf acknowledges in the preface, Japiassú calls for the awakening of an interdisciplinary consciousness, a proposition for a new pedagogy that has the mission to promote the dimension of totality in knowledge through the conversion of consciousness and science.

Ivani Fazenda[3] is another Brazilian scholar whose first theoretical contribution was a master's degree thesis about integration and interdisciplinarity that was published as a book in 1979 with the title *Integração e interdisciplinaridade no ensino brasileiro: efetividade ou ideologia* (Integration and Interdisciplinarity in the Brazilian Teaching System: Effectiveness or Ideology). In Fazenda (2010), she discusses the impact of this new perspective in the educational field by examining propositions within the context of the Brazilian educational reforms.

Another contribution of this decade was brought by two surveys developed by Fazenda (1987–1989, 1989–1991) more related to teaching practice. This study profiled the existence—in many Brazilian schools—of the teacher working with an interdisciplinary approach. Although intuitively, without explicit knowledge of the principles of interdisciplinarity, this teacher has been working alone, without support from his/her peers, and having to deal with teaching conditions often adverse in nature. Still, in an attitude of resistance, this teacher seeks to innovate in his/her practice through solitary research, methods, and techniques that are more convenient to his/her action.

In subsequent research, Fazenda sought to develop a methodology for interdisciplinary work that addresses the public school teacher in the process of continuous education. The objective of this study was to help teachers become aware of the meanings of their practices that they might not have noticed. The teachers perceive themselves as subjects of their practice, based on reports and records of significant events they experienced as they worked. Only after this work of self-awareness and reflection on their practices did teachers begin to think and recognize the principles of interdisciplinarity in the heart of this practice and could reconcile the theory/practice relationship.

The findings of Fazenda's studies showed a state of confusion and epistemological immaturity that ended up in a reform proposal without a theoretical basis and criteria to encourage effective changes towards the construction of an interdisciplinary perspective. The alienation and imbalance in the beginning of the reform caused not only the indifference on the part of educators at the time in understanding the merit of an interdisciplinary approach, but also the impoverishment of school knowledge. The Brazilian education project of the 1970s led to fragmentation—a theoretical and conceptual poverty that condemned us to 20 years of stagnation (Fazenda, 2010).

As Freire (2011) points out, one of the reasons for this chaotic situation is that the constituent elements we know that serve as a basis for the epistemology permeating the interdisciplinary proposal do not apply. In the disciplinary conventional proposals, variables are relatively predictable within one scientific field, whereas in interdisciplinary undertaking, variables are unpredictable and easily enter other areas requiring an effort of scientists to look at his/her ordinary object from other conceptual and methodological perspectives. The consolidation of this perspective is a project for life and requires space and time within individual institutions (i.e., solitary research, methods, and techniques do not last very long). Freire concludes that this new attitude requires individual and collective efforts towards a dialogue between subjects and peers within the scope of institutions, which imply discussion and negotiation regarding not only the theoretical but also the political and economic arenas.

The Environment as a Main Interdisciplinary Theme

Environmental education was adopted by the United Nations in 1974 when the organization established the International Environmental Education Programme (IEEP). In Brazil, the Environment has impelled interdisciplinarity at all levels—oral and written discourse. Themes such as Amazonia, climatic and global changes, species in risk of extinction, nuclear versus hydroelectric energy, the forest code, and the emphasis on the production of petroleum-based instead of public transportation and railroads demand integrated, multireferential perspectives within educational, political, and economic institutions.

In the National Curricular Parameters, the environmental perspective concerns the search for collective and personal ways of establishing economical, social, and cultural relations to promote good life quality for everyone in the present and future: it consists of looking at the interrelation and interdependence of the various elements in the constitution and maintenance of life on this planet. In terms of education, it fosters the need for commitment to the principles of dignity, participation, co-responsibility, solidarity and equity among humans, and to extend respect and commitment to life of all living beings.

In the Science National Curricular Guidelines for graduation courses (DCN—*Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais de Ciências*—www.mec.gov.br), environment is acquiring disciplinary status—Environment Sciences (Ciências do Ambiente)—as well as that of a transversal theme. Post-graduate programs in environmental sciences have been created in many Brazilian universities and research centers. CAPES (*Coordenação do Aperfeiçoamento do Pessoal do Nível Superior* [Coordination of Higher Education Personnel Improvement]), which plays a key role in the expansion and consolidation of post-graduate studies in the country, has recently created an interdisciplinary area where projects and courses are continuously being approved.

The draft of the National Curricular Guidelines for Environmental Education (*Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Ambiental*—DCN/EA) have now been presented to the educational community. According to the document, Environmental Education must adopt a systemic complex-curricular approach, e.g., integrated, cross-inter-and-transdisciplinary, continuous and permanent in all areas of knowledge, curriculum components, and educational and academic activities, emphasizing the nature and source of life and the environment related to other dimensions, such as ethnic and racial diversity, social justice, health, gender, labor, and human rights, among others. It must encourage the development of critical thinking through scientific, socioeconomic, political, and historical studies from the environmental dimension, valuing participation, cooperation, sense of fairness, and responsibility. It must encourage research and appropriation of pedagogical tools and methodologies that improve environmental citizenship, with the active participation in decision making and with individual and collective responsibility, in relation to the local, regional, and global environment.

Several international science and educational meetings have also been giving space to education in environmental discussions. I have recently participated in two of them—the European Geosciences Union (EGU) General Assembly, in Vienna, Austria, in April of 2011; and the Planet under Pressure (PuP) Conference 2012 in London in March of 2012—that show a search for dialogue across knowledge areas. The environment appears in most discourses as a main concern.

As it was stated in the EGU General Assembly session *Science in Tomorrow's Classroom,* we must bring novel approaches and ideas for students to appreciate the importance of science in their daily life. Teachers and educators need their knowledge-base regularly updated and instructional strategies that will help their students critically evaluate scientific information brought to them by media. The higher education system needs strategies to attract future scientists, and scientists need guidance on how best to interact with schools so their contributions can be valued. Communications addressing activities in the framework of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) were particularly welcome. At this session, I presented a poster entitled *Building interdisciplinary thinking through thematic projects* (http://meetings.copernicus.org/egu 2011).

At the Planet under Pressure (PuP) Conference (http://www.planetunderpressure2012.net/index.asp), the session in which I participated had the theme *Transforming our way of living—Collective action for the transition to a sustainable society: Building the research and action agenda.* The central question was *Why has so much knowledge and publicity at multiple levels about sustainability led to so little action and what shall we do about it?* The argument was that much of Global Environmental Change research to date has focused on understanding the dynamics that drove our planet to the present predicament; much less effort has been devoted to thinking about how to effect a transition from the present to a more sustainable state.

The starting points for discussing the framing, scope, methods, and collaborative partnerships to address the central question of the session were: 1) Nature of transitions: time scales of transition; direction of driving forces; and adapting to local circumstances; 2) Instantiation: normative goals; and values, economics, and institutions in multiple cultures; 3) Initiating and governing change: design for emergence; scaling and polycentricity; innovation for sustainability; planetary boundaries and human boundaries; and building agency and energy for change; 4) Culture change: levers of cultural shifts; consumerism; peer pressure; economic metrics and assumptions; inertia and path dependence; and 5) Education: belief and cognition; models for coping with complexity; and learning to learn and change. The poster I presented—*Learning to cope with complexity through thematic projects*—was included in topic number 5. In both posters, the examples of thematic projects were related to the environment.

Brazil hosted the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, Rio +20, from June 13–22, 2012, in Rio de Janeiro (http://www.uncsd2012.org/rio20). It is known as Rio +20 because it marks the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio, 1992) and should help define the sustainable development agenda for the coming decades. The objective of the conference was to renew political commitment to sustainable development, through the assessment of progress and gaps in the implementation of decisions made at the major summits held on the subject, and through the discussion of new and emerging issues. The conference had two main themes: green economy in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication and an institutional framework for sustainable development. Universities and research centers are getting organized in order to participate in this major event.

The Dialogue Between Education and Science

The disciplinary developments of science have brought us many advantages, and specialization resulted in greater depth and concentration of researchers throughout our history. We argue that disciplinarity is a condition *sine qua non* of interdisciplinarity since we can only establish relations between areas if we have a good knowledge of our field of study. What is being proposed today is to have a more integrated view of human beings and nature as inseparable elements.

There is some polarization between the supporters of the disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches: the first fear a merger of specialties while others advocate a reconsideration of the limits of areas. In Campos (2000), a group of researchers suggested the organization of knowledge in terms of *nuclei* and *fields.* The core, the nucleus, stands for the identity of an area and professional practice, and the field is a zone of imprecise limits where each discipline would seek the support of other disciplines to accomplish its tasks.

Morin (2000) points to the fragmentation of disciplinary knowledge and, on the other hand, realities or problems increasingly polidisciplinary, transversal, multidimensional, transactional, global, and planetary. Kleiman and Moraes (1999) show that, instead of correcting these flaws, our educational system emphasizes them. Lessons are confined to 50 (45, 40, 35) minutes, subjects, grade levels, and program units. A topic that can be treated in combination is approached by each teacher as if there is no relationship between areas: water is H_2O in chemistry; lakes, rivers and seas in geography; solid, liquid and gas in physics; seas and rivers navigated by our forefathers in history; and the percentage of water in our body in biology. Is it the same water or are they different? And we go on fragmenting the liquid of life as if it were made up of independent elements, unrelated to one another.

In the process of evolving from a fragmented, alienated, and linear curriculum in which most school teachers had been educated, one thing became clear: it is necessary to start putting the reform into practice at the university and overcome rooted traditional disciplinary practices. In the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA 2009), Brazilian students showed a low level of *scientific literacy:* the capacity to use scientific knowledge, to identify questions, and to draw evidence-based conclusions in order to understand and help make decisions about the natural world and the changes made to it through human activity. It therefore showed certain lack of dealing with complexity.

Not long ago, science was seen as existing only inside university walls. The present situation shows a growing interest in diminishing the distance between science and society. Nowadays, scientific centers have been contracting journalists to divulge research results to the general public.

At present, my research group is engaged in a study—*Interdisciplinaridade no currículo de formação docente* (Interdisciplinarity in teachers' education curriculum)—where we focus on the building of interdisciplinary thinking through thematic projects at teachers' graduate and post-graduate courses at the Federal University of Ceará. Our purpose is to investigate how participants perceive, conceptualize, accept, or reject interdisciplinarity and what possibilities it offers in our curriculum.

Practicing Interdisciplinarity with Future Science Teachers

This session presents a study conducted with 105 Federal University of Ceará students of physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, literature, engineering, history, and geography, i.e., an interdisciplinary group *par excellence.* They were asked to momentarily abandon disciplinary thinking—this is an important part of the activity—and develop topics under the perspective of different learning theories: Howard Gardner's multiple intelligences, Philip Phenix's theory of meaning and Paulo Freire's education for critical consciousness.

Divided into groups of six to eight, at the end of two lessons, they were supposed to come up with a consensual theme and decide which of the three theories they would be using in their projects. The themes chosen varied: evolution, energy, biodiesel, the universe, ethanol, television, industrial waste and the environment, Amazonia, hunger around the world, pollution, consumerism, the use and abuse of cellular phones, and others. The next four lessons were dedicated to group work in the classroom and in the virtual learning environment TELEDUC where they were asked to plan every step of their project in order to present at the end of the month in the form of a seminar. Here are some examples of the thematic projects developed by the student-teachers.

Television ***under the Perspective of Gardner's Multiple Intelligences (MI)*** Following the work performance of adults who had been weak students, Howard Gardner was surprised by the success of several of them in real life. He then began to question conventional forms of assessment that reflect only the prevailing conception of intelligence in school, limited to the valuation of logical-mathematical and linguistic competences. He extended the concept of intelligence, defining it as the ability to solve problems or develop products that are valued in a cultural environment or community. According to Gardner, except in cases of injury, everyone is born with the potential of multiple intelligences. From relationships with the environment, including cultural stimuli, we develop some more and let others improve. This gives each person a particular profile, which denies the possibility of measuring intelligence by conventional methods, especially the famous test of I.Q. (Intelligence Quotient), which considers only logical-mathematical and language skills (Gardner, 1995).

For curriculum planning and development Gardner presents nine different intelligences to account for a broader range of human potential in children and adults: Linguistic, Logical-mathematical, Spatial, Bodily-Kinesthetic, Musical, Interpersonal, Intrapersonal, and Naturalist.

Taking the Multiple Intelligences theory as a framework, the UFC student-teachers proposed a project around the theme Television. It was planned for a period of four weeks of middle school timetable, and the idea was to use an important part of young people's lives—hours spent watching TV—as an opportunity to learn and criticize the type of programs offered by the TV networks. The figure below shows some initial ideas that can be expanded throughout lessons and homework.

Phenix's Realms of Meaning as a Path Towards Interdisciplinarity As Philip Phenix sates, "it is not easy to sustain a sense of the whole. Many a person pursues his

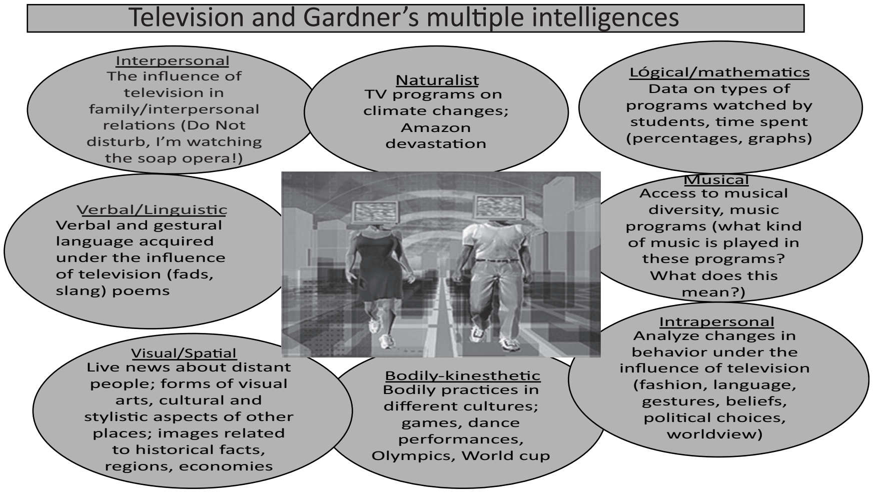
Television and Gardner's multiple intelligences
Interpersonal
The influence of television in family/interpersonal relations (Do Not disturb, I'm watching the soap opera!)
Naturalist
TV programs on climate changes; Amazon devastation
Lógical/mathematics
Data on types of programs watched by students, time spent (percentages, graphs)
Verbal/Linguistic
Verbal and gestural language acquired under the influence of television (fads, slang) poems
Musical
Access to musical diversity, music programs (what kind of music is played in these programs? What does this mean?)
Intrapersonal
Analyze changes in behavior under the influence of television (fashion, language, gestures, beliefs, political choices, worldview)
Visual/Spatial
Live news about distant people; forms of visual arts, cultural and stylistic aspects of other places; images related to historical facts, regions, economies
Bodily-kinesthetic
Bodily practices in different cultures; games, dance performances, Olympics, World cup

Figure 8.1 Television and Gardner's multiple intelligences.

own limited calling with scarcely a thought for his place in the total drama of civilized endeavor. . . . This limitation of outlook is evident in education" (1964, p. 3).

A comprehensive outlook is necessary for all intelligent decisions. A person is essentially an organized totality and not just a collection of separate parts; so must be the curriculum. Society, as well as individuals, depends upon principles of community. A curriculum planned as a comprehensive design for learning contributes a basis for the growth of community, while an atomized program of studies engenders disintegration in the life of society.

Human beings are essentially creatures who have the power to experience meanings, and human existence consists in a pattern of meanings. General education is the process of engendering essential meanings. Six fundamental patterns of meaning emerge from the distinctive modes of human understanding: symbolics, empirics, esthetics, synnoetics, ethics, and synoptics. Each realm of meaning and its constituent subrealms may be described by reference to its typical methods, leading ideas, and characteristic structures. A curriculum developing these basic competences is designed to satisfy the essential human need for meaning.

A study of the logical patterns of the disciplines shows that they may be divided into nine generic classes on the basis of their logical structure. Every cognitive meaning has two logical aspects, namely quantity—*singular, general, and comprehensive*—and quality—*fact, form, and norm.* The nine generic classes of meanings are obtained by pairing the three quantity aspects with three quality aspects in all possible combinations: *general form, general fact, singular form, singular fact, singular norm, general norm, comprehensive fact, comprehensive norm, and comprehensive form.*

The figure below summarizes Philip Phenix's theory.

One of our most interesting projects had Global Warming as its central theme and was based on Phenix's theory. The figure below indicates some ideas that served as starting points in the discussion about the topic.

Amazonia as a Main Interdisciplinary Theme The fate and destinies of the Amazonian region have been an important part of the Brazilian scientific, political, economical, and educational agenda. Scientific publications, the new forest code, conferences, congresses and seminars, and graduate and postgraduate courses curricula have nurtured the discussion.

TABLE 8.1
Phenix's Realms of Meaning

Logical classification of meanings			
Generic classes			
Quantity	**Quality**	**Realms of meaning**	**Disciplines**
General	Form	Symbolics	Ordinary language, mathematics,
nondiscursive symbolic forms General	Fact	Empirics	Physical sciences, life sciences, psychology,
social sceinces Singular	Form	Esthetics	Music, visual arts, arts of movement, literature
Singular	Fact	Synnoetics	Existential aspects of philosophy, psychology, literature, religion
Singular General	Norm Norm	Ethics	The varied Special areas of moral and ethical concern
Comprehensive	Fact Norm Form	Synoptics	History Religion Philosophy

Phenix, P. [1964] *Realms of Meaning*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

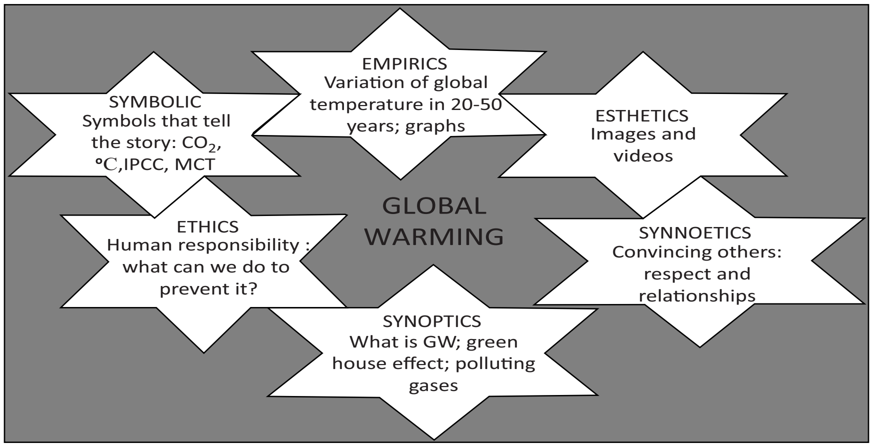
EMPIRICS
Variation of global temperature in 20-50 years; graphs
SYMBOLIC
Symbols that tell the story: CO$_2$, °C,IPCC, MCT
ESTHETICS
Images and videos
GLOBAL WARMING
ETHICS
Human responsibility : what can we do to prevent it?
SYNNOETICS
Convincing others: respect and relationships
SYNOPTICS
What is GW; green house effect; polluting gases

Figure 8.2 Global warming and the realms of meaning.

Amazonia is the largest remaining expanse of tropical rain forest on Earth, harboring approximately one-third of all Earth's species. Although the rain forest's area is so large that it reaches out into several different countries, most of its area is located within the Brazilian territory. Despite many decades of scientific study in Amazonia, only a small fraction of its biological richness has been revealed. Therefore, projects like the Large-Scale Biosphere-Atmosphere Experiment in Amazonia (LBA), the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP), and the Center for Earth System Science (CCST) of the National Institute for Space Research (INPE) have constituted a scientific means of taking hold of a territory coveted by half of the world.

The LBA Project encompasses several scientific disciplines, or components, and focuses on the question "How do tropical forest conversion, regrowth, and selective logging influence carbon storage, nutrient dynamics, trace gas fluxes, and the prospect for sustainable land use in Amazonia?" The project studies physical climate, atmosphere chemistry, carbon storage and exchange, biogeochemistry, landface hidrology and water chemistry, land use/land cover, and human dimension (http://daac.ornl.gov/LBA/lba.shtml).

The International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP) was launched in 1987 to coordinate international research on global-scale and regional-scale interactions between Earth's biological, chemical, and physical processes and their interactions with human systems. Its aim is to provide the knowledge, expertise, and coordination to identify and assess risks posed to society and ecosystems by major changes in the Earth's biological, chemical, and physical cycles and processes and communicate this to society (http://www.igbp.net/4.2709bddb12c08a79de780001044.html). The Brazilian Regional Office of IGBP was responsible for the coordination of a large part of the Planet Under Pressure conference in London.

The Center for Earth System Science (CCST) of the National Institute for Space Research (INPE) has the mission of generating interdisciplinary knowledge for national development with equity and reducing environmental impacts on the planet Earth. Its objectives are to conduct studies to evaluate impacts of global environmental change and regional systems in socio-economic and environmental developing technologies for monitoring, mitigation, and adaptation to environmental changes (especially those associated with implications for national development and quality of life) and train human resources in seeking practical solutions to global environmental problems that resonate in Brazil and South America. The Doctoral Course in Earth System Science is aimed at training high-level human resources to meet the institutional, national, and scientific demands related to impacts, vulnerabilities, social processes, and policies associated with regional and global environmental changes (http://www.ccst.inpe.br/index.php#).

Scientific publications of the CCST and INPE have contributed to this interest in the Amazon. E. M. Arraut et al. (2010) studied the habitat of the manatee, an emblematic animal of the Amazonian river that is at great risk. The authors concluded that the species may be at greater risk than previously thought because migration and low water levels make manatees particularly vulnerable to hunters. Moreover, due to the flooding regime of Amazonian rivers being strongly related to large-scale climatic phenomena, there might be a perilous connection between climate change and future prospects for the species. Their experience reveals that the success of research and conservation of wild Amazonian manatees depends on close working relationships with local inhabitants.

J. M. Arraut[4] et al. (2012) sought to provide a framework for the study of large-scale moisture transport over South America, with emphasis on the role of Amazonia: Is Amazonia a source of moisture for the atmosphere? When? Where? What is the importance of the moisture flow that goes over Amazonia and interacts with its hydrological cycle to the moisture supply of the subtropics? The authors introduce the concept of *aerial rivers* to describe the main pathways of moisture flow in the atmosphere, drawing an analogy with the surface rivers. The analogy is extended to aerial lakes to describe sections of a moisture pathway where the flow slows down, broadens, and becomes more concentrated, as is the case over Amazonia.

In Alves (2012), the integration of natural and social sciences has been recognized as a key aspect of Earth System research, a cross-disciplinary field involving the study of the geosphere, biosphere, and society. Also, because of societal and political correlates between environmental change and socio-economic development, the study of the earth system has been increasingly ascribed social and political dimensions, contributing to put the collaboration with the social sciences more and more in evidence.

Science student-teachers have been bringing up Amazonia in many thematic projects they present. There is a lot of information about Amazonia, and the idea is to help students learn to find what they need in order to have a more integrate and complete picture of the theme.

Education for Critical Consciousness **Paulo Freire** (1921–1997) was a Brazilian educator who has deeply influenced the pedagogical thinking of the last and present centuries. His *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is currently one of the most quoted educational texts.

The term *conscientização* (critical consciousness) is a fundamental aspect of Paulo Freire's concept of popular education.It implies that we go beyond the sphere of a spontaneous apprehension of reality to reach a level in which reality becomes an object subject to analysis. It refers to learning to perceive social, political and economical contradictions and to take action against oppressive elements of reality.

Critical consciousness can be developed through the identification of "generative themes" which compose what Freire calls the "thematic universe"—the complex of generative themes with which individuals break the "culture of silence." The task of the teacher is to discover, together

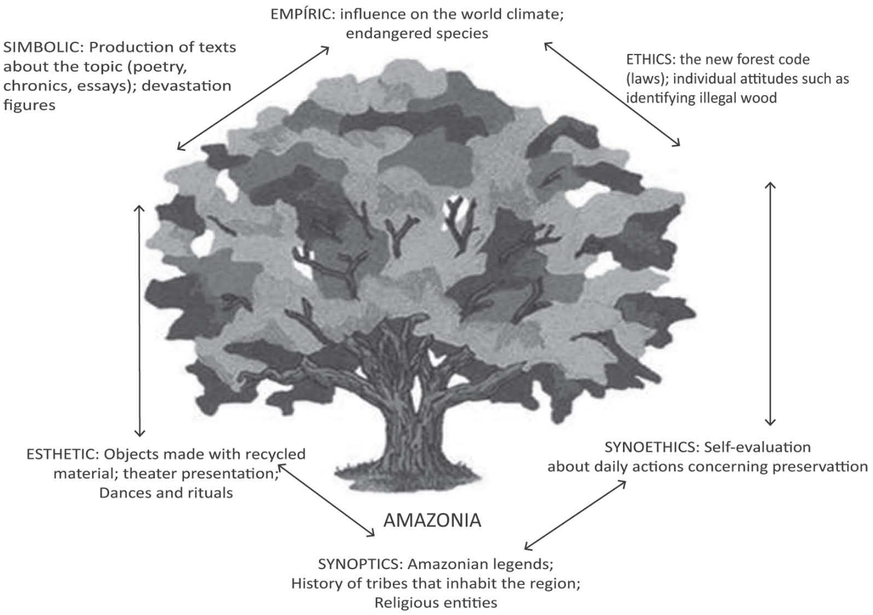
EMPÍRIC: influence on the world climate; endangered species
SIMBOLIC: Production of texts about the topic (poetry, chronics, essays); devastation figures
ETHICS: the new forest code (laws); individual attitudes such as identifying illegal wood
ESTHETIC: Objects made with recycled material; theater presentation; Dances and rituals
SYNOETHICS: Self-evaluation about daily actions concerning preservattion
AMAZONIA
SYNOPTICS: Amazonian legends; History of tribes that inhabit the region; Religious entities

Figure 8.3 The Amazonia project.

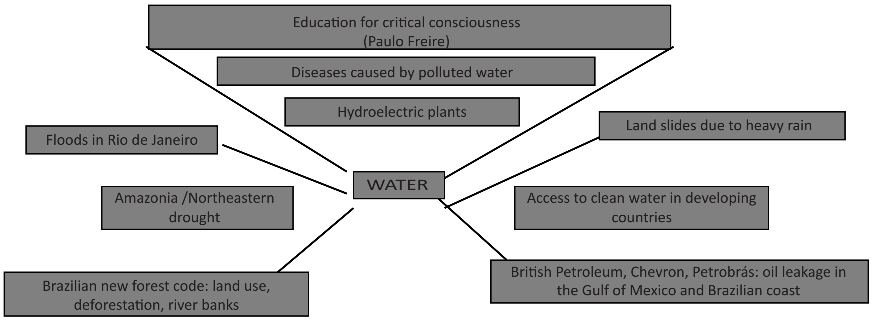
Education for critical consciousness (Paulo Freire)
Diseases caused by polluted water
Hydroelectric plants
Floods in Rio de Janeiro
Land slides due to heavy rain
WATER
Amazonia /Northeastern drought
Access to clean water in developing countries
Brazilian new forest code: land use, deforestation, river banks
British Petroleum, Chevron, Petrobrás: oil leakage in the Gulf of Mexico and Brazilian coast

Figure 8.4 The Water Project.

with the students, the generative themes that constitute their thematic universe. They will then be discussed and investigated by the students freely and creatively

The project illustrated below, based on Freirés theory, was aimed for secondary school students. The topic *Water* is present in every school curriculum, establishing a close relation between natural and social sciences and at the same time favouring critical thinking.If you take just one of the topics—diseases caused by polluted water—various questions arise: What is polluted water? Why is it that some people do not have access to clean water while others have plenty? What kind of diseases are caused by polluted water? How is water distributed? Who controls it? In what geographical regions does this problem remain unsolved?

Participants are usually asked to express their views about the process of becoming interdisciplinary via TELEDUC. They state their definitions, acceptance or non-acceptance of the idea, the type of education they are having in their specific courses/areas, how they see the university science curriculum, and how different areas should communicate. The findings indicate that one basic obstacle lies in the organization of academic work and the emphasis on memorization instead of knowledge production. Also, university teacher's traditional education limits their holistic-integrated thinking.

As far as the students are concerned, what we have seen in our classrooms is that they develop creative and good quality projects demonstrating acceptance and rapid assimilation of interdisciplinarity. Another conclusion from this study is that the formation of interdisciplinary thinking cannot focus only on matters to which the society demands solutions, since such matters are highly influenced and dictated by the economic and mediatic agenda. It is necessary that the students develop a critical-social perspective of knowledge, which causes them to reflect on the directions and uses of science (Moraes 2012).

Building a Vision of Global Citizenship

In Moraes (2003), we discussed the idea of a vision of democracy and citizenship as an ideal to be attained by our public schools. Vision was defined as the result of daily activities and experiences that shape the way that teachers perceive their tasks and their school: a shared reality with a comprehensive and dynamic nature that implies reflection and understanding of the future of an organization (Staessens and Vandenberghe, 1994). As we have evidenced in our thematic projects, this vision-building has taken a direction towards the attainment of a global citizenship by school and university students and teachers.

As Bellamy (2008) states, "citizenship has traditionally been referred to as a particular set of political practices involving specific public rights and duties with respect to a given political community. . . . It also provides a mechanism for citizens to promote their collective interests and encourages rulers to pursue the public's good rather than their own" (p. 3)

It requires a democratic environment: totalitarian regimes do not allow citizens to have rights, just duties (in fact, they must fulfill some specific duties determined by dictators. We Brazilians have much experience in it). Today, only about 120 of the world's countries (64 percent) are electoral democracies. Out of these, only 22 have been continuously democratic for a period of 50 years or more (Ibid.). Although the number of voters' democracies has grown since the Second World War, voter turnout has declined. In spite of citizens' general dissatisfaction with politicians and the representative regime, they continue to approve of democracy itself, as it has been shown in the World Values Survey of 2000–2 (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

A vision of global citizenship is being constructed among members of social systems who communicate and share comprehension and decision making. Global citizenship can be seen as an empty or floating signifier (Laclau, 1990), the signifiers being those filled with different meanings according to the discursive contexts in which they are inserted. Its universality requires them to plunder the precise contents. "Demand will have to be emptied of its relationship with specific meanings and is transformed into a pure signifier . . . a signifier that loses its direct reference to a particular meaning "(Ibid., p.25).

Considering the different discursive contexts that are presented in the current scenario, we risk a definition of global citizenship we have grasped in our thematic projects: a new planetary collective consciousness of which themes revolve around environmental issues, racial and religious issues, social injustice, the abuse of political power among other types of power and manifested in street protests, the Internet, the media more independent in certain political institutions such as the United Nations Organizations (UNO), the Hague Tribunal, World Social Forum, Greenpeace, Avaaz, etc.

As Smith (2003) argues, there are three forms of globalization operating in the world: Globalization One, the revival of radical liberalism, or neoliberalism; Globalization Two, the various ways people are responding to Globalization One through acts of accommodation or resistance; and Globalization Three, the conditions that may be emerging for a new kind of global dialogue regarding sustainable human futures. "As a species, we may be imagining ourselves in new ways, especially with respect to issues of identity and citizenship." (p. 35)

Global citizenship is directly related to the idea of normative universalism, defined by Habermas (1995) as the improvement of international political institutions so that they can meet the universal search for technical and political solutions to global problems. For the philosopher, we lack a critique of capitalism to help us reflect on the policies and capacities for action that need to be made globally in order to tame the economic system.

We can risk saying that there has been a worldwide attempt to rehabilitate the public sphere since it is being constantly and consistently menaced by the market economy and by corruption. The public sphere is a realm of social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. The question that we asked at the time (Moraes, 2003) was whether contemporary democracies allow the possibility of structuring a public argumentative praxis that links the validity of the action norms to a rational justification, originated from citizens' free discussion. What we see now is an expanding public sphere in action, once again bringing back the idea of global citizenship as it has been shown in events like the Forum Social Mundial (the first one was in 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil), the Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street Movement, and manifestations in public squares in France, Spain, and Greece. No wonder *The Protester* was chosen as *Time* Magazine's Person of the Year (Dec 14, 2011).

Street protests have accompanied our recent history. In the 1960s they were against the Vietnam War (in 1968 we had the famous riots in Paris and Mexico), in the 1980s there were protests against nuclear weapons and against tyranny in Tiananmen Square. In Brazil, in 1992, school and university students, "the painted-face generation" as they became known, dressed and painted in the colors of the Brazilian flag, took to the streets to protest and call for the impeachment of President Collor de Mello. Collor had entered the presidential race known as the "maharaja hunter," because of his promise to chase corrupted public officials. However, his mandate was marked by a series of scandals and allegations of corruption. He resigned from the presidency, was found guilty by the Senate, and sentenced to disqualification from holding elected office for eight years.

Concluding Comments

There is a consensus that the physical sciences, social sciences and education need one another and that working in collaboration ends up being far more effective than delimitating territories and guarding borders. This has been largely evidenced in the vast literature and in the words of the students after completing their thematic projects.

Some of the changes that have been occurring in Brazilian school and university curricula are intended to overcome our traditional fragmentation, alienation, and individualism. Interdisciplinarity, critical contextualization, and group work have proven not only possible but also highly desirable in order for us to cope with the increasingly globalized educational scenario and its contradictions: products, cultural trends, fashion, music, claims and demands, scientific findings oscillating between nationalisms and internationalisms, local and global, and theory and practice.

The curriculum always has its feet in a nation/country and today, more than ever, it also means having eyes and ears outside frontiers. We are all situated in a particular culture, speaking a particular language, belonging to a certain family, and at the same time we are connected to a larger world, portrayed in the daily news, Facebook, Twitter, and e-mail. The challenge is to find balance between these sometimes opposite poles.

The student-teachers who attend the university night courses at the Faculty of Education, Federal University of Ceará have to cope with a very hard daily routine. They are struggling to earn a decent living during the day—most of them already teaching at schools—and at night attend courses believing a university degree will matter somehow. This reality has of course influenced my view of curriculum, teaching, and education in general.

Once, reporting on Phenix's integral and comprehensive theory of curriculum, a student exemplified his vision of totality: he witnessed a couple of his colleagues being robbed but, since he also knew the thieves (they lived in the same area as him), he could not make up his mind whether he should interfere and call the campus police officer. He was afraid that later on he would suffer for denouncing them. In the meantime, the police officer appeared but could not prevent the robbers from escaping with the stolen objects. Then, the student reported, he remembered Phenix's definition of Ethics—"the varied special areas of moral and ethical concern"—and decided to tell the officer that, if asked, he would identify the thieves, as long as his anonymity were kept. After this episode, I reconsidered my own *vision of totality* and decided to emphasize even more thematic projects having as theoretical framework Paulo Freire's education for critical consciousness and Phenix's realms of meaning, so that the knowledge disseminated by the university somehow makes sense and is not situated in an abstract, merely intellectualized sphere.

According to students' testimony, in an interdisciplinary process, the contents acquire a global dimension, which reinforces the connection between theory and practice. It is global because it is whole and planetary. This construction of knowledge must be collective and egalitarian, however, respecting and valuing the talents and specificities of each person. Interdisciplinarity is a formative element of an environment of participatory construction, reorganization, reflection, and integration. The traditional school approaches concepts in a way that causes complete divergence between reality and the contents. In science, it is relatively easy to identify topics that fit into interdisciplinary practices because nature does not follow the analytical framework of human conventions.

Global citizenship as a trans/interdisciplinary theme incorporates the concepts of diversity and sustainability, conceiving the world as an interconnected whole. It recognizes the fundamental interdependence of all phenomena and the fact that, as individuals and societies, we are all connected and depend on the cyclical processes of nature. Habermas's dialogical rationality is proving itself very useful for addressing issues that require approaches from different cultures and areas of knowledge. The current ideas of integration, inclusion, multiculturalism, empowerment, critical thinking, intersubjectivity, and interdisciplinarity in the curriculum presuppose intense dialogue in order that we come up with agreements which contemplate multiple interests and voices.

Eduardo Galeano, in an interview on a Spanish radio station in Puerta del Sol, Madrid, (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38o-6vS7p50) when thousands of people took to the streets to celebrate the first anniversary of the *Indignados* movement, came up with a beautiful metaphor to express his hope and optimism, in spite of the chaotic scenario: every time he sees himself in the middle of a concentration of beautiful youngsters struggling for a better future, he thinks that there is another world waiting; "The present world is pregnant with a new one," says Galeano. Our challenge as educators is to help deliver the baby.

Notes

1. Celso Monteiro Furtado (1920–2004) was an important Brazilian economist and one of our most distinguished intellectuals during the twentieth century. His work focuses on development and underdevelopment and on the persistence of poverty in peripheral countries throughout the world.
2. Japiassú is a Brazilian philosopher and university professor who has published and translated from French books and articles on interdisciplinarity.
3. A professor at the Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP).
4. E. M. Arraut and J. M. Arraut are brother and sister.

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9

Curricular Landscapes, Neoliberal Densities

Curriculum Reform and Research in Chile

Claudia Matus Cánovas

This chapter examines the effects of neoliberalism in the production of students' and teachers' subjectivities at present in Chile. Neoliberal contexts for education, as particular narratives about the relationships between the economic model, social formation, and the state and its institutions, produce effects on the ways changes in schools are imagined. I pay attention to the ways neoliberalism has expanded its power through normative ideas about the relationship between education and the market, transforming notions of knowledge, learning, and teaching. These meanings are legitimized through discourses of educational reforms that imply specific ways to organize and produce identities in the curriculum. In this way, the market's interests can relate to the school's objectives in such a way that this alignment seems desirable and inevitable.

I consider the educational reform history in Chile since the dictatorship in which the implementation of neoliberal practices on educational arenas has been promoted (Cárcamo-Huechante, 2006; Harvey, 2007). Among the several consequences of political decisions made at that period of time, the educational system was restructured into a market-like organization that resulted in the shifting of funds, oversight, and accountability from government to individuals and corporations. For-profit education, high-stakes testing, and accountability systems are now common ways to talk about education in Chile. There is no doubt that the privatization of the school system has transformed economic, cultural, and political understandings of education. As a response to these practices, student strikes have been happening for the last six years[1] now, in which students have articulated their disapproval of neoliberal practices and demonstrated how the market ideology has failed to deliver on its promises. While all the problematics of the neoliberal agenda cannot be described here, the assumption that a greater economic reward for the whole society will result from having individuals pursuing their own economic interests (Hursh, 2008) has become the impetus for counter-movements. Students' social movements provide critical accounts of the several social and cultural effects of undelivered neoliberal undertakings. Because of the long and well-recognized history of neoliberal practices, educational policies in Chile cannot be understood nor conceptualized out of the frame of neoliberal thought.

In this chapter, I am going to provide a brief story of the curricular trajectories in Chile since the Dictatorship, with special attention to the ways subjectivities have been created in educational policies for specific purposes; then, I am going to offer a short description of neoliberal assumptions; and finally, I present a discussion on how new curricular reforms recently implemented in Chile emphasize the production of the educated subject as one who fits the demands of the market through the uses of affect. I use the conceptualization of affect to frame the uses of "attitudes" pertaining to each discipline in the new Chilean curriculum as a way to create "regimes of affect" (Madra, n.d.) to produce subjectivities in neoliberal times. I will exemplify how the current elementary curriculum in the areas of history, geography, and the social sciences produces students' subjectivities today and how these relate to neoliberal demands.

Historical Trajectories

The ongoing processes of reform of the educational system in Chile have always emphasized the recognition of schools as key institutions in the reconstruction of a democratic society. These modernization efforts have been executed within different political contexts: starting in the dictatorship period (1973–1990), followed by what was nominated as Democratic governments or transitional governments (1990–2005), then the first elected Socialist female President (2006–2010), and finally the present government run by a right-wing President from the corporate world (2010–2014). As expected, educational reforms under these governments have had their own emphases and tones. Nonetheless, it is necessary to mention that those prescriptions dictated by the Organic Constitutional

Law of Education under Pinochet's dictatorship did define an administrative structure and a way to organize the educational system so that coming reforms were forced to follow those prescriptions. It was not until 2009 that the Organic Constitutional Law of Education was revised and a new Constitutional Law of Education (2009) was promulgated. This law provides a new curricular language, but the structure and administrative way to organize the educational system is still untouched.

During the dictatorship period (1973–1990), the modernization process in education was focused on the transference of the administrative and financial management system of education from the Ministry of Education to the municipal system and to private corporations. Among the consequences of this privatization process was a decrease of educational quality, the loss of teachers' work rights, a decrease in public school enrolments, and an increase in the number of students in the new private subsidized school system. As a result of this free market opening in education and the large economic motivations given to the private sector to invest in education, the birth of a profitable educational business was generated along with the production of new administrative profiles (such as, the *sostenedores).*[2] As expected, the subsidiary role of the State as a compensator of inequalities was not directed to help those in need, but instead supported the financing of programs and projects carried out by the private sector. Moreover, all the State roles until 1973, which by social definition included public and free schooling, protection from unemployment, old age pension, physical disability protection, retirement pension, preventive medicine, and social housing, were transferred, partially or completely, to the private corporation sector. As a result, to modernize education was and still is a synonym for making education effective through the incorporation of a knowledge value-added tax to consumer goods and exports in order to make the Chilean economy more competitive in the international scenario. The end of the dictatorship in 1990 set up substantial and problematic ways to think of and imagine educational reforms and the cultural politics attached to them.

During the 1990s, a national mandatory curriculum was promulgated as an effect of the workings of the Organic Constitutional Law of Education emanated in the last years of the dictatorship. This law established the Fundamental Objectives and the Mandatory Minimal Contents to be covered in every school in the nation. The status of the curricular process was constructed around discourses of flexibility and the idea of teachers as autonomous professionals. This was part of the official discourse, but what happened is that teachers' participation was reduced to the practice of "adding" content besides those prescribed by law in order to make it suitable to the particularities of schools' institutional projects. In this way, this reform produced a new way to manage curriculum and teachers' work more than producing a new frame for curricular decisions, school organization, and valuation of teachers' work.

A Landscape of the Present

At present, there are three major curriculum reforms operating at the same time. As expected, these reforms function at different levels of implementation, in different sets of regulatory frames, with different outcomes to accomplish, and, as an effect, with different ways to produce student and teacher subjectivities. These subjectivities are caught up within these discursive practices as much as they are produced in everyday activities. What matters to this analysis is how ideas about the educated subject have been produced in curricular reforms in Chile. The political incitement of the neoliberal agenda in Chile has been sustained through multiple ways to construct and justify the importance of becoming a "developed" nation oriented with the corresponding impositions on educational institutions. Therefore, the cultural politics of how curriculum reforms have been shaped are highly relevant.

It is important to note that these three curricula, as they operate simultaneously, work independently as if they were completely different systems functioning in different segments of the schooling system. Thus, the curriculum implementation landscape looks like this: the oldest curriculum (Curricular Framework) was designed in 1996 under the restrictions of the Organic Constitutional Law of Education promulgated under the dictatorship and functions in the third and fourth years of high school; next, the Curricular Adjustment of 2009 operates from the seventh grade (elementary school) to the second grade (high school); and finally, the new curriculum (Curricular Bases) since 2012 operates from the first grade to the sixth grade (elementary school). As important as it is, these new ways to name and regulate knowledge in schools have created new ways to imagine subjects. The Curricular Framework and the Curricular Adjustment share one distinctive feature, which is that they use terms such as Fundamental Objectives, Mandatory Minimum Contents, and Transversal Fundamental Objectives to organize the document. In contrast, the Curricular Bases document (2012) uses the concept of Learning Objectives to reduce the prescription in relation to content presented to teachers. As expected, these different orientations to curricular processes lack critical reflection on how they relate to the whole process of democratization and change requested by the students' social movements since 2006. I argue that despite the internationally known political demands for better and more democratic educational systems from Chilean students in the last six years, those demands do not fit the subject profile promulgated by educational policies.

On Neoliberal Densities

Duggan (2003) notes that neoliberalism's main beliefs operate through the idea that economic policy is a matter of neutral and technical expertise. In this manner, expertise is presented as separate from politics and culture (Duggan, 2003, p. xiv). What matters here is to understand that the creation of this disassociation between economy and cultural dimensions permeates most of our daily decisions. This is a kind of power that regulates aspirations, affects, and trajectories for everybody. In this chapter, I contend that curricular practices have not been oriented to reveal the complexities of cultural politics of knowledge production and circulation in schools. This is in part because educational policies and reform practices construct schools as producers of people "ready to operate in the world," which incites the revitalization of other dominant discourses, such as competence, accountability, management, and leadership, that inform most of the policies and school reform discourses. Neoliberalization of the school system (the same is true of higher education) is accompanied by an increasing lack of interest on issues of gender, race, sexuality, and ability, among others, to explain inequalities in educational provision, educational opportunities, and the creation of critical social exclusions and polarization. For instance, most of the educational policies addressing issues of "diversity" name disabilities and special educational needs as the only dimensions to refer to when addressing the production of difference in schools (Matus and Infante, 2009). As an effect, "difference as diversity" is imagined as "something to be managed" by teachers with the problematic consequences from the production of essentialized differences in school practices. At the same time, under these cultural frameworks, teacher-training programs do not problematize content in their curricular trajectories but rather reduce it to the provision of tools and strategies to deal with those "identified differences."

After all, neoliberal assumptions, such as faith in the individual as a rational chooser within markets, have become ingrained as the rationale for educational policies, and as a consequence, the "market's requirements" are imagined and lived as real, necessary, and inevitable. Hence, these ideas require that subjects and populations are thought of in a way that does not intervene with the markets' demands. Hursh (2008) explains: "Under neoliberalism the individual is no longer merely a rational optimizer but conceived as an autonomous entrepreneur responsible for his or her own self, progress, and position" (p. 39). In what follows, I am going to present how the history, geography, and social sciences elementary curriculum imagines the educated subject and uses affect to foster specific identities and new configurations of the social.

The Uses of Affect and the Production of the Educated Subject

The current curriculum (Curricular Bases) is organized around three main dimensions, namely abilities, themes, and attitudes. Interestingly, attitudes have become an important component of new ways to organize the national curriculum. In fact, there is a list of attitudes pertaining to each of the disciplines of the curriculum; one can find specific attitudes for language, specific attitudes for mathematics, etc. For instance, language requires that students (a) exhibit positive dispositions and interest to share ideas, experiences, and opinions with others and (b) show empathy towards others considering their particular realities and where these realities are located. In mathematics, some of the required attitudes are (a) to exhibit an orderly work style; (b) to be flexible and creative when searching for solutions to problems; (c) to be positive towards one's own abilities; (d) to express ideas and listen to others' respectfully, etc. (Ministry of Education, Curricular Bases, 2012). This is particularly relevant because it gives a different tone to the ways policies are imagined to train students. It means that the child is not only teachable and has individual characteristics and attributes such as "learning abilities," and recognizable "developmental stages," but also the student can feel, act, and develop specific attitudes depending on the content delivered in her/his classroom.

History, geography, and the social sciences are important curricular components when defining where students learn about their own and others' positions in the world. For instance, essentializing and homogenizing practices related to the concept of culture have been widely problematized in areas such as anthropology and critical theory. Nonetheless, the notion of culture in the production of multiculturalism, particularly in elementary school text books, is still romanticized (McCarthy, 2005). The notions of a "multicultural society" in the official curriculum is still used as a tool to essentialize cultures presented as an extension of what it is called civic education, and it creates ideas such as "there are other cultures in the world and we should respect them." In other words, experiences embodied in these marginalized identities produce the reiteration of a conception of culture as a collection of objects and folkloric and aesthetic practices. This convenient way to homogenize identities in discrete units and communities has critical effects on the ways people think about themselves and others.

As an example I am going to discuss an interview excerpt conducted with a female elementary teacher in 2011 in Chile. She was interviewed to provide insight on how in-service teachers understand "inclusion practices" in schools. This interview excerpt needs to be read in the context of a Chilean educational system whose population has changed considerably by the increasing number of immigrants from other countries, particularly, Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador. In this interview excerpt, the teacher refers to the immigrant students who attend her school:

> "These little kids we receive in this school are very poor, and I believe that what happens is that they remind us about our origins, particularly those who are black and got straight hair. Those kids who come from abroad, particularly Peruvian kids are black, short, got straight hair. I have heard other colleagues referring to these students as 'black and short students.' "

In a different line from the same interview she states,

> "I have heard many teachers in this school saying that Peruvian students are monkeys, that they look like monkeys, that they are like monkeys. So, I believe that these kids represent something you want to forget, or something you don't want to be or wouldn't have been. I think these students remind you about your human condition. Maybe that is why there is so much rejection towards them. And yes discriminatory issues are big problems in schools today."

This way of thinking is only possible within a particular idea of culture, in which subjects are normalized and, as a consequence, a regulation of difference is produced. To present these excerpts is to exemplify how systems of understanding difference are performed in today's Chilean schools and to show the effects of neutral ways of addressing the construction of difference.

Returning to the history, geography, and social sciences elementary curriculum, the introduction of the document presents some details of the curricular content related to "citizenship competences" and "respect and valuation of human diversity." In relation to citizenship competences, it states,

> "It is crucial that students recognize themselves as citizens and develop favorable dispositions towards community life practicing its inherent values as they are members of a democratic society. One of the main objectives is that students recognize ideals and practices in which citizenship and the State are based on, and to acquire the necessary tools to participate in society actively, informed, and responsibly" (Ministry of Education, Curricular Bases, 2012).

On a different paragraph and in relation to human diversity it states,

> ". . . this content also intends to be a contribution to the conscious valuation of human and cultural diversity of the present world and to achieve a more inclusive society in which differences are appreciated. It is expected that students are able to recognize diversity richness and to understand that gender, ethnic origin, beliefs and social status, among others, are not objects of discrimination or a reason to make differences in terms of opportunities for everyone. Thus, the three disciplinary axes [meaning history, geography, and social sciences] are complementary to develop this objective. For example, for students to know different past and present cultures and their relation to their geographic environments constitutes a valuable learning experience, since it allows students to know and value human and cultural diversity, widening their world vision and through this they discover other ways in which different societies have faced and currently face problems and challenges common to all human beings" (Ministry of Education, Curricular Bases, 2012). This way to frame issues such as citizenship and diversity are problematic in at least two ways. First, it creates the expectation of societies as uniformed entities and whose progress can be sustained mainly through the "good behavior" people may exhibit. There is no problematization of issues related to power and the constitution of notions of citizenship and how these ideas constitute themselves systems to reason hierarchies, social orders, and the preservation of hegemonic ideas of society. Second, and as problematic as the first, the hygienized notion of diversity presented as neutral proposes the perpetuation of the division "Us/Them" in which there is no reference to the constitution of categories and how they have come to be essential in positioning ourselves and others in different social and cultural realms. These two concepts together reproduce the idea of a student who requires no more than a "good disposition" to follow what "society demands."

In what follows, I am going to focus on those attitudes listed in the history, geography, and social sciences curricula. These attitudes are presented as part of the civic education programs implemented from first to sixth grade in elementary school. To start with, I mention a very curious and clarifying note presented on the first page of the document. It states,

> "In the present document, terms such as 'the teacher,' 'the student,' 'the classmate,' to refer to men and women and their respective plurals (like any other terms used in the school context) are used in an inclusive manner [meaning that women are included when referring to "the student" or "the teacher" which, in Spanish, is masculine].[3] This decision is based on the idea that there is no universal agreement in relation to how to refer to either female or male in Spanish and other similar expressions. These formulae suppose a graphic saturation that may interfere with reading comprehension" (Ministry of Education, Curricular Bases, 2012).

This note is particularly relevant because, on one side, it proposes that "gender neutrality" (meaning only masculine) is possible and agreed upon, and on the other side, this convenient neutrality supposes an epistemological place of equality that stands outside of the politics of the construction of gender and its effects. As an introductory paragraph, it sets out the tone of neutrality as constitutive of the way to reason subjectivities in today's curriculum.

In the section where the civic education objectives are formulated, there is an explicit reference to learning "civic virtues" and how they relate to the practice of specific "habits," such as politeness; collaborative actions within the community; and attitudes of tolerance, respect to community life, responsibility, honesty, and personal effort.

For instance, this is one of the objectives presented for first-grade students:

> "[Students are expected] to show attitudes and execute concrete actions on their nearby communities (family, school, and neighbourhoods) that show respect for the other (e.g. listening to the other attentively, being polite with others, etc.); empathy (e.g. helping others when necessary, do not discriminate others because of their

> physical aspect or customs, etc.); responsibility (e.g. assuming responsibilities in their homes and classrooms, taking care of their and others' belongings, taking care of public spaces, etc.); explaining and applying regulatory norms to secure good community life and self-care in their families, school, and public spaces" (Ministry of Education, Curricular Bases, 2012).

Tolerance, responsibility, "respect" for "expressions of diversity," and empathy put forth as civic virtues position school subjects and communities in such a way that difference, conflict, and social and cultural hierarchies operate normatively, and this normativity is rendered as invisible (Brown, p. 4). For instance, the omission of how social and cultural differences are constructed and circulated perpetuates the imagination of a citizen-to-be who needs to exercise certain "habits" to accept the established hierarchy and to prefer the status quo. Leaving the individual to manage her/his own character and encouraging ideas pertaining to self-responsibility and empathy "engenders an entrepreneurial spirit within the individual and throughout the community" (Carlson, 2009, p. 261).

With different intensities, affective regulation through the integration of attitudes related to each discipline has become a strategic component of a self-portrayed sensitive government. The ways to present citizens' attributes in elementary school curriculum as attitudes students must exhibit show how these practices not only use affect to control and monitor behaviors and personal relations but also how affect facilitates the circulation of naturalized cultural logics and ideological structures through public, common, and obvious knowledge. In understanding affect, I use Brian Massumi's (2002, 2005) distinction between affect and emotion. He states that emotion refers to the speakable whereas affect denotes a force, a potential that is expressed through the ways we attend and perform life. This is particularly important since the proposed attitudes for students to learn create specific ways of knowing and orienting desires in life.

On a different section of the list of attitudes to teach elementary students in history, geography, and the social sciences, there is an emphasis on self-care, health, and hygiene issues. These curricular proposals are oriented to regulate children's behavior through the controlling of their conduct because, if not, they would not respond to what society demands. What is important in this way of producing ideas of future citizens is that for students to learn how to take care of their bodies is connected to the State's failure to provide required conditions for communities, for instance, health related policies. To promote self-care in the curriculum shows how the State is using "attitudes" as strategies to secure its economic future and, at the same time, to secure the well-being of its population.

Lastly, the idea of the citizen as a problem-solving individual is also relevant in this curriculum. It states,

> "[The student should] solve conflicts applying strategies such as; to determine the cause of a given problem, to propose possible solutions to it, to dialogue with others to find a common point of view, and to vote for possible solutions showing respect and empathy for those involved in the discussion to improve community life in the classroom and in the school community."

This is relevant since it prevents future citizens from depending too much upon state welfare institutions. To make students act individually with the corresponding cultural and social reward for these actions is to secure a specific way to relate to the State and its institutions. As Carlson (2009) states,

> "Making the student the owner, or sovereign of his/her work, and making the teacher the coach, or pastoral guide, represents a strategic way to produce neoliberal subjects who are independent, entrepreneurial subjects equipped to take care of themselves, and by doing so, allows the state to function. The school provides social insurance against the future risk of dependence on state institutions" (p. 263).

I have used notions of civic education presented in the elementary school curriculum as a good case by which to exemplify the extension of the advancement of notions of privatization and personal responsibility within a neoliberal oriented government (Duggan, 2003). Teaching attitudes related to self-responsibility and problem solving in the history, geography, and social sciences elementary curriculum circulates the idea of reliance on oneself rather than others and offers a frame to consequently position students and families in charge of their own progress in schools. To show how curriculum is used to produce and reinforce particular meanings about society, the citizen, and communities and how they relate to specific ways to value and reward "good behaviour" is a way to present the potential of today's educational policies. The instrumental way to frame social and cultural issues in contrast to any reflection on how, for instance, constructions of race, social class, gender, and the like might inform the causes of these relations suggests the creation of a specific civil order with a particular social subject, with a specific orientation to politics and to the state. Therefore, as expected, these attitudes to be learned by children in schools act as demands for assimilation of certain values, assembling specific subjectivities and actions in such a way that they are *felt* and *lived* as truths. Curriculum imposed upon children establishes easy-to-recognize connections to a homogeneous web of affects, desires, and possibilities. In this case, normative ideas of social order and of citizens act in such a way that they give each other impetus. Moreover, these affective potentials create a circuit of bodily performances: right attitudes connect to right behaviors, right behaviors secure good relations to institutions, and as a result, outcomes are easily recognized as social and cultural rewards. Attitudes, then, become the abstract tracing behind what we recognize as good behavior, right practices, and social and cultural rewards.

I present this as one relevant moment in the construction of the educated subject in Chile where affect connects specific attitudes with knowledges and produces specific social and cultural paths to follow. In this chapter, I have shown how neoliberal imperatives are lived in the curriculum through the production of connections and imaginations about the right way to behave, to feel, and to live. In this manner, the curriculum is understood as a rigid surface from where social and cultural bodies can be justified, sorted out, and penalized. The neoliberal agenda and its "ideology of neutrality" (Wayne Ross, 2008, p. 371) directly determine the way that certain things are less likely to be taught in schools and that there is a common way to think about who we are and who we may become. If the promise of democracy is still a desire and schools are still thought of as important institutions in constructing democratic societies, we must recognize and act on connections between classrooms and societies in a critical and creative way, particularly in these neoliberal times.

Notes

1. Even though the students' movements started in 2001, more visible organization has been happening since 2006. For more details, see Falabella, 2008.
2. Institutional agents with administrative responsibilities in charge of schools' management with no required instruction on educational matters.
3. To make the reference to both feminine and masculine in Spanish, one has to make the distinction. For instance, in the case of naming a female teacher it would be "*la profesora;*" the male teacher would be "*el profesor.*" To make it shorter, some people write the distinction and it looks like this: "*el/la profesor/a*". This graphic saturation is what the quote references.

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10

Curriculum Studies in China

Retrospect and Prospect

ZHANG HUA AND ZHENYU GAO

The issue of curriculum occupies a central position in educational systems. The most basic and broad project in educational reform in contemporary China is curriculum reform, which calls for serious curriculum research. The process of curriculum research is a process of seeking curriculum wisdom embodied in the true, the good, and the beautiful, and of understanding curriculum history, reality, and process. To be in search of curriculum wisdom and curriculum exploration constitutes our vocation as Chinese curriculum scholars. Therefore, we intend to make a historical reflection of ancient curriculum wisdom, depict a comprehensive picture of the development of curriculum studies in the twentieth century, and look ahead into the prospect of curriculum theory in contemporary China.

Three Kinds of Curriculum Wisdom in China

Curriculum wisdom is being in-the-world. It has local character. In this era of globalization, it is particularly important to understand the locality of curriculum wisdom (Smith, 1997, 2000). The idea of place is important in the seeking of curriculum wisdom. Curriculum wisdom is also a historical being. The history of curriculum discourse dwells in the reality of curriculum. The conception of historicity becomes also important.

Chinese cultural traditions are nurtured and shaped by three main philosophies: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Correspondingly, there are three main traditions of curriculum wisdom in China: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. When we explore these three traditions of curriculum wisdom, we are not limited to what ancient philosophers said about education. We intend to understand what curriculum meanings and curriculum questions can be derived from the discourses of ancient philosophers. In other word, we base our study in hermeneutics, not positivism.

Confucian Curriculum Wisdom The Chinese term for curriculum is *ke-cheng.* The term curriculum (*ke-cheng*) first appeared in Confucian classics during the Tang Dynasty.[1] There are two syllables in the word *ke-cheng.* Before the Tang Dynasty, these two syllables *ke* and *cheng* appeared independently. According to the most authoritative book of Chinese etymology, *Xu Shen Exploring Etymology of Chinese Words* (in the Eastern Han Dynasty), *ke* means "function" and *cheng* means "many persons gathering in one room and sharing." Both the original meaning of *ke* and the original meaning of *cheng* are very different from today's meaning of curriculum.

The first man who created the word *ke-cheng* (curriculum) was Kong Yingda. One of the most famous Confucian philosophers in the Tang Dynasty, he is the author of *Understanding the Five Confucian Classics.* In it, he discusses some of the important Confucian classics: *Book of Songs, Book of Changes, Book of History, Book of Rites,* and *Spring and Autumn Annals.* While explicating one sentence from Book of Songs,[2] he created the word "*ke-cheng*" (curriculum). In the *Book of Songs* (The Lesser Odes: Slanderous Talks), it is written:

> Magnificent indeed is the temple,
> Which has been constructed by the moral person.

Kong Yingda explained this sentence as follows:

> It is the moral person
> Who must plan, supervise, and uphold the curriculum (*ke-cheng*).
> That is legitimate.

In ancient China, "temple" did not only suggest architecture, it also symbolized a "great cause," or "great contribution." So, curriculum (*ke-cheng*) originally pointed to "temple," signifying "great cause," "great contribution." In the Tang Dynasty, curriculum was not limited to school curricula, it included all the great undertakings in society (Zhang, 2000c, p. 66).

One of the greatest Confucian philosophers in the Song Dynasty,[3] Zhu Xi, frequently used the word *ke-cheng* (curriculum). In *Complete Works of Zhu Xi On Learning,* he wrote, "You should provide plenty of time for students, and make good use of the time to teach the curriculum." He also said, "You should develop curriculum not in many books, but focus on what's chosen for learning." Zhu Xi's conception of curriculum is limited to school curriculum. School curriculum is a "great cause" (Zhang, 2000c, p. 66).

How can we understand the temple metaphor in Confucian conceptions of curriculum? What is the meaning of "great cause"? To answer, we must turn to Confucian metaphysics. What are the intrinsic features of Confucian metaphysics? Confucian metaphysics are moral metaphysics. Confucian metaphysics are based on morals. If we have to summarize Confucian metaphysics, we can say: Cosmic order is moral order. Because Confucianism is moral metaphysics, Confucian philosophy is also a philosophy of the subject. This "subject" integrates and internalizes the heaven (*tian*). This is the Eastern subject, Chinese subject, not the Western subject. The most important theme of Eastern culture is the unity between the subject and heaven. That is the most crucial difference between Eastern culture and Western culture (Mu, 1997).

The very nature of the subject is "benevolence" (*ren*). Benevolence is the core idea of Confucius and of the most important Confucian classic *The Analects.* According to Xu Shen's *Exploring Etymology of Chinese Words,* the original meaning of benevolence (*ren*) is intimacy. Intimacy is not limited to family relatives. It is extended to the society. Confucius said, "Benevolence is to love all men" (Yan Yuan, *The Analects*). Benevolence is not limited to human society, either. It is extended to all beings. Xunzi said, "Benevolence should be extended to loving all things." Through benevolence and caring, the world goes into a new state of the "unity between heaven and man."

How does Confucianism view being (ontology)? Being is the "unity between heaven and man." In the first chapter of *The Doctrine of the Mean* is written the following:

> What is endowed by heaven is called the nature; to follow that nature is called the way; to cultivate the way is called education. One cannot depart from his way for a moment, what can be departed is not the way. A moral man is always discreet and vigilant when he is beyond others' sight, apprehensive and cautious when beyond others' hearing. One should never misbehave even when he is in privacy, nor should he reveal evil intentions even in trivial matters. So a moral man remains circumspect especially when he is alone.

Confucians paid great attention to "remaining circumspect especially when one is alone." That means the unity between heaven and man is a process of conscious moral practice.

What does Confucianism say about the question of becoming (cosmology)? In *The Doctrine of the Mean* (Chapter 26) is written the following:

> The way of the universe can be completely described in a single sentence: as it is constantly taking honesty as the only proper course, its way of bringing up all things is extremely subtle because it creates one thing as the only thing, and it creates things unpredictably.

What an insightful description of the way of creation! The world is an organism, not a clock. Every thing is the only thing. All things are co-emergent. This is the cosmology of Confucianism.

What curriculum horizons can Confucianism open up for us? First, Confucian curriculum is based on moral metaphysics. The unity between heaven and man is the basic platform for understanding curriculum. The ideal of unity between heaven and man is the highest level that curriculum can attain. To cultivate moral persons is the purpose of curriculum. Is this ideal mysterious or unreachable? No. According to Confucianism, the state of unity between heaven and man is possible through ordinary life. Confucius said, "Is benevolence indeed so far away? If we really wanted benevolence, we should find that it was at our very side" (Shu Er, *The Analects*). When we cultivate our benevolence from ourselves, we are starting the journey to this ideal state.

Second, curriculum is a social, political text. Confucianism emphasizes the idea of mean-harmony (*zhong-he*). It has founded a sociology of mean-harmony. Confucius said, "How transcendent is the moral power of the mean! That it is but rarely found among the common people is a fact long admitted" (Yong Ye, *The Analects*). *The Doctrine of the Mean* (Chapter 1) extended Confucius' thought:

> Feelings like joy, anger, sorrow and happiness are in the state of the mean when they are kept in heart; they are in the state of harmony when expressed in conformity with moral standards. The mean is the fundament of everything under heaven, and harmony the universal law. With the mean-harmony, the heaven and the earth move orderly, and everything thereon grows and flourishes

So, Confucian curriculum is also based on the sociology of mean-harmony. This curriculum sociology focuses on balance, harmony, interaction, and communication. This is quite different from the various conflicting curriculum discourses in the Western world (Pinar et al, 1995, Chapter 5).

Finally, according to Confucianism, curriculum is a moral event. Curriculum research is a values-laden process. Every aspect of the curriculum process as well as curriculum research is permeated by values and moral elements. So, efforts to find universal and value-free laws and models of curriculum development are naïve, even impossible, considering what this ancient wisdom teaches us.

Confucian curriculum wisdom is a curriculum discourse based on moral metaphysics. To build a harmonious society and eventually reach the state of unity between heaven and man—these are the basic and ultimate aims of curriculum research and curriculum processes. This is the meaning of "great cause" and what the temple metaphor implies. Confucian curriculum wisdom is of growing interest in Chinese contemporary curriculum theory. Several Chinese curriculum scholars have begun to explore the contemporary meaning of Confucian curriculum wisdom, among them are Wang (1999) and Zhang (1996, 2000a).

Taoist Curriculum Wisdom In order to understand the essence of Taoist curriculum wisdom, we need focus on Taoist metaphysics. What is the intrinsic feature of Taoist metaphysics? In one word, Taoist metaphysics is the metaphysics of Nature. In *The Book of Laozi* (Chapter 25) is written the following:

> Man follows the way of Earth,
> Earth follows the way of Heaven,
> Heaven follows the way of Tao,
> Tao follows the way of Nature.

If man does not go against the way of Earth, he will be safe. If Earth does not go against the way of Heaven, it will be complete. If heaven does not go against the way of Tao, it will be in order. To follow the way of Nature is the intrinsic character of Tao. So, in the Taoist view, Nature is the *noumenon* of the cosmos. What is the meaning of Nature? Nature is a transcendent spiritual state of freedom, independence, and autonomy. Tao is not only the core of Nature, but it is also the realization of Nature. In the first chapter of *the Book of Laozi* is written the following:

> The Tao that can be spoken of is not the eternal Tao;
> The name that can be named is not the eternal name.
> The nameless (*wu- ming*) is the origin of Heaven and Earth;
> The named (*you- ming*) is the root of all things.
> Therefore, the subtleties of Tao are always apprehended through their formlessness,
> The limits of things are always seen through their form.
> These two (*wu and you*) have the same source but different names.
> Both of them can be called profoundness (*xuan*),
> The most profound, the door of all mysteries.

This is the meaning and character of Tao. As the realization of Nature, Tao (the Way) is dynamic and moving. It is the origin and mother ground of all things. Tao has double character: *wu* (no-thing) and *you* (being). When artificial things are excluded, a pure, vacant, and quiet spiritual state will manifest. This state is called *wu* (no-thing). Wu is the basis for the change of all things. *Wu,* as an infinite and universal state, has a tendency to point to a certain being. So *wu* generates *you* (being). *You* is the concrete content of *wu.* Laozi said, "All things under Heaven come into being from you, and you comes into being from *wu*" (Chapter 40). *Wu* is one, *you* is many. There is a dialectical thinking in Taoism. *Wu* is the *wu* of *you. You* is the *you* of *wu.* The dialectical unity of *wu* and *you* is called *xuan* (profoundness). *Xuan* (profoundness) is the realization of Tao. Profoundness is the door to all mysteries. According to Taoism, Nature is the unity of Tao, Heaven, Earth, and Man. Taoism also honors the state of unity between heaven and man.

How does Taoism view becoming? In the Taoist view, the nature of every thing is good. The nature of every thing should be kept and actualized. So Taoism advocates the principle of actualization. For Taoism, it is not so much to say "creating" a thing as to say "returning" to a thing. Laozi said (*The Book of Laozi,* Chapter 16):

> Try the utmost to make the heart vacant,
> Be sure to hold fast to quietude.
> All things are growing and developing,
> And I see thereby their cycles.
> Though all things flourish with a myriad of variations,
> Each one will eventually return to its root.
> This return to its root means "tranquility,"
> It is called "returning to its destiny."
> "To return to its destiny" is called "the eternal,"
> To know "the eternal" is called "enlightenment."
> Not to know "the eternal" and to act blindly (will necessarily) result in disaster.

Returning to the root of a thing and returning to its destiny is the process of actualization. This is the essence of growth and development.

How can we interact with things? The main points are *wu-wei* (doing nothing), *jing-guan* (tranquil observation), and *xuan-lan* (profound insight). *Wu-wei* means not to act blindly, but to realize Nature, to attain the state of Nature. *Wu-wei* is not inaction, but to act with Taoist wisdom. Laozi said, "Tao invariably does nothing, and yet there is nothing left undone" (*The Book of Laozi,* Chapter 37). "Doing nothing and nothing left undone" concentrates Taoist practical wisdom. *Jing-guan* (tranquil observation) and *xuan-lan* (profound insight) are the methods of understanding. To understand things is to be integrated with things. In order to attain this ideal state, we should "make the heart vacant," "hold fast to quietude," "keep the unity of the soul and body," and "achieve gentleness like an infant." Laozi wrote (*The Book of Laozi,* Chapter 10):

> Can you keep the unity of the soul and the body without separating them?
> Can you concentrate the vital energy, keep the breath and achieve gentleness like an infant without any desires?
> Can you cleanse and purify your profound insight without any flecks?

Since both Confucianism and Taoism honor the state of unity between heaven and man, what are their differences? First, the Confucian unity between heaven and man is the inevitable outcome of moral metaphysics. Confucianism bases the unity between heaven and man on morals. It focuses on the harmony of human relations. Taoist unity between heaven and man is the metaphysics of Nature. Taoism bases the unity between heaven and man in Nature. It focuses on the state of Nature. Second, Confucianism emphasizes benevolent action as the way to realize the unity between heaven and man. Taoism, on the other hand, proposes that the state of *wu-wei* is the essential way to achieve the unity between heaven and man. The state of unity between heaven and man is not an artificial product, but an internal quest and an inevitable outcome of Nature and Tao.

What curriculum horizons does Taoism create for us? First, if we understand curriculum as a Taoist text, we should borrow Taoist metaphysics of Nature to reflect on today's curriculum field. Do not more and more miscellaneous school materials go against Nature? Are not increasingly abstract curriculum discourses artificial? According to Taoist curriculum theory, all the school materials and curriculum discourses need to be thoroughly deconstructed.

Second, what Taoist curriculum wisdom provides for us is the meaning of Nature. The educated man, according to Taoist curriculum wisdom, is authentic man (natural man). From John Dewey (1897, 1899, 1902) to Ralph Tyler (1949) through today, paradigms of curriculum development have been based on anthropocentrism. This paradigm posits nature as being conquered, dominated, and utilized by human beings. The anthropocentric character of curriculum development is one of the main reasons leading to curriculum alienation. Taoist curriculum wisdom based on the teleology of nature can open up a new vision for curriculum development and curriculum theory.

Finally, can we introduce the methods of *jing-guan* (tranquil observation) and *xuan-lan* (profound insight) to the methodology of curriculum research in order to transcend the positivist character and technical orientation in present curriculum research? We think Taoist methodology and the Western qualitative methodology (for example, phenomenological methodology) point out new directions for curriculum research.

Buddhist Curriculum Wisdom In all the traditions of Chinese wisdom, Buddhism is the most complicated and abstruse. If Western philosophy has been struggling with the wisdom of being and self-identity, Buddhist philosophy, on the contrary, has been struggling with the wisdom of non-being. That is the intrinsic feature of Buddhist philosophy (Mu, 1997, 1998). So the general principle of Buddhist philosophy is causal occasioning (*yuan-qi*) and nature emptiness (*xing-kong*). Causal occasioning means that all beings come into existence dependent on conditions. Nature emptiness means that all beings do not have eternal nature and they keep changing. All beings are causal occasioning because of nature emptiness. The nature of all beings is empty (*kong*) because of causal occasioning. In the Buddhist view, all things that Western philosophy has been pursuing (essence, being, self identity, personality, independence, freedom, God, etc.) and the pursuit itself are attachments needing to be emptied. When the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng, died, he told his disciples, "You should behave as if I were alive: sit decorously together, neither rush about nor refrain from movement, think neither of life nor of annihilation, neither of coming nor going, neither of right nor wrong, neither of abiding nor departing. Just be still. That is the supreme Way" (*Platform Sutra*). So when all the attachments and blind will are thoroughly emptied, the supreme Way will manifest itself.

How does Buddhism view becoming? Because all beings are causal happenings as such, all beings immediately emerge and immediately disappear. That means all beings change and transform forever. The time when a thing emerges is the time when the thing disappears. The body, thinking, feeling, and behavior of human beings are not eternal. So, the world is always changeable, like floating clouds and flowing water. What can we do in this changeable world? The only choice is to know our own mind, discover our nature, and attain the moment of enlightenment in seeing Buddha. Huineng said (*Platform Sutra*):

> Without enlightenment, a Buddha is just like any other man; but in a moment of enlightenment, any man can become a Buddha. This means that the Way of Buddha is in one's own mind. So why do we not discover our own nature of suchness in the instant of revelation in our minds?

"The nature of suchness" means to treat the world as such. Embrace the world and let it go. "The nature of suchness" means the pure and tranquil mind, the non-ego self. In the moment of enlightenment, you see Buddha, all things in the world come from the same source, and they return to the One.

What curriculum horizons can Buddhism expand? First, Buddhist curriculum wisdom can help us to purify today's curriculum field. There are many external wills controlling the curriculum field—among them political interests, economic interests, cultural hegemony, and so on. On the one hand, "everything for children's interests!" is demanded. On the other hand, children's rights are sold by imposing adults' benefits and wills. In the process of curriculum reform, more often than not, adults' obsession with national interests, technological advancement, and scientific superiority are projected onto our young children, forcing them to carry unbearably "heavy" schoolbags. What would it be like if both the attachments to selves as human beings and the attachments to selves as things were emptied in the curriculum field?

Second, in the view of Buddhist curriculum wisdom, "the educated man" is the enlightened man. The enlightened man is not a knowledge cabinet, but a man of spirituality. Wonder, awe, reverence, imagination, transcendence, quietude, empathy, and caring are essential elements of spirituality. Can we find them in our curriculum? Our curriculum is so disenchanted. Both curriculum theory and curriculum practice need to be re-enchanted if we do not want to produce one-dimensional persons and dull souls.

Finally, Buddhist pedagogy is quite instructive and enlightening. It is a real pedagogy of wisdom. For example, "to teach through the mind not through the written word," "Zen meditation," "to know your own mind and to discover your own nature," and "to work things out for yourself" express the core of pedagogical wisdom and make today's technology-oriented instructional methods look simple, dull, and impoverished.

In the Western curriculum field, there are wonderful studies on Buddhism. For instance, David Smith's (1996, 1999) exploration on the question of identity in the conduct of pedagogical action and Hwu Wen-Song's study (1998) on the comparison of Zen/Taoism and post-structuralism (1998) are fascinating. We believe David Smith's study is a milestone in the East/West dialogue of the curriculum field.

Relationship of the Three Kinds of Curriculum Wisdom A spiritual state of unity between heaven and man is the common theme of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist curriculum wisdom. What is the educated man? Confucianism understands the educated man as a moral man. Taoism understands the educated man as a natural man. Buddhism understands the educated man as an enlightened man. In other words, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism realize their ideal of spiritual state of unity between heaven and man from the angle of society, nature, and self, respectively. But confirming relatedness and co-origination as the essence of the world is the common intrinsic character of the three theories of wisdom.

If we want to utilize and learn from Chinese ancient curriculum wisdom to inform contemporary curriculum theory and practice, it is necessary to transform our traditions and ask questions relevant to our own time: How can we get rid of instrumental rationality (the logic of control) and imbue the present with wisdom? How can we create possibilities of dialogue between Chinese curriculum wisdom and Western curriculum theories and form a dynamic relationship between the two? How can we create possibilities of dialogue among Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist curriculum wisdom in order to provide fertile soil for its further growth into contemporary Chinese curriculum studies? How can we create possibilities of dialogue between the ancient curriculum wisdom and today's curriculum practice in order to provide insights to transform curriculum practice?

Five Stages of Contemporary Curriculum Studies

During the twentieth century, with the tortuous journey of social changes and educational development in China, Chinese curriculum studies has experienced the following stages: learning from the United States, learning from the Soviet Union, the re-emergence of the curriculum field, and seeking for the independence of Chinese curriculum studies.

Stage I: Learning from America; Making the Curriculum Field Relatively Independent (1900–1949) During the first half of the twentieth century, the main social and historical mission of Chinese people was to "save the nation from extinction." A group of persons with breadth of vision looked on education as a main way to save the nation from extinction. This function of education was embodied in the national spirit of reconstruction. The core of spiritual reconstruction was "democracy" and "science." The concrete strategies of reconstruction consisted of two aspects: one, plunging into rural areas and organizing educational activities in accordance with the semicolonial, semifeudal Chinese social reality; the other, drawing fully on the experience of Western educational ideas and institutions, of which the United States was a representative, and transplanting American educational culture into China.

In early twentieth century America, with the rapid growth of educator training programs during the "progressive period" and the increase in curriculum-making literature, "curriculum studies" became a professional field within the education sciences. Franklin Bobbitt's *The Curriculum,* published in 1918, was generally considered as the inauguration of curriculum as a field. At almost the same time, Chinese scholars undertook curriculum research in China. These studies included:

(1) Translating the U.S. curriculum literature into Chinese. Bobbitt's *The Curriculum* was translated by Zhang Shizhu and published by Commercial Press in 1928. It was part of the series of translation works entitled *Modern Famous Works of Education* and was widely read. Another Bobbitt book—*How to Make a Curriculum,* first published in America in 1924—was translated by Xiong Zirong and published by Commercial Press in 1943. F. G. Bonster's *The Elementary School Curriculum* was translated by Zheng Zonghai and Shen Zishan and was published by Commercial Press in 1925. These translations widened the horizon of Chinese curriculum research.

(2) Research concerning the general principles of curriculum development. The earliest Chinese curriculum scholars not only attempted to learn from U.S. curriculum studies, but they also explored the general principles of curriculum development in the context of Chinese curriculum reform. As early as in 1923, Chinese scholar Cheng Xiangfan's *An Introduction to the Elementary School Curriculum* was published by Commercial Press. Although focused on elementary school curriculum, this work contributed greatly to the study of general principles of curriculum development (Cheng, 1923), and only five years after Bobbitt's *The Curriculum.* Wang Keren's *The Principles and Methods of Curriculum Construction* was published in 1928; it explored the general principles and

methods of curriculum making (Wang, 1928). Zhu Zhixian's *Research on the Elementary School Curriculum* was published by Commercial Press in 1931, which systematically elaborated the conceptions, principles, and strategies of curriculum making (Zhu, 1931). Zhu published another book with the same title with the same press in 1933 and another book with the same title in 1948, therefore making a considerable contribution to the field of curriculum studies. Xiong Zirong's *The Principles of Curriculum Construction* was published by Commercial Press in 1934; it expounded the function, research fields, and principles of modern curriculum making as well as school curriculum making strategies at different levels. It was one of the most systematic works compiled and written by Chinese curriculum scholars in the first half of the twentieth century (Xiong, 1934).

(3) Further research on specific fields of curriculum studies. Early curriculum research in China did not only study the general principles of curriculum development, it connected the study of general curriculum development principles with the study of particular principles of specific fields. During this period, Chinese scholars studied in depth the questions of elementary school curriculum development in connection with practice and published a great number of research achievements. The study of elementary school teaching materials occupied several curriculum scholars' attention (Sun, 1932; Zhu, 1932; Wu and Wu, 1933; Yu, 1934; Wu, 1934).

(4) Research on curriculum history. Chinese curriculum research emphasized the study of curriculum history and connected curriculum development with the study of curriculum history. As early as in 1929, Xu Zhi's *The Evolving History of Chinese School Curriculum* explored Chinese curriculum history, attending to well-established Chinese curriculum traditions. Sheng Langxi (1934) wrote *The Evolution of the Elementary School Curriculum,* which focused on the history of elementary school curricula. Chen Xia's *The Developing History of the Elementary School Curriculum in Modern China* was published by Commercial Press in 1944. These works laid a foundation for the study of Chinese curriculum history.

These early studies of Chinese curriculum theory and history not only emphasized theoretical construction, but also addressed practical needs. They not only respected Chinese traditions, but also made use of American curriculum theoretical achievements. They not only explored the general principles of curriculum development, but also studied the issues of specific curriculum fields. Responding to the need of educational reform, curriculum research was fully developed and expanded Chinese educational theory. Curriculum research enjoyed substantial achievements, becoming a conspicuous, relatively independent research field during this period. It might not be an exaggeration to say that curriculum research in China led the world during the first half of twentieth century. At the least, it was not far behind the most advanced field in the world. Unfortunately, this great tradition did not continue, and curriculum research in China almost became extinct during the second half of the twentieth century.

Stage II: Imitating the Soviet Union; The Curriculum Field Is Replaced by the Instructional Field (1949–1978) A new period of socialism started after the People's Republic of China was founded. China modeled herself after the former Soviet Union and built up a highly centralized socialist system. Although a great divergence in ideology occurred later between China and the former Soviet Union, a highly centralized socialist system remained intact in China. A socialistically planned economy lasted for almost 30 years in China. Under this system, education was regarded simply as social superstructure, so it had no independence and could only act as the mouthpiece of economy, the loudspeaker of politics, and the defender of culture. In a planned economic system, central authorities determined curriculum—the core of education—and curriculum specialists could not deal with curriculum development issues directly. Curriculum administration was also centralized. The authorities managed curriculum by bureaucracy through a centralized *"*teaching plan,*" "*syllabus,*"* and *"*textbook;*"* principals and teachers had no power to make curriculum decisions.

During this period, education research followed the Soviet Union model, composed of four sections: foundations, instruction, moral education, and management. Curriculum was treated as teaching content within the instructional section. Since curriculum was made by the central government, it was unnecessary for others to explore its values, orientations, and principles of design. What was needed was to rationally interpret the curriculum documents, such as teaching plans, syllabi, textbooks, and so on. Curriculum studies disappeared. Curriculum as content was separated from instruction: curriculum was aims and orientations while instruction was processes and means.

During this period—from 1949 to 1978—curriculum studies blossomed in the Western world. In the year when the People's Republic of China was founded, one of the most famous American curricularists, Ralph Tyler, who is praised as "the father of modern curriculum theory," published *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.* The book was called "the Bible" of curriculum development and indicated that curriculum development had reached a new stage. But the achievement of curriculum studies in Western countries was kept from coming into China for almost 30 years due to ideology. The tradition of curriculum research in the first half of twentieth century was discarded. Chinese curriculum research declined and fell behind the Western world.

Stage III: The Resurgence of the Curriculum Field (1978–1989) After the Third Conference of the Eleventh National People's Congress, China began the new period of all-round societal recovery, of which economic development was the core, with reform and opening to the outside world accented. This provided new opportunities and challenges for education. In 1985, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China declared its *Decision about Educational System Reform.* It attempted to change malpractice of the educational system (such as too many regulations and restrictions and inflexible management under centralized control) and enlarge the grass-roots power of educational institutions, making principals responsible for schools. In 1986, China promulgated the Compulsory Education Law. To implement the decree, *An Instructional Plan for Full Time Students at Primary Schools and Junior Middle Schools in Compulsory Education* was drawn up in 1988. In 1986, a significant event happened in the history of Chinese curriculum development. The first authoritative organization for the examination of subject matter was set up: the National Committee for the Examination of Subject Matters in Elementary and Secondary Schools. The Committee enacted a curriculum policy of one guideline with many textbooks and with examinations and subject matter development separated. Since localities now had the power to make their own decisions to develop curriculum materials, the tide of curriculum and instructional reform surged.

When curriculum implementers have the power to make their own decisions in curriculum development, the importance of curriculum theory becomes obvious. In this stage, the curriculum field started to recover in China. First, specialized academic periodicals and academic organizations focused on curriculum research and development were established. In 1981, the first organization whose main mission was to conduct research on curriculum theory and guide the practice of curriculum development—the Study Workshop of Curriculum and Subject Matters in the People's Educational Publishing House—was founded. This study workshop established the first academic curriculum journal *Curriculums, Subject Matter, and Instructional Methods.* This journal studied not only the general foundations of curriculum and instruction, but also the specific principles of subject curriculum and instruction; it became an important theory frontline in curriculum studies. In 1983, the Chinese Ministry of Education approved the founding of the Institute of Curriculum and Subject Matter, under the control of the Chinese Ministry of Education and the People's Educational Publishing House. The original Study Workshop of Curriculum and Subject Matter was upgraded to the Institute of Curriculum and Subject Matter. The study of curriculum and subject matter was strengthened not only in quantity but also in quality. In addition to specialized curriculum academic organizations, specialized scholars engaged in curriculum studies in many educational departments and institutes of educational sciences at many universities. The Specialized Committee for Instructional Theory in Chinese Educational Academy undertook curriculum research, too. Curriculum sections were established in many academic educational periodicals.

Second, foreign curriculum research was reintroduced to China. In 1985, the People's Educational Publishing House started to publish a *Curriculum Research Series.* Curriculum research from England, Japan, America, and the Soviet Union were translated into Chinese, among them Lawton's *Theory and Practice of Curriculum Studies* (1978) and Beauchamp's *Curriculum Theory: Meaning, Development and Use* (1961). These works supported the recovery of the Chinese curriculum field.

Third, several important academic achievements concerning curriculum were accomplished. During this resurgence of curriculum studies as a field, many influential academic works were published (Dai, 1981; Chen, 1981; Shi, 1984; Chen, 1985; Wang, 1985; Xiong, 1985; Ban, 1988; Zhong, 1989b). These works analyzed the subject and scope of curriculum research, explored the direction for the future development of curriculum theory, discussed the basic questions of curriculum development and reform, and did critical research concerning current conditions. They established curriculum theory as an independent field within the education sciences.

The call of curriculum reform provided the basic animation for this resurgence in curriculum research. Given this call, the development of curriculum theory was mainly to respond to the urgent needs of curriculum practice. Although scholars appealed for the independence of curriculum theory from instruction, professional activities and academic research were not enough to achieve it. At large during this period, research on curriculum theory occurred mainly within the framework of instructional theory.

Stage IV: The Re-independence of the Curriculum Field and Its Initial Prosperity (1989–2001) Chinese reform has accelerated since 1989. Society has turned its attention to building a socialist market economy. Curriculum reform at elementary and secondary schools caught on like fire in Shanghai and in Zhejiang Province as well as other places. After more than 10 years of curriculum reform and research, the time for curriculum theory to become independent from instructional theory had arrived.

The year 1989 was an important year in the history of Chinese curriculum theory. In March 1989, the People's Educational Publishing House published Chen's *Curriculum Theory,* the first systematic work on curriculum theory in decades. Chen Xia (1989) had studied curriculum theory extensively, drawing from curriculum theory in the former Soviet Union and Western countries while at the same time maintaining close ties with Chinese curriculum practice. He identified the following aspects of curriculum: 1. The intent, the subject, and the method of curriculum studies; 2. Histories of school curriculum in China and Western countries; 3. Different schools of curriculum theory; 4. Factors influencing school curriculum development; 5. The position and role of school curriculum in cultivating the student as a whole person; 6. The relationship between educational aims and natures, roles, types, development, implementation, and assessment of curriculum; and 7. Directions of curriculum development.

In April 1989, the Shanghai Educational Publishing House published Zhong Qiquan's *Modern Curriculum Theory* (1989a), the most complete, systematic and detailed book dealing with the fundamental questions of curriculum theory thus far. It can even be called an encyclopedia of curriculum research. In this book, in a style of narrating rather than assessing, Zhong presented the fundamental achievements of curriculum theory and curriculum practice and their latest trends in Western countries, tracing these back to Greco-Roman traditions and extending into the late 1980s. He expounded the history and basic schools of curriculum theory. He especially explored the fundamentals of curriculum development and new forms of curriculum. He also conducted cross-cultural and comparative studies on curriculum systems and policies.

Chen Xia's *Curriculum Theory* and Zhong Qiquan's *Modern Curriculum Theory* share similar titles but demonstrate different styles. The former explored the principles of curriculum development in terms of the particular features of Chinese educational practice; the latter investigated the principles of curriculum development internationally. The former proceeds via theoretical thinking and reasoning; the latter illustrates principles based on evidence. The former was published in Beijing, the latter in Shanghai. Both books replenished each other and laid the cornerstone of Chinese curriculum theory. It can be said that these two books, published separately in March and April of 1989, symbolized the moment when Chinese curriculum theory became independent from instruction.

Since then, Chinese curriculum theory sprang up like mushrooms. Among its achievements are as follows: First, research on general principles of curriculum development was conducted by Liao Zhexun (1991), Jin Yule (1995), Shi Liangfang (1996), Zhong Qiquan and Li Yanbing (2000), and Zhang Hua (2000c; 2000d). This research represented a platform for the conversation between curriculum theory and practice. Second, research on specific areas of curriculum theory was undertaken by Zhong Qiquan (1993), Zhang Hua (2000a), Cui Yunhuo (2000), Jin Yule (1996), and Huang Fuquan (1996). These works provided depth to the study of Chinese curriculum. Third, research on Chinese curriculum history was conducted, as evidenced in Lu Da's *The Modern History of Chinese curriculum* (1994) and Xiong Chengdi's *Research on the School Subjects in Ancient China* (1996). Fourth, research on subject curriculum was undertaken by Zhang Yongchun (1996), Zheng Jun and Yu Guoxiang (1996), and He Shaohua and Bi Hualin (1996). The study of subject curriculum in China is still at its beginning but has a brilliant future. Fifth, we have introduced representative curriculum of the world to China and launched international curriculum conversations between scholars in China and those in other countries. The Institute of Curriculum and Instruction at East China Normal University is the national center for curriculum research. It is a window of communication between China and many other countries in the curriculum field. It has translated many contemporary curriculum works, among them Doll's *A Post-Modern Perspective on Curriculum* (translated by Wang Hongyu), Smith's *Globalization and Post-Modern Pedagogy* (translated by Guo Yangsheng), van Manen's *The Tact of Teaching* (translated by Li Shuying) and *Researching Lived Experience* (translated by Song Guangwen et al.), Pinar et al.'s *Understanding Curriculum* (translated by Zhang Hua et al.), Pinar's *Curriculum: Toward New Identities* (translated by Chen Shijian et al.), and Noddings' *The Challenge to Care in Schools* (translated by Yu Tianlong). Meanwhile, Chinese curriculum scholars are participating in international conversations of curriculum discourse and trying to make their own curriculum theories international (Zhang Hua et al., 2000b). Sixth, curriculum theories were constructed in a Chinese style. One of the founders of the Chinese curriculum field, Zhong has been establishing a curriculum theory for quality education (Zhong, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001). His theory makes individual development the core of curriculum and individualized curriculum an important and necessary part of reforming curriculum structure. Zhang based his curriculum inquiry on Chinese ancient curriculum wisdom and contemporary Western curriculum discourse. He has constructed a theory of lived experience curriculum (Zhang, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000a). Wang conducted a study on the dialogue between great Chinese Confucians such as Confucius, Zhu Xi, and the great French philosopher Michel Foucault in an attempt to build a theory toward a curriculum for creative transformation of selfhood (Wang, 1999). These curriculum theories contributed to a possible transition of the Chinese curriculum field toward the paradigm of "understanding curriculum" (Pinar et al., 1996).

Those works mentioned above are unprecedented not only in scope but also in depth in the history of Chinese curriculum theory. Under the contexts of long-term curriculum reform and rigorous pursuit of continuous curriculum research, the Chinese Educational Society approved the founding of the National Committee of Curriculum Theory in March of 1997. This is the first national and professional academic organization for curriculum research. It provided the organizational support to make the curriculum field advance toward specialization and independence.

Stage V: The Internationalization and Diversification of the Curriculum Field (2001–2012) On June 7th, 2001, the State Council of China issued *The Guidelines for Curriculum Reform of K-12 Education* (Try-out Version), which marks the starting point of the latest curriculum reform that continues at present. This has trigged a wave of learning from foreign curriculum theories among Chinese scholars who are eager to build a new curriculum system that creates a new generation of prosperity of the state. However, their endeavors have never stopped at the mere introduction and application of those theories, but rather are extended to the indigenization level, attuned to the unique characteristics of Chinese educational context. Meanwhile, traditional wisdom is being reconceptualized in new ways so that their inner values can be identified and preserved for the improvement of educational quality. As a result, in the arena of curriculum studies in China, varied theoretical discourses coexist and are engaged in an ongoing conversation with each other. China has now entered into a "golden age" of curriculum studies. In the following text, we will select five of these discourses and give readers a very brief introduction as to how they are being developed among Chinese scholars.

Confucianism

As the mainstream ideology in the past thousands of years, Confucianism has exerted its influence on every aspect of Chinese society and constitutes an indispensible part of our identity as Chinese. However, after undergoing a century of humiliation, many Chinese intellectuals remain hostile to Confucianism, regarding it a barrier to the modernization of the nation. During the past decade, whether and how to bring Confucianism back to the front stage appeared as an issue with which every politician, intellectual, or civilian is concerned. In the field of curriculum studies, the issue has attracted the attention of many scholars. Among those reinterpreting traditional Confucianism are Ma (2011) and Qin (2009), who state that, from the perspective of Confucianism, the ultimate aim of curriculum should be to cultivate virtue, not only intellectual growth. The teaching principles of Confucius and Mencius recommend that we adjust teaching to suit the unique requirements of each pupil and in accordance with his/her aptitude, connecting learning and thinking, knowing and practice, and providing methodical and patient guidance to students (Liu, Chang, and Zheng, 2011; Wang, 2009; Qin, 2009; Ma, 2011).

The thirst to revive Confucianism may involve misinterpretation, over-application, and the imposition of modern terms on ancient Confucian figures. The doctrine of the mean (*zhong yong*), viewed as the main moral principle and methodology in Confucianism, is applied to represent all types of balance or harmony: student's subjectivity and teacher's domination, teaching subject knowledge and developing creative thinking skills, and the predesigned plan of one lesson and the emerging contents in the teaching process (Hu, 2011). Praise and encouragement is one of the pedagogical tactics of Confucius, but to generalize from it as a means of making every student happy (Qin, 2009) would be misleading. In Confucius' teaching, music is not an amusement or device to enhance instruction, but rather one of the fundamental subjects every disciple has to learn in order to foster their humanity (Qin, 2009).

At the same time, not every inspiration of Confucianism is uncontroversial. The doctrine of the mean might be reduced in practice to an attitude of rejecting competition and multiplicity, preventing the curriculum from producing creative talents (Sun, 2010). With its universal aims of cultivating humanity and participating in social governance, curriculum could prove disadvantageous to the students' free development based on their own interests, personalities, and abilities (Wang, 2008). In addition, with regard to the teacher-student relationship in Confucianism, though associated with democratic and egalitarian features (Ma, 2011; Qin, 2009; Wang, 2009), several scholars still accuse it of overemphasis on teacher's authority and the suppression of students' dignity (Sun, 2010).

To our delight, the curriculum thoughts of varied Confucian figures in history—Confucius, Mencius, Xunzi, Zhu Xi, Wang Shouren, and Wang Chuanshan, to name a few—have all been redefined according to the modern discourse. And the dialogue between Confucianism and curriculum studies as a research field and foreign curriculum theories begins to unfold. One of the forerunners, Zhang Hua, has laid the theoretical foundation for the appropriation of Confucianism in the development of curriculum theory. He has tracked the original meaning of curriculum in ancient Confucianism books and has underscored that to understand curriculum as a Confucian text means to regard curriculum as a moral enterprise constructed by moral creativity and a means to employ experiential metaphysics as its research methodology (Zhang, 2004). The complementarity between Confucianism and postmodernism is also rudimentarily analyzed in Fan and Jin (2007) and Li, Xu and Feng (2006).

Taoism

Like Confucianism, Taoism is analyzed primarily through its relationship with the current Chinese curriculum reform. Theorists realize that Taoism, which already shares many characteristics with the curriculum reform, has special "bright spots" that can illuminate the enterprise of "reconstructing curriculum culture for basic education" (Li, 2004; Wu, 2008; Li and Jin, 2005). Its illumination focuses on the following three categories. (1) *The aim of curriculum reform.* Following nature is the key idea of Taoism. Nature's rules do not need perfecting. The universe works harmoniously according to these rules; it is only when people exert their will against these rules that harmony is harmed. Besides, humanity as a living thing is inherently unified with the whole of nature and contains the original will of the universe. And being natural is humanity's most fundamental attribute. Thus, returning to nature is both the requisite for the development of the universe and for the realization of humanity. To achieve this aim, we have to uphold the principle of *wu wei,* literally meaning "nonaction" or "action without intention." From this point of view, education should be an activity respecting the nature of students and facilitating their natural development (Wu, 2008; Zhao, 2008). And the ultimate aim of curriculum reform ought to be the integration and harmony between the human and nature (Li, 2004, p. 41).

Taoism was severely underestimated in older times, but now, curriculum researchers are re-evaluating its epistemology and identifying its peculiar value. Zhu (2001) and Li and Jin (2005) comment that the so-called anti-intellectualism in Taoism had to do with Laozi and Zhuangzi's opposition to the concrete knowledge and rituals governors manipulated to enslave their people and remain their authority. Only the knowledge unfolding the profound meaning of Tao and attending to human's spiritual life can be spoken of as real and trustable (Zhao, 2008, p.93). If Confucianism is considered as a "moral philosophy," Taoism could be defined as a "spiritual philosophy" (Li and Jin, 2005, p.33). Due to the tradition of examination in Chinese society, students have become the "slaves" of book knowledge. This fact supports Chinese curriculum theorists' efforts to construct a new epistemology informed by Taoism where curriculum knowledge becomes a "nutrient" rather than the aim of learning, becomes a stimulus to uplift students' spirits instead of a means to control students' brains (Li and Jin, 2005; Wu, 2009).

(2) *Curriculum implementation.* In Taoism, nonexistence has ontological significance. Laozi stated, "All things under heaven sprang from It as existing (and named); that existence sprang from It as non-existent (and not named)" (*The Book of Laozi,* Chapter 40). Interestingly, Li and Jin (2005) compare this idea to the technique of "white cloth" in artistic creation, which helps to explicitly highlight the theme of certain artifacts. Here is a new way of improving the creativity of curriculum they call "poetic imagery of curriculum." It means to consciously set aside "blank space" between two lessons or two parts of the textbook in order to raise students' impulse of creation (Li and Jin, 2005, pp.34).

Laozi advocated that "The skillful traveler leaves no traces of his wheels or footsteps; the skillful speaker says nothing that can be found fault with or blamed" (*The book of Laozi,* Chapter 27). He also said, "the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech" (*The book of Laozi,* Chapter 2). These ideas are widely cited in Chinese literature to encourage school teachers to empower students and be influential as a model of moral speech and behavior (Zhao, 2008; Li and Jin, 2005; Shao and Liu, 2005). Meanwhile, in his classic *The Book of Zhuangzi,* Zhuang Tzu told stories to indicate that everything and every person in the world have their unique advantages and thus need to be respected. This inspires researchers to deepen curriculum reform by promoting personalized models of teaching and learning (Chen, 2004; Xu and Zhang, 2009). Finally, two principles proposed by Taoists are also applicable to classroom teaching: the principle of "planning before things happen" and the principle of "anticipating things that are difficult while they are easy" (Shao and Liu, 2005; Zhao, 2008).

(3) *Curriculum management.* Taoism's technique of state governance is *wu wei* as well. Laozi indicated that "When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal" (*The book of Laozi,* Chapter 3). This has encouraged some scholars to rethink the current "three-layer" system of curriculum management. Li and Jin (2005) declare that the prevalent philosophy of curriculum management is still "control-based." Therefore, they endorse a new management philosophy in which the local educational bureaus and schools are regarded as subjects able to initiatively and creatively make curriculum policies. The model of the central government should be altered to service-based (p. 35–36). However, Xu (2006) argues that while underlining the significance of *wu wei,* Taoism has intentionally overlooked the importance of the centralization of power and weakened the function of administration (p. 58–59).

Constructivism

Constructivism was first introduced into China in late 1980s and early 1990s. As a theoretical weapon to counter the traditional curriculum system of China, constructivism has been featured in thousands of academic and practitioner journals and books and has played a significant role in policy making and teaching in various educational arenas (Yang, 1999; Zhu, 2010; Liu, 2012). Many other educational ideas prevalent in China, such as subjective education, student-centeredness, cognitive apprenticeship, personalized learning, random access instruction, and project/problem-based learning, are all generated from or influenced by constructivism (Lv and Gao, 2007; Gao, 2001). Constructivism has become one of the cornerstones of current curriculum reform.

Why is constructivism so famous and popular in China? Several researchers have pointed out that in the current developmental phase, the main problem of Chinese education is its failure of producing creative skilled workers. Among all theories, only constructivism suits the cultivation of students' creative consciousness and ability, which highlights learners' subjective construction of knowledge, encouraging contextual, cooperative, and problem-based learning (He, 2004; Zhu, 2010). For others, the main significance of constructivism is its revolutionary learning theory that positions students in the center, thereby undermining the traditional teacher-dominated curriculum system (Liu, 2012; Zheng, 2004; Zhang, 2003).

Because constructivism is not a unified perspective and is redefined by educators with differing theoretical views and classroom practices, the debate around its application to Chinese education seems unavoidable. Among the primary issues are what constructivism means to the teacher and what the teacher should really do in constructivism-based practice. Some interpret constructivism as discovery learning and that any conclusive knowledge should not be directly lectured to students; if any teacher dares to break this rule, they are in fact objecting to the new curriculum reform (Chao, 2011; Zhang, 2003). In this view, student-centeredness is assumed as the main tenet of constructivism. Others try to reconceptualize the teacher-student relationship by creating a “teacher-as-dominator, student-as-subject” model. They argue that without teachers’ designing every step, constructivism-based teaching is hardly possible (He, 2004). Constructivism does not necessarily refer to discovery or inquiry-based teaching, teacher instruction can be constructed as well (Zhou, 2003); there’s no conflict between students’ self-condition and their learning from others (including the teacher and the textbook) (Zheng, 2004). Chao (2011) even declares that constructivism is more applicable to high-level learning, not elementary education.

Another controversial issue concerns the epistemology of constructivism. Many educators present their strong critique of constructivism’s denial of the objectivity of knowledge and truth. Other scholars hold the opposite position. They explain that constructivism reminds people how knowing happens and what boundaries it has (Lv, 2009); it is no simple solipsism that denies the existence of the real world and truth (Lv and Gao, 2007). Even with varied versions of knowledge and the world constructed by different individuals, a consensus can still be reached among them (Chi, 2009).

On occasion, constructivism is construed as a cognitive theory of learning, of which Piaget and Vygotsky are two prominent pioneers, and then applied to different subject areas (Liu, 2012; Lv, 2009). The different branches of constructivism, such as social constructivism and radical constructivism, still await a full investigation (Zhang and Zhu, 2004). Since constructivism does not provide a series of operating procedures for teaching and learning or a set of standards by which it can be identified, many classroom practices are described as constructivist simply because teachers have allowed students to think or inquire by themselves (Zhou, 2003; Chao, 2011). It is urgent to establish a constructive dialogue between Chinese culture and Western constructivism so that more acceptable and appropriate versions of constructivism can grow in Chinese soil.

Multi-Intelligence Theory

Howard Gardner’s multiple intelligence theory (MIT) was first introduced at 1991, but it became a hot issue among Chinese educators when the latest curriculum reform was launched. Generally speaking, MIT is widely welcomed, even adored; most Chinese scholars believe MIT is able to provide valuable insights for curriculum reform. Mei (2003) identifies four: (1) making an “entrance” for the implementation of qualities education, (2) offering strategies for curriculum innovation, (3) finding solutions to the problems of curriculum evaluation, and (4) building multiple teaching models. Wan (2009) provides two more: (1) exciting students’ potentials and (2) facilitating teachers’ professional development. While MIT is considered illuminating for each aspect of curriculum change, scholars are primarily concerned with its contribution to these three fields.

The first is curriculum evaluation. Though the new curriculum reform established a new evaluation system for students’ all-around development, the real situation is that most schools are still loyal to old ways of evaluation. He (2010) and Li (2010) summarize four characteristics of this evaluation practice: (1) the teacher as the only evaluator, (2) the examination as the primary evaluation method, (3) an overemphasis on students’ logical-mathematical intelligence, and (4) the supremacy of scores. Hence, MIT should continue to play the role of enlightenment mentor. Specifically, the aim of evaluation should be to understand the unique needs and learning style of each student and create opportunities to fully develop their potentials, rather than differentiate and paste labels on students (Long, 2006). The methods of evaluation should be diversified, including process-and-outcome evaluation, performance-based evaluation and traditional tests, teacher evaluation and peer evaluation, and appraising students’ learning portfolios, artifacts, and other personal productions (Li, 2010; Long, 2006). In addition to the academic achievement—which usually reflects one’s linguistic and logical-mathematical abilities—students’ bodily-kinesthetic, spatial, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalistic, and existential intelligences should also be the objects of evaluation (He, 2010; Long, 2006).

School-based curriculum is a brand new consequence of the newest curriculum reform and this constitutes the second field connected to MIT. Informed by MIT, school-based curriculum should be diverse, contextual, emerging, and personalized (Wu, 2006). It should address the development of each student’s multiple intelligence, select teaching materials accordingly, and combine various means of instruction (Hu, 2011; Li, 2005). Then, the views of school staff members of students, teaching, and research can certainly be transformed (Xu, Lai, He, and He, 2007). Although assessment of the concrete values of MIT for school improvement is still rare, some schools claim, citing some statistic data, that the achievement of their students has significantly improved (Xu, Lai, He, and He, 2007; Wu, 2006).

What does MIT mean to Chinese teachers? What challenges do teachers have to face if they truly accept MIT? These are the questions the third field usually asks. MIT is considered positive for the development of schoolteachers’ professional practice. It offers teachers a stage of reflecting on their own intelligences and teaching and students’ learning styles, motivating them to personalize their teaching and classroom management and supporting collaboration with colleagues (Li, 2008; Liu, 2002). But it also challenges teachers to adopt new roles in classrooms: facilitator, collaborator with students, observer and listener of students, and developer of the multi-intelligence curriculum (Dang, 2007). Often, due to internal and external factors, teachers are unable to implement an MIT-based curriculum. Teachers accustomed to playing the traditional authority role or those who are in the early stages of their careers are believed to have strong resistance to MIT

(Liu, 2002). The emphasis on logical and linguistic intelligences and the score-dominated evaluation system can act as barriers to experimenting with a multi-intelligence curriculum (Yang and Zhang, 2006).

The localization of MIT in the Chinese educational arena proves complicated. In terms of the classroom practice, two types of "mutations" often occur: transcendental mutation (adapting MIT to the changing educational conditions) and reductive mutation (formalizing multi-intelligence teaching) (Yang and Zhang, 2006). Many misunderstandings prevail within MIT lab schools. Sometimes the nine intelligences are taught simultaneously in a single short lesson, and sometimes the study of basic subject matter is deliberately ignored or becomes secondary (Chen, 2003). On other occasions, MIT is misconceived as the aim of education, as a "panacea" that is capable of solving all educational problems (Zhu, 2007). Several scholars, however, have begun to rethink MIT from a cross-cultural perspective. Zhu (2007) suggests that past application of MIT is the result of a "collective unconsciousness," of believing "the more updated a theory is, the more scientific it is." He advises researchers to explore more the interrelationship between Chinese culture and MIT, and upon this build a truly Chinese multi-intelligence curriculum. Li (2005) indicates that to make the development of MIT school curriculum possible, we have to separate ourselves from any Western MIT teaching model and design a new version of curriculum adaptable to the unique subculture of specific schools.

Postmodernism

The positive value of postmodernism to the new curriculum reform is also universally recognized among Chinese educators. This value has been generally summarized into the following seven aspects: (1) curriculum foundation (from closed to open), (2) curriculum aims (from unitary to multiple), (3) curriculum structure (from independent to integrated), (4) curriculum content (from static to dynamic), (5) curriculum implementation (from predetermined to emerging), (6) student-teacher relationship (from unequal to equal), and (7) curriculum evaluation (from single to diverse) (Zhong, 2002; Li, 2009; Luan, 2011). Postmodernism has made a significant impact on the policy and practice of recent curriculum reform in China; several famous experimental schools (such as Dulangkou Middle School) are even identified as ideal applications of postmodernism (Cui and Pan, 2008). Postmodern theory can also prompt the healthy development of curriculum studies in China. Zhang (2004) argues that the postmodernism could help Chinese curriculum researchers overcome the simplicity tendency, build an attitude of critical thinking and reflection, increase the social status of marginalized cultures, eliminate gender discrimination, and facilitate an equal conversation between curriculum researchers and the subjects investigated.

However, as a foreign curriculum theory, postmodernism is unlikely to take root in Chinese soil without encountering resistance and dilemma. In the first place, the complexity of the idea, the lack of a unified perspective, and the borrowing of too many terminologies from other academic fields have made postmodernism difficult for Chinese researchers to understand (Wang, 2003; Li, 2009). Secondly, informed by Marxism's theory that economic foundation determines the superstructure, many scholars question the real benefits and applicability of postmodernism to China (Zhang, 2003; Li, 2009). Due to the failure of postmodernism to establish an operative system of curriculum development, they argue that it's hard for Chinese educators to fully change their ideas and practice in the short run (Li, 2009). In fact, modernism is still deeply ingrained in people's minds in various regions and schools (Chen and Liu, 2010). And at the policy level, the definitive way of evaluating students' achievements, that is, examinations, particularly college-entrance examinations, has never been replaced (Chen, 2012). At last, the diversity, uncertainty, and de-authorization that postmodernism advocates are basically contradictory to traditional Chinese cultural beliefs (Li, 2009; Chen, 2012) and the ideology of the current Chinese political system.

The reflection does not stop at the tension of postmodernism as a theory and its practice in China, but has extended to the inner problems of postmodernism per se. Zhang (2004) criticizes that an overemphasis of postmodernism could lead to a "swamp" of relativism and nihilism, a chaotic state of agnosticism, and an attitude of pessimism in curriculum studies. Pointedly, Zhou (2003) comments that the judgments of postmodernists are arbitrary and reflects their "cultural interests" or "subjective experience;" and the disconnection with the practical fields has made postmodernism a cluster comprised of theorists, post-graduate students, academic journals, and publishing houses. He also mentions the possibility of postmodernism as a new knowledge power and questions whether every student in a different context should build their life hope upon the "cultural emancipation" that postmodernism highlights.

Features of Chinese Curriculum Research Looking back upon the one-hundred-year development of Chinese curriculum theory, we can reflect on these four basic features: (1) Curriculum research started early in China and has undergone a very uneven journey. At the beginning, Chinese curriculum research followed the example of America, where the discipline of curriculum theory was born. At that time, Chinese curriculum research kept close ties with the advanced studies in the world. However, when China followed the model of the former Soviet Union, the research tradition stopped. Chinese curriculum research fell far behind the Western world. At the turn of the century, the lost tradition of Chinese curriculum theory was recovered, which made the curriculum field independent from instruction theory. Chinese curriculum research will have a bright future.

(2) Chinese curriculum research is bound up with ideology. Chinese curriculum theory was uneven because it

was tied to the mainstream ideology during certain historical periods. In the 1950s and 1960s, curriculum studies were into policy annotation and could not be referred to as a "study" at all. Of course, curriculum theory cannot develop in a vacuum. It is not surprising that it is influenced by certain ideologies. But it should keep its own relative independence. Regarding the relationship between the two, curriculum theory is not only influenced by ideology, but it also can influence the development of ideology. Interaction rather than one-way influence provides a good basis by which to form a dynamic relationship between curriculum theory and ideology.

(3) Chinese curriculum theory depends on curriculum practice excessively. Curriculum research did not flourish until curriculum reform demanded theory. To a certain degree, curriculum theory followed the needs of curriculum practice. The discipline of curriculum theory exhibits a strong practicality. Undoubtedly, there exists an inherent relationship between curriculum theory and practice. However, without the critical ability to reflect on practice, curriculum theory cannot be called "theory." Without a strong theoretical orientation, Chinese curriculum theory cannot participate in reform and practice in creative and critical ways. Therefore, Chinese curriculum theory needs to be independent of curriculum practice rather than dependent on it in a simple way.

(4) The Chinese curriculum field emphasizes the study of curriculum history. The whole process of developing Chinese curriculum theory is accompanied by the study of curriculum history. Several great works of curriculum history appeared during the twentieth century. During the long history of Chinese civilization, curriculum discourses arising in different historical phases interacted with each other and formed vigorous curriculum traditions of curriculum wisdom, influencing today's curriculum theory in an implicit or explicit way. Curriculum traditions are the roots of today's curriculum discourses. Therefore, the study of curriculum history is an indispensable part of discipline construction in curriculum theory and of the development of curriculum practice. Chinese curriculum researchers understood this point from the very beginning and paid close attention to the study of curriculum history, which may make its own contribution to curriculum theory worldwide.

Prospects of the Chinese Curriculum Field

After exploring Chinese curriculum concepts, curriculum wisdom, and curriculum studies, we can think about the future of Chinese curriculum studies: First, the study of curriculum development as the dominant paradigm of Chinese curriculum research will last for a long time. China is now engaged in an unprecedented curriculum reform. How to develop curriculum effectively is an urgent call for Chinese scholars. The Chinese curriculum field has lost touch with the technology of curriculum development, which needs to be rethought and re-utilized. Chinese curriculum reform is confronted with many questions: How to develop curriculum standards? How to develop subject matters? How to define curriculum objectives? How to select curriculum contents? How to organize curriculum contents? How to evaluate curriculum? How to adjust curriculum policy in order to adapt the need for new curriculum? So, the study of curriculum development will dominate the Chinese curriculum field or at least coexist with the efforts of theoretical (such as cultural, social, political, aesthetical, and spiritual) explorations of curriculum in the near future.

Second, the paradigm of understanding curriculum is the future direction of the Chinese curriculum field. In China, the traditional study of education and instruction that served mainstream ideology has come to a close. In its place, the curriculum field has become a new and vigorous research area. This area has assembled many researchers and nearly every teachers' university or college has established departments of curriculum and instruction or centers for curriculum research. All these expansions and transitions provide a solid infrastructure for possible new theoretical explorations in an increasingly interdependent and changing global society. We seek to understand what it means for Chinese to know and to be educated based upon reflection of our own traditions as well as international conversation. Such an undertaking cannot be conducted without cultural, political, economical, global, and spiritual understandings of curriculum. An understanding of curriculum at a deeper level must be accompanied by the difficult task of transcending the direct and instant needs of curriculum practice so that the critical and creative potential of theory can be released. The Chinese curriculum field will keep up with its good tradition of historical studies, attempt to inform curriculum research by traditional curriculum wisdom, participate and contribute to worldwide curriculum discourses, reflect on the reality of curriculum practice, and construct its own distinctive curriculum theories.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Hongyu Wang for her careful reading, wonderful alterations, and her great help in English phrasing. In addition, we will never forget Professor William F. Pinar for his kind encouragement and valuable suggestions.

Notes

1. The Tang Dynasty ranged from 618 to 907.
2. Book of Song is a general collection of the most ancient Chinese poetic works. This book consists of 305 pieces. All the poetic works included in the book were produced over a period of about 500 years, ranging from the early years of the Western Zhou Dynasty (the eleventh century BC) to the middle part of the Spring and Autumn Period (the seventh century BC).
3. The Song Dynasty ranged from 960 to 1279.

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11

Curriculum Studies in Colombia

Juny Montoya-Vargas

Introduction: Understanding Curriculum

In this chapter, I will present the history and the current state of the field of curriculum studies in Colombia, based on the works of researchers and practitioners published during the last five decades. To do so, I will critically examine the development of the curriculum in Colombia and the meanings attached to this notion by educators and educational researchers. I will argue that a curricular approach championed by governmental agencies along with value-committed, ideological interpretations made by teachers and researchers have made it difficult for the curriculum field to take root and flourish in our soil. Finally I will discuss recent developments that let us think that the field of curriculum studies in Colombia is emerging, especially in the higher education sector.

The notion of curriculum is ambiguous. In its most simplistic sense it can be considered a synonym for the term "course of study." In this sense its use has been seen as unproblematic since the sixteenth century in English speaking countries (Hamilton, 1989 quoted by Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 2000). In more recent times, it has grown broader to include all the educational experiences of students planned by schools (Posner, 1995). Used in this sense, it becomes so broad that it risks being equated with "education." This lack of sharp boundaries makes Latin American academicians uncomfortable with the concept of curriculum because they see its mere presence as an "invasion" of the pedagogical field and as being responsible for the "impoverishment" of our knowledge about education (Díaz Barriga, 1996). Furthermore, in Colombia, the curriculum is regarded as an ideological tool used to displace the role of teachers and schools and pass the control of education to foreign interests through governmental agencies (Martínez Boom, Castro, and Noguera, 2003).

It is true that a theory of curriculum, in a strict sense, derives from the industrial era and its preoccupation with efficiency. Although the mainstream has been traditionally concerned with curriculum development, alternative curriculum theories have coexisted alongside this since the last century. Moreover, since the 1970s, curriculum theory has been concerned more with understanding and less with planning. This shift is known as "the reconceptualization of the field" and has opened up new opportunities to interrogate and challenge more traditional views (Pinar et al., 2000).

Today, curriculum plays an important role in the understanding of schools and schooling. It allows us to come to terms with the relationships between educational actions and the different contexts in which they take place, the interactions among the different subsystems that operate within the educational system, and the relationships between teaching and the school and society (Gimeno Sacristán, 1991, 2010). Although the traditional view makes a sharp distinction between university researchers as developers of curricula and teachers as their implementers, from a critical perspective, the concept has the potential of empowering teachers in their roles as designers, developers, researchers, and evaluators of the curriculum. Besides that, concepts such as "operational curriculum" remind us that even when acting as implementers, teachers are the actual creators of the curriculum in the sense that the decisions they make and their interaction with students constitute the actual curriculum. In this sense, the curriculum is always locally produced (Doyle, 1995).

Despite its great potential and explanatory power, the concept of curriculum has not played an important role in educational research in Colombia. As in other Latin American and European countries, in Colombia, there has been a strong tradition built upon pedagogical theories and practices. Under this tradition, Colombian educators and educational researchers were not used to the term "curriculum" but employed terms such as "study plan" or "program." In this sense, "curriculum" is traditionally regarded as a concept introduced in our context 50 years ago by governmental agencies under the American Development Agenda for Latin America and the Third World oriented towards the external and centralized control of schools (Martínez Boom et al., 2003). Since then, "curriculum" equals "curriculum planning and management," and in this instrumental fashion, the introduction of the curriculum is regarded as overshadowing pedagogy and the pedagogical field (Aristizábal, 2008b).

In the following sections, I will present the history of the curriculum in Colombia. I will take as breaking points four major curricular paradigms that have been dominant in our context at different historical moments: the traditional school, the active or new school, the technical curriculum, and the critical curriculum. Based on the interpretation of how these different models competed for the control of the field and, especially how the critics have resisted the concept of curriculum, I then analyze the current state of the field based on the official discourse about the curriculum and the works of research and practitioner groups devoted to the understanding and development of alternative curricular ideas, although not always acknowledged as such. Finally, I present a summarized account of my argument in the conclusions section.

A (Troubled) History of the Field

Historically, the intellectual dependency of Colombian elites explains the dependency of the Colombian educational field. As a result of Spanish domination during the colonial period, Colombia was ruled by "criollos," a small, white elite suffering from being European-born but living outside Europe and transmitting this complexity through education. Thus, according to Helg (2001), instead of developing a sense of nationhood and building a national identity, Colombian education has traditionally been based on racial segregation and cultural dependency (p. 304).

Regarding the field of education, the sources of this intellectual dependency were mainly from Western Europeans, although in the last century, this tradition coexists along with several U.S. theories. In the last half-century, however, various Latin American authors and pedagogical movements such as Paulo Freire and the Popular Education movement are also recognized as authoritative sources of pedagogical knowledge.

In an effort to identify the main sources of our educational thinking, Aristizabal et al. (2004) identify four paradigms in the recent history of Colombian educational thought: First, the German paradigm, in which pedagogy is seen as the foundational science of education. Pedagogy, according to this tradition, is anchored in philosophical theories. Second, the French paradigm, which, after the 1960s, introduced the debate about the Sciences of Education with a focus on sociology for the interpretation of educational phenomena. Third, the Anglo-Saxon paradigm, which allegedly gives a predominant place to the concept of curriculum and makes pedagogy subordinate to it (p. 8). Fourth, the Latin American paradigm, which rejects the banking education model and gives importance to the sociocultural context of educational practice (p. 9).

Approaching our history of education from a curricular perspective, in the following section I will present an alternative view of this history organized around four approaches: The Traditional School, the Active or New School, the Technical Curriculum, and the Critical Curriculum. Although each one of these curricular models can be situated at a defined historical moment, they also overlap in time as none of them completely displaces its predecessors. These approaches are curricular in the sense that they express the main educational ideals within the Colombian society at different historical moments, although not all of them correspond to the Official Curriculum if we understand this as the curriculum mandated by the law or as the curriculum enacted in schools.

The Traditional School "Traditional," in our context, means Roman Catholic. In 1887, under a recently enacted Constitution establishing political centralization, Colombia signed a Concordat with the Vatican. In 1903 the Government made Catholic Pedagogy mandatory as the official pedagogy for public instruction (Art. 1o. Ley 39 de 1903). At the time, Catholic Public Instruction was seen as the only way to ensure a durable state of peace and to build a national identity among a sparse population widely dispersed within a difficult geography (Quiceno, 1988, p. 60).

A characteristic of the Catholic school is its emphasis on the discipline of the body and of the soul. External discipline was aimed to be internalized and converted into self-restraint and self-control. If war was seen as a consequence of a lack of education, peace would come from an education focused on the discipline of work, hygienic habits, obedience, and restraint (Quiceno, 1988).

According to Quiceno (1988), the inspection exercised over teachers, students, and the rest of the school personnel was not just a legal figure, it embodied the character of the Catholic replicated through the manuals, the school register, the timetable, the attendance list, the organization of the classroom, the emphasis on writing etc. (p. 39): "It is a Pedagogy based on the imposition of positive laws, a systematic plan aimed to drive life through the practical paths of obedience to rules and authority, and the sacrifice of whim and egoism" (p. 81).

The program of studies for primary schools was organized around four areas: moral, intellectual, civic, and physical education. Moral education was considered the most important of all (Decreto 491 de 1904, Art. 48). The subjects taught were: religion, reading, grammar, arithmetic, writing, drawing, geography, national history, natural history, chanting, gymnastics, and manual work. Secondary schools called "Normal Schools," were aimed at the education of primary school teachers (Art. 107).

Despite the emergence of progressive curricular and pedagogical ideas since the 20s, far from being progressive or child-centered, the prevailing curriculum and teaching practices in our schools have been traditionally based on these Catholic values and rationale. An encyclopedic curriculum and rote, mechanistic, teacher-centered, and hierarchical teaching methods have prevailed within our institutions since then. A remarkable exception to this trend was the Active School (Quiceno, 1988).

The Active or New School The Active or New School was a movement led by liberal, secular, and progressive educators opposed to the educational tradition represented by the Catholic Church and anchored in the values of a rural society. It was made possible thanks to the convergence of different forces: First, the institutionalization in Colombia of the social sciences (psychiatry, psychology, biology, and sociology), the health sciences (medicine, physiology, and hygiene), economic and administrative sciences (engineering and agriculture), and the natural sciences (astronomy, cartography, and chemistry). Second, the fact that this new knowledge derived from experimentation and not from tradition or sources of authority developed a new way of thinking about education. In 1915, the journal "Cultura" was founded and was devoted to the dissemination of these new sciences (Quiceno, 2003, p. 169).

By 1914, Agustin Nieto Caballero, who studied at Columbia University with John Dewey and traveled throughout Europe to become acquainted with the state of the art of his time, founded the Gimnasio Moderno (GM), a private school that was the first Active School in Latin America. Through the works of its founder, the GM exercised an influence beyond being an elite private school—it set the standard for public education as well. Around the same time, several modernizing forces exercised influence over education: new educational institutions independent from the Church were founded by liberals, the Ministry of Public Instruction became the Ministry of Education, and, finally, the arrival of the First German Educational mission in 1927 marked the institutionalization of the Active School ideals and practices.

The Active School, in our context, emerges as the result of different foreign educational influences and from our own ideas, interpretations, and adaptations according to our needs and context. One important antecedent is the Individualism and Romanticism of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Fröebel; a second is in a strict sense the Active School represented by the works of Montessori, Cleparède, Dewey, and Decroly. Although belonging to a different tradition, after the 40s and 50s, some educators even identify the Active School with the ideas of Freinet, Piaget, and Wallon (Herrera, 1999, p. 29).

In Colombia, the Active School was the expression of a rational pedagogy based on the knowledge of the human sciences and used as an instrument to resist traditional discourse and the laws in force at that time. Since then, pedagogy has been mainly the expression of a set of actions, used more as a weapon, and has not necessarily been consolidated as an intellectual disciplinary field. In Colombia, pedagogy was synonymous with Active School, built around the concepts of the individual, the teacher, the child, and the citizen (Quiceno, 2003).

Unlike Catholic pedagogy, the influence of the Active School was not experienced equally throughout the country. Most of the time, the influence of progressive ideas and curriculum was experienced only by privileged elites, while the rest of the country was subject to traditional education based not so much on theoretical convictions but as a consequence of the incapability of the government to allocate resources, new materials, and state-of-the-art teacher education and training (Helg 2001).

Thus, although the Active School was the official curriculum for basic education until the end of the 40s, it was resisted not only by the old authorities—the Church and the conservatives—but mainly by parents from the rural areas, all of whom having been educated within an authoritarian model of education did not understand the emphasis on the autonomy of the individual, child interest, inquiry-based learning, experimentation and exploration of nature, etc. In sum, the Active School lacked the resources both material and cultural to continue (Sáenz Obregón, Saldarriaga, and Ospina, 1997, pp. 385–386).

Despite these difficulties and resistance, the Active School was the model for public education between 1935 and 1949 (Herrera, 1999). However, 1948 marks the beginning of a period called "Violence" in Colombia, which will affect the school curriculum. Originally "Violence" was the expression of the confrontation between liberals and conservatives, and also the origin of guerilla warfare and the armed conflict between the State and subversive groups. Conservatives blamed the Active School and its libertarian methods and concepts for the lack of values of "an undisciplined generation" (p. 258), and, when in power, they replaced it with a school based on traditional values (i.e., mandatory courses of civility and good manners) and a behaviorist model. According to its critics, this model was developed with the specific intention of "avert thinking and training human capital instead of free citizens or individuals" (Quiceno, 2003, p. 323).

The Technical Curriculum According to Helg (2001), education was an interesting field of debate in Colombia up to 1950. After that, Colombia decided to make use of international missions to address its major social and educational problems. At the same time, the elites had access to private schools and universities, contributing to the abandonment of public education as an ideological battlefield (p. 16).

Between 1948 and 1968, instructional design and planning and programmed instruction were introduced in nonformal educational scenarios outside the schools and oriented towards segregated populations, such as illiterate peasants and manual workers. This is the case of the Popular Cultural Action program (ACPO), the National Service for Apprenticeship (SENA), and the Popular Training Fund (FPC). It was through the action of the Third German Educational Mission, derived from a cooperation agreement between the Colombian and the German government, that these techniques were introduced into the schools (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, pp. 35–59).

In 1956, the Government launched the first "Five Year Education Plan," including Decree 1710 from 1963, mandating for the first time learning objectives for all primary schools, and Decree 1955 from 1963, reorganizing Normal Schools—high schools specialized in the preservice training of teachers and reforming their study plans (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, p. 59).

Under the same Five Year Plan, an important attempt to improve the quality of learning and teaching in schools developed from the work of the Third German Educational Mission. Thus, between 1968 and 1978, a group of Colombian and German educators working together introduced in Colombian schools the concept of instructional planning along with new teaching practices (Quiceno, Sáenz Obregón, and Vahos, 2004).

Instructional planning was embedded within the pedagogical guides developed by the mission members. These guides contained the curriculum along with the teaching and learning activities that enabled teachers to deliver it. The guides were distributed and teachers were trained to use them all over the country. Although organizational difficulties made impossible to train and provide materials for the entire teacher population, this system for curriculum development and delivery was considered an unprecedented model in the history of education in Colombia (Rojas de Ferro, 1982).

Aristizábal, Muñoz, and Tosse (2008) analyze how the period between 1960 and 1975 is characterized by an emphasis on planning as the panacea to solve all the problems configured by International Agencies around the concept of "underdevelopment." It is within this context that Curriculum planning is recommended by the international educational missions and adopted by our government (p. 83).

In 1976, the Ministry of Education created the "General Direction for Teacher Training, Curriculum and Educational Media" (Decreto Ley 088 de 1976). This office formulated new curricula based on programmed instruction and instructional design. These curricula were generalized all over the country through a Regulation of the Ministry of Education regarding the Qualitative Improvement of Education (Decreto 1419 de 1978), better known as "Curriculum Renewal"(Molano Camargo, 2011). The primary focus of the program was the transformation of basic and secondary education. Curriculum is defined by this Decree as "the planned and structured set of activities in which students, teachers and community take part in order to achieve the aims and goals of education" (Deceto 1419 de 1978, Art. 2).

This program has been very important in the development of curriculum and in the discussion among educators because it made major changes in the system. The program included curriculum development, teacher training, and massive distribution of curricular materials. Curriculum renewal was based on the procedures of Educational Technology and Instructional Design. It followed the logic of defining behavioral objectives, teaching and learning activities, and assessment indicators to ensure their accomplishment (Martínez Guerra and Herrera Bobb, 2002).

According to Vasco (Molano Camargo, 2011), Educational Technology and Instructional Design were interpreted by educational actors as a government strategy used to consolidate the "Taylorization of education," where teachers and students are seen as mechanical operators of curricula designed by third parties, with the consequent loss of autonomy and the establishment of an instrumental relationship between teachers and students (p. 185).

The Critical Curriculum If we understand curriculum as all the educational experiences planned for students within the context of educational institutions, there has been curriculum in Colombia, as in any other country, since we have had formal educational institutions. The concept of curriculum, however, was not present in our schools until the 70s. Since the term arrived, its meaning has not emphasized "educational experiences" but "planning" instead. As a consequence, the curriculum has been something opposed to our educational culture and has generated a huge resistance in educators and educational researchers.

Both researchers and practitioners have created an alliance to oppose the notion of pedagogy to the notion of curriculum. There has been a call to resist the curriculum—the technocratic control of schools—and vindicate the role of pedagogy, embodying the wisdom of teachers about what to teach, how to teach, and what for. This opposition is considered to be at the heart of the Intellectual Field of Education (in Spanish, CIE), the Field of Pedagogy (in Spanish, CP), and the Colombian Pedagogical Movement (in Spanish, MPC), probably the most important educational movement in recent years in our country, which is aimed at repositioning teachers and pedagogy as the center of the educational field and to resist the notion of curriculum.

The Front of the Intellectual Field of Education Diaz Villa (1993) describes the emergence of the Intellectual Field of Education (CIE) as a process beginning in the 60s with the Sociology of Education, a "subfield of research and training conceptually dependent on Sociology" (p. 86) that was never able to develop a theory of education from a sociological perspective in Colombia because "researchers remained alien to the pedagogical field and teacher education was too procedural and instrumental" (p. 87). Only in the 70s was the structural critique devoted to the study of the relations between social mobility and education replaced by the study of schools as ideological reproduction loci (p. 97).

According to Diaz (1993), the CIE was properly developed in the 80s around the interpretation of the cultural and historical teacher movement and the criticism of and opposition to the rationalizing project of education taking place through instructional technology and curriculum reform (p. 115). This movement was in part aimed at developing a pedagogical project able to integrate theory, research, and pedagogical praxis (p.114). Díaz calls this renewed interest from the social sciences and philosophy towards pedagogy a "Pedagogical turn" (p. 115). This turn is based on critical theory, Foucault and Gramsci, semiotics, linguistic and pragmatic discourse analysis, and emancipatory theories. All of these theories stimulated the proliferation of research projects and educational experiences integrated with new ways of cultural and pedagogical action (p. 119).

The CIE has been configured mainly around the production of a few research groups from major public and private universities. Among these groups, one of the most salient is the inter-institutional research group "History of Pedagogical Practice" (GHPP), an ongoing collaboration among four major public universities: Valle, Antioquia, Nacional, and Pedagógica (Martínez Boom et al., 2003; Zuluaga and Ossenbach, 2004a, 2004b; Zuluaga and Echeverri, 2003; Zuluaga et al., 2003; Zuluaga et al., 2005).

The work of the group on educational research from the National University, commonly known as "Federici Group" (G. Zuluaga, 2000), is also important in this respect. This group has tried to create alternative pedagogical and curricular visions based on the works of Bernstein, Kuhn, and Habermas and others (M. Aristizábal et al., 2004, p. 14). The Federici group was one of the greatest opponents to the use of educational technology in education. Some of the main problems associated with the concept of curriculum are outlined below:

> It is a rational action aimed at the production of outcomes (instrumental rationality) and, as such, it displaces the practical-moral dimension that has been prevalent in educational interaction through history; It assumes the division of educational work (design v. implementation); It is supported by a pseudo-scientific rationale that validates it as a fruit of human progress; It assumes the objectification of educational subjects depriving them of human interaction; It excludes the ambiguity innate to human interactions; It is limited in its acknowledgement of conflicts inherent to educational practice. (Mockus, 1987, pp. 141–142)

The Field of Pedagogy Zuluaga and Echeverri (2003) found it important to differentiate the Intellectual Field of Education (CIE) from the Field of Pedagogy (CP) to reclaim the autonomy of pedagogy from the rest of the social sciences, known as Sciences of Education, and to be able to produce its own language and concepts, beyond the reproduction theories (p. 121–122). It is not easy, however, to differentiate the production pertaining to the CIE from the works pertaining to the CP.

In any case, one of the major contributions of the GHPP is the appropriation and utilization of Foucault's archeological approach to recover the history of pedagogical knowledge and pedagogical practices, and to consolidate the epistemological status of pedagogy as the foundational discipline of education (Castro, 2000).

Based on Foucault's hermeneutical tools, this group, instead of studying the history of pedagogy, has attempted to build "a history of the knowledge practices about Pedagogy, Instruction, Education and Teaching in Colombia" (Zuluaga et al., 2005, p. 21). Thus Zuluaga and her colleagues understand the notion of "pedagogical practice" so broadly that it could comprise the notion of curriculum. Pedagogical practice would include: pedagogical models, notions taken from other knowledge fields and applied by pedagogy, ways in which discourses work within educational institutions, social characteristics of pedagogical practices within educational institutions, and teaching practices in different social settings (pp. 22–23).

The GHPP also coined the term "pedagogical knowledge" and defined it as "nonscientific knowledge about pedagogy, because what pedagogy exist, operate and intervene within society is not science but other forces, forms, facts and practices" (Zuluaga et al., 2003, p. 12). This concept has been one of the major contributions made by Colombia to Latin American education (Aristizábal, 2008a) and has been the concept around which the pedagogical movement evolved.

This group has also studied what they consider to be the "rarification of pedagogy" to explain how the introduction of the educational sciences (educational psychology, educational sociology, educational management, educational philosophy, etc.) led in Colombia to a process of disarticulation, atomization, and subordination of pedagogy as a discipline that became an appendix to those other sciences (Aristizábal, 2008a). I find it somewhat paradoxical that the main publications by this group of authors devoted to the study of the history of pedagogical knowledge contain very few references to the works of pedagogues (apart from the ever-recurring names of Comenio, Herbart, Pestalozzi, and Dewey) and rely heavily on the writings of sociologists and political philosophers (not philosophers of education) such as, Dilthey, Gramsci, Foucault, Habermas, Althusser, Derrida, Bordieu, Passeron, etc. What they do is better understood as sociology of education (Díaz Villa, 1993), and most of the time it is not easy to identify what content of the pedagogical knowledge they are vindicating.

According to GHPP (Zuluaga, Echeverri, Martínez, Restrepo, and Quiceno, 2003), pedagogy is not only subordinated as a mere operational activity but it is also enclosed within the confines of the classroom as a consequence of the incorporation of disciplinary devices such as instructional process, curriculum, and assessment (p. 25). The curriculum deprives pedagogy of its relationship with other sciences and disciplines, focusing exclusively on the teaching and learning process and defining learning in terms of behaviors. By doing so, pedagogy loses the possibility to examine in a broader sense the relationships between Teacher-School-Society-State-Culture (p. 26).

Following the same line of thought, the group "Pedagogy and Curriculum" from Cauca University has developed a research project called "Study of the Relations

Pedagogy-Curriculum in the Colombian Educational Tradition, 1960–2008." From this project, the group published a book called "The Overlapping of Pedagogy by the Curriculum." In this book, the authors attempt to show how the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon concept of Curriculum had the effect of hiding or concealing pedagogy, resulting in its instrumental use and impoverishment (Aristizábal et al., 2008).

These authors apply a historic and hermeneutic approach to the study of 150 documents about the curriculum produced between 1960 and 1975. During this period, they did not find any curriculum research or theory developed by local educators, just a noncritical adoption of imported curricula (Aristizábal, 2008a).

In "A Critical Approach to the Concept of Curriculum," the group Pedagogy and Curriculum applies Díaz Barriga's (1996) conceptions about the curriculum to their own local context to confirm the prevalence of a technical approach and the lack of a critical perspective about the curriculum in Colombia. The group restates the origins of the curriculum as an utilitarian, market oriented control and power device imposed by international agencies, dominated by the United States through the Ministry of Education (MEN) to control education ideologically—"education as the engine of development" —and to disempower teachers (Aristizábal, 2008b).

Borrowing mainly from secondary sources, this group affirms that a pedagogical reflection has been absent from curriculum theory since its origins in the works of Bobbitt and Tyler (Aristizábal et al., 2008, p. 31). I find of particular interest the case of Tyler not only because of the importance given in his book to the design and organization of learning experiences (Tyler, 1949) but also because of the closeness of his approach to the pedagogical views of Dewey and the Active School that our critics consider to be at the outer reaches of curricular thinking. This is something important to take into account because it is a characteristic of Latin American academics to depend on translations and secondhand comments more than on the reading of original sources. These commentators in the case of the curriculum have been mainly Mexican and Spanish authors (Malajovich, 2005), so we can assert that our understanding of the origins of curriculum and curriculum theory have been shaped by authors such as Diaz Barriga (1996) and Gimeno Sacristán (1991).

Fernández F. (2008) analyzes how "curriculum" substitutes for "program of studies" in the training of teachers under the guise of introducing them into a "modern pedagogical doctrine" (p. 116–117). Thus, the Tyler rationale becomes the "new pedagogical doctrine" under which teachers are going to be trained after 1970. This is why curriculum is seen as undermining the meaning of pedagogy (p. 119). Before that, the knowledge of teachers was founded upon pedagogy (p. 114). Curriculum was not part of their plan of studies at the Normal Schools, and it is hardly part of the plan of studies today in undergraduate education programs. Curriculum today is often a constituent of courses called "Pedagogy and Curriculum" where curriculum is just mentioned as an operational organization of contents and activities.

As for the role played by the curriculum in disempowering teachers, it could be important to see that the original training was aimed at developing teachers' skills for "team work, self-improvement, self-supervision, curriculum evaluation, curriculum flexibility and participation in curriculum reforms" (Fernández, 2008, p. 121). Fernández maintains that this was not the case because teachers are still dependent on materials and curricula. It must be said that this has never been the case. Each time the Ministry of Education wants to improve the quality of education, it goes back to the same old formula: hiring international experts, buying lots of texts and other curriculum materials, training some teachers to use them, training supervisors to ensure fidelity of implementation, and wondering why, after years of these efforts, schools remain the same.

Educators have been right in opposing the Ministry in their attempts to improve education by means of providing the system with a teacher-proof curriculum, but they have been wrong in banning curriculum and curricular thinking from teacher preparation programs; empowering teachers requires developing more encompassing teacher preparation programs that offer a solid foundation in curriculum and pedagogy and hence allowing teachers to really own the curriculum by means of being able to develop, experiment with, research, improve, evaluate, modify, and adapt curricular ideas. Isolating teachers from thinking about the curriculum only disempowers them and leaves them at the mercy of external decision makers regarding what is important to teach, for what purposes, and by what means.

In one of the most important published research projects devoted to the history of curriculum in Colombia, entitled "Educational Technology and the Curriculum Model in Colombia" (Martínez Boom et al., 2003), the researchers defend three theses: First, that our educational field suffered a huge transformation between the end of the 40s and the beginning of the 60s, both at the level of public policies and at the level of pedagogical practices. This transformation broke the continuity of the field with its pedagogical tradition (p. 21). Second, this break responds to the introduction of concepts such as development, human capital, education as a force for development, technological transference (the transfer of educational materials and techniques developed elsewhere, mainly in the United States), etc. This set of concepts is part of considering education an international rather than a national enterprise through the action of international cooperation agencies (p. 24). Third, that these transformations are in accordance with ideas that have emerged independently of the main educational theories developed through the history of pedagogy and belong to the fields of economics and management. This set of ideas is identified with "the curriculum field" by the researchers (p. 26).

The curriculum field is then defined by these authors as

> a knowledge space formed by discourses (theories, models, procedures and techniques of organization, design, programming, planning, and instructional management) on one hand oriented by the previous specification of learning objectives formulated in terms of behaviors and skills and, on the other hand, aimed mainly at ensuring effective learning (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, p. 27).

According to these researchers, the term "curriculum" does not belong to the field of education but to the field of work training (p. 27). They also draw a sharp distinction between "teaching" as the activity that enacts pedagogy and "instruction" as the activity that enacts the curriculum (p. 29).

Finally, it is important to explain that these authors identify two major and opposed rationales for education developed during the last century: One was the progressive movement centered on the interest of the child and learning by doing, the Active School, and the other focuses on instruction planning, organization, and management; the latter is the view associated with the "American Curricularists" (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, p. 28). At the same time, pedagogy equals progressive ("new," "active") teaching and learning practices and curriculum equals behaviorist instruction. Thus, instead of two alternative curriculum theories with their corresponding pedagogical approaches and practices, for Colombian educational researchers, progressive education is associated with "Pedagogy" and behaviorist instruction is tragically associated with "Curriculum." The case of John Dewey is special. Despite the fact that he also wrote about the curriculum (Dewey, 1902), researchers make an exception to differentiate the meaning given by Dewey to curriculum within his active pedagogical theory and avoid including him as part of the "American Curricularists" (Martínez Boom et al., 2003).

The Pedagogical Movement The Colombian Pedagogical Movement (MPC) is the name of a uniquely influential movement in Latin America in which university professors, researchers, intellectuals, and school teachers decided to join efforts led by the Teachers Union (FECODE) since 1982 to discuss and rethink the aims of public education and the role of teachers as agents of education and as cultural workers, and to resist the curriculum model imposed by the Ministry of Education since 1978 (Suárez, 2002). This movement is regarded as the origin of the conceptual field of pedagogy (CP) in Colombia (Martínez Pineda, 2011). At the same time, the pedagogical movement represents the politicizing of the teaching profession as it implied the acknowledgment of the politics implied in the organization of the school, the classroom, educational paradigms, etc. (Mejía, 2006, p. 295; Sáenz, 1987).

Why is this movement termed "pedagogical" and not "educational" or "curricular"? Martínez Boom (2009) explains the first question: "Education is related to the State, the families, the system and all the subjects related to it whereas the pedagogical is the proper field of teachers. It is through pedagogy that teachers develop their intellectual and political activity and their identity as intellectual workers" (p. 9).

Why was the Pedagogical Movement not building around the ideal of reclaiming for teachers the role of researchers, designers, developers, and creators of the curriculum? I will explain later the ideological burden that curriculum carries in our context. However, the movement has had clear curricular connotations. Because it arose out of opposition to the behaviorist curriculum imposed by the MEN, one of the most important contributions of the movement was that it made visible thousands of practices developed by Colombian teachers that were actual curricular alternatives based on the principles deriving from popular education, the Active School, and critical pedagogy (Peñuela Contreras and Rodríguez Murcia, 2009).

Among other accomplishments of the MPC are the pedagogical commissions, a Center specialized in Teachers' Research and Studies (CEID), and a journal called *Culture and Education.* In 1987, the movement hosted a National Pedagogical Congress reclaiming the reduction of the behaviorist emphasis on curriculum reforms, one of the major impacts of this claim is said to be the general law of education of 1994, which established curriculum autonomy for all educational institutions. It is not clear when the movement ended, but it is clear that after the reform, the union became more interested in reclaiming labor conditions than in fostering pedagogical reflection and research among teachers (Martínez Pineda, 2011).

The MPC was made possible thanks to the co-occurrence of several historical processes going on at the time: the curriculum reform undertaken by the MEN, the boom of leftist social movements proposing alternative projects, teachers opposing the models imposed, and the emergence of FECODE as a collective actor that served as a vehicle for this opposition (Mejía, 2006). However, a key feature of this social movement is the contribution made by the groups of intellectuals researching pedagogical knowledge and praxis, as well as its historical roots discussed in the previous section (Sáenz, 1987).

The Current State of the Field

The Official Discourse: Curricular Autonomy and the PEI The Political Constitution of 1991 defined Colombia as a Social State of Law and established participatory democracy as the form of government. Student and teacher participation was included for the first time in the government of educational institutions, and university autonomy was included as a constitutional principle.

As a development of the Constitution, the General Law of Education (L. 115 / 1994) implanted curriculum autonomy for institutions at all educational levels. This law is considered a major accomplishment of the Pedagogical

Movement (Quiceno et al., 2004, p. 149) as it was the result of a broad civil society movement called "Social Mobilization for Education."

In the absence of a mandatory centralized curriculum, the current curriculum context is one of administrative decentralization and school autonomy. Until 1994, the Ministry of Education dictated the contents, teaching methods, and assessment techniques for schools. Now, each school has the autonomy to define its own Institutional Educational Project (PEI). The Ministry of Education dictates standards and guidelines aimed at directing the actions and decisions of institutions and their consultants. These orientations do not replace the teachers in the decisions about content, teaching, and assessment methods.

Once again in accordance with the participatory principles of the new Constitution, a first Decennial Strategic Plan for Education (1996–2005) was developed with the participation of the educational community organized around the movement "Education: A National Purpose," working in 150 task groups, organizing more than 300 regional and national forums, and preparing and discussing proposals from the several educational institutions, unions, NGOs, and civil society groups (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2000).

One of the echoes of the pedagogical movement, the regional pedagogical expedition, was incorporated within the Plan, in the form of a "National Pedagogical Expedition." Built on the tradition of other famous expeditions, such as the Botanical and the Cartographic expeditions, this was aimed at "acknowledging the institutions who have found ingenious and creative forms of education for their students. It was aimed at documenting, classifying and putting at the service of all teachers the pedagogical development achieved in educational institutions. It was aimed at being a factor for research and experimentation" (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2000).

Through the Pedagogical Expedition, more than 3,000 educational experiences were documented and hundreds of teachers had the opportunity to travel and interact with colleagues, building networks and developing new forms for teachers' professional development programs as alternatives to the traditional hierarchical training courses (Díaz et al., 2004). Although these experiences represent an interesting sample of the multiple innovative teaching and curricular practices developed by teachers all over the country within a context of autonomy, the educational system as such has not been significantly transformed.

Thus, although the idea of the PEI was to transform educational institutions and practices by means of having educational communities building their own curricular and pedagogical projects (Aldana and Caballero, 1997), the lack of practical and theoretical curriculum understanding, along with the weakness of democratic dialogue and deliberation within institutions made this ideal almost utopian. Despite this curriculum autonomy, most schools have been adopting curricula from publishers, consultants, and from other institutions and continuing to do what they were doing before having the power to dictate their own curricula (Molano Camargo, 2011).

Besides that, true participation has not been incorporated yet in a form for developing public policies. Although the current Decennial Plan for Education (2006–2016) implemented an online strategy for discussion and participation that can be seen as inclusive and innovative (Molano Camargo, 2011), most current policies have been constructed and implemented as a result of a top-down approach and, as such, have been resisted by unionized teachers (Martínez Pineda, 2011).

An offspring of the Social Mobilization for Education is the "Alternative Educational Pedagogical Project," or PEPA, a project aimed at involving teachers in the discussion of a comprehensive public policy of education responsive to local needs. The project follows the principles of education as a human right, human dignity, fairness, and participation; it includes a revision of the aims of education, assessment, and evaluation policies and practices, preservice teachers education, and other reforms of the current education system, including the budget needed to guarantee access to tertiary education, inclusion, lifelong learning, reduced class size, etc.

One of the key targets of the teachers' most recent mobilizations is evaluation. In the absence of a National Curriculum, teachers see assessment as the new way to control what they teach and what schools do. The National Agency in charge of assessment is ICFES, and graduates from all schools and university undergraduate programs are subject to national examinations. The content and orientation of these examinations have had an important effect on school and university curricula. It has been said that the new strategy substitutes assessment for curriculum. Standardized testing is the new educational technology where a curricular *laissez-faire* coexists with quality control of the outcomes through learning assessment (Noguera, 2003, p. 177; Posada, 2002).

Curriculum Research: An Incipient Field As an academic field, curriculum studies is relatively new in our context. According to Aristizábal (2008), before 1975 there was not research on curriculum. As we have discussed before, our major educational influence has come from Western European traditions focused on pedagogy and didactics. As a consequence, in Colombia, there has been little interest in curriculum as a field of study since it is regarded as an Anglo Saxon tradition (Miñana Blasco, 2002).

To establish the current state of the research field, we examined the information available regarding schools of education, research groups, undergraduate and graduate programs, journals, and articles devoted to the study of curriculum. As a result, we can assert that we found very few references to the development of the curriculum field in Colombia, although there are some recent initiatives that allow us to think that the field is emerging, at least in relation to the university curriculum. This situation does not come as a surprise given the antecedents presented in the former section of this article. Pedagogy as the "foundational science of education" gets all the attention, whereas curriculum is usually absent or, when explicitly addressed, is an appendix often linked to and overshadowed by didactics.

Major schools of education declare their mission as promoting the advancement of pedagogy and education through research and teacher education. None of them declare curriculum studies at the center of their activity or declare contribution to the curriculum field as part of their mission. We found only two graduate programs specialized in the study of curriculum. One is the Masters Program in Curriculum Design, Management and Evaluation run by Universidad Surcolombiana and the other is the Specialization (Graduate Certificate) in Curriculum and Pedagogy from CIFE at Universidad de Los Andes. In the same university, the doctoral program in Education includes among its aims the training of professionals who can make an impact on the development of curricula in schools of education

There are a few research groups who include curriculum design, development, and evaluation as their area of interest. Universidad de Caldas, Universidad de Nariño, and Universidad del Tolima have groups specialized in university curriculum. As I will argue later, it seems that higher education holds more potential for the development of curriculum studies in the absence of a stronger pedagogical tradition in higher education.

Aristizabal (2004) summarizes 40 years of academic production relating to curriculum in Colombia based on work carried out at Universidades de Antioquia, Pedagógica, Valle and Nacional, most of which is devoted to reclaiming the centrality of pedagogical knowledge in opposition to the invasion of the curricular paradigm. They also highlight the contributions of the so-called critical curriculum to the possibility of visualizing alternative approaches to curriculum theory, which are more contextualized, integrated, and aligned with a human education perspective (pp. 12–14). Within this line of thought, we have already discussed the contribution of the inter-institutional group History of Pedagogical Practice, which is expressly opposed to the adoption of the concept of curriculum but has made important contributions to understanding why this is the case in our context.

Another major contribution to the field has been made by the group "Pedagogy and Curriculum" at Universidad del Cauca, who are devoted to the study of the relationships between these two disciplines. They have developed a research project called "Study of the Relationships Pedagogy-Curriculum in the Colombian Educational Tradition, 1960–2008." From this project, there is a published book entitled "The Overlapping of Pedagogy by Curriculum." In this book, the authors attempt to show how the introduction of what they consider to be the Anglo-Saxon/American concept of curriculum had the effect of covering or concealing pedagogy, resulting in its instrumental use and impoverishment. The contributions of this group have been important to the development of the field, as we have highlighted above.

There is also an interinstitutional doctoral program in education integrating the efforts of 10 public universities—RUDECOLOMBIA, in which the area called "Pedagogy, Curriculum and Didactics" is based on the idea that "the curriculum is an interface or mediation field between Pedagogy and Didactics . . . this is why we talk about relationships and not about differences between Pedagogy, Curriculum and Didactics. This conception allows us to overcome the confusion caused by the invasion of the curricular field into the pedagogical and didactical fields" (Aristizábal, 2006, p. 48).

RUDECOLOMBIA has consolidated doctoral projects in the areas of history of Latin American education; curriculum, pedagogy and didactics; educational thought, and communication in several universities throughout the country. RUDECOLOMBIA is also linked to a line of research entitled "Subject, Pedagogical Knowledge and Science," uniting the efforts of two lines of research: "Curriculum and University" and "Sciences Teaching" aimed at "rethinking Colombian education in general and especially the university from its pedagogical and research practices."

In recent years, there have been some research projects devoted to curriculum studies, such as "The Evolution of The Curriculum Field in Colombia: The Caribbean Region" and "The Evolution of Curriculum in Latin America: Challenges and Developments" under the direction of Diana Lago from Universidad de Cartagena; and the "Study of the Relationships Between Pedagogy and Curriculum in Colombian Educational Tradition: 1960–2008" under the aegis of the group Pedagogy and Curriculum under the direction of Magnolia Aristizabal from Universidad del Cauca. This is also linked to this doctoral program through the project "Implementation of the Curriculum Field in the Colombian Educational Tradition: 1975–1994." This aims to complement the study carried out by this group commented above.

Another association of universities, RUECA—Network of University for the Quality of Education—comprises several research groups, including lines devoted to curriculum studies. The most relevant project reinforcing the influence of Diaz Barriga in our context is the "Evolution of the Curriculum in Colombia," which is part of a regional project led by this author entitled "Evolution of Curriculum in Latin America." This is the only project we have found that is developed in cooperation with international research partners.

The weakness of curriculum as a field of study is also apparent in the production of articles and books specialized in curriculum. The production is so sparse that it cannot be identified as a field in itself. The universities who have developed the most significant production in the field of curriculum are Universidad del Magdalena, Universidad de los Andes, Universidad de Antioquia, Universidad del Tolima, Universidad del Cauca, and Universidad de Caldas.

There are no specialized journals in the field of curriculum studies. We found several articles devoted to curriculum studies in the electronic journal "IERED" published by the Network on Research on Education at Universidad del Cauca. The *Latin American Journal of Educational Studies*, published by Universidad de Caldas, also has some articles published about curriculum. The universities with research groups devoted to curriculum mentioned above are also the ones leading the production of books, articles, conference communications, and presentations.

Itinerantes, a journal devoted to pedagogy, curriculum, and didactics and published by the doctoral program of Rudecolombia until 2006 was followed by a book series called "Pedagogy, Curriculum and Didactics." This series has published key books to help towards understanding the views of Colombian intellectuals about curriculum. A good example is "The Overlapping of Pedagogy by the Curriculum" that I have discussed above (Aristizabal, 2008).

There are other recent studies showing a fuller understanding of the meaning and scope of the concept of curriculum. Iafrancesco (2003), for example, has proposed a "new" concept of curriculum that includes "the anthropological, axiological, developmental, scientific, epistemological, methodological, sociological, psycho-pedagogical, didactic, administrative and evaluative foundations" along with the means used to implement these principles in an integral education system for students (p. 26). Although there is nothing new about including these aspects within the scope of the concept, what is new is the proposal to understand curriculum in this richer way within our context.

In the following section, I will develop a critical appraisal of these works and show how the allegedly critical views of researchers have created a discourse that equates the concept of curriculum with the instrumental and technocratic control of education.

An Incomplete Appraisal of Curriculum Research The picture I have presented here is necessarily incomplete. Based on the sources reviewed, my current understanding is that Colombian educational researchers have substituted an anti-curriculum discourse for research on curriculum as a consequence of their adherence to a diffuse ideology encompassing anti-American, anti-Governmental intervention, and anti-technocratic values all at once. Thus, based on this ideology, researchers have created a discourse that equates the concept of curriculum with the instrumental and technocratic control of education by a government subordinated to imperialist interests. By doing so, most educators have undermined curriculum studies and curtailed the possibility of critically examining the interaction among the different systems affecting teachers' and students' educational experiences and therefore have failed to support the improvement of the quality of education from a systematic approach.

Educators and educational researchers have not taken advantage of the explanatory power of the concept of curriculum because they have linked this notion with the technical control of education. In other words, they have substituted one curricular approach (the technical-scientific) and one curriculum aspect (planning) for the whole theory of curriculum or the "curriculum paradigm." By doing so, they have devoted their efforts to fighting it by adopting alternative concepts, such as pedagogy and teaching, in opposition to the idea of curriculum. Although it is easy to sympathize with the cause of regaining the schools for teachers, rejecting the idea of curriculum does not represent progress in this direction. Regaining curriculum for teachers and students would have been a more effective way to follow this educational ideal.

Miñana Blasco acknowledges the fact that in Colombia, only one approach to curriculum has been taken into consideration, whereas alternative curriculum approaches have been ignored. Since its inception through the Curriculum Renewal of 1975, the curriculum field is defined in relation to the ideas of "planning, efficiency, improvements, quality, and the quick fix of social problems" (p. 18).

> As long as curriculum arrives in this country hand by hand with a reform sponsored by international banking and as part of an instrumental and rationalistic approach (Gagné, Bloom, and behaviorism), the concept of curriculum is inevitably associated with this perspective, ignoring Humanistic, Hermeneutical or Critical curriculum traditions. Even now for some Colombian authors, who emerged from the debate of the 80's, curriculum is synonymous with "educational technology" although it is enough to take a look at the voluminous historical text from Pinar and others (Pinar et al., 2000), radically critical of the instrumental approaches, to evidence other curriculum traditions. (p. 29)

Thus, the concept of curriculum that Colombian educators and educational researchers oppose is a concept infused with an ideology. In the following paragraphs, I will try to enter into a dialogue with the ideology represented by this opposition and, following Burbules (1995), I will attempt to understand their views along with the context in which they were developed (pp. 65–66).

The concept of curriculum is ideologically driven at least in three dimensions: First, regarding scope, curriculum is associated with planning and, for this reason, the rest of educational activities are left outside its scope; second, curriculum is associated with only one theoretical approach, the behaviorist; third, curriculum is associated with an RDD (Research, Development, and Distribution) approach that makes a sharp distinction between researchers (university experts) and implementers (school teachers). In what follows, I will show how each of these problematic approaches leads to the rejection of the whole concept of curriculum as a consequence of a partial understanding of its meaning and scope.

In the first place, curriculum is associated with the planning and organization of contents and school activities. This approach belongs in an economy-driven educational model:

> The idea of Curriculum . . . is linked to the discourse and practices of "development" and "planning" that since the 50's and coming mainly from the USA began a process of radical reform of Latin American education. Thus, the history of curriculum is the history of educational reform during the last forty years. (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, pp. 70–71)
>
> A pure technical view of educational planning was present in the spirit of that time. Educational planning, understood as experts training for curriculum design has been present since 1969. . . . In 1972 the PNUD and UNESCO project introduced the Anglo-Saxon conception of curriculum on a wide scale. . . . Acting under the paradigm of the curriculum, planning was supposed to solve all Colombian educational problems. (Aristizábal et al., 2008)

These quoted passages truly reflect the thinking of the time in which curriculum planning was adopted in Colombia. They also reflect adequately the technical concept of curriculum adopted at that moment. However, by assuming that the idea of curriculum is the same thing as curriculum planning, researchers miss the opportunity of using the concept of curriculum to critically examine the outcomes and aims of education, the relationships between school and society, the pedagogical approaches adopted, etc. By equating curriculum theory with curriculum planning and objectives-driven evaluation, educators are right in attributing an impoverished view of education to curriculum. But by doing so, researchers are not taking into account that curriculum planning is just one aspect of curriculum theory and also that there are multiple approaches to this notion. Thus, the impoverishment does not derive from the concept of curriculum itself but from an impoverished understanding of curriculum that assumes that whenever we talk about curriculum we are talking just about the planning and organization of content and instructional activities.

In the second place, it is apparent that these authors acknowledge only one curriculum perspective: The Behaviorist. In their view, this perspective reflects the true nature of curriculum being objectives-driven, based on direct instruction and the training of prespecified discrete skills. More than that, curriculum does not belong within the field of education but within the field of work training:

> Curriculum theory belongs to the broader field of the theory of instruction, oriented to obtain the maximum efficiency and productivity from instruction through its design and detailed programming in the factory, the business world, the army, the prison, etc. It comes from "Taylorism" (the scientific organization of labor), management, and training–from Anglo-Saxon origins, developed since the beginnings of the 20th Century . . . clearly aimed at efficacy, profitability, social control, homogenization and normalization of human groups. (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, p. 71)
>
> For the "curricularists" the rationalization of the educational action is a design developed on the basis of a detailed analysis of the different occupations to which adult life will be subject within a modern industrialized society, founded upon the essential principle of the division of labor." (Martínez Boom et al., 2003, p. 74)

In this fashion, by equating Taylor with Tyler, curriculum results were linked to a view of education that is easily rejected. At the same time, all that is desirable in education is linked not to alternative curriculum approaches (Experiential, Problem-Based, etc.) but to pedagogy (Active, Constructivist, Humanist, etc.). My point is that a deep understanding of curriculum and curriculum theoretical perspectives makes it clear that each curriculum approach includes a certain pedagogical approach (Montoya Vargas, 2008; Posner, 1995). The fact that the concept of curriculum comprises pedagogical practices is interpreted as an "overlapping" or "covering" of the pedagogical field by the curriculum field (Aristizábal et al., 2004).

In my opinion, comprising does not have to mean overshadowing or undermining pedagogy. It is an acknowledgment of the fact that curriculum is a much broader concept, and it is more properly suited to dealing with the complexity of educational phenomena than pedagogy is.

In the third place, the concept of curriculum is linked by these authors to a certain approach to its implementation: The RDD (Research-Development-Diffusion) model (Posner, 1995), where researchers (usually international experts in our case) design and develop certain curriculum and curriculum materials and "systematically disseminate these new materials and curricula to teachers for their use" (p. 208). Colombian researchers and school teachers have good reasons to oppose this approach because, as a consequence of being reduced to the role of implementers, teachers are disempowered and deskilled (Apple, 2000). Unfortunately, whenever the MEN advocates a national strategy for the improvement of quality in the educational system, the approach just described is applied. (As I write these lines, the same strategy is being implemented by the MEN in the program "Everybody to Learn.")

However, researchers do not seem to be taking into account the fact that the RDD Model is just one approach to curriculum development and implementation. As with the former point, instead of opposing this particular approach, researchers blame the concept of curriculum as a whole for the external control of schools and for the deskilling of teachers. When developing alternative models to develop and implement curriculum, as with practitioners' Action-Research projects, they consider these to be the product of *pedagogical* resistance by teachers to the *curricular* approach. This is at the basis of the Pedagogical Movement. And this is why the major achievement of this movement is the National Law of Education, which established curriculum autonomy for schools as opposed to a mandatory, centralized curriculum.

In sum, for Colombian researchers, there is only one curricular approach: the rational planning model, characterized by behavioral objectives, direct instruction and training, and a sharp separation between designers and implementers. Other curriculum approaches, such as the procedural or practical approach in which teachers are the ones delivering, making curricular decisions, and using formative assessment to research the effectiveness of their designs, or the critical approach in which curriculum is seen at the same time as a device for social reproduction and as a tool for social change in the hands of teachers, are not acknowledged by them as curriculum approaches. The only source for these approaches that is acknowledged is pedagogical resistance to curriculum imposition.

Curriculum Research in Higher Education In the intellectual history of the university in Colombia, German Arciniegas played a salient role during the twentieth century. As a historian, essayist, diplomat, and statesman, his ideas about the university exercised influence not only in Colombia but also internationally. Arciniegas (1933) understood the role of the universities as inevitably political and saw them as contributing significantly in the ruling of the society in which they take part. Thus, 60 years before the Constitution made it mandatory, Arciniegas (1933) defended the autonomy of the universities and proposed that students participated in their government. His pedagogical and curricular views were close to the proposals of John Dewey, in which students learn democracy by taking part in the ruling of democratic institutions (Dewey, 1916). Universities still today are far from being democratic institutions, but some of his ideas have taken form, such as university autonomy and the participation of students in the decision organs of the university. The contribution of the universities in the making of more rational and scientific politics is yet to be seen, unfortunately (Arciniegas, 1932, 1933, 1943, 1948, 1994a, 1994b).

More recently, after reviewing the national production on Higher Education over the last 30 years, and despite having found more than 2,000 studies during this period, Henao and Velasquez (2002) concluded that higher education has not been the object of systematic scientific research in Colombia (p. 288). They classified the studies into 12 categories related to the philosophical and cultural foundations of university education; the history of the university; the relationships between the universities, society, and the State; the relevance of higher education, higher education regulation, and legislation; the organization of the system, quality, and accreditation; scientific and technological production; university government and finances; scientific and technological production; and the academic profession.

What is quite apparent is the absence of systematic studies about curriculum and pedagogy in the university. According to Parra Sandoval (1996), pedagogical reflection has not been a concern for our universities. At the university level, knowledge about content substitutes for pedagogical knowledge and, as a consequence, the discussions concerning the pedagogical nature of university work have been traditionally undervalued (pp. 255–256).

Some of those who have made important contributions to the analysis of the university in our context approach key curricular issues derived from public policies, such as standardized assessment, competency-based education, curriculum flexibility and academic credits, accreditation, pertinence, etc., but they do not always interpret them as curricular themes nor do they approach the university curriculum in a systematic way (Gómez, 2000; Orozco Silva, 2010, 2001a, 2001b).

In recent years, however, there has been a promising series of publications on the topic of curriculum and pedagogy at the university level and, unlike the situation with basic and secondary school, it seems that the concept of curriculum has found more fertile soil in higher education. Paradoxically, this situation can be explained by the same reason that there is not a solid body of research on higher education: in the absence of a tradition in pedagogy at the university level, it is easier to adopt curriculum as a concept and to explore diverse curriculum alternatives without the burden of displacing the interest on pedagogy by doing so.

In fact, some of the recent innovative proposals come from the groups working on the university curriculum. These authors seem to be clearly aware of the inherent relationships between curriculum and pedagogy (Díaz del Castillo, Goyes M., Guerrero T., and Uscátegui, 1996; López Jiménez, 2000; Mora Mora, 2005).

Following from the idea that in Colombia there has been modernization without Modernity, Mora (2005) from the group Education Pedagogy and Culture in the Caribbean from Simon Bolivar University has documented the work of researchers who have made contributions in the last 20 years to the development of the curricular field from a critical perspective. He explores the work of Goyes and Uscátegui, López Jiménez, and Díaz Villa. He maintains that their alternative proposals have in common a participatory and pluralistic conception of curriculum building, curriculum conceptualization as a permanent process of research and self-evaluation, a critical and emancipatory view of the curriculum, a conscious adaptation of higher education public policies, and a call for interdisciplinary and socially relevant curricula among other features (Mora Mora, 2005).

Since 2000, Isabel Goyes and Mireya Uscátegui have been leading the research group “Curriculum and University” at Universidad de Nariño, where they have contributed to fighting the myths and the reductionist notions of curriculum so prevalent in our context (2004, p. 17). They define curriculum as an “educational plan that actualizes and makes effective a pedagogical theory and that is oriented towards the development and learning of a group of students in a particular context" (p. 14). This group has also contributed to the dissemination and understanding of the different curriculum theories and approaches and of some Latin American and Colombian curriculum innovations developed as alternatives to the technical approach (Goyes and Uscátegui, 2000).

Goyes and Uscátegui (Goyes and Uscátegui, n.d.) also have proposed the reconceptualization of the curriculum as a participatory and democratic research field opening up to public debate such things as

> our own curricular history, the interests behind the curricula implemented, the contribution of public university curricular and pedagogical practices to the principle of social fairness and also about the types of knowledge we have adopted, the ways in which they have been produced and selected, the criteria under which this knowledge has been legitimated, and the reasons why we have not produced knowledge to be validated and adopted in other latitudes. (pp. 39–40)

Nelson López has been leading a research group and an innovative project called PACA—Program for Alternative Curricular Action—since 1989 (López Jiménez, 1991). PACA's main purpose is curriculum construction with teachers and characterized by social and cultural relevance; in other words, it is geared towards addressing the needs of the particular context in which curriculum is designed, developed, and evaluated (López Jiménez, 1995). López conceptualizes the dynamics of curriculum construction as a problematic area to be addressed mainly through research and critique and not through a mere instrumental or procedural approach (López Jiménez, 2000, p. 33).

One promising development is that PACA has been proposed as a model for curriculum construction based on an evolving set of principles developed through the interaction of the group with different institutions, programs, administrators, teachers, students, and other members of the educational community. These principles are: research-based, participation, flexibility, social focus, praxis or the integration of theory and practice, permanence subordinated to relevance, interdisciplinarity, and interinstitutionalism aimed at creating a national educational system that really works as a system and permanent evaluation (López Jiménez, 2000, 2001).

Among the many contributions of this line of work, I should stress the emphasis placed by PACA on the inclusion of all groups of educational actors as a way to counteract the traditional tendency to trace a sharp separation between, on the one hand, university researchers as producers and disseminators of the curriculum and, on the other hand, teachers as consumers of the curriculum (López Jiménez, 2000, p. 35).

More recently, based on Derrida's concept of deconstruction, López (2001) proposes deconstruction as a necessary stage previous to curriculum construction in the twenty-first century (p. 34). Also following this approach, Díaz Villa (2008) proposes to undertake a semiotic analysis of the prevailing curriculum in order to "deconstruct its subjacent interests and purposes and to be able to generate alternative curricular projects interpreting hegemony and revaluing the voice of human groups fighting for a better world" (p. 13). Unlike others, López and Díaz undertake a form of criticism that opens possibilities for further curriculum research and development.

Mario Díaz Villa has been a salient figure in the development of the curriculum field in higher education. He belongs to the Research Group in Higher Education at Universidad Santiago de Cali. After his seminal study on the *Intellectual Field of Education* (Díaz Villa, 1993), his work has been devoted especially to university problems, and most of it has been published by the ICFES (a national agency formerly devoted to the development of higher education, although its mission today focuses on assessment at all educational levels). His work has covered the preparation and practice of university professors (Díaz Villa, 1998, 2000a, 2000b), the analysis of the university curriculum (Díaz Villa, 2002, 2003, 2008), and the analysis of the official discourse in higher education (Díaz Villa and López Jiménez, 2001).

The research group Curriculum, University, and Society at Universidad del Tolima, has also approached the study of curriculum from a critical perspective, reflecting on issues of quality and relevance, and has proposed to conceptualize curriculum as an opportunity to build more dynamic, integral, and relevant connections between university and society (Malagón Plata, 2007).

Despite its limitations, it seems that curriculum studies in higher education shows some promise of developing into as a robust field in the years to come. In a study on the effects of the national accreditation process in the university curricula and, after reviewing the self-assessment processes undertaken by seven universities as part of their accreditation processes, Goyes and Uscátegui (2004) identified the following current curricular tendencies: A movement towards more participatory forms of curriculum design; a general education component oriented towards the development of ethical values; some examples of curriculum integration through "modules" and longitudinal projects; and finally a tendency towards the introduction of principles of flexibility, interdisciplinary, and integration of curricula (145–146).

Conclusions

In this final section, I will summarize the central argument of this chapter. Based on what has been discussed above, it could be said that in Colombia, pedagogy has overshadowed curriculum as a field of studies. The meanings attached to curriculum by local educators and educational researchers have made it difficult for this notion to play a key role in the understanding and improvement of education. Based on a diffuse anti-imperialist ideology, the notion of curriculum has been regarded as an ideological tool used to displace the role of teachers and pass the control of education to foreign interests through governmental agencies.

In order to understand how this happened, I first have presented Colombian educational history organized around four curricular approaches: The Traditional School, the Active or New School, the Technical Curriculum, and the Critical Curriculum. These approaches express the main educational ideals within the Colombian society at different historical moments, although not all of them correspond to the curriculum mandated by the law or the curriculum enacted in most schools at the time.

"Traditional" in our context means Roman Catholic. A characteristic of the Catholic school has been its emphasis on external discipline to be internalized and converted into self-restraint and self-control. Despite the emergence of progressive curricular and pedagogical ideas since 1920, the prevailing curriculum and teaching practices in our schools have been traditionally based on these Catholic values and rationale.

The Active School was the expression of a rational pedagogy based on the knowledge of the human sciences and used as an instrument to resist traditional discourse. Unlike the Catholic school, the Active School lacked the resources both material and cultural to overtrump the traditional approach. Although it was the official curriculum for basic education until the end of the 40s, it found resistance by the old authorities as well as by parents from the rural areas, all of whom having been educated within an authoritarian model of education did not understand the emphasis on the autonomy of the individual, child interest, inquiry-based learning, experimentation, and exploration of nature, etc.

The technical curriculum was introduced in Colombia around the 50s based on the recommendations of international missions through instructional design and programmed instruction. It was done first in nonformal educational settings and then in formal education through the project known as "Curriculum Renewal," based on the procedures of Educational Technology and Instructional Design. It followed the logic of defining behavioral objectives, teaching, and learning activities and assessment indicators to ensure their accomplishment. Since then, curriculum has been linked to this rationale and it is interpreted as a government strategy used to consolidate the "Taylorization of education."

The "critical curriculum" is understood in our context as a pedagogical approach opposed to curricular thinking. Both researchers and practitioners have created an alliance to oppose the notion of pedagogy—embodying the wisdom of teachers about what to teach, how to teach, and what for, to the notion of curriculum—embodying the technocratic control of schools. This opposition is considered to be at the heart of the Intellectual Field of Education, the Field of Pedagogy, and the Colombian Pedagogical Movement, all of them aimed at repositioning teachers and pedagogy as the center of the educational field and to resist the notion of curriculum imposed by the government.

Thanks to the efforts of the Pedagogical Movement during the first years of the participatory democratic institutions established by the Constitution from 1991, since 1994, each school has the autonomy to define its own Institutional Educational Project (PEI). The Ministry of Education dictates standards and guidelines but cannot dictate the curriculum. However, the lack of practical and theoretical curriculum understanding, along with the weakness of democratic dialogue and deliberation within institutions, made curriculum autonomy almost utopian. Most schools have been adopting curricula from publishers, consultants, and from other institutions and continue doing what they were doing before having the power to dictate their own curricula.

In sum, Colombian educational researchers have substituted an anti-curriculum discourse for research on the curriculum as a consequence of their adherence to an ideology encompassing anti-American, anti-governmental intervention and anti-technocratic values all at once. Based on this ideology, those researches reduced the notion of curriculum to instructional planning, a behavioral pedagogy, and a research-development-distribution approach. As a consequence, researchers have created a discourse that equates the concept of curriculum with the instrumental and technocratic control of education by a government subordinated to imperialist interests. By doing so, most educators have undermined curriculum studies and curtailed the possibility of critically examining the interaction among the different systems affecting teachers' and students' educational experiences and therefore, have failed to support the improvement of the quality of education from a systematic approach.

Evaluating this state of affairs in retrospective, educators have been right in opposing governmental attempts to introduce a teacher-proof curriculum, but they have been wrong in banning curriculum and curricular thinking even from teacher preparation programs; a solid foundation in curriculum and pedagogy would allow teachers to really own the curriculum by means of being able to develop, experiment with, research, improve, evaluate, modify, and adapt curricular ideas. Isolating teachers from thinking about the curriculum only disempowers them and leaves them at the mercy of external decision makers regarding what is important to teach, for what purposes, and by what means. Pedagogical knowledge is supposed to play this role, but it has shown to be insufficient in most of the cases.

As a result of the ideological thinking about curriculum in Colombia, there has been little interest in curriculum as a field of study, although there are several recent initiatives that allow us to think that the field is emerging. Thus, in recent years, there has been a promising line of work on alternative curriculum approaches, especially in higher education but not limited to it. It seems that the concept of curriculum has a promising future in the works of teachers and researchers oriented to the development of participatory forms of curriculum design, socioculturally relevant curricula, problem and project-based curricula, and the introduction of principles of flexibility, interdisciplinarity, and integration of curriculum.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Tatiana Arango Botero for her contributions to the literature review supporting this chapter, Anne-Marie Truscott de Mejía for the English language review, and Carlos Morales de Setién Ravina for his comments and support.

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12

Curriculum Studies in Cyprus

Intellectual History and Present Circumstances

Nikoletta Christodoulou

Cyprus' educational system was very much shaped by the sociopolitical spirit and turmoil of the era, as well as by its long traditional, cultural, and religious bonds with Greece. Imperialism and many centuries of colonialism, subordination, and struggle for freedom are characteristics of the history of the island, its society, and its political and educational system. Historically oppressed by other countries such as the Great Britain and located in the geographical and sociopolitical crossroads of Greece, Turkey, and other foreign powers, Cyprus is a distinct case. The people of Cyprus and its institutions were greatly affected by these politics and ideas, following leaders who were uncritically and thoughtlessly committed to beliefs that were increasingly diversifying the population, giving authority and opportunities to others waiting at the doorstep.

This chapter is tentatively and loosely organized into four periods: (1) the period of the British rule (1878–1960), (2) the independence period and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus through the Turkish invasion of the island (1960–1974), (3) the "I do not forget" era and the completion of the structure of education (1974–1992), and (4) the postmodern era and today's European Cyprus (1992–2012). Unavoidably, the chapter is devoted to describing the political scene of the different eras since it contributed greatly to shaping Cypriot education and curriculum, the latter being the means to substantiate political conditions.

The answer to the canonical curriculum question "what knowledge is of most worth?"—the fundamental curriculum question posed by Herbert Spencer (1860)—varied across the four periods, and even differed within the same period. Prior to the British colonization, education adhered to the ideals of the classic *paideia* and the Enlightenment (Papadopoulos, 1998b). During colonization, the effort was to confine the dominated people's education to skills that would accommodate the administrational needs of the status quo (Papadopoulos, 1998b). Within almost half a century, since the independence of the island in 1960, Cyprus has implemented various trends in its educational policy and curriculum, including the idea of *enosis* (union) with Greece, loyal adherence to the Greek culture, traditions, and the Greek Christian Orthodox ideals, with minor alterations to attend to the particular conditions of Cyprus. This reflected the need to maintain the ethnical character and traditions, but also the need to attend to the local environment and consider wider, international changes and developments. All these continuous changes, often followed by turmoil and disagreements, were confining educational and curricular efforts mostly at a policy level, diminishing effective and substantial discussions on the curriculum. While educational policy was a regular discourse topic at a political level, discussions on the curriculum—including the questions "what knowledge is of most worth" (Spencer, 1860) and why and who decides (Schubert, 1997)—were absent, since it was a given that curriculum should be ethnically oriented.

Since the declaration of independence in 1960, there have been three official publications of the school curriculum; in 1981, in 1994—with some revisions in subsequent years (1996 and 2002),—and in 2010. Yet, curriculum studies is a recent field in Cyprus. The need to understand curriculum (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 1995) was not raised until the development of higher education institutions in the country where intellectual conversations started growing among academics and various educational agents. In the absence of universities, academic tradition, and intellectual thinking, curriculum, education, and educational policy were instruments of invaders, imperialists, colonialists, ideologists, and political parties. Sometimes they were driven by individuals, often the Minister of Education as an intellectual persona, who, despite having relevant education, would adhere to politics and ideologies to create purpose and direction in education. Often, curriculum was viewed simply as means of achieving micropolitical interests instead of a medium for a broader vision consisting of what person, citizen, or worker one would become.

Below, I turn to a brief overview of the history of Cyprus, and then to an analysis of the four periods in order to understand the field and its evolvement, influencing ideas, people, and circumstances.

An Overview of the History of Cyprus

Cyprus, one of the smallest countries in the European Union, is the last divided country in Europe, and Nicosia is its last divided city. Following almost five centuries of Latin rule (1191–1570)—the Lusignan (Franks) era in 1191–1489 and the Venetian rule in 1489–1570—and more than three centuries of Ottoman Empire rule (1570–1878), Cyprus gained independence in 1960 (Bouzakis, 2005) after almost a century of British colonialism (1878–1960). Cyprus has been roiled in ethnic conflict, violence, and division since the early years of its independence. Everyone who has lived through that time remembers the troubles of 1963–1967, the 1974 Turkish invasion, and subsequent occupation that sealed the fate of Cyprus for decades.

Almost nine centuries of imperialism and the turbulence of the last 50 years are not unrelated to Cyprus' strategic location at the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea, a place that has long attracted the great world powers and continues to do so. Rome ruled, as did Istanbul and England. Richard the Lionheart conquered a piece of the island on his way to the Crusades. It is the island where Paul the Apostle was lashed 39 times by the Romans for preaching the Gospel, where Lazarus died, and where Othello's Castle is located. Cyprus has always been a storied jewel of the Mediterranean.

Today, U.N. peace keepers patrol the buffer zone between north and south, and England maintains a massive presence, tens of thousands of military personnel and two air bases (which were used by the United States recently to launch into Afghanistan and Iraq) that constitute 10 percent of the land mass. Some Cypriots support that the great powers see Cyprus as a little more than a huge, unsinkable aircraft carrier.

While there has not been a shot fired since 1999, and while the border between the north and the south opened in 2003, for the generation now in its sixties, memories of the early days are both vivid and raw, and, indeed, for most Cypriots of every age, Cyprus still bleeds. That bleeding has not left people and institutions unaffected, neither has its long colonial past left unaffected the educational system and curricula, which were instruments of imperialists, ideologists, and partisans and used to implement their plans. Education and the curriculum are often perceived as means for domination and subordination (Apple, 1990, 1982; Giroux, 1981), and Cyprus was no exception.

The Colonial Curriculum: The Period of British Rule (1878–1960)

The era of the British rule in Cyprus lasted almost a century. During that period, "the formation of educational policy by the Greek community of Cyprus was very easy" (Persianis, 2000, p. 477). In a tactic followed during the British colonialism and even the years after the British rule, until the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 (Bouzakis, 2005), the Greek community of Cyprus "adopted the educational policy of Greece and it implemented almost every educational reform that was introduced in Greece. Any suggestions from Greek Cypriots for educational reforms were disregarded" (Persianis, 2000, p. 477). The implementation of the Greek educational policy during the period of the British rule, the independence, and more than a decade thereafter (1960–1974) concerned everything from the school structure, types, and curricula to textbooks, forms of assessment, regulations and promotion, and dismissal of students (Persianis, 2000; Bouzakis, 2005). The sharing of the same blood, language, and religion with Greeks of Greece strengthened the belief that the nurturing in schools of common cultural and ethnical directions and ideals would one day result to the long-craved unification of Cyprus with Greece (Persianis, 2000, 1981; Bouzakis, 2005). Political ideology legitimized this policy, and through this educational policy the state ensured legitimacy for itself (Weiler, 1990).

The answer to "what knowledge is of most worth" at elementary schools was a given and almost uncritically accepted, applying the curriculum of the Greek educational system, both for ideological and for practical reasons (Persianis, 2009). From 1878–1931, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, the major ethnical, cultural, and political power of the enslaved Greeks of Cyprus, would make the decisions concerning the education of the Greek community in Cyprus, including the founding of schools, the types of schools, curricula, teacher education, and financial resources. From 1931–1960, the British became drastically responsible for the elementary education. With the founding of the first secondary education school in 1893 (Persianis, 2009, 1994), it was examined whether it should be oriented toward classical, humanistic knowledge or practical, skill-oriented technical knowledge. Classical, humanistic knowledge prevailed.

In 1898, the elementary school curriculum prescribed in 35 pages the subjects of religion, Greek language—reading, grammar, writing, and fundamental words—mathematics, physics, history, geography, oscine, calligraphy, drawing, and gymnastics (Curriculum of 6-grade, 1898/1998). The essential school equipment and class materials were a reading room; an abacus; maps of Cyprus, Greece, Palestine, Turkey, Europe, and of the two hemispheres; drawing models; geometry shapes; holy icons; history images; tables of zoology and botany; a skeleton of the human body; gardening tools; basic weights, measures and objects; and the globe. In 1912, the 6-grade, single-teacher elementary school retained the 1898 curriculum (Papadopoulos, 1998a) that had been approved by the British colonizers. It included reading, calligraphy, drawing, basic mathematics, gardening, readings of the Bible, and silent study, which included activities such as memorizing and copying words and letters and tracing (Curriculum of 6-grade, 1912/1998). In 1927, handicraft and the "social geography of Cyprus: local to national" course were added to the curriculum. In the same year, the knowledge to be taught through the 8-grade elementary school was outlined in 79 pages in an overly simplified manner (Papadopoulos, 1927/1998).

The Independence Curricula and the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (1960–1974)

In 1960, Cyprus attained independence with the Zurich and London Agreement between the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey, which established the Independent Republic of Cyprus (Bouzakis, 2005). Based on the Agreement, two Community Conventions were formed, the Greek and the Turkish, each responsible for its own educational, religious, and cultural matters. In particular, the Greek Community Convention (GCC) would decide upon the educational policy, including the types of schools and the school curriculum. The philosophical foundations of the Cyprus educational policy (ME, 1982) were democratization of education; education quality improvement; emphasis on long-term rather than short-term educational objectives; contribution of education to cultural, economic, and social development of the country and to the quality of life; and the strengthening of national identity and the fighting ethos of the students.

In 1963, the GCC was dispelled with the intercommunal conflicts between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots and their physical partition thereafter. The Ministry of Education evolved in 1965, obtaining all responsibilities of the GCC, eventually becoming a highly centralized, bureaucratic mechanism, administering and supervising the entire educational system. The Minister of Education, according to the Law, was the authorized person to make suggestions to the Council of Ministers about educational policy and curriculum. The first Minister of Education in Cyprus, Constantinos Spyridakis, a dominant figure, highly embraced in his philosophy, vision, and curriculum practice the decision of the GCC to implement in Cyprus the Greek Educational Reform of 1964 (Bouzakis, 2005; ERC, 2004).

The Conventional, Helleno-Centric Curriculum: Constantinos Spyridakis Era (1965–1970) Within the context of a helleno-centric, nationalistic educational ideology (Persianis, 1996, 1981; Bouzakis, 2005), the Hellenization of elementary education was attempted alongside the abolition of the teaching of English language that was implemented during the British rule.

In a speech Spyridakis gave in 1967 (ME, 1967b), he spoke about the educational policy of Cyprus at the time of its independence, which he perceived to be a transitional period until the union of Cyprus with Greece. Spyridakis advocated that national education is unarguably connected to the Greek one, a view he strongly maintained until the end of his ministerial service (Spyridakis, 1969). He criticized the British colonizers' offer for economic advantages and funding to secondary schools, which would alter their conventional curriculum and policy and was viewed as an effort to weaken the sturdiness of its national character. He clearly saw education as the agency to maintain the national ethos and as the determinant of the nation's future (ME, 1967a).

The common educational policy with Greece concerned the scope, directions, curriculum, and textbooks, which were sent from Greece, as well as structure, philosophy, and teacher education and training. The only variations were the introduction of a second foreign language, the teaching of accounting in accordance with the British system since the market of Cyprus was connected to the other colonies, and the teaching of the Cyprus history and the history of the church of Cyprus in addition to the Greek one (Sofianos, 1986, p. 119). Focusing on the fact that Cyprus had to be aligned with the Greek system ethnically and culturally until the long-desired union, it was commonly believed that the school curriculum and textbooks should be the same, yet ensuring that the local social and industrial needs are satisfied.

At the same time, around 1965, an opposite belief started sprouting, supporting the enhancement of Cyprus as a separate entity, progressively moving away from the dream of *enosis,* keeping, however, the traditions and cultural identity. This was the Cypriot-centric orientation, which partly supported ablactation from the national center. The proponents of the Cypriot-centric policy supported that the coalition of the Cypriot and Greek education as far as the broader educational objectives and the cultural and national values are concerned is a necessary and obvious action. However, "curricula, educational structures, methods and textbooks may be altered without any danger of de-hellenization and detachment from our national traditions" (Sofianos, 1986, p. 119), and thus "the cypriot educational act shall not adopt per se the erratic changes that are often undertaken in Greece purely for partisanship and for political reasons" (p. 119).

Furthermore, the educational rhetoric within the group of the hellenocentric, the conservatives, interestingly deviated significantly from the conventional rhetoric, both at a national and an international level. Individuals would give different answers to Spencer's (1860) central question "what knowledge is of most worth," with many emphasizing the economic role of the school and supporting the idea that students should not learn what is not practical and useful for them. The worth of classical knowledge was questioned, bending towards more technical knowledge (Persianis, 2009). Thus, in addition to the general secondary school education, technical-vocational schools were recommended for students in order to get specific, technical education. Also, higher education institutions with strictly economic-vocational orientation were established, having English as language of instruction, a tool for serving the economic function of the school (Bouzakis, 2005).

The "I Do Not Forget and I Fight" Curriculum and the Completion of the Structure of Education (1974–1992)

In 1974, the Turkish invasion of the island, the ongoing occupation (Persianis, 2000; Cyprus Diary, 2002; Bouzakis, 2005) that followed the Greek military coup and the 1963–1965 intercommunal conflicts sealed the fate of the island (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2008). Educational policy in Cyprus kept embracing the Greek one in a forlorn hope to terminate the formation of the Independent Republic of Cyprus and to revive the dream of *enosis*. However, 1974 seized every hope for *enosis* and independence was viewed as the antidote to the Turkish efforts to destroy the Cypriot State; thus, the state—as an entity—was strengthened (Persianis, 2000).

During this era, many political and economic shifts occurred and were validated through the shift of curriculum in order to enhance the state entity of Cyprus, to benefit from the economic derivatives of education, and to acquire responsibility in view of the preparations to enter the EU. However, the issue of what to teach at schools became very chaotic after 1974 when Greek Cypriots were separated in two broad groups: those supporting Hellenocentric education, clearly a more Greek nationalistic tactic as a way of the Republic of Cyprus to dismiss the Turkish occupation, and those reaching a greater public, having the Turkish Cypriots as a basis in order to ensure the unity of the state (Persianis, 2000).

Thus, 1974 was a decisive year for what would follow in educational theory and practice in Cyprus. It was the time to redefine what it was taught in schools and why, during the "I Do Not Forget" era, a phrase that carried so many messages for the liberation of the country, that marked the school years of thousands of students as part of their inside and outside-of-school curriculum, and which was important for adults to tell and hear. The phrase "I Do Not Forget" became a slogan that was whispered or cried at demonstrations. It could be found everywhere, from schools and student notebooks to the streets and to pictures of villages that were hanging on house walls; it represented an entire culture.

Within this framework and in light of the tragic events and the aftermath of the invasion in Cyprus, everything had to be redefined, curriculum and education included. Many questions were posed regarding the role of education in the tragedy of Cyprus, the way education could contribute to the struggle for national liberation, and the curriculum and teaching methods in order to familiarize the young generation with the culture of "I Do Not Forget and I Fight." The issue was whether these new conditions and concerns could be met by adopting a common curriculum with Greece, since the two countries had to face different realities now that the knowledge that was most important in Cyprus had shifted. Disagreements as to what knowledge is of most worth were reflected in the developing of separate curriculums in private schools (Persianis, 2009).

The Cypriot-Centric Curriculum: The Chrysostomos Sofianos Era (1976–1980) Chrysostomos Sofianos became Minister of Education in 1976. Sofianos clearly followed a Cypriot-centric policy (Bouzakis, 2005), and his service was marked with radical changes. Without distrusting the Greekness of Cypriot education, his educational reform, rhetoric, and practice did not concentrate on that, as opposed to his predecessor. He promoted the democratization of education, arguing that the kind of knowledge offered at secondary schools led to the military coup in Cyprus in 1974 (Persianis, 2009). What characterized the Cypriot educational system was its radical approach through the focus on economic benefits rather than the partisan element (Bouzakis, 2005).

In his 1977 speech given at the Cyprus House of Representatives (ME, 1977), Sofianos referred to the need for school curriculum and teaching methods, democratic education, educational modernization, education and society, and education and economic growth. Particularly, he emphasized the relationship between education and the entity of the state-island:

> Our education remains devoted to our tradition, but also enhances our state entity without oscillations. . . . Our Hellenic education is a living experience and reality, rather than the means of undermining our independent state entity. In contrast, our education sets as its objective the strengthening of statehood as simultaneously it ensures our cultural identity and national heritage. (p. 10)

The argument that Cyprus needed its own curricula and educational system is relevant with two basic characteristics of the Greek educational system: its inconsistency due to the political instability and the use of education and curriculum to accommodate micropolitical, partisan interests. Both characteristics had disastrous effects on education (Demaras, 2000; Papanoutsos, 1964, 1965a, 1965b), which, as Sofianos argued, Cyprus needed to alter: "Education may help the new generation to use properly the richness of our historical experiences, exploit systematically the possibilities created and move on to new conquests at the full range of social activity" (ME, 1977, p. 11). Sofianos highlighted the essence of nurturing love for the country, for humanitarian ideals, and democratic beliefs not as a slogan, but with substantial content, democratic conversations, critical dialogue, the development of the democratic human beings, equality, freedom, and justice (Bouzakis, 2005).

The Wary Curriculum: The Nicos Konomis Era (1980–1982) Due to the many reactions Sofianos precipitated with his Cypriot-centric ideas and orientation to education, he was replaced by Minister of Education Nicos Konomis, who returned to the same Helleno-centric, nationalistic educational rhetoric, which, however, deviated from the educational practice (Bouzakis, 2005).

New educational objectives were added to the existing ones, including the nurturing of a fighting spirit "for the freedom of our country from the Turkish invaders and the restoration of the whole, non-aligned, sovereign, independent and demilitarized Republic of Cyprus" (Konomis, 1982). Moreover, among the aims was the establishing of respect towards the rights, civilization, and traditions of the other communities in Cyprus. The aim was for all inhabitants of the island, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians, and Latins, to live in love and in brotherhood, enjoying the benefits of peace and bliss.

Discussions for the quality improvement of education, detailed in a series of discussions about the educational policy at the Ministry of Education (ME, 1982, 1980), included the development of educators' critical stance toward curriculum and methods, curriculum development and the production of new and more appropriate teaching material by teacher committees, and the usage of school equipment including teaching and visual means. What is more, the improvement of teaching strategies and of school organization via headmasters' training and motivation, teacher in-service training and morale enhancement, having fewer students in classrooms, the decentralization of administration and authority, timely planning, establishing a closer connection between the elementary and middle schools and collaboration among school-parent-community, and the introduction of new school regulations were also discussed.

In 1981, the official publication of the school curriculum devoted fourteen pages to kindergarten school education, including general and specific objectives, content knowledge, teaching, learning, and assessment materials and activities (ME, 1981). The elementary school curriculum included Greek language (reading, oral and written language, grammar, spelling, writing, library, drama, and poetry), mathematics, sciences, social studies (religion, history, geography, and citizenship education), arts, music, physical education, home economics, English language, special education, and emotional education. For each subject, objectives, teaching, learning, and assessment materials and activities were prescribed for grades 1–6. In this publication, the general objective of education was outlined as

> The development of free, democratic citizens, wholly developed personalities, spiritually cultivated, righteous, healthy, active, and creative, contributing through their work and deliberate action to the social, scientific, financial and political welfare of our country and to the enhancement of collaboration, mutual understanding and love among people and nations, aiming to the supremacy of freedom, justice and peace. (Papaksenofontos, 1981, p. 7)

Further emphasis was given on learning the basics of scientific knowledge alongside national history and the achievements of humankind, and caring for the other and the self via developing necessary skills and habits.

Major Curriculum Shifts and Innovations The 1990s were marked by major curricular changes. A major shift that came after 1980 concerned the question "what knowledge is of most worth?" High school students could partly decide for themselves what knowledge was of most worth by choosing their cycle of studies; later, this shifted to the selection of individual subjects (Persianis, 2009). After 1992, the issue of what knowledge is of most worth occurred in a new form, with the foundation of the public university in Cyprus. Disagreement over the issue of admission in the Greek and Cyprus public universities—who can be admitted, who prepares the entry exams, what knowledge is included, and how the right of public and private school students for equal opportunities to participate is ensured—granted that their school curricula differed.

The establishment of the Curriculum Development Department (CDD) in 1983 aimed to the continuous renewal and modernization of the content of education, the connection of education with real life, the organization of curriculum, the writing of textbooks, and the production of teaching material.

In 1990, the Ministry of Education (ME, 1990) proposed the pilot implementation of the new nine-year compulsory education plan, shifting from a six-year plan. The scope of the new education plan and curriculum was the smooth transition of students from elementary to middle school and the development of a cohesive nine-year education. The pilot implementation involved the connection of 28 elementary and middle schools, creating 14 pairs of elementary and secondary schools to apply the new curriculum. The curriculum was designed by special committees that consisted of curriculum inspectors, educators-members of the CDD, and representatives from the elementary and secondary school teacher unions. Special committees were created for the subjects of Greek language, mathematics, sciences, social studies, music, arts, physical education, home economics, English language, and special education.

The new curricula were characterized by continuity, curriculum-wise and administration-wise, providing a comprehensive education for those leaving school and an adequate preparation for those continuing to high school. They were organized in a spiral way, the acquisition of particular educational objectives, outcomes, knowledge, and skills being the basis for further learning in subsequent levels. Other important features of the curricula were autonomy and independence, for they provided comprehensive education on issues related to everyday life and were balanced both in their entirety and in individual subject matters. The whole idea was to modernize curriculum, to create openings towards Europe and to substantially improve education.

A number of questions were raised during the efforts for curriculum modernization: what to teach, how deeply, and how it should be organized. Other issues concerned the teaching methods and learning outcomes with emphasis on problem solving methods and the bridging of the gap between elementary and secondary schools. The purpose of elementary school was to provide students with the skills and attitudes necessary to deal with life, and of secondary school to transmit and increase knowledge. Criticism on the new curriculum referred to lack of analysis and examination of the needs of the Cypriot society and of future prospects. The new curriculum was viewed as a disjointed patchwork that did not take into consideration the changes in society or the continuous occupation of the island, the founding of the university, the European outlook of Cyprus, tradition and modernization, or social problems.

The Postmodern Curriculum in the Twenty-First Century (1992-Present)

The beginning of the twenty-first century was characterized as the postmodern era, with a number of radical and significant changes: there was an effort to improve the educational system—its structure, administration, and curriculum—based on the evaluation of the Cypriot educational system outlined in the UNESCO report (1997). Based on this, in 1999 it was recognized that curriculum paid attention to quantity over quality; it was exam–oriented, and "in the long-term students . . . have serious difficulties with creativity, deep philosophical thought and research" (ECRDTI, 1999, p. 16). Further, it did not consider students' needs because of lack of time, and success in the exams was more important than the development of learning strategies. Also, conventional school textbooks were the basic teaching and learning material, which needed to become more flexible.

From 1998–2000, a committee was developed to discuss the development of National Standards in the Cyprus educational system as per the standards-based reform model in the United States, indicating proficiency level at various subject matters and aiming to the improvement of the performance and achievement of all students—an effort that was doomed to fail. Criticism of the Education Reform Committee (ERC) (2004) regarding the philosophy and necessity of the educational standards in curriculum was strict from the beginning. In 2000, the Pan-Cyprian Educational Conference of Elementary Education School Directors examined the issue of a common education between Greece and Cyprus. The Minister of Education referred to the "importance of national memory . . . as an element that gives direction and vision to a nation" (Ioannides, 2000, pp. 44–45).

In a nutshell, this period was marked by the educational reform and the new curriculum; the launch in 1992 of the first university in Cyprus; the EU entry of Cyprus as a full member in 2004; the launch of many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) conducting research in many fields and particularly in social sciences; and funding for research from the Republic of Cyprus through its official, independent, funding agency, the Research Promotion Foundation, as well as from the European Union and the United Nations. Also, two more public universities were established in 2006 and 2007, and three tertiary education institutions were advanced from colleges with three-year programs of studies offering diplomas from universities to four-year programs of studies offering accredited university degrees. This development attracted more academics and researchers, and an ongoing dialogue on important social, political, economic, and cultural matters locally, regionally, and internationally began. With the establishment of academia and research funding in Cyprus, curriculum scholars arrived from abroad, particularly from Greece, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

In regards to the elementary school curriculum, the 1994 official publication (MOEC, 2002), and subsequent revised editions in 1996 and 2002, devoted 42 pages to kindergarten school education, elaborating on the general and specific aims, philosophy, and skills and abilities to be developed in each subject matter. Free activities; language; social, moral and religious education; mathematics; sciences; health education; physical education; music; and artistic expression were the subject-matters. Resources, teaching and learning means, and activities as well as methodological approaches in K-education and assessment suggestions were provided. The elementary school curriculum was along the same lines. It included Modern Greek language, "Gnorizo, Den Ksechno kai Agonizomai" ("I learn, I do not forget and I fight"), mathematics, social studies (environmental studies, Christian orthodox religion, history, geography, and citizenship education) sciences, education of children with special needs, English language, music, physical education, arts, designing and technology, home economics, and health education. In most of the subjects, reference was made to the teacher and student book. In the forward of the curriculum publication was noted the following:

> Particularly important and complex is the role of education in Cyprus, our semi-occupied country, which struggles to preserve its Greek and Christian roots within such arduous conditions. Education is an important division that will help us to hold strongly on our roots. . . . Educators must convey to students the values that will help them to maintain alive and constant communication with the Greek orthodox tradition and keep the drive for freedom and return to the occupied land. (Angelidou, 2002, p. 11)

The 2010 Curriculum The political, social, and cultural scenery of Cyprus started changing by mid 2000s. European Union entrance and globalization marked the end of homogeneity and the beginning of cultural and religious diversity on the island. Challenging and controversial issues started surfacing, becoming part of research agendas and official and unofficial discourses. The issue of language, i.e., advancing the Cypriot dialect into language, was timidly and individually raised by some members of the parliament, which faded without further discussion. Also, the opening of the borders in 2003 enabled the contact of the two communities after about four decades of absolute partition in the shadow of the ongoing Turkish military occupation. In 2009 a core left-wing government and a communist president of the Republic of Cyprus were elected.

From that period through 2008 there was an effort to shape another lens and philosophy through which to see educational improvement, one that also considered the needs of the individuals and the society. The effort was to reframe and move the discussion from the national benchmarks to the humane standards of curriculum and education (Petrou & Zembylas, 2009). The ERC argued for a shift toward a New Humanistic education. The question "what knowledge is of most worth" started being considered and reframed in the light of the new needs, the rapid increase of information due to the technological advancements, the new societal realities, and the optimum relationship between knowledge and society, using each of them in explorations of the worth and betterment of the other (Persianis, 2009; Flouris & Pasias, 2000).

In the past, the main criterion for deciding upon the worthiness of knowledge was fundamentalism, objectivity, and its origin; it was about the essence of things, the classics, and words of wisdom to exercise the mind and feed the soul. Today's educational knowledge is worthy depending on contemporary needs; its usefulness, currency and broad acceptance; and the needs and talents of students. In Cyprus, after the collapse of conventional curriculum, the issue of the validation of school knowledge is still under debate, shifting as per the country's socio-political-economic agenda and Minister's of Education vision. For example, in 2007, the Minister of Education highlighted the need to decide upon the common base of knowledge, skills, and attitudes of students completing the educational system (MOEC, 2007); in 2008, the Curriculum Reform Committee invited public dialogue and deliberation among all involved in education to decide what is to be taught at schools (CRC, 2008); and in 2009, the new Minister of Education announced that worthwhile knowledge would be decided based on scientific approach and expertise (Persianis, 2009). Thus 44 academics formed committees of experts to decide what knowledge is of most worth for each subject of their expertise.

At the school level there was the issue of history teaching and the launch of peace education programs (Bryant, 2004; Zwelling, 2011). The mandatory teaching of Greek-Christian education in elementary schools was challenged. Religion education was introduced at the colleges of Education and the teacher preparation university programs, aiming to examine the issue of religion and challenge stereotypical points of view recognizing the need for a more inclusive education and critical thinking development in the context of the new multicultural era. Also, museum education, multi/intercultural education, citizenship education, new technologies in education, and contemporary, interdisciplinary ways of teaching and inquiry were introduced at the teacher preparation university programs in order to prepare the new generation of teachers for the new curriculum and challenges.

Further, the curriculum reform discussions that started in 2008 brought up a number of issues by curriculum scholars and others in Cyprus, such as cram schooling (Kouzis, 2000), giving emphasis to paideia and education of the whole person through an embodied curriculum (Christodoulou, 2009); the knowledge society (Flouris & Pasias, 2000); European Union as the bigger framework, in addition to the local (Kalogiannaki & Makrakis, 2004; Pasias, 2006); multiculturalism and intercultural education; new technologies integration; learning via projects and inquiry; democratic education and curriculum as social activism using grassroots, oral history methods (Christodoulou, 2012); funded projects and the issue of who is funding them; educational and curriculum thinking; and teaching implementations. Curriculum scholars also looked at emotions (Zembylas, 2005), curriculum in light of post-modernity (Koutselini, 1997), identity and bicommunality (Philippou, 2009), and issues of academic curriculum discourse and publications at a local level (Christodoulou & Philippou, 2009a, 2009b).

Also, work conducted in other disciplines, such as by sociologists Papadakis (2005) and Panagiotou (2009), as well as by associations and NGOs, although often causing conflicts and turmoil, they contributed to breaking the silence and to stir the stagnant waters and the status quo, and to an ongoing dialogue between existing and new ideas. The influence of Europe and European workers at research institutions and policy bodies in Cyprus enabled the circulation of ideas. Also, through the international network that had been developed in Cyprus through local, regional, and international affiliation among organizations and institutions, such as IAACS, new ideas were introduced and shaped. These endeavors correspond to the era and the new facts, and they pushed ideas, curriculum, and society forward. A body of research started being formed that dealt with local and international matters in education and in society.

In 2010 (MOEC, 2010), the new school curriculum official publication was comprised of two concise volumes referring to the subject matters of K-12, accompanied by separate volumes for each subject matter and one for the kindergarten. The question of "what knowledge is of most worth" had shifted once again. The effort with the new curricula was to present what is to be learned within each subject matter in a continuous context, considering each subsequent class, K-12, as a continuation of the other. In kindergarten, children were viewed as little scientists and explorers, and subject matters, rather than being viewed as the main chunks of knowledge, were viewed as scientific areas that provided the tools and the means to study the world through original sources and firsthand experiences for the acquisition of important inquiry skills, which will eventually lead to the acquisition of disciplined knowledge from K -12. So the aim was to move from the tangible and the familiar to the theoretical, distant, and abstract and to shift from content-knowledge-orientated and teacher-centered to student-oriented and play-oriented curriculum. Learning by doing and project-inquiry learning based on themes and students' interests was viewed as the means by which to get to know the world, shifting to more scientific, disciplinary knowledge as they moved to upper elementary grades and secondary education.

Cyprus education bended to more inquiry, democratic, engaging and humanitarian learning, departing from mastery learning, educational standards, and the banking concept of education (as introduced by Freire, 1977). However, from theory to practice and from what was envisioned to the way it was implemented, there was a huge gap that could be altered with appropriate teacher education and training, among other actions.

Discussion and Conclusions

The long suffering, intruding living, struggling to survive ethnically and nationally, total dependency on other systems, and the needed focus on fighting ethos have traditionally rendered curriculum in Cyprus unable to afford—time-wise, moneywise, and energy-wise—concentration on social issues, critical thinking skills, and inquiring and active participation in social and political life. On the one hand, knowledge was accommodating and serving the purposes, needs, and ideas of imperialists and political doctrines, rather than seen as the means to develop fully each person and eventually the society (Dewey, 1916; Ayers, 2004). On the other hand, curriculum has been equated with and hindered under educational policy. The notion of curriculum design was absent, and often it was mostly about curriculum development rather than studying the curriculum, as things for a long time were given, copying the Greek curriculum, and there was nothing to be studied or questioned. From learning the basics in reading, writing, tradition and religion, and acquiring "colonial" skills, curriculum became ideology-driven and content-oriented, following behavioral objectives, subject matter, and discipline.

Curriculum in Cyprus, from an inexistent field of study and being stagnant for many decades, evolved rapidly within periods of turmoil. From being invisible and behind the Greek educational system and curriculum, it acquired voice and vision. And it has been preoccupied with change; reform; research and ideas implemented elsewhere; and trends such as new technologies, language, and cultural plurality (MOEC, 2010). Whereas in the past it was mainly a one-man show to shape educational policy and curriculum, this has currently shifted toward a more deliberate effort including experts, academics, teachers, educational agent representatives, and parents. Yet, the curriculum studies field and the contribution of curriculum studies experts in decision making is still absent. And although curriculum studies scholars started challenging the status quo through their university teaching and scholarship, many forms of curriculum inquiry need to be introduced and many issues of curriculum wait to be studied.

It is only recently that curriculum has been perceived of as a field separate from educational policy, as inquiry (Short, 1991) and as a text that we delve into aiming to understand (Pinar et al., 1995) knowledge in relation to reality, the individual, and society. Yet, curriculum still works mostly as a political and historical text, while many other forms are awaiting exploration. Inquiry and theorization into a broader range of texts, interdisciplinary research, and experiences will provide insight and enlighten our searches.

There is limited research in the field of curriculum studies. Curriculum is mainly viewed as a set of technical guidelines, objectives, and strategies for teaching and learning. There has not yet been a systematic effort to envision and understand curriculum in all its dimensions and implications and to truly explore the ways in which "what knowledge is of most worth" can be answered. There have been mainly fragmentary efforts to develop and revise curriculum in the light of emerging needs that each time consisted of a curricular patchwork to bridge gaps created by rapid social and technological advancements. Curriculum rhetoric deviates from curriculum practice: phrases and words last and rhetoric moves swiftly and radically, rendering it inconsistent with curriculum implementation. Furthermore, there hasn't been an interdisciplinary study of curriculum, and a consensus concerning what curriculum is has not been reached, although in the absence of basic curricular discourse there haven't been any major disagreements either, nor has the essence of curriculum been challenged.

It is important to acknowledge that although limited, the work and research of intellectuals and academics is significant, but we have yet to initiate discussions as to how this body of work can be used to improve education and gain momentum for theorization and inspiration and initiate conversations about what is and ought to be included in curricula, for whom and why, considering always history, subjectivity, and society—always wondering what we can do to help students develop fully, each reaching the maximum of his/her capacities, and each helping society to become a better place. Curriculum studies scholars ought to take the lead in discussions alongside subject matter experts, educational agencies, parents, and the community.

The endeavor is also to understand what needs to be done for the development of the person and the society, inquiring also into what kind of person and society we want and how experiences, actions, and thoughts inside and outside schooling (Schubert, 1997), locally, nationally, and internationally (Pinar, 2004), individually and collectively (Ayers, 2004), contribute toward that direction. Persons from various disciplines are invited to contribute to the field through interpretations relevant to knowledge, the person, and the society so that curriculum theorists and curriculum studies specialists examine such contributions in light of schooling, curriculum, and education.

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13

Curriculum Development and Research in Ethiopia

Woube Kassaye

Traditional formal education in Ethiopia has been offered for more than 1600 years (i.e., since the fourth century AD). However, modern education in Ethiopia is only a century old. Various attempts were made with regard to introducing modern education in the country. Educational studies such as the *Education Sector Review (ESR)* and the *Evaluative Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE)* were conducted. Different curriculums were developed and implemented. Despite such efforts, the history of education, including curriculum in Ethiopia, though a vast area, has not been thoroughly studied to date (Woube, 2005). However, few studies regarding education and curriculum development in Ethiopia were made. For instance, studies by Teshome Wagaw (1979), Meaza Bekele (1966), Woube Kassaye (2002 & 2005), Solomon Areaya (2008), Feleke Desta (1990), Girma Amare (1967, 1973, & 1982), Tekeste Negash (1995, 2006), and Dereje Terefe (2010) could be mentioned.

This chapter is aimed at presenting an overview of curriculum development and research practices of Ethiopia from the fourth century to 2012. The method is historical. The consideration of this method is supported by various authorities such as Gall et al. (1996), McNeil (1996), and Edison (1986). Reports and unpublished and published curriculum documents were considered as the main sources of data and interpreted qualitatively. It is argued that in educational research, qualitative methods play a pivotal role in dealing with philosophical research, historical research, the evaluation of educational programs, etc. Categorization of the different periods into major events was preferred to give an overview of the curriculum development experiences and research in Ethiopia. First, two broad categories were determined: (a) Curriculum Development in the Premodern Education Era (fourth century AD –1908) and (b) Curriculum Development in the Modern Education Era (1908–2012). Again, and to be more specific, the latter category is subdivided into five subcategories: (a) Curriculum development in the pre-Ethio-Italian war period (1908–1935), (b) the Italian occupation period (1935–1941), (c) The Imperial period (1941–1974), (d) the *Derg* (Military Government) period (1974–1991), and (e) the EPRDF period (1991–present). Apart from these, a few topics that stand on their own shall be considered.

Curriculum Development and Research in the Premodern Education Era (fourth century AD–1908)

Church and Quranic Education The Ethiopian tradition in education, a well-developed formal indigenous education, is one of the oldest manifested in both the *Church* and *Quranic* schools. However, studies made of the curriculum of traditional education are either little or inexistent. Elleni (1995, p. 148) states that "there are no serious efforts made to study," promote and incorporate indigenous education" and "the attention of international organizations, donors and scholars has been devoted to Africa's modern education." To the same author, "the chronic negligence of indigenous education has resulted in Africa's formal educational policies being totally dependent on indiscriminately imported educational ideas and thought" (p. 148). Furthermore, Setargew (2004) indicates that traditional education does not seem to attract much attention from academia; most of them superficially attempt to examine the field that seems to concentrate on the explication of the drawbacks of the system. Hailu (1974) also states that the virtual absence of debates and criticisms in traditional education severely restricted the field in which methodological and substantive innovations could be introduced.

According to Fafunwa (1982), traditional education is characterized by: functionalism; an immediate induction into society and a preparation for adulthood; learning by doing, i.e., emphasizing participatory education; an integrated experience; a continuous assessment; being non-rigidly compartmentalized; a continuous process, flexible enough to accommodate any mature person at stage; aim, content, and the methods of traditional education are intricately interwoven and secret cults served as institutions of higher or further education.

Traditional (indigenous) education in Africa was the main source of education. It is very difficult to trace when indigenous education started in Africa and particularly in Ethiopia. However, in Ethiopia at the beginning of the fourth century AD, the Church became a formal indigenous institution of education. *Quranic* schools appeared probably in the eleventh century in Ethiopia (Ministry of Information, 1973, p. 7). Bowen (1976) notes that the existence of *Quranic* School largely escaped the notice of travelers of former times, implying that it lacked due attention and support of any form. Interestingly these indigenous schools have their own curriculum consisting of aims, contents, methods, evaluations, and stages of learning. These issues were briefly discussed in the preceding pages. The primary aim of traditional education is to provide moral and religious education (Assefa, 1967, p. 49). The major function of *Church* education, for instance, is to prepare young men for the service of the church as deacons, priests, scribes etc. On the other hand, the three principal aims of traditional Islamic education focus on: (a) the teachings and dissemination of Islamic dogma and practice, (b) the training of the clerical class, and (c) the spread of literacy (Hussein, 1988). Both *Church* and *Quranic* education have their own areas of studies. The main areas of study in *Church* education could be divided into the following: (a) *Nibab* ("reading"). This area of study emphasizes reading and learning by heart the prayers of Mary and Jesus, the psalms of David, and the Gospel of John; (b) *Zema* ("religious music") consists of the following branches: (i) the study of *Meeraf* (it means "chapter" and cannot be employed alone—it must always be employed with the other chant books), *Tsome Degwa* (chants of the main fasting), and *Degwua* (the main chant book); (ii) *Kidassie* ("mass music"); (iii) *Zimmare* (songs sung at the end of the Eucharist), and *Mewasit* (songs related to commemorative services and funerals); (iv) *Aquaquam* (religious dance and movements, in which drums and *sistra* are used); (c) *Quene* ("poetry"). It focuses on the subtle arts of versification. Grammar is taught in *Geez;* and (d) *Mestaf-bet* (meaning "school of commentary of books.") Studies in this area include: the Old and New Testaments, *Likawent* (the study of *Church* fathers and their writings), *Metshafe-Menekosat* (monastic writings, which are guidelines that define the monastic life of monks), and *Mera- ewir* (the computation of the *Church* calendar). *Mestaf-bet* (the school of commentaries) is the final stage of *Church* education. In addition to these, arts and crafts are studied. These areas of studies have their own schools. The whole program of *Church* education takes a long time—usually more than twenty-five years (Woube, 2005, p.52; pp. Elenni, 1995, pp.150–1).

Similarly, Hussein (1988, pp. 100–101) specified the focus of studies in *Quranic* education as follows: *Nahw:* is Arabic grammar and syntax, which has specialized branches of learning like *Sarf* (morphology), *Arud* or *Maani* (prosody), *Bayan* (eloquence), *Badi* (the science of metaphors), and Balaghah (rhetoric). *Fiqh:* is the study of Islamic Law or Islamic jurisprudence. Books for studying *Fiqh* vary according to the schools of law to which a particular teaching *Shakyh* subscribers. *Tawhid:* is Islamic theology, which is offered simultaneously, or following the completion of *Fiqh. Tawhid* is usually taught intensively during the Islamic month of Ramadan (the main fasting season). *Tefsir Al-Quran* (exegesis, the explanation and interpretation of *Quran*) and *Hadith* (the sayings of Prophet Mohammed) are not taught as widely as the other subjects. *Mantiq,* meaning logic, is also studied. *Salwat,* or intercessory prayers, are the additional and recommended subjects pursued by the majority of advanced students. The specialization varies from place to place. These areas of study have their own schools.

The objective of education of *Church* and *Quranic* education was [is] basically religious, where the curriculum is unchanged and uncontested, i.e., the contents are considered as true, everlasting, and worthwhile (Adane, 1992). Knowledge in these educational institutions is handed down and accepted. The medium of instruction in *Church* education is mainly *Geez* (one of the oldest languages and which has its own script)*,* while that of the *Quranic* schools is Arabic. According to Teklehaimanot (1999), in both these traditional schools, neither the central government nor the local authority is involved in any curriculum making, including financing and administration. The historically and traditionally established centers of excellence served as points of reference and standard. The curriculum is usually followed uniformly throughout the country. By and large, it is possible to conclude that there is not a "readily identifiable field of curriculum specialization" and curriculum research in either *Church* and *Quranic* education.

Curriculum Development and Research in the Modern Era (1908–2012)

This section is divided into five periods of curriculum development and research that includes the Pre-Ethio-Italian war period (1908–1936), the Italian Occupation period (1936–1941), the Post-Italian Occupation period (1941–1974), the *Derg* (military government) period (1974–1991), and the Post-1991 period (1991–2012).

The Pre-Ethio-Italian War Period (1908–1936)

Until the opening of Menilik II School in Addis Ababa in 1908, there was no government (public) education system. There was an attempt to provide modern education through missionaries (Catholic Jesuits) during the sixteenth century (Bowen, 1976), however, it was not successful when the Jesuits were expelled after Emperor Susinyos was deposed from power (EHRCO, 2003). The missionaries considered education as an effective means of proselytizing, hence, they were actively involved in opening a number of schools and sending the more promising students abroad (Bahru, 2002, p. 103).

Several factors, such as the post-Adowa situation (the strong relations created with Europe), the expansion of state apparatus, and the eloquent expression of the educated Ethiopians regarding the problem of backwardness necessitated the introduction of modern education into the country (pp. 103–4). Furthermore, the factors explicitly include the establishment of a central state authority and permanent urban seat of power, the development of the modern sector of the economy, the arrival of foreign embassies because of the recognition gained after the battle of *Adwa,* military contact, the need for maintaining the sovereignty, and the readiness to accept innovation (particularly in the scientific and technological fields) into the country (Girma, 1982; MOE, 1984). The coming of foreign craftsmen can be described as the first systematic attempt to provide a range of modern industrial skills for Ethiopia that necessitated developing new forms of education in Ethiopia (Ministry of Information, 1973, p. 9). Other reasons include Emperor Menilik II's (ruled 1889–1913) attitude towards eagerness for innovations and his attempts to break down some of the detrimental social customs and befriend foreign-educated Ethiopians and send them abroad for study (Bahru Tafla, 1973, p. 26). In 1906, Hakim Workneh Eshete (alias Dr. Charles Martin) approached both Menilik and Abuna Mathewos (the then Bishop of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church) to open modern schools (Bahru Zewdie, 2002, p. 23). These cumulative effects led emperor Menilik to introduce modern public education in 1908 (Woube, 2005).

According to Bahiru (2002), until 1930, there was no government department responsible for giving central direction regarding the educational process, although, Menilik in 1907 made education to be subsumed under the Ministry of Religion and thereby entrusted its supervision to the safe custody of the *Abun* (Bishop). During this period, there was no standard policy regarding curricula, textbooks, and language of instruction (p. 33). The inclusion of the Ethiopian experience (culture) in education was little; education was dominated by foreign experience. Despite recommendations made by intellectuals on reforms of education, curriculum developers, and researchers, no studies were made to improve the curriculum.

Education constituted an important element of the reforms recommended by intellectuals such as Gebrehiwot Baykedagn, Tekelehawariat Teklemariam, Warqneh Esheta, Tedla Haile, Desressa Amante, and Sahile Tsadalu (who became the education minister) from 1908–1935 (Bahru, 138). Considering the benefits of modern education gained through direct or indirect exposure, the intellectuals wanted these benefits to be reflected in society through schooling (p. 138). In fact, recommendations differed, including the importance of modern (Western) education, subjects to be taught, public contributions to education, the policy of assimilation, and the structure of education. Sahile developed a scheme with regard to universal compulsory education. He suggested a "ten-year educational program, which is little, more than a standardization of traditional Church education." According to his suggestion, "upon completion, the student can be certified with the title of 'lawyer and scholar.' " He goes on saying that "only then can the state consider the idea of exposing him to the hazards of foreign plans as far as possible" (p. 141). Although these recommendations were made, their acceptance was doubtful.

The progress of curriculum development proceeded after Emperor Haile Sellassie's coronation in 1930 (Pankhurst, 1974). The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts (MOEFA) was established in 1930. The decade or so prior to the Italian invasion was characterized by significant advances in literacy as well as education (Pankhurst, 1974). According to Virgil (1936, p. 54 in Pankhurst, 1974) the Emperor decreed that soldiers should learn to read and write and that the priests should instruct the youth. In fact, the improvement of education was underway prior to the coronation of Teferi Mekonen (renamed Haile Sellasie I when he became Emperor) in 1930. Ernest F. Work, an American advisor, was recruited by the Emperor before his coronation in November 1930. His major task was "to study the situation and to make recommendations for an educational system" (Caulk, 1975). Work's innovative ideas and suggestions included the *Ethiopianization* of curricula and textbooks (Bahiru, 2002). Work proposed a new structure, six years of primary, six years of secondary, and four years of university education, with special emphasis on teacher training and agriculture (Caulk, 1975, p. 8). Regarding Work's view on Ethiopian education, Caulk writes (p. 4):

> Work became convinced that the rivalries of the European coastal powers led them to give conflicting advice which was inspired more by the desire to further the interests of their adjoining colonies than to help solve the variety of problems which confronted the Ethiopians. He rejected the importation of any complete system European or American and started from the principle that Ethiopians must have an Ethiopian system or at least one tailored for them whatever the new sources of inspiration.

Work was determined to learn about the situation before devising the schemes, writing: "I set myself to study the people and the conditions surrounding them that I might be able to make sound recommendations" (Work 1934, p. 4). Perhaps Work's effort in this regard could be connected with needs assessment.

Sometime before June 1931, Work submitted a report to the Director General of Public Education, Sahlu Tsedalu, who had been appointed in the new Ministry in 1930. The main concerns contained in Work's report include a lack of attention in schools to planned curricula and to the supervision of teachers and a lack of textbooks suited in any way for Ethiopia. His practical suggestions to overcome the immediate problems were: first, to *Ethiopianize* wherever possible the existing positions of school director, to require in new contracts that teachers agree to abide by the decisions of their superiors in the Ministry, to consult teachers through regular meetings, and to introduce a standard curriculum. Second, the standard textbooks were to be written from "the Ethiopian point of view" and that a teachers' training school be established that might "gradually grow into a University but its first great work should be to train teachers" (Caulk, 1975, p. 6).

Work's plan was considered too ambitious and did not receive approval (Caulk, 1975). Bahru (2002, pp. 33–34) indicates that "even secondary education, let alone college and university education, was to be a phenomenon only of the period after 1941." Caulk (1975, p. 8) suggests that although Work was arguing for *Ethiopianization* of the education system, the structure he suggested was similar to that in the United States. Despite Work's radical and grandiose plans, there was very little change made in the educational improvement opportunities of Ethiopians in these years (p. 11). The education imported from abroad survived. Work's advice certainly was significant; however, little was listened to by the Government.

Whenever an educational plan/policy is sought to be prepared, consulting a wide range of knowledgeable and experienced people is indispensable. The formulation of a sound plan/policy is possible only after a series of deliberations. It is very difficult for a single person to develop a viable educational plan/policy document. Although Work was appreciated, it seems that his plan was considered threatening, in part because the participation of the Ethiopians and other advisors was insufficient.

Since the inception of modern education, the Government of Ethiopia mobilized foreign scholars to assist in modernizing the education system. Teshome Wagaw (1979) argued that these scholars had an impact on the Ethiopian Government and that their recommendation to be implemented and the education problem of Ethiopia was associated with these foreign scholars. According to Lemlem Telila (2010, p. 58), Teshome's finding accords with the statement of Work (1934):

> In my work there I found this influence [Western advisors] the greatest hindrance to my efforts in getting any real progress under way. The Ethiopians themselves are intelligent and clever . . . but because of the conflicting advice and suggestions offered by these various European peoples, they have become confused and slow to follow leadership from abroad because they have found that in most cases these foreigners have been interested in securing advantages for their respective countries rather than the good of Ethiopia. . . . From all sides I was asked what sort of an educational system I proposed to suggest—they hoped it would be French, or Italian or English, depending upon the one asking. They often suggested it would be American since I came from America. My answer was always that so far as I was concerned it should be neither French, Italian, English nor American. That I hoped it could be Ethiopian. (pp. 103–106)

Messay Kebede's (2006 in Lemlem 2010, p. 58) opinion differs from these views, arguing that it "appears that the Government did not know how to handle the pressure from foreign Government and scholars when they try to force Ethiopia to initiate their own system rather than developing its own national educational system." But in the absence of strong research and curriculum development orientations, such an innovative idea is unthinkable.

The Italian Occupation (1936–1941)

The Italian occupation (1936–1941) seriously disrupted the efforts made by Emperor Haile Selassie I to modernize the country through Western education. As Markakis (1974) notes, the effect of the Italian occupation (May 1936—May 1941) was to "nip the novel process of modern education in the bud," and the effect on this particular area was devastating and took time to recuperate from. Similarly, Pankhurst (1974) agrees that the invasion brought Ethiopia's prewar education largely to a halt where the government schools were closed down, and, in many cases, were converted for the schooling of Italian children. The education system was systematically destroyed, schools were closed down, and the educated Ethiopians were liquidated.

Fascist Italy's educational policy was aimed at making Ethiopians loyal servants of their Fascist Italian masters. This stultifying and detrimental policy was based on the racism, fascism, and militaristic educational philosophy of Italy (Pankhurst, 1972). In 1936, Fascist Italy issued an educational ordinance for its East African colonies to institute two different systems of education, e.g., Italian schools and schools for colonial subjects (Pankhurst, 1976, p. 361). The Italian schools were not open to natives (Teshome, 1979, p. 47). The education provided for the "natives" (through fourth grade) was to make them "loyal servants for their fascist Italian masters, by equipping them with the rudimentaries of fascism" (Pankhurst, 1976, p. 361). Furthermore, schooling was to produce soldiers for Italy and to create a reserve of skilled laborers. In general, the policy was carefully crafted "to prevent the creation of educated elite who would compete for jobs with the Italians in the Colony" (Tesome, 1979, p. 48). Instruction was to be in local languages; Seyoum (1996a, p. 31) argued that "such a measure no doubt is a reflection of the divide-and-rule policy of colonialism." Concerning programs of study, "the Eritrean pattern of 1932 was followed in Ethiopia proper" (p. 50–51).

The Postliberation Period (1941–1974)

After the expulsion of the Italians in 1941, the task of reorganizing the education system was most challenging. Markakis (1974, p. 147) indicated that the period between 1944 and 1950 was characterized by sluggish growth. Severe shortages of resources and manpower were the main bottlenecks. To overcome the problems, the main concentration in the first phase (1940s–1950s) of development was the production of teachers and various personnel for the state machinery where work was mainly done with British assistance (MOE, 1996, p. 90).

A change of objectives of the Ethiopian education was inevitable for the postliberation period. The teaching of foreign languages had characterized Ethiopian education during the prewar period, but the curricular emphasis shifted in the postliberation period. What was primary was the education of civil servants and technocrats in the art and science of government (Assefa, 1967; Tadesse, 1964).

The structure of curriculum, then, varied in different times. Accordingly, the curriculum during 1941–1974 can be classified into four parts: the 1st Curriculum (6–6 Structure), the 2nd Curriculum (8–4 Structure), the 3rd Curriculum (The Experimental curriculum), and the 4th curriculum (6–2-4 structure). The curriculum during 1941–47 focused on elementary education (six years of schooling) where "foreign advisors and teachers were instrumental in the formulation of educational directives required for the nation's schools" (MOE, 1950, p. 31). "The system obtaining then was somewhat equivalent to that of the British system in which the headmasters submit to the Ministry their schedule and curricula which, if accepted, become the guide for instruction and teaching" (p. 31). This practice became an obstacle in maintaining uniformity and inculcating *Ethiopianization* (MOE, 1950).

In 1948, the Boards of Education approved a uniform curriculum for elementary school (grades 1–6) (MOE, 1950). This curriculum was formulated by a committee consisting of largely foreign staff (Maaza, 1966). It was reported that the approval of this curriculum contributed to schools becoming unified and facilitated the transfer of students from one school to other schools without difficulty. According to MOE (1950), "Awaiting Board of Education approval is an extended curriculum to cover the seventh and eighth grades of elementary education, while a committee is charged with formulating a Secondary School Curriculum." The intention was that the elementary program would eventually expand to include grades 7 and 8, while the secondary program would then be reduced to grades 9 through 12 (Ayalew, 1964: p. 19). In this curriculum, Amharic became the medium of instruction for all subjects during the first two grades (1–2). English was used as the medium of instruction and as a subject starting from grade three.

Lack of implementation in this curriculum was observed. According to Ayalew (1964, p. 20) the problems reflected include the following:

- No effective steps were taken to implement statements of intent. An example of this is the secondary school syllabus, which was based entirely upon the London School Leaving Certificate Examination without regard to its relevance to Ethiopia.
- Teachers, for instance, were provided neither with textbooks nor with suggestions of specific titles for their use.
- In the teaching of Amharic at the elementary level, due to both recognition of the Christian heritage of the country and an inability to find other suitable text material, the Bible was selected as the textbook for grades 1 through 4. Using the Bible for teaching the non-Christian students posed a challenge.
- Books in some instances hardly reflected the Ethiopian reality.
- Pupils were not gaining sufficient fluency in English during their elementary school, which resulted in a backwash effect for their secondary education.

The second Curriculum incorporated the suggestions of the first curriculum, two more grades—grades 7 and 8—became part of the primary level, thereby making Elementary School consist of grade one to eight. This structure change from 6–6 to 8–4 was made in 1949 (Ayalew, 1964; Maaza, 1966). Reasons for the change included the following. First, in order to overcome learning difficulties created by English, it was imperative that students should have a good background in English before joining secondary schooling. Second, "advocates of this curriculum change recognized that many Ethiopian youths dropped out of school after completing the elementary cycle," hence "they claimed that these pupils were to remain in school for an additional two years, not only would they gain further education and training, but they would also achieve greater maturity and suitability for employment." Third, in almost all countries after World War II, there was a desire to extend and expand the period of elementary education (Ayalew, 1964, p. 22).

The third curriculum is known as *the experimental curriculum***.** This experience was first observed in the Ethiopian curriculum development in 1955 when the Ministry of Education had started to change the structure and curriculum.

The Americans had a great influence on the Ethiopian education from 1952 until 1974 (Tekeste, 1995). Starting in 1954, they began to shape the Ethiopian education policy through the Education Advisory Group—assimilated into the Long-Term Planning Committee (Tekeste, 1990, p. 6). The intention of the Experimental program was: (a) the introduction of community schools for basic education, (b) to fit the student for better life in his/her community, (c) to create the quickest possible spread of universal fundamental education, and (d) to make students display effective command of communication in Amharic (Tekeste, 1990; Teshome, 1979). With the assumption that further improvement would be made, five schools were selected to implement the experimental curriculum. The assumption of this experimental program is that after the study and revision, this curriculum would then serve as the foundation for any future change (Ayalew, 1964). In 1957, the *Department of Research and Curriculum Development* put forward a proposal for this experimental program (Habtemariam, 1970).

The results of the pilot study (experimental program) showed that both teaching and learning were improved when Amharic became the medium of instruction; however, there was still lack of suitable books and teaching materials, particularly those written in Amharic (Habtemariam, 1970). To alleviate or overcome this problem, an action was taken by the then Ministry of Education and Fine Arts where a Textbook Production Unit was established in 1957 within the Ministry's Department of Research and Curriculum Development. Its major aim was to produce all the basic textbooks necessary for Ethiopian elementary education in Amharic. Although some claimed that this curriculum is radically different, Ayalew (1964, p. 23) argues that it still reflected a non-Ethiopia bias because it was dominantly theoretical in content and was rather unrealistic for immature pupils.

Regarding the Fourth curriculum, there was stated a need to change the 8–4 curriculum into 6–2-4 curriculum. The quality of textbook preparation was posed as a challenge in the 8–4 curriculum (pp. 26–27). To be specific, much of the contents in the text were not pertinent to the Ethiopian students. There was a failure to consider research findings for writing texts. Textbooks lacked sufficient explanation and organization. The use of technical or scientific terminology from English to Amharic also posed challenges. No qualified linguists were involved in the preparation of textbooks. The other reason given for the change of this curriculum was that the various advisors and experts who had worked in the education sector had largely been unfamiliar with Ethiopia. Hence, the acceptance of their recommendation was doubtful. Furthermore, valid evaluation of student achievements was inexistent. There was also lack of access in teaching English sufficiently in order to make it the medium of instruction during the final years of the six-year elementary period.

In the Fourth curriculum, elementary education was considered terminal. The curriculum at the primary level consisted of syllabi, which were classified as academic and non-academic. Amharic became the medium of instruction throughout the elementary level, and Tekeste (1990, p. 8) considered this measure as "the most significant reform of the decade." The change of this structure as well as the introduction of the new curriculum was the result of a pilot project initiated in 1958 (Maaza, 1966). Changes effected in the secondary curriculum included the following: (a) in junior secondary school, transition from Amharic to English as the medium of instruction took place; (b) a four-year course in the senior secondary school offered a choice of specialization between purely academic courses, agricultural courses, commercial courses, and industrial arts courses, which led to the Ethiopian School Leaving in Certificate Examination; and (c) specialized and vocational education was offered after grade ten, which took two to four years (Ayalew, 1964).

The rationale for change in the secondary level was the *Tananarive Conference,* which was held in July of 1962 (UNESCO, 1962). This conference was appreciated for defining the importance of secondary school curriculum to developing nations, enumerating its objectives, and discussing its areas of necessary adaptation. The secondary curriculum prepared by subcommittee was approved in June of 1963. Ayalew (1964, p. 34) listed the challenges that faced its implementation. First, the success of this program depended upon the ability of students to work in English as the medium of instruction from grade 7 and was taught as a foreign language from grade 3. Much of this depended on the creation of strong foundations by efficient English language teaching by qualified teachers in the elementary school and upon the provision of language specialists in the secondary school. Second, this curriculum incorporates a much wider program of activities from that of the old school curriculum. This required special attention to the training and supply of teachers that fulfill the demands of implementation. Third, as compared with the old curriculum, the new curriculum incorporated new areas of studies, such as agricultural and commercial, and industrial arts presupposed the sampling of adequate apparatus, equipment, and materials for effective practice work. Obviously, this situation posed challenges for the implementation of the curriculum.

Throughout the history of modern education of Ethiopia, English as a medium language posed challenges. Regarding future plans for curriculum change, one of the recommendations made by Ayalew (p. 34) was the gradual conversion of the language of instruction in the secondary grades into Amharic. Perhaps this recommendation could overcome the deep-rooted problem that remains today.

The Ethiopian Education Sector Review (EESR)

The Education Sector Review was started in October 1971 and completed in June 1972 (MOEFA, 1972a). Various attempts were made to change the education system, including curriculum in different periods. Among them, the Ethiopian *Education Sector Review (ESR)* was the first of its kind for its comprehensive attempt at educational reform, and the objectives it envisaged were all laudable (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 13). Through its comprehensive evaluation of the educational system, it aimed to overcome multiple educational problems. The justifications given for reviewing the sector included the following:

- The formal educational system in Ethiopia ignored *Ethiopianization* and was instead based on the Western model.
- Various groups such as educators and leaders have become increasingly aware that the system was less appropriate for meeting the broader needs of education in Ethiopia. Specifically the problems include: (a) displaying extremely very low performance in achieving universal literacy by the year 1980, (b) students of the modern school were disrespectful to their society and its institutions, (c) there was very little inclusion of Ethiopian content in the curriculum, and (d) the

problem of unemployment opportunity facing secondary school graduates was substantial (Seyoum, 1996b; Tekeste, 1990).

Prior to *EESR,* there were some efforts made to improve the education sector (MOEFA, 1972a, p. I-2). First, a long-term planning committee was formed in 1955 to study the educational system, and this committee submitted a report entitled *A Ten-Year Plan for the Controlled Expansion of Ethiopian Education.* Second, in 1966, another study group was appointed by the Council of Ministers to report on the operation of the educational system. Furthermore, other committees were appointed from time to time to assess the specific problems of the education system. The different reports of the committees contributed to the awareness of the need for major rethinking of the educational system; however, no fundamental change was made based on the reports.

In 1969, the *National Commission for Education* was established based on recommendations in a report submitted three years earlier (p. I-3). It was indicated that if" the commission became a public forum that identified and then focused on four major areas of concern for Ethiopian Education during hearings". These areas include: (a) the objectives of Ethiopian Education, (b) the expansion of educational opportunities, (c) the coordination of efforts, and (d) the role of education in facilitating national development.

The Education Commission—drawing upon in-depth interviews conducted by the commission of Ethiopians from all walks of life—identified the major problems of Educational Aims and Objectives (MOEFA, 1972a):

- The philosophy, aims, objectives, and hopes of Ethiopia Education have not been clearly established;
- The educational system gives undue weight to foreign textbooks, methodology, and approaches. There is a need for suitably adapted textbooks and approaches;
- Ethiopian culture and language haven't been given their due importance. It has not been established in what grades and to what extent they should be taught;
- The general needs of Ethiopia have not been clearly determined, and consequently the goals of the educational system have been equally hazy;
- The curriculum and general plan of Ethiopian Education have been shifting with every obstacle. (p. 123)

It was during the third year of the existence of the *Commission* that the *Ethiopian Education Sector Review (EESR)* began to take shape and was officially launched in October of 1971. *EESR* has several unique qualities. Fist, it was administered, supervised, and primarily staffed by broad range of people. It was composed of 81 experts, 51 of whom were Ethiopians (Tekeste, 1990). *Fourteen Task Forces* were formed for the Review. It was reported that the Ethiopians formed the vast majority of the *Task Force* members with the addition of a few resident expatriates. Each *Task Force* was composed of from 4 to 7 competent professional members. Second, the final Policy decisions were made on the basis of the recommendation made by *Task Forces.*

In the *EESR,* both curriculum and research issues were reflected; examples include the *Task Force 9: Curriculum and Methodology* and *Task Force 11: Teacher Education, Educational Research.* As noted by Feleke (1990, p. 4), the *Task Force 9* included the view points of prominent curriculum theoreticians such as Ralph W. Tyler, Hilda Taba, Daniel and Laurel Tanner, and John D. McNeil. In this *Task Force,* due emphasis was given to clearly establish a set of well-conceived and well-articulated national aims or goals of education since they were then considered fundamental in curriculum development. It was also indicated that the sources (the needs of the society, the needs of the individual, and human knowledge) from which these aims and goals must derive (MOEFA,1972b, p. 11). The major components/categories that came out of the *Task Force* 9 in facilitating the process of curriculum development in Ethiopia are "Economic; Cultural and Moral; Social; and Socio-Political." (pp. 11–13)

After extended evaluation and debate, the *EESR* conference that was convened in August 1972 approved a structure of four years of Minimum Formation Education (MFE) (grades one to four) to be available to all children as rapidly as finances permitted; two years of basic formation for youths who had been unable to attend elementary programs; and four years of middle school and four years of senior secondary school for a limited number of graduates of MFE (Teshome, 1979, p. 190).

In the proposed organizational structure for the Ministry, the Department of Education Services (it subsumed curriculum and research) would be responsible for providing support in professional areas to all level of education—primary, secondary, teacher training, and non-formal programs (MOEFA, 1972a, p. VI-9). The responsibilities connected with curriculum and research include the following: First, establishing policies for curriculum and related matters and create frameworks within which local educational units would make appropriate adjustments to meet local needs. Toward this end, the Department would develop a serious of modular curriculum formats from which local units could select the modules most suited to local conditions. A second responsibility involved designing, preparing, and designating instructional materials and aids as textbooks, syllabuses, and radio and television programs, etc. And third, it was vital conduct evaluation of curriculum through research and measurement of student and teacher performance. (p. VI-10)

Furthermore, a number of new commissions and committees to effect coordination was recommended. Among them, the following were included:

- A National commission on Higher Education to coordinate planning and development of third level institutions;

- A National commission on Vocational Technical Education to coordinate all aspects of this form of training; and
- The Educational Research Unit of the contemplated National Research Council. (p. VII-1)

Although the most radical efforts were made by the different *Task Forces* of *EESR* to lay the foundation of the curriculum development and research, the recommendations of *EESR* were not implemented. This was partly because parents, students, and teachers perceived the decrease in secondary enrolment (adopting a controlled expansion) and decisions made on the education of rural population were detrimental to their interests (Tekeste, 1990). The assumption with regard to the majority of school leavers would live off the land as farmers; however, this was not possible where most of the arable land was held by absentee landlords (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 17). It is unthinkable that "bringing about educational reform without overall socio-economic structural transformation would be to miss the whole essence of the educational reform process" (pp. 16–17). Furthermore, the attempt made to maintain an atmosphere of secrecy around the Review had ignited anger by the public (p. 17). This became one of the factors for the collapse of the imperial regime in 1974 once and for all. A revolution erupted, and the old regime was replaced, bringing a totally different conception of outlook that became the basis for guiding the nature of curriculum development and research.

Curriculum Development in the Derg (Military Government) Period (1974–1991)

The Ordinary (Transitional) Curriculum The popular revolution of 1974 installed a radical military group known as *Derg,* which was characterized by: the overthrow of an ancient and well-established monarchy; the nationalization of all major means of production and rural and urban land and rented housing; the creation of a new constitutional system based on Marxist-Leninist lines; and a reversal of diplomatic and military alliances from the United States to the USSR (Clapham, 1988, pp. 1–2). Education reflected the views of the regime. As Key affirmed: "all national educational systems indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order" (1963, p. 316 in Zeigler and Peak 1971, p. 213). *Derg* considered education as a key to development according to its socialist ideology, indicated in the broad policy framework the *National Democratic Revolution (NDR),* adopted in April 1976 (MOE, 1977, p. iv). This framework was further elaborated in the five-volume policy documents known as *General Directives of Ethiopian Education* produced in 1980 (Tekeste, 1990). The directive statements of education explained in the program of the *NDR* are as follows:

> There will be an educational programme that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses. Such a programme will aim at intensifying the struggle against feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism. All necessary measures to eliminate illiteracy will be undertaken. All necessary encouragement will be given for the development of science, technology, the arts and literature. All necessary effort will be made to free the diversified cultures of Ethiopia from imperialist cultural domination and from their own reactionary characteristic. (MOE, 1977, p. iv)

Obviously, such a program would be realized thorough the curriculum. To this end, the Curriculum Department/Center had highly significant role.

Sometimes after 1974, a separate Department within the Ministry of Education (MOE) widely known as the *Curriculum Department* (established in 1975; also called the *National Curriculum Development Center* and in 1989 renamed to the *Institute for Curriculum Development and Research – ICDR*) was established (Feleke, 1990, p. 5). The mandate of this institution included planning and developing curricula and curricular materials (text books, teacher guides, supplementary reading materials, and the like for use in preschool, primary, and secondary schools as well as for vocational and technical institutes) for the nation. Furthermore, the Department was authorized to issue all directives and guidelines concerning curriculum development and change. The curriculum was prepared in an effort to comply with the new ideology, i.e., socialism. The curriculum was centralized. All curricular materials were developed in this Department within the Ministry of Education (Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division, 1987, p. 3).

Until the enforcement of the program of the *National Democratic Revolution (NDR)* in April 1976, curriculum planning was based on different Proclamations and Declarations, where these were taken as the central guides in reshaping the old curriculum. The attempt that was made to replace the curricula, textbooks, teacher guides, and other instructional materials that were in use before 1974 faced oppositions from the academics (Curriculum and Supervision Department 1981, p. 2). Feleke stated:

> Instead of founding the reform in education on firm grounds such as evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the then curriculum and thereby institute improvement and change through time, a totally revolutionary approach was employed. This kind of analysis in the hardest and cruelest analysis is more disruptive, and less orderly for it condemns everything of the past as having little or no contribution in developing the new curriculum. (1990, p. 72)

The preparation of the *Transitional Curriculum* went on by organizing experts into different subject panels (fifteen panels) in the Curriculum Department, each vested with responsibilities of its own (Curriculum and Supervision Department, 1981). The panels included:

Ethiopian Languages, Foreign Languages, Mathematics, Science, Business and Economics, Social Studies, Geography, History, Political Education, Agriculture, Productive Technology, Home Economics, Physical Education, Music, and Fine Arts. In most cases, each panel consisted of at least two experts as members who were employed permanently.

Each panel was given the responsibility to prepare detailed syllabi for the subject area for each grade, 1–12 (p. 15). The focus of the preparation concentrated on determining specific objectives, content, methodology and structure; order of presentation of content; and period allotment for the specified content. Furthermore, it included the writing of books, student texts, teacher guides, workbooks, and when needed, supplementary materials; the preparation of audiovisual aids, prototype equipment, and supplies corresponding to content indicated in the instructional materials; and the preparation of evaluation instruments. The process of curriculum included: (a) various proclamations and directives; (b) educational directives and educational aims; (c) specifying objectives for academic and vocational subjects; (d) preparing materials for academic and vocational subjects; (e) testing materials in sample schools; (f) organizing workshops, seminars, and orientation programs for teachers; (g) implementing materials for actual practice, and (h) evaluating the curriculum and educational materials (Curriculum Department, 1987a, p. 33).

Although efforts were made to align the ordinary (transitional) curriculum with the new outlook of socialism, there was also a need to make a complete change in this respect. Meanwhile a directive regarding objectives, content, and structure of the new education of Ethiopia was adopted in 1980 in the *New Educational Objectives and Directives for Ethiopia* (MOE, 1980):

- The general objectives of education should focus on education for production, education for scientific consciousness, and education for socialist consciousness.
- The content of education should be connected with polytechnic education that emphasizes practice, production, and the objective reality of the society.
- The structure of education 6–2-4 has to be changed to 8–2-2. The profile of students at each level should be worked out; to this end, a curriculum package should be prepared and implemented.

Curriculum development was again revised when the *National Democratic Revolution (NDR)* program was replaced by the *Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE)* in September 1984. Although the New Educational Objectives including its Directives for Ethiopia was adopted in 1980, it was not implemented immediately. The country's capacity to carry out this program was considered to be the major bottleneck to starting the new change immediately (ICDR, 1990). Rather, prior to nationwide implementation, there was a need to experiment through a program known as *General Polytechnic Education.* This program was based on Marxist Leninist pedagogy, and the fundamental objectives were set by the *Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE)* and the Government (Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division, 1987, p. 6). The ultimate objective of the experimental curriculum was to produce citizens who possess solid fundamental knowledge of all areas of social life and socialist attitudes and convictions who are fully prepared for the building of socialism and who possess creative, scientific, and technical abilities and skills that can play their role in the construction of a socialist society (MOE, 1984). To this end, it was suggested that the design of the program should focus on science and technology, ideology, progressive culture, aesthetics, sport, and other basic knowledge that is integrated in process and that connects learning and work. Generally, these were taken as the philosophical bases for planning the curriculum.

According to the then Curriculum Department (1987b), there were various committees in the Ethiopian curriculum decision making comprised of the Ministry of Education, the Curriculum Implementation Committee, and the National Curriculum Committee. Curriculum decision making and its practice of the *Transitional curriculum* had encountered various problems. Feleke's criticisms display the magnitude of the problem:

- Since it was a politically charged atmosphere in which there had been neither a clear social philosophy nor an educational policy that can guide curriculum development, the whole task was spontaneous and patchwork, characterized by crisis management.
- Little progress was made in "changing the curriculum."
- Decisions concerning education in general and curriculum in particular were made by non-educative forces; hence, it is very difficult to talk of any systematic curriculum development,
- There hardly exists documents that specifically deal with curriculum planning and development; instead, almost all documents are entirely connected with and devoted to school expansion, increase in student population, materials produced and distributed to schools, and achievements in literacy and other issues. (1990, p. 82)

Experimental Program of the General Polytechnic Education The *Experimental program of the General Polytechnic Education* in Ethiopia was launched in 1980 first in 25 selected elementary schools (grades 1–8) within the radius of 100 km from Addis Ababa and extended to 45 schools throughout Ethiopia in 1981, numbering the experimental schools to 70 (Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division, 1987, p. 2). This program was conducted for 11 years in these schools and was mainly coordinated by the Department of Curriculum. Accordingly, each concerned panel was responsible for preparing curriculum materials and introducing the prepared materials for teachers in the experimental schools. There were visits to schools every year where the curriculum experts and other concerned educational personnel took part. School visit reports were produced, and necessary actions were taken depending on the magnitude of the problem as per the report.

Various studies (formative and summative evaluations) were made to assess the efficacy of this program. Accordingly, two *formative* and one *summative* evaluations were conducted by the Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division (ICDR, 1990). The first and second formative evaluations were made when the program was implemented in grades three and five in 1983 and 1985, respectively. Summative evaluation was conducted at the end of the program, i.e., when the program was implemented in grade eight in 1988.

The main tasks of *ICDR* regarding this program were: preparation of directives and other documents necessary for the program, preparation of the curriculum (curriculum package), conducting school visits, improving the curriculum on the basis of feedback gained from school visits, providing orientation for teachers who are teaching in the experimental schools as well as for educational personnel, printing the curricular materials and disseminating to the schools, and conducting formative and summative evaluation. Some of the prepared documents include: *Handbook of the School Experiment (1983), Curriculum Guide (1986), Fundamentals of the Teaching and Learning Process, Directives for Carrying out School visits,* and *Directives for Conducting Workshops.*

One of the studies conducted (ICDR, 1987, pp. 92–94) indicated the major findings regarding this program. First, the experimental program was not an experiment in scientific terms as variables were not controlled and causes and effects were not specified. Second, field trials of school experiments are normally conducted in 30–50 classes, but not so in this program. There was no attention to improving the quality of the materials. Third, no statement of hypothesis to be tested was prescribed. Most objectives were not stated in terms of measurable behaviors. Fourth, there was the involvement of curriculum experts in developing syllabi, textbooks, and kits.

In this experimental program, the experiences of socialist countries, particularly that of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), were imported. Most of the foreign advisors at the ICDR were Germans (citizens of the former GDR). Prior to beginning this program, intensive preliminary studies and participation of public and academics did not take place. Furthermore, it is believed that this program was not taken as the responsibility of the whole Ministry; rather, it was only considered as a program of ICDR. As a result, there was no clear understanding among the different departments of the Ministry regarding this program. Hence, the support given for this program by other departments of the Ministry was little.

Evaluative Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE) While the new Educational Directive was adopted in 1980 and an experimental program was started following this directive, a decision was made to conduct national-level evaluative research in 1983 known as *Evaluative Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE)*. Among the reasons cited for conducting this evaluative research was the expansion of secondary education that was beyond the capacity of the economy, particularly creating unemployable graduates; the deterioration of quality of education; the existence of meager educational resources; shortage of qualified teachers etc. (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 10).

This study began in 1983 and was completed by 1986, involving 60 individuals and the four task forces, namely: Curriculum Development and Teaching-Learning Process; Educational Administration, Structure, and Planning; Educational Logistics, Supportive Services, and Manpower Training; and Educational Research and Evaluation (p. 20). Among the findings were as follows: First, textbooks did not reflect national educational objectives, and most focused on teaching rather than learning. Second, Amharic as a medium of instruction in primary school (grades 1–6) created difficulties for students whose mother tongue was not Amharic. Third, using English as medium of instruction from grade seven up to grade twelve created difficulties both for teachers and as well as students. Fourth, the various grades—primary (1–6), junior secondary (7–8) and senior secondary (9–12)—were not satisfactorily integrated and coordinated. Fifth, Ethiopian education suffers poor textbooks, lack of instruments, and widespread incompetence among the teaching staff (MOE, 1986).

These findings were ignored. There was no national debate (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 20). Open and free dialogue was unthinkable at that time. As with the *EESR,* the study was shrouded in secrecy (p. 21). In relation to this, Tekeste writes:

> These documents are, however, classified as secret and, therefore, have been inaccessible to the public. Permission to study the documents is granted on individual basis with the personal authorization of the Minster of Education the existence of such practice with regard to getting the documents. (1990, p. 18 in Seyoum, 1996b)

Moreover, “the ERGESE report has failed to grasp the nature and dimension of the crisis of Ethiopian Education” where “its findings are at times of a purely technical nature that largely take care of themselves in due course of time” (Tekeste, 1990, p. 35). Nothing significant changed.

A *Ten Year Plan* was formulated by the government, intended to promote *Polytechnic Education,* to make the curriculum relevant, to intensify the eradication of illiteracy, to strengthen Amharic as the medium of instruction at primary level, to improve teacher education, to upgrade the teaching profession, and to provide education to the physically and mentally handicapped (PMGSE, 1985, pp. 436–39 in Seyoum, 1996b).

During this period, there were two structures of curriculum—the *Transitional program* and the *Polytechnic* *experimental program.* The *Transitional program* consisted of a Three-tier System (6–2-4) that was not changed after the Revolution (MacNab, 1989). The other structure was intended to replace the Three-tier System (6–2-4) structure with *Polytechnic education* that was thought to consist of 8–2-2 structure.

The period from early 1990 to the end of the *Derg* regime (i.e., until May 1991) was characterized by liberalization of economic reform, i.e., a "mixed" planned and market economy (Pausewang, 1994, p. 217). An attempt to revise the curriculum in view of this change was made, however, without success. *General Polytechnic* education was intended to replace the *Transitional curriculum.* Although considerable professional efforts were made to implement the *Polytechnic education* program at the national scale, and the overall objective was to obtain a middle-level trained labor force, it was not found to be feasible. Lack of sufficient financial investment and its coincidence with the apparent downfall of the communist ideology in its country of origin (Soviet Union) undermined implementation (ICDR, 1996).

In addition to studies made by ICDR and MOE, a praiseworthy study was conducted by Feleke on the Practices and Processes of Curriculum Planning and Development for General Education in Ethiopia since 1974. It was concluded that curriculum planning and development must follow an agreed-upon model, set of procedures, and pattern (this has to be clearly spelled out and known) if the educational program is to become successful. By and large, the findings of Feleke's study indicate that during this period, there hardly existed an agreed-upon curriculum development model which could direct the planning and development of the education program. Furthermore, the model, which was often claimed (objective model) to be the one in use since 1974, appears missing. However, how far his findings were utilized by the Department of Curriculum or others is questionable.

Curriculum Development and Research in the Post-1991 Era: (1991–2012)

The Transitional Charter and the Education and Training Policy With the downfall of the Military Government in 1991, a Provisional Government led by the Ethiopian Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was established that lasted one month. Then a National Conference was called to deliberate on ways to form a transitional Government. The conference formulated and ratified a Transitional Charter, which served as a constitution giving birth to the *Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE)* until it was succeeded by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia three years later. During this period, the major educational changes made include the adoption of a *Policy Guideline* (based on the *Transitional Charter* developed by the Conference for Peace and Democracy in 1991) and the *Education and Training Policy* in 1994. Major provisions included the following:

- Amharic as a medium of instruction would continue in the areas where it is the mother tongue.
- *Oromigna, Sidamigna, Wolayitigna,* and *Tigrigna* would be used as the media of instruction as of 1991/92. (Latin script was chosen for *Oromigna, Somaligna,* and *Wolaitigna* while the Geez [*Sabean*] script was retained for Amharic and *Tigrigna*)
- Studies would be carried out on the use of other nationalities' languages as media of instruction as soon as possible, while, in the meantime, education would be offered as in the past.
- English would continue serving as the medium of instruction for junior and secondary school, and it would be taught as a subject starting from grade one. (EHRCO, 2003, p. 27)

Translation of the Amharic textbooks into different languages was intensively carried out for the elementary schools through the direct coordination and facilitation of ICDR. Two major criticisms were forwarded by EHRCO. First, the decision made on choosing the Latin script "has totally deprived a large number of people in all regions of the benefits of literacy gained in the campaigns carried out during the previous, military government." Second, although curriculum development and textbook writing require skill and experience, the translation work was carried out without any prior investigation of the constraints (adequate preparation) that were to be encountered during implementation (2003, pp. 27–28).

Although minor modification or adjustment of curriculum development was necessary during the first few years of the post-1991 era, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) aspired to make a paradigm shift on the objectives, contents, mode of delivery, structure, and evaluation etc. of the country's education. The process of formulating the new *Education and Training Policy (ETP)* was entrusted to a group of Ethiopian educators numbering 42, organized into five sub-task forces (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 23). This Policy was adopted in 1994. To frame this Policy, the revolutionary democracy, the political ideology of the ruling party (EPRDF), served as the underlying principle (Solomon, 2009, p. 223). This policy was aimed at addressing the abject problems reflected in the education sector of the country, which were: (a) lack of clear educational objectives; (b) high emphasis given for theoretical knowledge with little connection to day-to-day life; (c) the domination of rote learning; (d) de-emphasizing problem solving; (e) overcrowding of schools; (f) the scarcity of instructional materials; (g) insufficient training materials; (h) high emphasis given to centralization of education; and (i) ignoring the issue of relevance, quality, accessibility, and equity (TGE, 1994b). Some other authors also identified the problems that reflected the just aforementioned ones. One of them reads, "The schooling system in Ethiopia undermined many Ethiopian cultures and imposed cultural values of a single dominating national culture upon the others" (Teklehaimanot, 1999, p. 6).

With the intent of overcoming such problems, the *Transitional Government* of Ethiopia made the following major changes: (a) decentralization of the education system, (b) the use of nationality languages as media of instruction, and (c) adopting a new structure of education (TGE, 1994). General objectives and specific objectives are indicated in the *ETP.* The General Objectives of Policy are to:

- develop the physical and mental potential and problem capacity of the individual;
- educate citizens to take care of and utilize resources wisely;
- educate citizens endowed with democratic culture and discipline and who respect human rights, stand for the well-being of people, as well as for equality, justice, and peace;
- educate citizens who differentiate harmful practices from useful ones, who seek and stand for truth, appreciate aesthetic, and show positive attitudes towards the development and dissemination science and technology in society; and
- cultivate the cognitive, creative, productive, and appreciative potential of citizens by appropriately relating education to environmental and social needs. (TGE, 1994a, p. 13)

The attempt made to determine the general objectives of education is noteworthy since it informs curriculum development.

The new educational structure constituted basic, general, higher, and specialized education on a formal and non-formal basis. Specifically, the structure is: (a) A kindergarten system for children aged 4–6 years, (b) A primary education from grades 1–8 subdivided into two sections of basic (1–4) and general (5–8) education, (c) A general secondary education from 9–10, (d) A preparatory senior secondary education of 2 years and a system of vocational and technical education in parallel with it, (e) Higher education of 1–2 years fir diploma and 3–5 years for undergraduate degree and an additional 1–3 years for post graduate degree, (f) A system of vocational/technical training in parallel with the academic education and coordinated and interlinked with it, and (g) A special education system and distance learning in collaboration and coordinated with the rest of the educational system. (TGE, 1994b, p. 14)

To achieve the objectives of the *ETP,* strategies were developed with regard to: (a) Educational System and Curriculum, (b) Vocational and Technical Education and Training, (c) Organization and Management of the Education Sector, (d) Human Resource Development, (e) Education al Service Expansion and Provision of Materials, (f) Research and Development, and (g) Financing the Education system (TGE, 1994b). The medium of instruction is indicated in the Language and Education Section of the Policy:

- Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities[1] to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages.
- Making the necessary preparation, nations and nationalities can either learn in their own languages or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution
- The language of teacher training for kindergarten and primary education will be the nationality language used in the area.
- Amharic shall be taught as a language of countrywide communication.
- English will be the medium of instruction for secondary and higher education.
- Students can choose and learn at least one nationality language for cultural and international relations.
- English will be taught as a subject starting from grade one. (TGE, 1994a, pp. 23–24)

It seems pertinent to indicate the strategy developed regarding Research and Development. Accordingly, "research into curriculum development, instruction and evaluation techniques shall be encouraged and assisted" and "the link between academic research and production shall be strengthened" (p. 18). Indeed, the Policy and its Strategy have stressed the contribution of research as significant for developing curriculum.

There is no doubt that the policy has formulated a radical multilingual curriculum, which is the first of its kind in the country's education system. Based on this policy, a new primary school curriculum was developed and implemented in different languages (over 20 languages) depending on the objective reality of each regional state (MOE, 2002: 39).

The Policy has not escaped criticism. First, as Solomon argued, "policy proposal and curriculum development activities did not start from the contemporary needs analysis but rather extended from the studies of *EESR* and *ERGESE* (unsuccessful reform attempts and studies during the two previous regimes in Ethiopia)" (2009, p. 223). Second, although it was claimed that the involvement of the public in the process of educational policy formulation was made, however, it was a top-down reform (Seyoum, 1996b; Solomon Areaya, 2008). Third, "unlike the Imperial regime's *EESR,* and the Socialist regime's *ERGESE,* the Transitional Governments education policy was not shrouded in mystery" rather, "the Transitional Government seems to have made a radical departure in raising the veil of secrecy in educational policy making" (Seyoum, 1996b, p. 25). Based on the nationally approved syllabi, the preparation of textbooks for primary schools (grades 1–8) was the responsibility of the regions, while that of the textbooks and teacher guides for grades 9–12 (with the exception of the different nationality languages) was the responsibility of ICDR (Woube, 2005, p. 70).

The new curricula prepared based on the *ETP* were not implemented at once: First, the program regarding the primary cycle was tried at each grade level. After the trial and refinement of the learning materials, implementation took place at two grade levels every year from 1996. Second, the new curriculum for secondary education was planned to be implemented from 1999/2000 at grade 9 and continue to be implemented every year at every grade level up to 2003 (pp.70–71). On the basis of this schedule, syllabi and teaching and learning materials were developed and the implementation processes followed.

Follow-up Studies and Evaluation Follow-up studies and evaluation (both formative and summative evaluations) schemes were institutionalized throughout the implementation processes (ICDR, 2002, 2004, 2005). Based on these evaluations, the findings regarding the implementation of primary school curriculum indicate that although most schools tried to engage society in the education process, participation was minimal. Content exceeded the maturity level and the learning capacity of pupils in most cases; pupils' performance was below average. Regarding the 1st Cycle (grades 9–10) of Secondary Education Curriculum, the following was found: students scored far below average (35.8%) on profile attainment tests, which is below the expectation and weaknesses were observed regarding the quality of curricular materials (some of the objectives stated were not realizable; lack of clear instructions for exercises; language difficulty; lack of variety of assessment techniques and activities; inadequacy of the allotted periods to cover contents; lack of clarity of pictures, charts, and diagrams; etc.)

The findings of the 2nd Cycle of the Secondary School (Preparatory Programme) curriculum indicated (ICDR, 2005): The overall profile attainment of the students is below 50%. The quality of the curriculum materials has major limitations: lack of stating objectives clearly, sequencing contents logically, using simple and clear language in the textbooks, applying appropriate methods in relation to active learning, etc. On the other hand, the findings indicate that community participation in school affairs is effective. In both findings regarding both the 1st and 2nd cycles of secondary education, students overall profile attainment was below 50%, which is indeed worrisome and requires due attention.

Another study made by Flores, the external reviewer in 2004 on the Ethiopian Primary School Curriculum reveals the following: (a) incompatibility of the contents with students' development (age level), (b) integration of curriculum is superficial, (c) lack of considering the views of teachers in the curriculum, and (d) the inclusion of obsolete issues/views in grades 5–8 curriculum materials (ICDR, 2004, pp. 49–50). In this study, recommendations included: (a) holding a users conference for each subject annually. This practice is one way to increase the participation of stakeholders into the curriculum development process; (b) conducting a continuous review of the decentralization of the curriculum in order to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the policy and to suggest solutions for its improvement; (c) enriching the curriculum by providing supplementary materials. Research on textbook writing in accordance with the developmental level and maturity of students should be conducted; (d) partnering experiences of teachers and writers should be made as part of the piloting stage in the revision of the curriculum materials; and (e) emphasizing on thematic units in order to help teachers develop integrated unit plans.

According to EHRC (2003, p. 69), although localizing of the curriculum was appreciated, the weaknesses were reported. These included: lack of human resources in the curriculum development (deficient in the regions), the time given for preparing the curriculum materials was too short, the cumulative result is that materials produced are less than the desired quality, and the duration to conduct tryouts in most cases was less than a semester and the formative evaluations carried out were not up to the usual standard. To the same source, contents that used to be covered at higher grades have been pushed down to lower ones, rendering the content of the subjects taught to go beyond a reasonable level of difficulty for the average student.

Regarding multilingual education, Seyoum, (1996b, pp. 27–28) underlined that making children learn in their mother-tongue is appreciated, but implementation poses challenges. He suggested that prior to full-scale implementation, it would have been necessary to conduct pilot testing or pretesting a certain policy on a small scale (p. 28). He warned that "to rush things for the sake of political expediency would be courting a disaster whose consequences would be difficult to fathom for generations to come" (p. 28).

RTI, in collaboration with the MOE and the General Education Quality Improvement Program (GEQIP) conducted an Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) across eight of Ethiopia's 11 regional states. Prior to this study, "little reliable evidence exists on the actual reading skills of lower primary-school students in Ethiopia" (USAID/RTI, 2010). Findings suggest that while children attend school for two or three years, a significant number is illiterate. Indeed, reading achievement is very low in Ethiopia (USAID/ RTI International, 2010, p. ES 8). It was reported that the results of the EGRA prompted the Ministry of Education to require each Regional Education Bureau review its mother-tongue reading curricula so that revisions to textbooks and teaching guides will address deficiencies revealed in the assessments.

Other similar studies were conducted. In 2000, the baseline national learning assessment (EBNLA) was undertaken, in 2004 the second national learning assessment (ESNLA) occurred, and in 2007 the third national learning assessment (ETNLA) was implemented. While scaling issues exist, the MOE's (2008) findings indicate that the quality of the reading comprehension outcomes has decreased since the 2004 ESNLA. The mean score in the 2007 ETNLA was only 43.9, which was much lower than in either the 2004 EBNLA (64.5) or the 2000 EBNLA (64.3).

Curriculum Framework for Ethiopian Education: KG–Grade 12 Since 2010, improvement of the curriculum has taken place from KG–Grade 12. One of the major improvements made regarding curriculum development is the adoption of a framework known as *Curriculum Framework for Ethiopian Education: KG-Grade 12* by the Ministry of Education in 2010. This task was mainly coordinated by the Curriculum Development and Implementation Core-Process (CDICP) under the Ministry of Education. The Curriculum Framework is considered by the Ministry of Education (CDICP, 2010, p. ii) as a milestone (living document) for guiding and designing the syllabi for general education. Its "aim is to map out the direction for the entire process of curricula design and development and thereby strengthen our endeavors to enhance the quality of education" (p. ii).

The basis for developing this *Framework* and a guide for curriculum research is *The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP),* a five year plan (2010/11–2014/15), and an *Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP IV).* In the *ESDP IV,* curriculum, textbooks, and assessment are one of the components under the General Education Quality Improvement Package /GEQIP package. The main objectives are to: (a) implement a new school curriculum, (b) provide textbooks and teacher guides developed for the new curriculum, and (c) align student assessment and examinations with the new curriculum and reform the inspection system (MOE, 2010). In this component, monitoring and evaluation schemes as well as the National Assessment of Student Achievement (every three years) will be in place to verify the students' achievement (in terms of knowledge, skill, and attitude).

The *Framework* incorporates rationales for principles and procedures in developing the curriculum. According to CDICP (MOE) (2010), "The curriculum has been revised once since its implementation 14 years ago. This revision, between 2003 and 2005, mainly focused on re-arranging the content and including current issues of concern such as Civics and Ethical Education, Gender, HIV/AIDS education, and other government policies and strategies" (2010, p. 1). In preparing this document, the major drawbacks were identified through the research carried out by the *Curriculum Development and Implementation Directorate (CDID)* formerly known as *ICDR.* The identified drawbacks include:

- notably a lack of relevance of some of the contents,
- problems in the assumed methodology of teaching, as well as difficulties in the implementation of continuous assessment,
- the contents of textbooks that follow the subject syllabuses in the curriculum are highly overloaded and often conceptually too advanced, and
- although the policy advocates a student-centered approach, the teaching learning materials do not promote this approach. (p. 1)

According to the same source, "this framework outlines ways to address [the deficiencies specified above] upon international good practices in terms of curriculum design and teaching methodology" (p. 1). In this *Framework,* it was felt necessary that the curriculum be revised to address issues of poverty reduction and sustainable development strategies: Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Furthermore, it is underlined that sound pedagogical and psychological principles and international standards and local conditions were taken as a guiding principle in writing and developing textbooks.

It was emphasized that the Curriculum Framework adopt the principles of Active Learning (doing, observing, and dialogue) and a competency-based approach to education as the most flexible means to achieve the desired changes. The main reason given for preferring active learning is that "children learn best when they are actively involved in the learning process through participation, contribution and production." Furthermore, active learning as one of the modern teaching methods usually based on constructivism recognizes that there is a need to give students the chance to think about what they are being taught or what they are learning. In this *Framework,* competency-based education is emphasized (p. 4):

- describes the genuine abilities of students to demonstrate that area assumed to be understood and develops the required skills and values;
- encourages active participation of students in their own learning through exploring, observing, experimenting, and practicing rather than being passive receivers of knowledge;
- enhances flexibility in teaching and learning methodologies by including appropriate activities in students learning; and
- emphasizes the transfer of learning.

The New Curriculum Framework takes into consideration the following levels throughout the country: (a) kindergarten (pre-primary), (b) primary schooling (grades 1–8), (c) general secondary schooling (grades 9—10), and (d) preparatory (grades 11–12).

According to CDICP, the principles indicated above are considered as international "best practices" that will serve as guides in the subsequent development of curriculum materials across all grades (pp. 5–62). The major components of the *Framework* include: the vision, principles of curriculum (key principles that guide schools in whole-planning and curriculum development), values, key competencies, overarching issues, structure of pre-primary, primary, and secondary curriculum (goals, learning areas, time table), and assessment and promotion.

According to Solomon Belayneh (2012), a senior expert of curriculum in the Ministry of Education, the major curriculum revision undertaking in Ethiopia, which began in 2007, passed through nine steps:

- Establishing a task force that will conduct and oversee the curriculum development
- Conducting situational analysis through desk research;
- Conducting needs assessment;
- Developing the national curriculum framework (KG to Grade 12);
- Developing flowcharts, MLC (Minimum Learning Competency) documents, and syllabi for each subject;
- Developing textbooks and teacher guides;
- Conducting Training of Trainers (TOT) workshops to introduce the curriculum framework and the new curricular materials;
- Conducting formative evaluation; and
- Planning to conduct summative evaluation by external evaluators.

The *Framework* could be taken as the first of its kind in the history of Curriculum Development in Ethiopia because it has advanced useful directives, principles, and procedures of curriculum development, despite its limitations. The new *Framework* is assumed to consider the various countries experiences although these were not specified. In the previous curriculum there hardly existed an explicit framework for developing the curriculum. Limitations of the framework include:

- The curriculum model on which the curriculum should be based is not explicitly delineated although competency-based curriculum is advocated.
- Although Multiple Intelligence is indicated as one of the components considered in this Framework, it lacks elaboration.
- The role played by curriculum experts, academics, consultants, and other related people is not explicitly specified.
- The emphasis given for curriculum evaluation and research is little because no responsible body seems in existence in the Ministry that mainly deals with curriculum research/education research.
- The modality on how to evaluate the curriculum as a package is missed.

The availability of highly qualified curriculum experts is indispensable to achieve the objectives of this Framework. However, it seems that the number and qualification of curriculum experts in the *Curriculum Development and Implementation Directorate* to effectively translate the framework is questionable.

Curriculum Development in Technical and Vocational Education Technical and Vocational Education are important components of the education system of Ethiopia. Despite immense problems (lack of qualified trainers, poor governance structure, lack of adequate facilities, etc.), important reform measures have been introduced after the adoption of the National TVET Strategy of 2002 and the TVET Proclamation of 2004. In the proclamation *No. Regulation 199/2011 Technical and Vocational Education and Training Agency [TVETA] Establishment* adopted March 25, 2011, the duties of the Agency connected with curriculum development and research focus on the development of standards and legislative framework, qualification framework and occupational standards, and enhancement of the implementation of outcome based-TVET through action research and further studies. Three levels of training program are envisaged in order to achieve the purpose of TVET. These are:

- The basic vocational training program that provides training for school leavers with the appropriate age from grades 4 to 8.
- The junior-level vocational training program designed to accommodate primary education completers of grade 8 after the national examination. The duration is 6 months up to 1 year, depending on the nature of the area to be studied.
- The medium-level technical and vocational education and training program provides training opportunities for students who complete grade 10, the end of the first cycle of general secondary education. The programs are 10+1 and 10+2.

The National Technical and Vocational and Training (TVET) strategy that was adopted in 2008 by the MOE could be taken as a significant effort. It seems that this strategy has laid the foundation for the adoption of the recent proclamation of TVET.

In this strategy, very useful points with regard to curriculum development and research are indicated. The *Framework* adopted in this strategy emphasizes an outcome-based approach and competencies by considering the modern TVET systems in use worldwide. Competencies in National Occupational Standards are determined by individuals who are knowledgeable and experienced in the world of work (MOE, 2008, p. 21). The responsibility of establishing occupational standards rests on the Federal TVET Agency (p. 42). TVET providers are expected to develop their own curricula based on the national occupational standards (p. 17). Its mode of delivery follows a modular approach. Furthermore, a strategy regarding Monitoring and Evaluation of TVET was specified.

The effort made with regard to building research in TVET is, however, not satisfactory. The role that research plays in TVET reads as follows: “Research capacities will be built at the TVET authorities at federal and state levels to identify research needs, to manage research activities and to utilize research outputs and feed them back into TVET planning processes” (p. 42). To this end, the establishment of a research unit was suggested where some of its mandates include identifying research needs and commissioning research projects to research institutions and supervising such research (p. 42). Despite the specification of the tasks to be achieved in the future, their implementation requires a relentless effort.

Curriculum Development in Higher Education Higher education was introduced in Ethiopia in 1950 with the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa. The current Ethiopian Government gives "higher education a central position in its strategy for social and economic development" where "40 percent of the education budget goes on higher education" (Ashcroft and Rayner, 2011). The number of universities has risen from two before 2000 to 22 by 2008/9, and it is expected to grow to 33 by 2013 (MOE, 2008/9). Enrollment has grown rapidly.

Curriculum development in HEIs is a complex process. As Mulu (2012, p. 139) indicated in Ethiopia HIEs, "the way the curriculum is designed, changed and standardized is perceived as a source of problem." *Ethiopianizing* the curriculum is the other issue that has not been addressed adequately. Since 2008/09, public universities in Ethiopia have been required to develop their curricula particularly for their undergraduate programs. The curriculum has been changed two times, however, within short periods of time. The first change was aimed at introducing the same curriculum across all public universities. Harmonization of the curriculum was also considered as part of this change. "Harmonization refers to the coordination of educational programs with agreements to minimum academic standards and ensuring equivalence and comparability of qualification between and within countries [universities] (Oyewole, 2011, p. 22). This task was coordinated/guided by the National Council of Curriculum Development and Implementation for HEIs, which was established in 2008. This council was replaced by the HEIs Curriculum Council after completing its mission (making the curriculum ready for implementation). The tasks achieved under this new council are categorized under the second curriculum change. The main reasons for forming the new Council are as follows. First, there are critical issues that require common understating in the universities, and secondly, there should be a responsible body that gives direction, follows up, and provides support, particularly on the finalization of harmonization and the development of modular curriculum (HEIs Curriculum Council, 2012). Each university is represented in this Council. To realize modularization, universities are classified into clusters. In general, the preparation of curriculum development for HEIs was based on needs assessment, program development, and assessment and implementation (Amarech Kebede, 2012).

The task of preparing the modular curriculum started in 2012. AAU, for instance, indicates its readiness towards modularization: "Since 2008/09, AAU is implementing a harmonized curriculum in most fields of studies at undergraduate level. Though, there is a consensus reached at national level to move towards modularization no later than 2012/13 the process of modularization the undergraduate program is not yet initiated. Thus, AAU can't stand alone with traditional credit based system for both national and global reasons" (AAU, 2012, p. 10). To this end, AAU developed a guide entitled *Framework for Modularizing Undergraduate Programs of the AAU* consisting of justifications for considering a modular approach and work-based competencies. In the Framework, modular curriculum stresses identification of professional/vocational skills, job-specific skills, and transferable skills a graduate may have after completing the curriculum. The credit of the modules is calculated on the basis of ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System).

On the basis of Business Process Reengineering (BPR), the Addis Ababa University (AAU) in 2009/10, made a shift from the old structure of curriculum (knowledge-based) to the new approach, particularly for the graduate programs. Despite AAU's little experience in preparing its curriculum, based on competency, almost all of the masters programs are modularized and implemented.

One of the appreciated efforts made by the AAU in developing a curriculum-based modular approach was that of the adoption of a curriculum manual (guide) for both graduate and undergraduate programs. Specifically, the manual contains procedures that help departments/program units to revise and plan their programs (curriculum, syllabus, and teaching material). Although both guides are appreciated in providing guidance to develop the curriculum, as a curriculum package, there hardly exists a strategy for formative and summative evaluation. Basically, curriculum as a package requires follow up and evaluations (summative and formative).

In October 2010, an Evaluation Study of the Modular Course Delivery of Graduate Programs was initiated by the Office of the Vice President for Research and Dean of Graduate Studies at AAU. Its main purpose was to get feedback on the strengths, weaknesses, misunderstandings, outstanding problems, and areas of improvement in the modular course delivery that the University has introduced for its masters programs as of the first semester of 2009/2010. The study focused on: (a) the attitude of the staff and students about the program, (b) the perception of the staff regarding the modular curriculum, (c) the implementation of the modular curriculum as per the requirement (the objective of the program), and (d) the provision of resources and appropriate guidelines. Very interestingly, the findings of these evaluations were endorsed by the concerned bodies of the university; however, the actions taken on the basis of the findings are doubtful.

Contributors to Curriculum Development and Research The main contributors of curriculum development and research could be individual researchers, universities and educational/curriculum research centers/institutes and educational agencies. In this part, a brief discussion will be made with regard to educational research centers/institutes, Higher Education Relevance and Quality Agency (HERQA), and Higher Education Strategic Center (HESC).

Individual Researchers Researchers include Amare Asgedom (2000), Hailom Bantirga (1995), Taye Regassa (1993), Seyoum Tefera (1998), and Ayalew Shibeshi (2009). As Amare (2000) indicated, most educational research focused on contextual factors rather than substantial factors (the state of the art). Amare's study of "The State of Education Research in Ethiopia" surveyed 123 articles published in the *Ethiopian Journal of Education.* He found that "the Sub-fields, Subject Areas, Curriculum, Educational Technology, Educational Research and Developmental Education, etc. were neglected, again presumably resulting in the poor development level of curriculum and poor integration of education to other sectors of development in the country" (p. 30). There are also few professionals in the field of curriculum. Ayelew Shibeshi (2009) also reviewed articles presented in Ethiopian Studies[2] from the 11th ICES in Addis Ababa to the 16th in Trondheim. Of the 41 papers presented (three of them are not totally related to education), three were focused on curriculum and methods. Among the three, one concerned primary mathematics teaching and the other two focused on curriculum development, presented at the 13th and 14th conferences of Ethiopian Studies, respectively (2009: 152). This indicates that curriculum and methods have not yet gained adequate attention in the conferences. Ayalew (2009, p. 170) indicated several papers were too technical for the general audience to understand. He suggested that "future conferences should consider providing more space for papers that deal with policy issues and topics of general interest." Indeed, his study is useful in suggesting that due consideration be given in selecting articles that fulfill the standard, and education to have its own panel rather combining it with other areas.

Educational Research Centers/Institutions Educational institutions such as the *Institute of Educational Research (IER)* and the *Institute for Curriculum Development and Research (ICDR)* play roles in educational research. *IER* has developed ways of enhancing research, for instance, through conferences, journals, and projects. The Institute was established in October, 1968 as a research, documentation, and publication center under the Faculty of Education (IER, 2001, p. 1). One of its Journals, *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* (EJE), was the only professional and reputable journal of its kind in the field of education in the country. As Amare (2000, p. 23) declares, "EJE represents all educational research in Ethiopia as it is the only reputable and refereed educational journal in the country, and as all educational researchers who come from different corners of the country aspire to publish their research products in it." The publication of this journal started in 1967 in Addis Ababa University (IER, 2001, p. 14). The other journals of the institutes are *The Ethiopian Journal of Higher Education* and *IER FLAMBEAU* (articles are not externally assessed), and their publications started not more than two decades ago. The publications were found to be useful to graduate students as well as to the development of *ETP* during the periods of *Transitional Government* of Ethiopia 1994 (Amare, 1998, p 7).

IER (2001, p. 19) claims that its contribution in the field of education is immense. However, this requires further study. Although IER supports research and its dissemination, its support for curriculum evaluation and research seems little. In relation to this, Amare has criticized the efforts made by IER:

> [It] had organized conferences since 1986. However, only four of the nine conferences had themes directly related to educational research (1980, 1987, 1995 and 1998). Even then, these conferences were unable to evaluate the state of educational research. Almost all research results could be classified as advocacy articles. They stressed on the need for more capacity building and for more research in the various issues of education. (1990, p. 22)

Despite its efforts, the major problems and constraints that IER had faced include a lack of budget for educational research and the level of collaboration between researchers and policy makers (minimal and irregular) (IER, 2001).

Similarly, it is necessary to acknowledge the efforts made by the College of Education at Addis Ababa University in organizing the 1st International Conference on the theme of Educational Research for Development, May 13–15, 2009. The College has organized three national conferences. In the 1st International Conference, a total of 63 scientific papers were presented; out of these, 24 papers focused on Education Research (College of Education, 2009, p. iii). Very few presentations were focused on curriculum. The continuation of convening national and international conferences is very helpful in promoting curriculum and research scholarship in the country.

The other institution that has been highly connected with curriculum research is *ICDR.* In Ethiopia, research and curriculum development for primary and secondary schools had been facilitated by *ICDR.* Some of the objectives of the Institute regarding research and evaluation include the following: conduct research on selected and major educational problems, compile and disseminate creative and critical research outcomes that have direct bearing on the teaching-learning process, provide professional assistance to capacitate regional curriculum developers and researchers, and maintain educational standards through designing relevant curriculum. Through its division, the *Curriculum Evaluation and Educational Research Division,* ICDR conducted and coordinated various curriculum evaluation and educational research projects. There is to date, however, no comprehensive review. Under the Ministry of Education, *Curriculum Development and Implementation Directorate,* having new responsibilities different from ICDR, became functional in 2010. As opposed to the former ICDR, curriculum research and summative evaluation is no more the mandate of this *Directorate.* It seems that the issues of curriculum research are carried out by different Agencies in scattered way. However, the experiences of other countries—such as Japan, Korea, and South Africa—underscores the relevance of curriculum evaluation and research centers at the national level. Even the previous experiences of the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia indicate that curriculum research was taken as one of the major components of its function. It should be understood that without a full-fledged institute/center, it is very difficult to formulate a sound educational policy and a viable curriculum. Hence, it is imperative to revisit or reinstitute a Curriculum/Education research center/institute under the Ministry.

Departments/Centers of Curriculum in Higher Institutions Departments/centers of Curriculum in HEIs have played their own role in promoting the field, particularly in opening graduate programs in curriculum. The commencement of graduate programs in curriculum is highly significant in promoting the curriculum field. Addis Ababa University's Department of Curriculum and Teachers Professional Development Studies, previously known as the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, has played a significant role in promoting the field by opening both MA and PhD programs in curriculum. Other universities, such as *Bahir Dar* and *Adama* have also opened graduate programs in curriculum.

The history of the Department of Curriculum and Teachers Professional Development is linked with the emergence of the Faculty of Education and Addis Ababa University, dating to 1952. It was opened to operate a section of the then Faculty of Arts in the University College of Addis Ababa with the specific mission of preparing secondary school teachers. In 1955, Dr. Herbert Walther, from the University of Denver, assisted in developing a comprehensive program for the training of secondary school teachers and school administrators (Department of Curriculum and Instruction, 2000, p. 1).

In 1959, the section was upgraded and became a department with the same mission of preparing secondary school teachers. The Department of Education was raised to faculty level in 1962 with new and broader responsibilities (p. 2). In the process, the faculty was gradually structured into six departments. Of the six departments, the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education was merged and transformed into the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in the 1970s. Until 1987, the Department was strictly limited to the status of giving service courses (p. 3).

In 1987, the department started a graduate program (MA program) in Curriculum and Instruction. Furthermore, a special graduate program M.Ed. in Curriculum Studies through distance learning was started in 1999 as a response to special request from the Ministry of Education for those who work as curriculum experts in the MOE and the regions with little or no qualification in curriculum development (p. 3). Unfortunately, this program was discontinued.

The department's programs and objectives have changed significantly since its establishment. In addition to its MA programs (Curriculum and Instruction and Adult and Life-long Education), the department launched its first doctoral program in Curriculum Development and Design in 2008 and the second doctoral program in International and Comparative Education as of January, 2010.

These efforts to promote the field of curriculum studies is encouraging in the expansion of new curriculum programs, graduating many candidates, etc., despite the occurrence of shortage of recent reference materials and highly qualified instructors and advisors (associate professors and above), particularly in the PhD programs.

Professional Associations: The Ethiopian Curriculum Studies Association The Curriculum Association has made a great contribution in supporting curriculum work and strives for all students to have access to a meaningful, relevant, and engaging curriculum. It is committed to curriculum reform and acts as an advocate for the profession in forums where education policy is shaped. It engages in research, innovation, policy development, critique, and dissemination of curriculum ideas. In general, the establishment of professional association is very useful for professionals, individuals, society, government, and others.

Abreha Asfaw (2012), a coordinator for establishing the *Ethiopian Curriculum Studies Association* describes the rationale for establishing the association and the attempts made to get its legality, as follows:

- To strengthen the contribution of the profession for social wellbeing;
- To establish opportunities for professional development experts in the area through experience sharing, coaching, publications, seminars and workshops, and formal training;
- To use expertise knowledge wisely; and
- To find ways and means for the development of the profession itself through research and generation of new knowledge.

Abreha reports that efforts are ongoing to establish the Ethiopian Curriculum Studies Association as per the Ethiopian laws and regulations although the process is not yet completed due to changes in the procedures, criteria, and rules for the establishment of national professional association in the country.

Agencies/Centers involved in Relevance and Quality Assurance and Development of Strategies

Concern about the quality of education is on the agenda of many countries. In Africa, for instance, out of 52 countries, 16 (31%) including Ethiopia have quality assurance agencies (Materu, 2007, p. 72). Maintaining quality and relevance is one of the challenges in Ethiopia. Different mechanisms have been created to overcome the problem. The creation of the Higher Education Relevance and Quality Agency (HERQA) in 2003 (Higher Education

Proclamation no. 351/2003) is one of the major attempts made. The main aim of the agency is to safeguard and enhance the quality and relevance of higher education in the country (MOE, 2003). Specifically, it: (a) ensures that higher education and training offered at any institution are up to standard, relevant, and have quality and (b) evaluates the institutions at least once every five years with a view to ensuring that such intuitions are up to the standard and competent and to submits is findings to the Ministry (Tesfaye, 2008). These are realized through external and internal audits. HEIs are responsible for internal quality assurance (internal audit) as per the standard set by HERQA. All the old and new universities have now established quality assurance offices that have assumed the tasks of the Academic Development and Resource Centers (ADRCs) (Kassahun, 2012). ADRC was responsible for: (a) assessing the programs and courses, (b) analyzing possible weaknesses in courses and programs, (c) helping to improve program, and (d) designing courses and making interventions for improvement.

Until 2009, HERQA was focusing on Higher Education as per the mandate given by Proclamation 351/2003. However, the new Higher Education Proclamation 650/2009 has replaced Proclamation 351/2003; under Article 2 of the new Proclamation, a new Agency, the Education Relevance and Quality Agency, is to be established (HERQA, 2009, p. 55). On the basis of this proclamation and the recommendation of Business Process Reengineering, a new agency called the Education, Training Quality Assurance Agency (ETQAA) was established in 2009 (p. 55). It was responsible for the supervision of the quality and relevance of the country's education and training at all levels. Accordingly, HERQA was subsumed under this Agency until 2010. However, there was a concern that the transitional period from HERQA to ETQAA could be difficult and that HERQA might lose direction. As it was reported by Kassahun (2012), ETQAA faced serious implementation challenges, particularly in executing its new broad mandate. As a result, it was decided that HERQA resume its former mandate and the task of assuring quality and relevance other than Higher Education to be handled by the different Agencies/Departments in the Ministry.

Every HEI is expected to justify the relevance of its program and to have robust procedures for curriculum design, approval, and review. Tesfaye and Kassahun (2009, p. 201) report: First, based on the HERQA auditors' investigation, all audited *HEIs* engaged in curriculum development, and some used curricula from other institutions or curricula provided by the Ministry of Education. Second, some involved external peers and other stakeholders in curriculum development workshops, but only when they were considered to lack expertise themselves. Despite the fact that legislation is in place on curriculum review that stresses involvement of external stakeholders, this is often not practiced in the universities (p. 201).

Research and outreach activities are major obligations of HEIs. However, "Ethiopia's higher education system is very weak in terms of the quality and volume of its research activity and output and that this weakness should be rectified" (Ashcroft 2004). Amare (2007) also underlined the fact that research on Higher Education in general and on quality assurance in particular is inadequate in Ethiopia. Studies conducted by Yadesa (2009), Bekele (2010), Mulu (2012), Tesfaye and Kassahun (2009), and HERQA (2009) indicate that problems remain in quality assurance as per the required standard.

The other institution that has a contribution regarding curriculum development and research is the Higher Education Strategy Centre (HESC). It was established in 2003 to contribute to a more effective and efficient higher education system in Ethiopia. Some of its purposes connected with curriculum and research include (Higher Education Proclamation No. 351/2003 08/20/2011):

- To ensure that the curriculum of higher education is prepared in accordance with the standards;
- To conduct research and studies on current policies and matters relating to education and training and propose viable alternatives and serve as a resource center for reform activities; and
- To propose reforms on the national higher education strategy and program.

The role of the center in coordinating the task of curriculum development for HEIs is significant, despite the fact that it has faced challenges (a shortage of highly knowledgeable and skilled manpower, the existence of poor communication, a lack of prompt response from universities, etc.). Furthermore, in 2011, the Center was mandated by MOE to carry out the task of *Ethiopian National Qualification Framework* (ENQF) (TESC, 2011). The ENQF is charged with establishing national standards, improving articulation and comparability between qualifications of different sectors, and establishing national quality standards and systems for quality (HESC, 2011). This task is in progress where various concerned quality assurance bodies, such as HERQA, General Education, and TVET have been collaborating with HESC (Ibid). The South Africa Qualification Framework Authority has taken part in this task.

Caveat and Conclusion

Premodern education was mainly dominated by *Church* and *Quran* education. These institutions have provided education for more than a thousand years, however, few studies were made. Although Ethiopia had indigenous education, *Church* and *Quranic* education, it can be argued that modern education in Ethiopia started in a vacuum (Woube, 2005). There was no standard policy. The curricula, textbooks, and the medium of instruction were foreign-dominated, although Ethiopian intellectuals and foreigners made their own recommendations. The country's experience with regard to Curriculum Research and Development was minimal.

Various curriculum reforms were made in different periods. Attempts were also made to change the education system through studies such as *Education Sector Review* and *Evaluative Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia,* however without success. Drastic changes regarding curriculum, medium of instruction, and decentralization of education were made in the post-1991 period. This includes the adoption of a Policy (Education and Training Policy) and its strategy. Curriculum pluralism has become a scene in this diverse nation of nations, despite challenges in its implementation.

The development of curriculum making among the different levels of education (General Education, TVET, and Higher Education) is complex. The attempt to adopt the *TEP* with its strategies, later a *Curriculum Framework for Ethiopian Education: KG-Grade 12,* is appreciated. Despite its limitations, this *Framework* could be taken as a particularly commendable effort in Ethiopian curriculum development because it has come up with useful directions, principles, and procedures of curriculum development.

Attempts were made to develop a curriculum framework for Technical & Vocational Education and Training (TVET). The effort made with regard to building research in TVET is not satisfactory, despite emphasis has been given in the strategy. Concerning HEIs curriculum, the coordination, particularly in the undergraduate program, in HEIs has been realized through a council since 2008/09. HESC as an office facilitates the task of the council. The curriculum for HEIs has been changed two times, however, within a short period of time, implying a waste of manpower and resources.

The preparation of curriculum development for HEIs was based on needs assessment, program development, and assessment and implementation, which is indeed encouraging. Although the adoption of curriculum guides or manuals for HEIs is appreciated in providing guidance on developing the curriculum in some universities, for instance at AAU, as a curriculum package, there hardly exists a strategy for formative and summative evaluation. Basically, curriculum as a package requires follow up and evaluations (summative and formative).

The emphasis given by MOE on curriculum research seems little because the former Institute for Curriculum Development and Research was replaced by the *Curriculum Development and Implementation Directorate,* and its role regarding research was minimized. Although research centers like IER and ICDR and Curriculum Departments, HERQA, and HESC have made contributions regarding curriculum research and development, there is still a lot to be done to promote the curriculum field. The opening of graduate programs in curriculum in the universities is also encouraging and has laid the foundation for the field.

As McNeil (1996, p. 403) has noted, historical research is helpful to gain a clearer understanding of the processes of curriculum making. Pinar and Reynolds (1992, p. 1) underlined that "the history of curriculum studies is the story of competing efforts to develop curriculum." Hence, revisiting curriculum development and research practice should not be ignored, especially in the promotion of the curriculum field, curriculum research, and policy-making.

Notes

1. According to Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution, a "Nation, nationality or People" for the purpose of this constitution, is a group of people who have or share a large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory."
2. The first International Conference on Ethiopian Studies was held in 1959. The number of the International Conferences held was seventeen. The 17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies and its 50th Anniversary was held at the Kaliti Campus of the Addis Ababa University November 2–8, 2009.

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14

Governing Autonomy

Subjectivity, Freedom, and Knowledge in Finnish Curriculum Discourse[1]

Antti Saari, Sauli Salmela, and Jarkko Vilkkilä

Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, the neoliberal ideology has become the dominant ideology worldwide. Francis Fukuyama, in his *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) stated that history has come to an end, and that world was finally "complete" (i.e., at the level of ideologies, the political struggle was over after the collapse of the Soviet Union) so that only global management was needed. All alternative political discourses were replaced with economic discourses, which gave directions as to how to organize society and even life in general. Marketing had become the official code of conduct for Everyman, and all alternative cultural and social values were in danger of becoming meaningless with respect to rational debate.[2] So, one of the outcomes of the triumph of neoliberalism has been the change of focus on governmental modus operandi so that, despite the rhetorical emphasis that our culture promotes individuality, we are witnessing the rise of standardization in order to impose administrative and cultural uniformity.[3] These kinds of neoliberal policy making practices have also influenced the Finnish school system, for a series of serious demands for reforming education and national curriculum have been asserted by emphasizing the importance of economic and global competitiveness, which is related to a high level of expertise that, in turn, is thought to be dependent on successful education policy making and curriculum planning. For example, the Finnish Research and Innovation Council has stated in its *Research and Innovation Policy Guidelines for 2011–2015* that "Finland has decided to invest in knowledge and expertise as its strategy for success. Education, research and innovation will support economic growth and the positive development of the economy, the sustainable reform of social structures and the well-being of citizens."[4] However, the biggest challenge for Finland's school system and education policy is that "the educational reserve, its assessment by area and level of education should better correspond to future demand for labour."[5]

Such rhetoric has severe effects on classroom practice when the conceptions that define the process of education are in danger of becoming flatter. The complex and multilateral conception of "education" (with its conceptions of cultivation, of subjectivity, etc.) is replaced with mere "learning" (achieving skills) that is easily measured and assessed by means of performability and social efficiency (cf. "to perform: to do what is stated or required; to behave to a particular standard"). This increases the importance of the "so-called generic skills, which means the ability to solve problems, analytical skills, critical thinking, knowledge management, as well as interaction and performance skills."[6] This kind of emphasis on generic skills resembles what Paolo Virno, in his book *A Grammar of the Multitude* (2004) has said about the connection between knowledge and production which "is not at all exhausted within the systems of machines; on the contrary, it articulates itself in the linguistic cooperation of men and women, in their actually acting in concert." Furthermore, "the generic skills" includes "formal and informal knowledge, imagination, ethical propensities, mindsets and 'linguistic games.' "[7] In other words, the generic skills reveal themselves in "the intellectuality of masses" that refers to the whole of living labor consisting of the kinds of universal agents who can perform any task required, whose only virtue is "the intellect in general, the most generic aptitudes of the mind: the faculty of language, the inclination to learn, memory, the ability to abstract and to correlate, the inclination toward self-reflection."[8] In short, the intellect in general is an aptitude not for any one specified skill, but for those skills that are seen as generic for all human beings: thought and communication, viz., our sociability that is transformed into a precondition for production.

Similarly, our current educational zeitgeist that emphasizes "generic skills," instead of educating to understand and grasp the complexities of humanity more profoundly, reduces curriculum to become flatter substantially—rather than being livened up with academic knowledge—by focusing mainly on the future demand for labor, social efficiency, market competition, and league tables of performance between schools, systems of educational testing that are tied to the criteria for market competition.[9]

A look at the Finnish history of curriculum thought can reveal possibilities for rethinking and re-envisioning alternative futures. Historically, Finland presents a singular concoction of influences from American Tyler rationale and educational psychology, as well as a spirit of *Bildung* inherited from German philosophy and science of education. In Finland, the tradition of German idealism resulted in a strong nationalist philosophy of education in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Hegelian philosophy, as represented in Finland by Johan Vilhelm Snellman, was adopted as a basis for determining educational process as well as the nature of the educated subject in relation to cultural and historical environs.

After World War II, German influences were gradually replaced by American educational psychology. The main knowledge basis for teachers became psychological knowledge of behavior, while the schools were now governed through a form of rational planning. This accentuated the role of behaviorally defined, measurable aims of education, as well as psychologically defined means of attaining them. However, despite a short interlude of centralized planning and evaluation in the 1970s, this did not result in a thorough disciplinization of teachers' professions, but a relative autonomy, where teachers were allowed a significant degree of freedom in defining instructional measures in the classroom. This is clearly discernible in Matti Koskenniemi's educational thinking, where positivist ideology of education as a strict science was combined with German ideas of social pedagogy and teacher autonomy. It can be thus said that Koskenniemi at least partially carried forward the tradition established by Snellman and other philosophically minded pedagogues.

This amalgam offers intriguing vistas for conceptualizing teacher autonomy in a postmodern society. Today, Finns still accentuate teacher autonomy, while changing the logic of school governance according to a capitalist market model. We conclude by examining these complex dynamics with reference to a shift from Fordist to Post-Fordist governance as well as from disciplinary societies to control societies, as defined by Gilles Deleuze. These changes result in reworking the notions of autonomy, subjectivity, and knowledge in education.

The Historical Background of Finnish Educational Thought

The Finnish-Ugrian people populating the Nordic soil we today call Finland were being converted to the Catholic faith beginning in the twelfth century. Conversion was not carried out by the word but by the sword. From the late medieval period until Russia defeated Sweden in 1809, Finland belonged to the latter. Until 1917, the Grand Duchy (or Grand Principality) of Finland was part of the Russian Empire, ruled by the Russian czar as Grand Prince. Finland eventually gained her independence in 1917. But the independent Finns were deeply divided, not only socially but also economically and politically. In the vacuum the collapse of the Russian Empire created, there emerged power struggles across Eastern Europe, including in Finland, where a civil war lasted until May 1918. The first phases of Finnish education were thus linked to struggles for independence, language, and culture.

The first professional chair of education (*Lehrstuhl für Pädagogik*) was established at the University of Halle, Germany, in 1779, with Ernst Christian Trapp as the first Professor of Pedagogy. In Finland, the history of Pedagogics began formally in 1852, when the first chair was established at the University of Helsinki, which at the time was named the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (after Czar Alexander I: 1828–1919). In 1855, Lars Stenbäck (1811–1870), a priest, was nominated Professor of Pedagogy. The professorship was located in the faculty of theology, the Evangelical Lutheran Church having been (and remains) the largest religious body in Finland. But the administration of the university moved pedagogics to philosophy. From the next year on, the professor of pedagogics was charged to develop and lead teacher education as well as lecture on teaching methods, for secondary school teachers in particular. The position of teacher education in Finland has, then, been remarkable from the start, having an immediate influence on the praxis of the Professor of Pedagogy. By the last third of the twentieth century, faculties of education with departments of teacher education had been established in every university.[10]

As is the case in the other European countries, Finnish theory of education began well before positivist philosophy and the "linguistic turn" of the early twentieth century. Its foundations lay firmly in speculative philosophy, mainly German idealist and neo-humanist *Bildung*-movement (i.e., ideas of the *Bildungstheorie* flourishing 1770–1820), not in the empiricist, "scientific" philosophy of the next century observing empirical "facts." Actually, all philosophy in the Finnish university during 1820–1860 was Hegelian, and the Finnish university was among the first to adopt the Hegelian philosophy outside Germany.[11] Soon after this Hegelian era there emerged the Herbartian approach to education. In the twentieth century, though, there occurred debate over whether education should be considered a speculative or rather a "scientific," that is, empirical, branch of research.

The history of Finnish educational science or pedagogics has been marked by a struggle for scientific self-understanding. The relation of education to philosophy, psychology, sociology, and positivism has provoked endless questioning, producing such concepts as "general" and "special pedagogics," "theory of education," "educational science," and "pedagogical" versus "philosophical anthropology." After the Hegelian and Herbartian stages, from roughly the 1910s on, progress of the science of education turned gradually into fulfillment of the positivist ideal of science. This view was heavily criticized in the 1950s for its tendency to objectify the person being educated and its inability to capture the essence of education.[12]

The history of Finnish education may be divided into four stages with different interpretations of the concepts of equality (mainly identified with justice) and freedom. The first stage resulted in establishing state elementary schools in the late 1800s. The chief purpose was to awaken the peasant to national consciousness; becoming educated was not only one's right but also obligation towards the State. The second stage took place after independence, producing the law of compulsory education in 1921. The nation needed to be unified. The third stage brought the comprehensive school in the 1960s. After the World War II, the welfare State required equality of schooling opportunities. Finally, the 1990s—the fourth stage—saw deregulation and decentralization. The point of education was now to ensure the individual's personal competence in the market, and the idea of the welfare State was criticized.[13]

In the following section, we shall take a look at several of the most significant figures and their ideas on Finnish education. Our intent is to provide a history of the present.

Early Stage: *Bildung* and Hegelianism

Lars Stenbäck was the first professor of pedagogics in Finland, but he held the office for only half a year. After the professorship was moved from the theological to philosophical faculty, first Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), "the national philosopher of Finland," occupied the position, followed by Zacharis Cleve, a fellow Hegelian. Along with Snellman and Cleve, Finnish pedagogics adopted a more secular and scientific, that is descriptive, touch.[14]

Hegelianism had been introduced in 1810 by neo-humanist Johan Jakob Tengström, historian and philosopher. But it was due to Snellman, one of Tengström's pupils, that the German philosophy became widely known.[15] Snellman's importance to Finnish education lies above all in his emphasizing the role of *Bildung* (Lat. *humanitas,* Gk. παιδεία)as the essence of education.[16] Having completed his academic dissertation on Hegel in 1835, Snellman studied Hegelian philosophy in Tübingen, Germany, during 1839–1842, whence he studied ideas about the State, freedom, and *Bildung.*[17] Like Rousseau, Snellman formulated both political and educational philosophies, and these of course are closely connected. Politically, Snellman's ideas were essential for the Finnish national spirit. In Finland, as in Germany and in France, but unlike Great Britain and the United States, education coincided with the emergence of the nation-state. According to Snellman, the Finns needed their own language and culture in order to cultivate a self-conscious nation. National self-consciousness is a precondition for independence, Snellman thought. He saw *Bildung* as the means of achieving self-consciousness leading to freedom. The Finnish nation has its strength in *Bildung,* not in arms, Snellman said. Juha Manninen, a historian of ideas, has observed that "J. V. Snellman turned the owl of Minerva of Hegel's philosophy into an active doctrine of cherishing and improving the national education [i.e., *Bildung*]."[18] That is why questions of citizenship have been related from the beginning with curriculum in Finland.

Snellman based his thought on Hegelian objective idealist ontology, according to which reality is understandable by reason—as in the Greek philosophy. What is more, Hegel is like Plato but unlike Aristotle, a conceptual realist as well. It is not possible to understand Snellman's conceptions of the individual freedom and education without keeping in mind his Hegelian background. Hegel took the State and other "cultural beings" to be stages of the progression process of the "objective spirit." The manifestations of the objective spirit are more real than the individuals themselves, as they are ever-changing members of the objective spirit. According to Hegel, the material is but imperfect manifestation of the ideal, and finally at the end of the teleological process, the two become one, and all dualism disappears. For the moment, however, the State represents universal rationality and morality.

If philosophical theories of education divide roughly into individual and social theories, the former aim at educating independent individuals, and the latter aspire to produce good citizens. If Herbart represents the former, Hegel represents the latter. Hegelian thinking derives from Aristotelian and Platonic traditions according to which the community and State have higher-level functions than do citizens. The Herbartian individualist conception of man had its foundations in the early fourteenth-century nominalist philosophy.[19]

Education deals with the dialectical relation between an individual and the cultural tradition, which Snellman equates with educated reason. Snellman says that the purpose of all education is to "lead to freedom and rationality." A newborn cannot choose the cultural and intellectual reality into which he is born, and thus she is not free. On the other hand, the culture is external to the child, and so he is not rational. Education leads to rationality by making the child a part of the tradition, and to freedom, because the child, after having come to understand the tradition, is able to surpass and change it. The human being by nature (in the Aristotelian sense) is latently or potentially free and moral, but this potentiality needs to be educated in order to become manifest or actual. Kant, among others, shared this Aristotelian idea. In the beginning of Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy,* we read: "The human being is the only creature that must be educated."[20] Through education, the individual internalizes the ideas and moral norms of the State, Snellman says (after Hegel), and in this way he gains freedom. Education produces and rouses "national spirit," which in turn leads the nation into the dialectical evolutionary process elevating the nation into a State and makes it a part of the teleological self-manifestation of the Absolute Spirit. Snellman sees education a civic duty or obligation rather than a civil right.

It is instructive to see Snellman's Hegelian philosophy as a modification of Kant's philosophy. Kant, as is well known, proposed that the human being's freedom and autonomy are transcendental, whereas events and occurrences of the empirical, material nature are determined by causality. Theoretical reason cannot demonstrate these transcendental principles, but practical reason has to postulate them: otherwise morality would not be possible. Thus, moral and rational autonomy are called "postulates of the practical reason," as Kant phrases it. When educated, the human being may actualize this transcendental autonomy. An autonomous person is first and foremost morally autonomous and able to understand the universal moral principles and accommodate himself to these. If not educated, this potentiality does not actualize itself, and the person will remain in his natural state of brutal selfishness. As Seigel points out, Kant's idea of man as an autonomous moral legislator—in turn—is based on the conception of freedom in the political philosophy of Rousseau. The Frenchman took the citizen to have a double role in society: on one hand he is a governor and lawmaker, but on the other, he must obey the laws he himself has made. Whereas for Rousseau "General Will" (*volonté générale*) was an essential concept, Kant spoke of the morally "Good Will" (*guter Wille*) guided by transcendentally autonomous reason.[21]

The pedagogical paradox results from this Kantian starting point: one has to be "forced to be free" and autonomous. From the perspective of the subject ontology we notice the close connection of the paradox to the tradition of (transcendental) idealist philosophy. In the long tradition of the philosophy supporting subject-object dualist ontology (e.g., Plato, Augustine, Descartes, Kant, and Husserl), the person has been taken to be epistemically autonomous and free and able to achieve knowledge of the external world and constitute himself as a knowing subject. If we accept this premise, it seems that reaching the state of *Bildung* (i.e., being civilized) would not necessarily need education. After Kant, however, Fichte, Hegel, and Herbart, among others, rejected Kant's idea of radical transcendental freedom, replacing it with a conception of freedom based on intersubjectivity.

This is how Snellman solves in the Hegelian way the (quasi) antinomy posed by Plato, but most widely known as articulated by Kant. In his lectures on pedagogy, Snellman formulates the paradox in the following way:

> Man is what he makes of himself: this is the first premise. No one is anything else than he wishes to be. Otherwise there would be no responsibility or culpability. Freedom is their prerequisite. This would deprive education of all meaning. On the other hand: man shall not desire anything else than what he has to be—this is Reason, this is true Freedom. The gist is the answer to the question: what does he have to be? . . . He has to make of himself something that is not of his own opinion and choice, something that holds true even if he did not exist. . . . This is the main characteristic of education. There is a necessity to which man has to succumb. Man has to be something that is independent of his own decisions.[22]

Freedom as individual self-consciousness is the aim of education at the level of the individual. Self-consciousness is not something a priori, but follows from the individual's learning and taking part in the cultural tradition. Accordingly, the theory of *Bildung* entails the dialectics of tradition and self-consciousness, Snellman argues. From this it follows that Snellman rejects the naturalistic view of education asserted by Rousseau. Education is not gardening: It does not only mean growing something inborn, a passive essence or seed. Like Herder, Snellman sees cultural tradition itself as a metaphysical and dynamic process; being educated means not only understanding and becoming part of the culture, but also self-consciously surpassing the tradition through autonomous will. Thus we may see Snellman as an early representative of a critical educational science with its emancipatory conception of schooling.

Snellman was not particularly interested in questions such as how to teach. He does not think there would result any notable practical benefit from pedagogics. Instead, he sees the clarifying of education, i.e., making understandable the rational necessity of reality, as the task of pedagogics. "Pedagogics as a science concerning education is not presentation on what education should be, but rather presentation on what education is," Snellman says.[23] Education is the process by which a human being gains freedom and reason, but it is not possible to present any general theory of it, Snellman argues, because education is linked to habits and practices of nations and is thereby doomed to relativity. There is no normativity in pedagogics. It can only be a descriptive science, collecting and explaining facts. Education is relative and depends on time. It is tied to the historical conditions that vary. Nation, family and society are constantly changing. This is exactly what Wilhelm Dilthey was to write a few years later.

Snellman divides pedagogics into the doctrine of education (Pedagogy) and doctrine of teaching (Didactics). The former deals with moral education: how to direct the will in the right way. The latter concentrates on knowledge and improving reason. Moral education is the more important one. This humanist idea stems from the ancient philosophy, for example Socrates, but can be read from Locke as well.[24] Moral education belongs mainly to the family, whereas the duty of school is to look after intellectual instruction, Snellman suggests.[25] Moral education is relative to time, place, and culture. It cannot be based on the Kantian a priori method for establishing moral principles. Science and knowledge, on the other hand, are universal and general. This way there exists in Snellman's philosophy of education a tension between the relative and the absolute. It is the school's task to function as a mediatory element between the national and general way of knowing. The latter, rational knowledge makes us cosmopolites, but the national will makes us representatives of different cultures. This reminds us of Stoic ideas, such as put forward for example by Seneca.[26]

Like Locke, Snellman thinks that human beings are born as equal; differences are due to education: the "human being is totally dependent on education and *Bildung*—both in terms of the body and the spirit."[27] This rather behaviorist attitude also means rejecting the theological doctrine of original sin on the one hand, but also Rousseau's idea of man as good by birth and corrupted by society, on the other. Snellman sees education as optimistic and powerful. Unlike Locke, Snellman does not consider the newborn a *tabula rasa,* but history, culture, time, society and nation—not nature—set the limits for the will and knowledge possible to him.[28] *Bildung* is a lifelong process; it "does not get perfected with any school or examination, but instead whole life is a school forming the individual a human being, and it is this process of *Bildung* that forms the human within a human being".[29]

Jalmari Edvard Salomaa (1891–1960), professor of philosophy (1930–58) and at the same time professor of pedagogy (1932–55) at the University of Turku, continued the German tradition. Salomaa equated the process of culture with education, for they shared, he thought, the same aim: fulfilling humanity. The aims of education are to be found in the culture, located temporally and nationally. Fulfilling one's humanity is achieved through internalizing cultural values, a life-long process. Like Kant, however, Salomaa believed that culture denotes thought's rising above the necessities of nature to the free spiritual world of truth, beauty, justice, goodness, and religion. National culture manifests and complements these universal and timeless values.

Salomaa emphasized the role of the professional teacher. "Of course, the State may organize—and it has to—create new forms of the school, but real renewal may only be obtained by personal, competent educators, and not extrinsic arrangements," he writes.[30] This statement from 1944 crystallizes the historical freedom of the Finnish individual teacher—now endangered—to organize his teaching, according to the relatively loose national curriculum, or *Lehrplan* in German. The premises of Finnish education derive from German idealist philosophy and its neo-humanist views on man and *Bildungstheorie.*

Herbartianism and the Empiricist Break of the Late 1800s

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) is often considered the founder of scientific, systematic pedagogics with his *Allgemeine Pädagogik* (1806) promoting educational individualism. The basic concept of all pedagogics is *Bildsamkeit,* the plasticity (*Plastizität*) of the student, and the predisposition (Lat. *habitus,* Gk. ἕξις) of the student to be influenced by the educator.[31] Like William James, Herbart may be taken as pedagogical meliorist, for unlike Fichte and Locke, he says individuals do differ in their capabilities of development. "The foolish cannot be virtuous," Herbart summarizes.[32] Herbart occupied Kant's chair in Königsberg. Herbart set himself against Kantian dualism, resisting both the determinism of the phenomenal world and the radical freedom of the noumenal world: while the former leads to fatalist impossibility of education, the latter means education is in vain, if the subject is taken to be free and autonomous from the beginning.[33]

Herbart's intention was to develop a "mechanics of mind" and become the "Newton of Psychology." One is reminded of Locke and the English Associationist school with mechanical views on the nature of mental life. Herbart, however, is spiritualistic, whereas the British tended towards materialism.[34] In the United States, there appeared a short-lived but intense Herbartian reform movement from about 1895 to 1905, with emphasis on child growth and development. Despite its decline, "Herbartian ideas and reactions to these ideas continued to exercise a profound influence on the American curriculum long after the movement itself faded from existence."[35]

Mikael Soininen (1860–1924) established Herbartianism in Finland. Like Pestalozzi, Soininen endorsed pedagogical egalitarianism. He demanded "the greatest education [instead of happiness—authors] for the greatest number," and a "school in every village." A Law of general compulsory education was passed in 1921. Maybe one could describe Soininen's views as Herbartianism with a philanthropist flavor.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there appeared in Germany a philosophical discussion about the differences between natural and human sciences. The distinction was Dilthey's, who called the "human" or "cultural" sciences *Geisteswissenchaften,* the study of man and the culture produced by man. Accordingly, he spoke of *geisteswissenschafliche Pädagogik,* which, quite incorrectly, is usually known as "hermeneutical pedagogics" in English. Dilthey's "*Über die Möglichkeit einer allgemeingültigen pädagogischen Wissenschaft*" (On the Possibility of a General Pedagogical Science) may be considered the first attempt to outline pedagogics as a cultural science.[36] Along with individualist pedagogics there appeared "social pedagogical" theory, deriving from ideas associated with Comte and Spencer and especially the German neo-Kantian Paul Natorp (1854–1924). Social pedagogy claimed that societal questions are part of common knowledge and should be taught at school. The aim is not in educating "useful citizens," but in helping the formation of the character of the students, advancing tolerance and community.[37]

Hegelian and Herbartian theories were challenged with empirically oriented views, when Albert Lilius and above-mentioned Mikael Soininen, "the father of the Finnish Herbartianism," started criticizing them as too "philosophical." Roughly at the same time, empirical psychology appeared in Wilhelm Wündt's laboratory in Leipzig in 1879. This Wündtian psychology was an introspective method of discovering the "elements" of conscious experience—basically a version of Locke's associanist psychology of ideas. This new experimental psychology became soon widely known in European and American universities. Among Wündt's students were not only G. Stanley Hall and Raymond Cattell, but also August Lay and Ernst Meumann, who founded an institute of experimental psychology and *Pädagogik* in Hamburg after Wündt's model. Both Lilius and Soininen knew Meumann's experimental *Pädagogik,* which influenced early Finnish experimental study of education.[38]

Eino Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, a prominent pedagogue and a statesman, appreciated that answering philosophical questions was an essential question of educational theory:

> It is characteristic to man, first of all, that he . . . has a higher purpose than an animal, and second, that nowhere does he exist as a mere product of nature, but a cultural human being that is different according to different times and conditions. A study of the laws directing the body and the soul is therefore not enough. It is necessary to have knowledge of the purpose of human existence according to which he must be educated. One might argue that it is impossible to gain such knowledge, but a pedagogy that makes such claims has also declared its own death sentence. For it cannot have a right to exist at all if it abstains from searching for an answer to the highest questions of human life. The answer it purports to have found might be right or wrong—it is irrelevant here—but only when it can provide such an answer does it have a right to raise its voice in the pedagogical questions of the present.[39]

Reducing human life into a species-related behavior, a positivist science—which Mikael Soininen allegedly represents—can gain knowledge of human existence but, Yrjö-Koskinen declared, it cannot have any moral legitimation.

This critique is surprisingly similar to the one presented by Snellman in 1861. Snellman ironically mimics the rhetoric of positivist and naturalist education, which, he was sure, would lead humankind to irrationality:

> Education must be the developing of Man's innate nature! It must only be based on character development. The role of the pedagogue must only be that of a gardener, who brings this wonderful plant into sunlight and waters it! All coercion must be banished from education! Wonderful nature should be let unfold freely! History of mankind, its feuds and battles, destitution and millennia of suffering which continues even today—they are a great mistake. These brilliant pedagogues would be what they are even though none of this had happened. In fact they would be even more if only one of these pedagogues would have lived in Adam's times and let Adam's wonderful nature develop naturally![40]

Snellman was farsighted, for these very theses did indeed become the manifesto of the new empirical educational theory at the turn of the century.

Juho August Hollo (1885–1967), professor of Pedagogy and Didactics at the University of Helsinki (1937–54), the first professorship in the Finnish language (the earlier having been in Swedish, Finland's second official language), was concerned about educational science's subjugated status to Psychology. As a science, Pedagogy is not standing on its own feet, Hollo worried in 1939, nor does Herbartian Pedagogy. Herbart's "scientific Pedagogy" was, after all, a part of his philosophy. It is a combination of practical philosophy and psychology, applied science with no foundation of its own. Researchers belonging to the Herbartian School called their science "exact," Hollo continued, but "if the word [exact] is to be given its due meaning," the science in question would have to deal with measurable quantities the way mathematical sciences like mechanics and physics do. In education, this can't be the case; education can't possibly be an exact science. Hollo suggests we distinguish between two different tasks for educational science. First, it should describe all phenomena belonging to education without trying to explain them. Second, it is to formulate causal explanations of these phenomena.[41]

Erik Ahlman (1892–1952) started his academic career as a classical linguist but soon moved to philosophy, especially philosophy of values, culture, and education. Ahlman was professor of philosophy and theoretical pedagogics at the University of Jyväskylä, and later professor of practical philosophy at Helsinki. Ahlman's philosophy may be called cultural philosophy, for he linked Western culture with the evolution of moral philosophy and ontology of values. Two World Wars, totalitarian ideologies, the Holocaust, social alienation, and the threat of ecological catastrophe could be seen as consequences of ethical subjectivism or nihilism. Ahlman tried to defend universal moral norms in order to avoid the crises resulting from the rejection of common values. Ahlman—like Salomaa before him, and later Georg Henrik von Wright, probably the best worldwide known Finnish philosopher—postulate universal values as a precondition for the existence of the Western culture.[42]

Ahlman combines Schopenhauer's metaphysics of Will and the vitalist intuitionism of Bergson with Nietzsche's claim for the individual to create his own values. Like Kant, Ahlman favors a dualist view on man, postulating a spiritual humanity above and in addition to the biological being. This spiritual constituent of man constitutes the essential or "true self," freed from the necessities of the material being and selfish approach to the world. Ahlman's concept of "true self" is an equivalent to the Kantian "noumenal self," with the difference that Ahlman stresses the individuality of the Will and defines values as subjective rather than universal. Willing is constant becoming, Ahlman says, and "value is the direction of the Will."[43] There are innumerable values, and they are singular and unique. However, there is resemblance between the values of one individual and others, so that certain values can be considered and abstracted as if they were independent entities.[44]

The end of education, says Ahlman, is the actualization of the values inherent in the subject as "qualities of the Will." Ahlman appeals to the child's authenticity as the ultimate source of his or her values and actions. Like Kant, Ahlman bases morality on the Will, and like Nietzsche, he takes the Will to be individual. (If we bracket the metaphysics of this authenticity, we find Richard S. Peters suggests basically the same.) According to Ahlman, education is a spiritual process, whereby the educator aims at producing permanent changes with the help of the person being educated. The ends of education are norms of the educator based on intuition and emotional conviction, beyond rational reasoning or argument. Unlike Herbart, Ahlman does not regard educational values derivable from ethics. First, there is no consensus about any general moral theory, and so it would be impossible to tell whether educational norms should be consistent with Kant's imperative, utilitarianism or Nietzschean "master morality." Second, ethics state ideals that are not attainable, yet it must be possible for us to achieve educational ideals.[45] Ahlman sees individuality necessarily developing in community. Culture, according to Ahlman, is comprised of values common to the individual members. Values are generated and transmitted through education. Like Snellman and the *Bildung* tradition in general, Ahlman believes a cultivated individual can surpass and influence culture, as it is has been with certain religious innovators, philosophers, and scientists.

As we will examine later, the new science of education emerging in the early twentieth century—positivist and behaviorist—provoked little conversation about its philosophical and theoretical foundations.[46] Among its critics were Urpo Harva (1910–1994), the first Professor of Adult Education, and Reijo Wilenius (1930–), Professor of Philosophy, who largely followed Hollo and Snellman. Harva wisely privileged philosophy and theory over empiricism, making explicit the limits of the latter. Since Plato, pedagogy had been closely connected to philosophy. Those determined to turn pedagogy into a science by linking pedagogy with psychology have stressed that philosophy is not a science, and thus pedagogy must be detached from it if we want pedagogy to be scientific. Pedagogy is not psychology, however, and if educational science is to be autonomous, its relations to other sciences must be clarified.

What is education, and how is education possible? This is, Harva reminds, exactly the question posed earlier by Juho August Hollo, who articulated a sharp distinction between the science of education and Pedagogy, the former a specialized field of research of the sociological sciences. The task of the science of education is to "state, what education in reality is, describe its real quality in different places and times, and explain the causal connections of its various phenomena".[47] Pedagogy, in contrast, does not content itself with being descriptive; it is normative and expresses values and meanings. Therefore it is not and cannot be an "exact science." Answering the question of the essence of education means laying the foundations of educational science, Harva continues, and educational science has to answer it without depending upon other sciences to answer it. This way, educational science achieves its autonomy.[48]

Harva argues against reducing Pedagogy to psychology or sociology. Like philosophical anthropology, Pedagogy poses the question (which, according to Kant, should be the fundamental concern of philosophy) at the most general level: "What is the human being?" Harva suggests we call this pedagogical study of man "pedagogical anthropology." Like philosophical anthropology, pedagogical anthropology is the philosophical study of man, but these disciplines pose their questions differently, for the latter is interested mainly in those questions that have significance for education. Harva summarizes: "Science of education studies the world of education as such as it manifests itself in reality. Consequently, it does not aim at value any educational phenomena or give the educators any practical advice. It involves making clear the concept of education (theory of education in the narrow sense), pedagogical anthropology and the special sciences studying education."[49]

Reijo Wilenius (1930–) is professor of philosophy emeritus from the University of Jyväskylä. Like Urpo Harva, Wilenius has endorsed educational philosophy and criticized technologies of learning. "The limitations and deficiencies of empirical science of education have become evident" and it has "drifted to a serious crisis," Wilenius observed in 1975. In a state of constant reform, the practical management of education presupposes its conceptual management. It is a task of the philosophy of education to form concepts analyzing the entirety of education and exposing its basic questions, using the empirical data offered by educational science. The philosophy of education may also outline alternative solutions, and this revival of educational philosophy makes the classical philosophies of educational of current interest again, Wilenius continues.[50]

The purpose of the science of education is to advance the consciousness of the educator, and thereby his action, Wilenius states. He takes the science of education to be a practical science in its Aristotelian sense. Unfortunately, educational research has become an instrument of political decision making. This "union of knowledge and power" has to be made explicit in order to be dissolved. The science of education has to revise its foundations and define its functions, and its relation to the human sciences.[51] Education is part of human praxis, and Wilenius contrasts positivist-mechanistic theory with the "philosophy of action," the latter having been developed in Ludwig Wittgenstein's later philosophy. The philosophy of action acknowledges that the behavioral sciences have failed to explain human action.[52]

Positivism Emerges: Empirical Knowledge and the Governance of Public Schooling

As noted, the turn of the last century was accented by empirical challenges to the philosophical approaches to education. Like the figures of G. Stanley Hall in the United States and Ernst Meumann in Germany, Finnish empiricists such as Albert Lilius, Aksel Rafael Rosenqvist, and Mikael Soininen asserted that empirical knowledge should create passages between ideas of child-centered pedagogy and the practices of public schooling. Empirical knowledge production relied on three rhetorical strategies for its legitimation claims.[53] First of all, it promised to follow the child's *inner nature.* Allegedly, Hegelian pedagogy had only speculated about the aims of education without considering what were children's actual capabilities of attaining them. Child-centered pedagogy now became connected to the *empirical testimony of the object:* knowledge needed the voices of children themselves. Children had their own immanent laws of development which education should follow. Inner forces unfold by themselves, without repression from the outside, as Kaarle Oksala advised:

> As individual and social life places many kinds of demands for education, their implementation—at least in the case of little children—must happen without breaching children's natural rights. Knowledge of the character of the infantile body and soul will set limits within which school education must operate.[54]

As the German *Bildung* tradition connected the possibilities of education to the "*Bildsamkeit,*" that is, to the educability of the subject, the aims of education are now inserted in the "plasticity" of the human organism and its behavior.[55] Pedagogy no longer required reference to living language and history as the "home" of human existence; now it heeded the laws of human development and its modification. Authority and power were now expelled from educational thinking, as education became the praxis of supporting the unfolding of the innate forces of psychophysiological development. The questions of compulsion and freedom, of history and self-consciousness were now transmuted into problems concerning the influences of nature and nurture.[56]

Second, schooling based on empirical knowledge would also acknowledge individual variations among pupils. However, this was not understood, as in the romantic and neo-humanist tradition, as singular individuality in the contexts of language and history, but, rather, as the thoroughly knowable object of diagnosis and statistical techniques: "for we want to know how forms of individuality vary *in general,* not what is the individual character of Rousseau or Goethe."[57] Through this, pupil's individuality could be known as "a position in the realm of variation."[58] As the notion of individuality was cast within terms of populational reasoning, it calls for a statistical form of knowledge, which after World War II became the dominant method of educational research in Finland.

In this way, educational research became annexed to what Michel Foucault has called *biopolitics;* the governing of the economic, social, and medical phenomena of the population.[59] Knowledge of large populations was more relevant to governance than Hegelian speculation. With statistical knowledge, the notion of the *normal* became inserted into pedagogy. As there are inner forces of the organism which should be allowed to unfold freely, there is also an inner *telos* to life itself, which always aims towards the normal. The task of educational psychology was now to aid in recognizing and correcting pathological forms of human development.[60]

Third, psychological and statistical knowledge would also aid in excluding *waste*[61] from education, as the empirical knowledge of connecting means and ends in the most efficient way would rid us of nonefficient governance. This meant screening eligible and promising applicants for teacher training, and constructing school classes according to pupils' IQs.[62] As the state focused more and more on the cultivation of the forces of life among the population, it became evident that these powers were limited and fragile.[63] Prone to development, but also to degeneration and waste, these forces required careful inspection and cultivation. This rationale, in turn, required a meticulous cartography of the human body with its possibilities of development and decay.[64]

In early twentieth century Finland, German psychotechnics and scientific management legitimated the rationalization of work and public life.[65] A. R. Rosenqvist, a pioneer of both empirical education and industrial psychology, lamented the waste of human resources:

> We can hereby conclude that the most valuable treasures of human life, that is, psychological capacities, have been handled much worse than the cheapest of technical equipment whose breakage can always be financially compensated for. It is also noteworthy that we know the deposits of raw materials in our country relatively well as to their quantity, quality and location. But of the quality and quantity of spiritual raw materials, that is, of the individual psychological gifts and faculties, we know very little, and yet their examination and cultivation is no less important than of material resources. Inevitably, this wasteful economy of psychological forces results in the atrophied state of many dormant faculties. This produces many spiritual and material losses to both the individual and the whole society.[66]

Rosenqvist's pathos reflects the philanthropic rhetoric of scientific management, which claimed that efficient management cultivates the wellbeing of its objects as well as the whole society.[67] This is where the aforementioned strategies of empirical education coalesce: education that is child centered—that is, in tune with the general as well as individual capabilities and limitations of the human organism—is also necessarily effective. It will not waste time and resources due to ignorance of the capacities and limitations of children.

Facts and Values

The empirical science of education would enable education that does not wield power from *without* the child, but allows the hidden forces of psychophysiological development freely unfold from *within.* This requires a certain mode of subjectivity from the researcher as well as from a teacher who would apply scientific forms of knowledge production in his work. Mikael Soininen, a prominent representative of Herbartian thought and educational psychology in Finland, saw that:

> . . . even the most capable teacher . . . is obligated to use the help provided by psychology and instructional methods based on it. . . . Psychology instructs the teacher to remove barriers in pupils' souls and open pathways in which mental powers can freely move. Teaching based on psychology will only facilitate the movements of psychological forces and action according to their own laws.[68]

Furthermore, education should describe *pure observable facts,* to which researcher's-teacher's subjective preconceptions should not affect.[69] Furthermore, this asceticism of the subject characterizes empiricism's relation to the validity of moral propositions. Most educational researchers subscribe to Hume's maxim of "no ought from is"; that is, that one cannot make any valid moral claims from matters of fact. Therefore, facts and values should remain separate and educational research should be value-free:

> A science that studies matters of fact, cannot be normative. Science cannot place any general rules that one should follow: the role of science is to gather objective information on factors affecting certain phenomena and to form a systematic whole of this knowledge[70]

One might then think that empirical knowledge would not have any relevance for pedagogical practice that is always connected to certain values. Au contraire: it underscores the possibility of making use of such knowledge for whatever educational aims in whatever context, thereby embodying instrumental rationality. Moreover, the knowing subject can bypass the fact-value distinction by referring to the immanent laws of the object; that is, by providing knowledge of the normal and the pathological—of how behavior conforms to the inner teleology of life itself.[71] Thus, the nascent empirical science of education demands that pedagogy based on scientific knowledge should abstain from using such terms as "naughty," "kind," or "lazy" to describe children. Such language should be replaced with the descriptive discourse of medical and psychological diagnostics referencing the more or less normal or pathological traits of behavior.[72]

In Hegelian philosophy, the nation was first a reflection of the development of Reason and the historical and cultural identity and language of its citizens. With positivist education, the nation became an object of biopolitics, cultivating the psychological and physical forces of the population, phenomena defined and delimited by the social and behavioral sciences. Whereas Hegelian metaphysics had understood education for freedom in the context of noumenal reason overcoming the merely natural forms of life, the new biopolitics now defined freedom in its negative sense, as the absence of outer inhibitions and obstacles to the unfolding of the forces of psychological and physical development. While teacher autonomy was in the Hegelian tradition understood in terms of teachers reflecting the reason of the state, it now became freedom from speculative principles unrelated to the empirical truth of growth and development.

Standardizing the Discourse of Learning

Michel Foucault noted the emergence of disciplinary societies in *Discipline and Punish.*[73] Since the eighteenth century, Europe had witnessed a proliferation of an archipelago of disciplinary institutions such as prisons, factories, and schools. What was common to these was the strict individualization and monitoring of human behavior according to a standardized program, embodied in the Fordist governance of work in the early twentieth century. The rationale behind Fordism is epitomized in the mechanics of the factory, i.e., standardization and control. In Fordism, production and products are carefully standardized and controlled, and a factory worker is subject to this production so that his-her performance is strictly separated from his-her personality. In other words, all social complexities are eliminated from the performance so that the chain of production would work flawlessly.

Curriculum planning during the first half of the twentieth century was committed to the principles of Fordism. The focus of North American curriculum theory changed substantially when the Herbartian conception of education that stressed both psychology and ethics,[74] and the Deweyan curriculum, which was highly influenced by the Herbartians,[75] was superseded by the so-called social efficiency movement (or as A.V. Kelly calls it, "the aims and objectives movement")[76] that is associated especially with the work of Werrett Wallace Charters and Franklin Bobbitt.[77] The "new" and more "scientific" psychology that superseded Herbartian psychology became the new paradigm of pedagogy so that this paradigm shift lead to the instrumentalization of curriculum.[78] Instrumentalization made standardization inevitable.

The core ideas of the social efficiency movement were concentrated in Ralph Tyler's classic *The Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.*[79] Tyler formulated very simple steps to follow in order to carry out curriculum as effectively as possible. The (in)famous Tyler Rationale consists of four steps or "basic principles," viz., (1) the development of objectives, (2) the creation of suitable learning experiences, (3) the ordering of learning activities in an effective way, and (4) evaluating the curriculum.[80] To put it in terms of Fordism, we can say that school, in the light of the Tyler Rationale, appears to be a factory that produces degrees and diplomas in order to meet the objectives of society. Similarly, pupils and students are the material of educational production that is treated for the sake of effectiveness as a homogeneous mass. The status of teacher is reduced from educator to, as Ian Westbury has put it, "the invisible agent of the system" whose task is not to perform his work freely based on one's professional expertise, but to obey bureaucracy's orders that are given in the spirit of managerialism.[81]

The ideological and intellectual framework of managerialism is best articulated, perhaps, in Frederick Winslow Taylor's 1911 treatise *The Principles of Scientific Management,* and the principles presented in this book formulated the prevailing educational ideology in schools in United States.[82] Later, this ideological apparatus formed the intellectual framework of neoliberalism (and PostFordism as well) that organizes schools according to the principles of free markets.[83] These shifts ensuing from management rationales also affected Finnish educational thought and practice.

After World War II, empirical education quickly gained the upper hand, whereas philosophical and historical knowledge became relatively marginalized. With the state school reform of the 1970s, the tie between empirical research and school administration also became more explicit. Finland decided to build a comprehensive school system for all, replacing the former dual and segregative model. The reform also enforced science-based rational planning as curricular decision-making. Monitoring and evaluation became centralized and standardized. Hannu Simola even suggests that there was something quite "totalitarian" in the way the comprehensive school reform was implemented in the 1970s.[84]

While this reform was taking place, the *Centre for Educational Research,* together with the *National Board of Education,* started to conduct school experiments, educational testing, and attitude surveys for the purposes of comprehensive school reform.[85] The center built a network of curriculum planning, testing, and evaluation, where standardized information could easily circulate. It would connect researchers, administrators, pupils and their parents to the same stabilized space of knowledge and governance.[86]

The official state discourse of education also reflected the imaginaries of Taylorist rational planning through scientific knowledge. The school was now represented as though it was a thoroughly rational and controllable system. Furthermore, as the didactic discourse of learning centered on the psychologically represented individual, psychological knowledge gradually became the seemingly self-evident, neutral language of schooling. This development resulted in the school disappearing altogether from curricula and didactic textbooks as a social and cultural context of education. Abstract discourse of learning now described learning processes in whatever context, for whatever ends.[87]

What is curious about Finnish empirical education in the 1970s is that while it purported to be objective and value free, it still embodied various societal values. This is discernible in the discourses and practices of mastery learning. In the midst of the decade of Finnish school reforms, U.S. theories of mastery learning by Bloom and Clarke gained momentum in Finland. This was buttressed by the dominant ideology of scientific and centralized educational planning.[88] MLS (mastery learning strategies) was understood as a paradigm example of the scientific theory of learning which would describe law-like regularities in behavior. This theory would enable to predict and control the processes of instruction through exact description of educational aims.[89]

Pentti Hakkarainen noted that educational aims had thus far been discussed as merely "philosophical and ethical problems" and only now were definitions gaining empirical content, that is, defined in terms of pupil behavior.[90] Scientific conceptualization and the governance of schooling were thus closely intertwined. Hakkarainen writes:

> The demand of clear and specific curricular aims is based on the assumption that it is possible to give an exact prediction of the outcome beforehand—before instruction commences. Clear aims are assumed to aid in focusing instructional measures in a functional way with regard to anticipated results; they will aid in selecting and organizing curriculum substance; and most of all, to facilitate the assessment of teaching effectiveness, since the desired result declared beforehand will offer the measure of evaluating outcomes.[91]

Another important concern with regard to educational aims was *teacher thinking.* Erkki Lahdes, a prominent representative of didactics at the time, saw that "at the moment, the didactic language used by teachers leaves a lot to be desired. The concepts are not clear."[92] Lahdes thought that teachers should not have the right to define general educational aims, but they could determine more specific aims as long as they receive thorough training in definition.[93] Robert Mager's *Preparing Instructional Objectives* was considered the paradigm model for setting educational aims.[94] This guide would teach educators and administrators to define educational aims in terms of observable and measurable pupil behavior. Lahdes wonders that, given its popularity in Finland, one might even talk of genuine "Magerianism" as a predominant style of thinking in education.[95]

These developments reflected the growing centralization of power in curriculum design, implementation, and evaluation characteristic of Finnish education system in the 1970s. Together with behaviorist psychology and mastery learning strategies, there was an ascendancy of systems thinking and cybernetics in which these discourses of learning could be embedded. The classroom, the school, and the education system—even the whole Finnish society—could be seen as a series of feedback mechanisms that could be examined and managed.[96] While it proclaimed the positivist ideals of total representation of and control over learning processes, it is also noteworthy that Finnish mastery learning also provided a scientific legitimation for the ideas of equality of opportunity. While MLS hoisted the flag of control and uniformity of behavior, it asserted optimism about the possibilities of any pupil—given enough time and tutoring—to reach the normal level of competence in any subject. In this way, egalitarian motifs were smuggled into the purportedly value-free positivist curriculum thought.[97] As Sirkka Ahonen notes, along with same schools and curricula for all, it was often seen that the learning outcomes should also be similar across the population. This, in turn, gave a general impetus for facilitating pupils with special needs.[98]

Later, as the PISA results brought attention to the phenomenal success of the Finnish school system, explanations often cited the egalitarian values materialized in comprehensive school teaching. A strong conviction to take care of the "slower" or "difficult" students since the 1970s led to a large special education system, which may have contributed to making normal classes more homogeneous in terms of achievements shown by PISA.[99] While the positivist history of Finnish education and its governance is often seen as dubious, it partly aided in serving egalitarian ends that are now seen as the secret of the "PISA miracle."

Progressive Pedagogy and Teacher's Didactic Thinking: The Work of Matti Koskenniemi

While a positivist and psychologistic discourse has dominated much of Finnish curriculum thought since the 1950s, there were, however, also various instances where German-influenced progressive pedagogy shook hands with empiricist education, the consequences of which can still be discerned in Finnish teacher education. Professor Matti Koskenniemi, whose long career spanned from the 1930s to the 1980s, was undoubtedly the most significant single representative of empirical education in Finland. Initially trained in the natural sciences (in chemistry, he was the student of Nobelist A. I. Virtanen), Koskenniemi was a pioneer in Finnish intelligence research as well as the sociometric study of pupil relations.

What is noteworthy is Koskenniemi's combining of empirical research with progressive education and the promotion of teacher autonomy. In the 1930s, Koskenniemi visited Germany and cooperated with Peter Petersen, the founder of the progressive *Jena Plan.* In the Jena Plan, the school functioned as an open community. Petersen stressed natural living spaces with social forms of play, cooperation, and festivities. As a collaborator of Ernst Meumann, Petersen championed *Tatsachenforschung,* an empirical pedagogy as a basis of progressive schooling. Thus, the Jena Plan combined Enlightenment ideals of rationality, progress, and autonomy in service to educational ends. It also installed relative autonomy and democracy to schools otherwise operated through disciplinary power.

Like Petersen and John Dewey, Koskenniemi came to see the school as *a miniature society* with its own immanent social laws of functioning. Realizing this in Finland required rejection of the old Herbartian-Zillerian formalities of instruction, which he thought merely mechanized education.[100] While retaining insights made by developmental psychology, Koskenniemi criticized psychological reductionism and its accentuation of teacher effectiveness in educational research. He considered the current psychology of learning as well as the input-output model on instruction too narrow a view for depicting the multifaceted nature of education as a pedagogic and a social process.[101] In Koskenniemi's progressive thinking, schooling and empirical knowledge went hand in hand.

In their textbook on the psychology of education, Koskenniemi and Arvo Lehtovaara saw that, in the 1950s, the power structures of school classroom life were changing. Pupils who had submitted to teacher authority were now replaced by children engaging in a free, unrestricted dialogue with each other and the teacher.[102] A *coup d'etat* in pedagogical power relations required new knowledge of the child really as a psychological and social being. Such empirical knowledge would aid in making education more democratic, as it would bring to light the capacities, interests, and social relations of children themselves. In this way, scientific representation would operate as a substitute for political representation. What Foucault[103] called the turning of the political axis of individuation in the overthrow of the old regime was now becoming a part and parcel of the political imagination of empirical education.

Koskenniemi's progressive ideas also extended to teacher education as he accented the autonomy of teachers as a basis of democratic and science-based schooling. Koskenniemi appreciated that teachers should not only be mindless cogs in a bureaucratic machine, merely applying general psychological principles of teaching. He saw that teachers are researchers who make conjectures and hypotheses concerning the social psychological processes of the classroom. In a manner that bears similarities with both Petersen and Dewey, Koskenniemi writes:

> In principle, solving educational problems in practice and scientific research do not differ from one another. Teaching constantly leads to situations where teacher must choose from various methods the most suitable one. The decision entails, whether the teachers is aware of it or not, various assumptions as to where each solution leads. [104]

Teacher education would thereby include the observation of behavior and interaction in the school class. Paradoxically, through this kind of disciplinization of the scientific gaze, teachers could become autonomous (in the sense of avoiding mechanical application of didactic norms or psychological theories of learning). They would learn to construct a genuinely personal style of teaching that they could adapt to different situations.[105]

In the 1970s, comprehensive school reform was followed by the reform of teacher education, in the planning of which Koskenniemi played a central role. Finnish primary school teacher seminars were brought under the aegis of university-based faculties of education. Consistent with Koskenniemi's ideas, primary school teachers would become didactically-minded practitioners willing to experiment and develop their work autonomously.[106] This buttressed teacher professionalism, as the former "candles of the people" were now turning into scientific experts. Subsequently, the comprehensive schoolteacher became and remains still one of the most highly esteemed professions in Finland to this day. It also remains difficult to conceptualize the political underpinnings of the teacher profession in the official state discourse of teaching. While teachers are encouraged to think of themselves as autonomous, scientific practitioners, they might lack the language with which to articulate how they are governed through this very scientific and neutral master discourse.[107]

We might make sense of this process of psychologization in terms of an analogical relationship between school work and the work processes in Fordist capitalism. In his *What Is Curriculum Theory?* (2004), William F. Pinar has noticed that "most teachers will be trained as 'social engineers,' directed to 'manage' learning that is modeled loosely after corporate work stations,"[108] and thus, "the factory-model school achieves social control at the cost of intelligence . . . that is made narrow, and thus undermined, when it is reduced to answers to other people's questions, when it is only a means to achieve preordained goals."[109] Furthermore, the conception of intelligence is being transformed to "instrumental and calculative concept"[110] that is "useful to the present form of economic organisation—the corporation," so that "intelligence is viewed as a means to an end, the acquisition of skills, knowledge, and attitudes utilisable in the corporate sector."[111] We might think of Koskenniemi's efforts as attempts to retain control while freeing teachers from the shackles of standardization. Disciplinization takes place inside the teachers' minds, as their voluntary subjugation to the principles of scientific thinking. In Foucauldian terms, we might think of this form of subjectivity as an "enslaved sovereign"[112]—a knowledgeable subject who is free insofar as he is ruled by science.

Teachers as Autonomous Scientific Professionals: Developments in the 1980s and 1990s

Koskenniemi's tradition—which welds together notions of scientific thinking and autonomy—is still alive and well in teacher training, although the ideology of research-based education now functions in the guise of ethnographic studies and qualitative methods as well as the discourse of statistical, evidence-based practices. What counts as evidence and objectivity, and what constitutes the practicality of research in teacher education, is now a heterogeneous and often contested terrain.

At a general level, the current scientific ideologies circulating around education are nothing completely new compared to the aforementioned rhetoric of positivist education. Child-centeredness, individuality, effectiveness, and the central role of scientific knowledge are still present, but they have now been connected to a whole new culture of educational politics that accentuates individualism, market logic, and flexibility instead of rigid and centralized governance. We will now take a look at how this change took place at the turn of the decade and how it was connected to scientific discourses of learning as well as values of autonomy and equality as individual choice.

The centralization of school governance had had a long history in Finland. In the 1840s, annual reports were ordered under their authority to the Senate. In the 1860s, school inspectors visited elementary schools and filed systematic reports on them. These inspection practices continued with comprehensive school reform, whereupon inspectors would direct and evaluate its implementation in the schools.[113] In the 1980s, however, the decentralization tendency in governance reached educational policies as well. School inspections were dropped, and the meticulous direction measures were replaced by the monitoring of results and effects under the aegis of smaller governmental units.[114]

Koskenniemi's ideal of the autonomous teacher was partly realized in the everyday work of a teacher as administrative control was loosened and control decentralized. Teachers could now decide for themselves how to implement the curriculum. But in the 1980s, the growing middle class championed individualistic and consumerist values and lifestyles, reflected in the labor market now accentuating individual flexibility and competitiveness. The education system now began receiving increasing pressures from the representatives of neoliberal, market-driven politics as the OECD suggested that Finnish school should be brought closer to the entrepreneurial sector.[115] Furthermore, the Lobby of the Industrialists (TT) published a series of pamphlets arguing for decentralized governance and the inclusion of entrepreneurial skills in school curriculum. These pamphlets also advocated that governance should be based on the principles of free competition, funding contingent upon results, and frequent testing to secure the high quality of education.

Constructivist theories of learning fit well with these ideas of the autonomous, entrepreneurial individual who sets aims, constructs information, and evaluates his own achievements.[116] These claimed to be something new and revolutionary, in contrast to the positivistic and behavioristic theories now dismissed as mechanistic and irreverent of the individual differences. (Ironically, similar accusations were cast against old Hegelian philosophy and Herbartian-Zillerian methods by the "positivists" themselves.)

> As a result, the idea of equality was now redefined: instead of equal opportunities and learning outcomes, equality was now understood as an individual's right to fulfill one's own aspirations according to his capacities. Talented pupils should not be impeded by the slower ones. This would inhibit the development of "human capital." In the 1990's, such ideas were by a large extent adopted by the Ministry of Education, including the free parental choice of schools, funding contingent upon pupil recruitment, and removal of the long-standing law regulating the distance from home to school for young pupils.[117]

The schools of the 1990s do not quite remind anyone of Koskenniemi's and Petersen's ideas of a miniature society with its democratic forms of social interaction. As Simola notes, authoritarian teaching styles still held sway.[118] Moreover, since the 1970s, the former ideas of school democracy had been dismissed as disturbing the normal course of instruction.[119] In the 1990s Finnish teachers seemed accepting of these developments, as they shared the values of market oriented and competitive educational policy, although at the same time reporting increased work stress. Being a teacher remained a genuine vocation.

Now neoliberalism is taking over the egalitarian policies of Finnish education, a development that might call for active political deliberation among teachers. Ahonen sums up the educational political trends and values of the turn of the millennium:

> As a result of the implementation of the new meaning of educational equality, the Finnish school at the dawn of 2000 provided more scope for teacher and student autonomy and a lesser guarantee of equal opportunity, more competitive momentum for the strong and less care for the weak.[120]

Quo Vadis, Finnish Education?

We began by contextualizing Finnish educational thinking in Hegelian political philosophy and *Bildung* thought, the founding ideas of a co-emergent Finnish nation-state and public schooling. J.V. Snellman accentuated the autonomous role of education vis-à-vis the rest of the society, a pedagogy founded on a philosophical understanding of the historical development of reason, and the role of education in realizing it. In this understanding, there was no role assigned to empirical knowledge, let alone educational psychology. At the turn of the century, this speculative form of pedagogy was challenged by first Herbartian and then psychological thought. We examined how this shift happened and how it was criticized by philosophically minded theorists. Next, empirical education was analyzed in the context of Foucault's biopower and disciplinary power. Finally, it is time to examine the recent developments in Finnish education with respect to a turn from disciplinary society to a society of control as suggested by French philosopher Gilles Deleuze.

As we have seen, there has been a shift from *Bildung* to an empirical form of education materializing the ideas of Fordist governmental rationality. This shift reworked the relationships between knowledge, subjectivity, and autonomy in the teacher profession. In the *Bildung* tradition, teacher autonomy was understood with relation to a dialectical relationship between tradition and self-consciousness. Knowledge pertained to the role of the subject in the history and culture of the nation-state. After the empirical turn, autonomy came to signify first freedom from philosophical dogma, and then liberation from mechanized controls of teaching. Knowledge was now related to empirical data gathered from observation and measurement. The teacher would now be an autonomous agent who willingly subjugated her/himself to scientific knowledge and who would later operate in a school system led by neoliberal ideals.

At the turn of the millennium, somehow this resulted in a curious mélange of teacher autonomy and egalitarian governance represented as the "Finnish miracle of PISA." The unexpected PISA results brought waves of educators from around the world to discover the secrets of the Finnish school system. In their *The Fourth Way* (2009), Andy Hargreaves and Dennis Shirley suggest that the key elements of building a successful school system include: "(a) Build an inspiring and inclusive future by wedding it to the past; (b) Foster strong connections between education and economic development through scientific and technological innovation, without sacrificing culture and creativity; (c) Commit to collegial culture of trust, cooperation, and responsibility; (d) Steer the educational system governmentally, but don't micromanage or interfere in the details of it."[121] It seems that the "success" of education might be dependent on the autonomy of teachers and on less centralized and standardized curriculum.

The European Union shares some of the basic tenets of a model of governance that combines local autonomy with market logic. The European Union, at the formal level at least, does not have any official policy on education but only so-called policy coordination and cooperational strategies. However, the European Union intervenes in the educational fields by means of guidelines concerning the formation and organization of a European educational space and policy. This has resulted, for instance, in the Education and Training 2010 program that aims at establishing a unified European education policy in order to organize European educational standards into some kind of standaridized strategy.[122] The European Union seemingly accepts the diversity of national education policies even though it operates like "a regulatory ideal" that aims at unification and standardization of the educational aims by influencing and imposing consensus of different national educational policies in terms of indefinite educational concepts such as "lifelong learning" and "individuality" that are supposed to be integrated with national curricula. So the European educational space is strongly related to the rhetoric of such concepts as employability and lifelong learning.[123] In other words, not only the diversity of national curriculums is at stake here, but also the possibility of conceiving curriculum as "complicated conversation" that acknowledges the importance of historical moment, the particularity of space and the singularity of one's own identity by rejecting the idea of economy driven curriculum management.[124]

The shift from centralization to autonomy and accountability is also apparent in the very ontology of governance. It seems to be the case that the Fordist structure (or hierarchy) in the production process has been renounced and replaced by a model of organization that is based on the conception of network, and the centralized chain of command is replaced by teams and projects. In addition, "the third spirit of capitalism" seems to insinuate that capitalism is now a quasi-egalitarian project without masters or commanders, instead assembling networks of workers capable of interaction and self-organization (and self-management, of course).

The PostFordist condition reflects not only the formation of society but also the formation of subjectivity, as noticed by Slavoj Žižek in his *First as Tragedy, Then as Farce* (2009): "The parallel between the model of the brain in neuroscience and the predominant ideological models of society is here indicative. There are clear echoes between today's cognitivism and 'postmodern' capitalism: when Daniel Dennett, for example, advocates a shift from the Cartesian notion of the Self as a central controlling agency of psychic life to a notion of the autopoetic interaction of competing multiple agents, does this not echo the shift from central bureaucratic control and planning to the network model? It is thus not only that our brain is socialised—society itself is also naturalised in the brain."[125]

These currents and paradoxes in governing autonomy reflect a wider change in a rationale of disciplinary power. The shift from Fordism to PostFordism has involved drastic changes in working conditions in Western countries. Places of production (i.e., factories) are being shut down (due to takeovers, for instance) in many industrialized countries and moved to areas where costs are significantly lower. Ideological changes have included, inter alia, the rise of individualism and of entrepreneurialism, while patronage by the state has been reduced. This has had severe effects on education at all levels. Deleuze characterizes the transition from Fordism to PostFordism in *Postscript on Control Societies* (1995), transition from the aforementioned Foucauldian disciplinary societies to what Deleuze termed "societies of control." The rationale of disciplinary societies was that one must undergo different institutions, i.e., the family, school, the barracks, the factory, hospital, and prison so that each institution forces the adoption of a specified identity, i.e., a child, a schoolboy/girl, a soldier, a worker, a patient, and a prisoner. As a result, an obedient and useful body is formed, well-trained and subordinated by means of hierarchical observation, normalization, and continuous examination. The transition to control societies changed the mode of control from discipline to willingness to be of service. In the state of disciplinary society, "you were always starting all over again (as you went from school to barracks, from barracks to factory)," whereas in the state of control societies "you never finish anything—business, training, and military service being coexisting metastable states of a single modulation, a sort of universal transmutation."[126] Therefore, "[m]arketing is now the instrument of social control," and "[a] man is no longer a man confined but a man in debt," for control that is "short-term and rapidly shifting, but at the same time continuous and unbounded"[127] is, consequently, a new system of domination that has become ubiquitous:

> In the prison system: the attempt to find "alternatives" to custody, at least for minor offenses, and the use of electronic tagging to force offenders to stay home between certain hours. In the school system: forms of continuous assessment, the impact of continuing education on schools, and the related move away from any research in universities, "business" being brought into education at every level. In the hospital system: the new medicine "without doctors or patients" that identifies potential cases and subjects at risk and is nothing to do with any progress toward individualising treatment, which is how it's presented, but is the substitution for individual or numbered bodies of coded "individual" matter to be controlled. In the business system: new ways of manipulating money, products, and men, no longer channeled through the old factory system.[128]

Ultimately, we all are driven to the perpetual competition with each other and even with(in) ourselves:

> There were of course bonus systems in factories, but business strive to introduce a deeper level of modulation into all wages, bringing them into a state of constant metastability punctuated by ludicrous challenges, competitions, and seminars. If the stupidest TV game shows are so successful, it's because they're perfect reflection of the way businesses are run. Factories formed individuals into a body of men for the joint convenience of a management that could monitor each component in this mass, and trade unions that could mobilise mass resistance; but businesses are constantly introducing an inexorable rivalry presented as healthy competition, a wonderful motivation that sets individuals against one another and sets itself up in each of them, dividing each within himself.[129]

From the educational point of view, our PostFordist situation resembles the days of the social efficiency movement, but whereas the social efficiency movement saw that education should meet the demands of society, the PostFordist orthodoxy requires education to meet the demands of capitalism, i.e., the seemingly inevitable logic of global markets.

The challenge for education and educators is the creation of a new kind of communal and collective public space for free self-expression. We might extract from what is still powerful in the *Bildung* tradition, a vision of an autonomy that is aware of historical traditions, while being able to transform them into something new. This understanding might open up a space for freedom. Education would aim at people being guided by the "right reason" instead of authorities or bodily needs. The liberty produced by the *artes liberales* is to be interpreted as inner freedom like Seneca did and was later repeated in the *Bildung* tradition. An individual controlled and regulated by the economy will never be free, and no educational system governed by the economy can produce freedom. We conclude with a quoted passage from Snellman: "It would be most unrefined materialism to think in such a way that material welfare would provide a basis for spiritual *Bildung*. The state of affairs is just the other way around."[130]

Notes

1. The authors are grateful to Dr. Juhani Sarsila for insightful suggestions and helpful comments concerning the preparation of this chapter.
2. Cf. Autio 2011, p. 110.
3. Cf. Autio 2009, p. 70.
4. FRIC 2011, p. 6.
5. FRIC 2011, p. 44.
6. FRIC 2011, p. 45.
7. Virno 2004, p. 106.
8. Virno 2004, pp. 107–108.
9. Autio 2011, p. 110.
10. Kansanen 2003, pp. 85–86.
11. Salomaa 1935, p. 199.
12. Wilenius 1975, p. 56.
13. Ahonen 2003.
14. Uljens 2006.
15. Tengström e.g., Manninen 1987, pp.11–14.
16. The German '*Bildung*' does not translate to English. The closest translation would be "formation," meaning the cultivation of the inward form. On the concept of *Bildung,* see Nordenbo 2003, 25–pp. 26.
17. In fact, Snellman wrote two dissertations. The first, Dissertatio academica absolutismum systematis Hegeliani defensura (An Academic Dissertation Defending the Absolutism of Hegel's System) was published in 1835, and the second, De vi historica disciplinae philosophicae Leibnitii (On the Philosophical Doctrine of the philosophical doctrine of Leibniz) in 1836.
18. Manninen 1987, p. 143; see also pp. 318–322.
19. Salmela 2011.
20. *Lectures on Pedagogy* 9:441 (Kant 2012,p. 437).
21. Seigel 2005, pp. 299 and 304.
22. Snellman 2000, vol. XVII, p. 216. On Plato see *Menon.*
23. Snellman 2000, vol. XI, p. 192.
24. Salmela 2011.
25. Salomaa 1944, pp. 530–531.
26. Nussbaum (1997) has paid attention to Seneca's philosophy on education.
27. Snellman 2000, vol. I, p. 121.
28. Salomaa 1944, pp. 532-534
29. Snellman 2000, vol. I, p. 350.
30. Salomaa 1947, p. 5.
31. Grue-Sörensen 1961, p. 122.
32. Bruhn 1977, pp. 283–284.
33. Siljander 2002, pp. 38–39.
34. Maher, Michael "Herbart and Herbartianism" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* See also Autio 2006, pp. 104-108.
35. Kliebard 2004, p. 15–16. See also Pinar et al. 1995, pp. 78–83.
36. Siljander 2002, pp. 57–61.
37. Salomaa 1947, p.9.
38. Siljander 2002, pp.102–103; Salmela 2011, pp.285–287; On Wündt see n. 48.
39. Yrjö-Koskinen 1897, pp.152–153.
40. Snellman 2000, vol. XVII. p. 218.
41. Hollo 1927, pp. 20–26.
42. Ahlman 1967, p.9; M. Salmela 1998, pp. 17–19.
43. Ahlman 1967, p. 123.
44. Ahlman 1967, p.153.
45. M. Salmela 1998, p. 313.
46. Siljander 2002, p. 113.
47. Hollo 1927, p. 22.
48. Harva 1965, pp. 16–20.
49. Harva 1965, 26– pp. 27.
50. Wilenius 1975, 7– pp. . 8.
51. Wilenius 1975, pp. 40–41.
52. Wilenius 1975, pp. 21.
53. Saari 2011.
54. Oksala 1915–1916, pp. 233–234.
55. See e.g., Bruhn 1965, p.90.
56. See e.g., Lehtovaara 1939; Lahdes 1969, pp. 38–39; Heinonen 1971, pp. 51–52.
57. Salonen 1921, p. 157. This division indicates a wider dichotomy within the field of psychology. Wilhelm Wundt divided psychology into two parts: experimental psychology would study the lower functions of the human psyche, whereas folk psychology (Völkerpsychologie) would study the higher faculties in different cultures, belief systems and conventions. (Kusch 1999, p. 75.) Furthermore, this also reflected the division between nomothetic and idiographic sciences depicted in German historiography and social sciences. German historicism had emphasized that progress is not same for everyone—each nation has its own unique character and its own way of "being close to God." This same singularity applies to the individual especially as he takes part in political action within the State. Then he is not merely mechanistically acting as a creature of nature, but a free spirit whose actions cannot be forecast or controlled. Wilhelm Windelband also stressed that the Christian history of the salvation of mankind also underpins the notion of men acting as free spirits, as images of God, and of the human sciences as knowledge of the singular and of the Geist. Heinrich Rickert, however, admitted that the lower classes of the society, peasants for example, could be studied with the same nomothetic methods as other lower creatures. (Töttö 2000, pp. 136–140, 189.) This division was to be at stake in the German method dispute (Methodenstreit), and later, mutatis mutandis, in the positivist dispute (Positivismusstreit) in the 1960s (Frisby 1976).
58. Frisby 1976, p.159.
59. Foucault 2004; Foucault 1994, pp. 646–655.
60. Ojakangas 1997.
61. Cf. Kliebard 2004, pp. 99–105
62. Koskenniemi & Grenquist 1934; Koskenniemi 1963.
63. Thomas Malthus' (1986) theory of the growth and decay of a human population offers one of the most elegant examples. Malthus claimed that while the number of nutrients develops arithmetically, the growth of a population develops exponentially. Unchecked, this development will sooner or later result in mass famine and decrease of population.
64. Cf. Rabinbach 1990.
65. Kettunen 1997.
66. Rosenqvist 1919, pp. 55–56.
67. F. W. Taylor insisted that his theory of scientific management would eventually undo class antagonisms between workers and their employers, and, consequently, increase world peace (Taylor 1947, pp. 29–31).
68. Soininen 1906, p. 5.
69. See e.g., Koskenniemi 1939, p. 3.
70. Viljanen 1973, p. 15; see also Lehtovaara & Koskenniemi 1964, p. 228.
71. Ojakangas 1997; Saari 2011.
72. See e.g., Rosenqvist 1917; Heinonen 1961, pp. 167–168.
73. Foucault 1975.
74. Cf. Autio 2006, pp. 104–105.
75. See e.g., Kliebard 1981, pp. 77–78.
76. Kelly 2009, p. 68.
77. See e.g., Kliebard 2004, p. 97.
78. Cf. Autio 2006, pp. 12–13.
79. Tyler 1949.
80. Tyler 1949, p. 1; see also Kelly 2009, p. 20, Pinar et al. 1995, pp. 148–149.

81. Westbury 1998, p. 52; Westbury 2000, p. 21.
82. Cf. Autio 2006, pp. ix–x.
83. Cf. Kelly 2009, p. 211.
84. Simola 2005, p. 458.
85. See e.g., Männistö 1973b; Kouluhallitus 1973.
86. Saari 2012.
87. Simola 1995.
88. E.g. Ahonen 2002, p. 177.
89. Lahdes, 1977.
90. Hakkarainen 1977, p. 34; see also Kansanen 1971, p. 88; Lahdes 1977, pp. 118–120.
91. Hakkarainen 1977, p. 36.
92. Lahdes 1975, p.28.
93. Lahdes 1977, pp. 132–133.
94. Lahdes 1977, pp. 126–129.
95. Lahdes 1977, p. 137.
96. Saari 2011.
97. Saari 2011.
98. Ahonen 2002.
99. See e.g., Välijärvi et al.2007; Simola 2005, p. 465.
100. Koskenniemi 1944; 1968.
101. Koskenniemi 1980; 1978, p. 155.
102. Lehtovaara & Koskenniemi 1964, pp. 285–286.
103. Foucault 1975.
104. Koskenniemi 1980, p. 225.
105. Koskenniemi 1980, pp. 197–198, 225–226.
106. Rantala, Salminen & Säntti 2009, p. 55.
107. See e.g., Värri & Ropo 2004.
108. Pinar 2004, p. 27.
109. Pinar 2004, pp. 28–29.
110. Pinar 2004, p. 29.
111. Pinar 2004, p. 28.
112. Foucault 1966, p. 323.
113. Rinne et al. 2011, pp. 14-16
114. Rinne et al. 2011, p. 17.
115. Ahonen 2002, pp. 177–178.
116. Ahonen 2002.
117. Ahonen 2002, pp. 177–179.
118. Simola 2005.
119. Actually, there was a genuine conspiracy of educational administrators and right-wing politicians against the leftist members of the National Board of Education. The "Foundation for Free Education" (Vapaan koulutuksen säätiö) eventually succeeded in demolishing the school democracy alleged to be the breeding ground for socialism. The upshot of this ideological struggle was that the NBE became occupied by conservatively minded administrators. Moreover, democratic practices are today marginalized in Finnish schools, with pupils showing very little interest in civic action in general (Suutarinen 2008).
120. Ahonen 2002, p. 180.
121. Hargreaves & Shirley 2009, p. 55.
122. Cf. Nóvoa 2010, pp. 264–266.
123. Cf. Nóvoa 2010, pp. 271–272.
124. Cf. Pinar 2010, p. xv.
125. Žižek 2009, p. 56.
126. Deleuze 1995, p. 179.
127. Deleuze 1995 p. 181.
128. Deleuze 1995 p. 182.
129. Deleuze 1995, p. 179.
130. Snellman quoted by Salomaa (1944, p. 436).

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15

Curriculum, Evaluation, and Control in Germany

Wolfgang Böttcher

Discussions and research on curriculum have a longstanding tradition in Germany—more precisely: in both "Germanys," East and West, in what used to be the German Democratic Republic (East, GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (West, GER) before 1990. Although this chapter is not meant to be a historical one, we need to refer to the past before speaking about the twenty-first-century curriculum in the united Germany (BRD). The current situation is dominated by the implementation of educational standards and a new paradigm in the governance of schools, both as a direct effect of Germany's results in the international large-scale assessments, especially PISA 2000. Contrasting the past with the present leads to some critical questions concerning the politics of modern schooling and the role of the curriculum.

A Glimpse of the German School System

Germany is a federal Republic with 16 states that autonomously decide on school policies. The states (Länder) jointly formed the Standing Conference of Länder Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK). The KMK can only decide unanimously on important issues of schooling. So in fact, despite a few topics with nationwide consensus—i.e., tracks leading to specific degrees and number of school hours needed—there is no German school system; we have 16—more or less—different ones: The States are in command of their schools. Competition is the most prevailing legitimizing argument for this situation on the one hand. On the other hand, we cannot find a systematic comparative research that would generate evidence for policy action or provide the public with rigid information on success or failure of their respective system.

Since 2004, the KMK and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) every other year publish an indicator-based report on "Education in Germany." In a certain sense, this publication is used as a marketing instrument for the policy makers. The 2012 report—in the language of the ministry—"reflects the high priority awarded to education in Germany as well as the clear progress achieved in recent years" (www.bmbf.de/en/6204.php). The report is not meant as an instrument for the controlled competition between the states.

The role of the federal ministry concerning schooling is less than marginal. German legislation gives the entire control to the states—to Bremen with less than 70,000 as well as to North Rhine-Westphalia with more than 2 million students. Federal programs need the approval of all Länder. Even one of the most prominent federal activities struggled hard to succeed: At the beginning of the century, the federal government invested € 4 billion to encourage all-day schooling. The Länder objected not only because they feared the increased follow-up costs, but for them it seemed to be a question of principle: How dare the federal government interfere!

Curriculum issues are at the heart of state responsibilities. They, more than anything else, are believed to define the "inner-control" of schools, i.e., what is being done within the classroom. So it is comprehensible that there is a long tradition of curriculum discussions in the policy arena. This is also true for scholars and researchers in education. In section 2, I will give the reader an account of the relevant issues.

Before PISA

Content and structure of curricula were major topics in German education after the Second World War. In centralized East Germany, the socialist party (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland,* SED) mandated the educational system to build the basis of a socialist Germany, to educate citizens who are capable and willing to add to the country's productivity, and to defend their homeland (see: *Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,* 1983, 11). The official papers claim a consensus between parents and all other educators in society to focus on "high humanistic objectives" (Ibid, 14). Goals include a high level of education for all citizens, the development of a roundly and harmoniously socialist personality capable of shaping society and leading a fulfilling, happy, and humane life (14). A core element of this approach is the development of the philosophy (Weltanschauung) and building the morale of the working class (15). Education in this concept is obviously more than scientifically-based knowledge. It is mainly about the formation of "personality" via an anti-capitalistic ideology. "The goal of education is based on the certainty of the victory of socialism and the inevitable decline of capitalism" (15, translation by the author).

The governance in a system of "democratic centralization" (23) is guaranteed by loyal leaders at the top of all educational institutions, and through the political control of the teaching materials (24). Besides the "Stundentafel" that gives a precise overview over the distribution of subjects and lessons within a week, the curricula (Lehrplan), and the textbooks—approved by the state and based on the *Lehrpläne*—guaranteed the general education for all in service of the socialist society.

The role of the curriculum was quite different in West Germany as an open society. The curriculum was the subject of dispute, but limited to experts at the universities and in policy positions. Curriculum did not receive the attention it deserves in a democracy. Still, looking back, the situation was colorful and interesting. But for decades, education was dominated by a structural conflict between protagonists in favor of the conservation of a traditional school system that tracked students, directing them after grade four into one of three different types of schools leading to three different levels of entitlements. The hierarchical structure (a "three-tiered system") was attacked by advocates of a comprehensive system ("Gesamtschule"), a concept formulated to fight social inequality legitimized or even generated by the traditional school system. While empirical research produced some evidence of equity gains by comprehensive education, the findings were not robust enough to persuade conservatives. West Germany never had a comprehensive school system, though in some Länder the comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) were added to the three other types of schools.

This structural debate was in a sense also a curriculum issue because the different types of schools were not only characterized by different student populations and their assumed competencies and talents but also by the different curricula they were offered. *Cum grano salis:* The lower course (in the "Hauptschule") addressed practical abilities, and the upper course in the "Gymnasium" enhanced the cognitive potentials of their students by means of unequal curricula. "Gesamtschulen" followed a special curriculum that offered more choice and a greater openness. The idea was to give the students greater opportunity to choose from a wide range of content. And this means that *Gesamtschulen* were planned as big systems that were able to offer different courses. Teaching methods were meant to be student-centered, too. Furthermore, the educational idea was to build up relations with the world of labor by introducing elements of vocational education.[1]

The relation between vocational and general education had been a "traditional" topic of historical and interpretative (theoretical) debates in pedagogy and education before several scholars tried to persuade educators and policymakers that their combination was doable and makes sense in a technology-based society. The experimental implementation of a "Kollegschule" offered a double-qualification: the certificate to enter University (Abitur) and a certificate of apprenticeship.[2]

While school reform in the 1960s was believed to be foremost a reform of structure, the director of the Max Planck Institute for Education Research in Berlin, Saul B. Robinsohn, formulated a conflicting idea: education reform by curriculum reform (1967). He reintroduced the term "Curriculum" into the German debate, a term that had been replaced by the term "Lehrplan" (teaching plan). Robinsohn laid ground to a new phase of curriculum research and a complex debate. One of his main arguments was the attack of the traditional importance of Roman and Greek philosophy and languages in general education. He appreciated the worth of ancient thinking and ancient languages, but the insights and inspiration they can offer do not legitimize them as the center of the curriculum of general education (*allgemeine Bildung*) in a modern society. While the reconstruction of content and methods of teaching in the "Lehrpläne" was a major topic of pedagogical research, Robinsohn's concept was to construct a rational curriculum. The main reason for curriculum reform was change (*Veränderung*) as the essence of that time: change in science and technology, in the collective consciousness on a global scale, with increasing opportunities for the individual, change in the functions of work and leisure time, and—last but not least—change in the ideas of education and qualification (15). His idea is to address the stagnation of curricula by revising curriculum content in the light of new aims that refer to the present times.

Robinsohn proposed a scheme or framework for a theory-based curriculum (1967, 79 f). He defines as a general aim of education to provide the individual with the means by which to master life situations. This is secured by acquirement of qualifications and dispositions that have to be communicated by different elements of the curriculum. A rational curriculum was to be developed by identifying these situations, qualifications, and curricular elements as the three basic categories.

Curriculum development in this sense is also empirical educational research. Working on a curriculum means the identification of criteria for the three defined groups of variables. This comprises normative reasoning as well as empirical-analytical knowledge on present and future individual and societal needs, and eventually evidence of the efficacy of teaching and learning. Furthermore, evaluation procedures are essential (see 82). Consensus is supposed to be a necessity in a public education system, and the decision-making process has to be transparent (Ibid.).

Robinsohn's academic home was comparative education, and this made him aware of the fact that the curriculum construction was an international phenomenon. From this perspective, he saw that one of the great problems of reform is the question of change management. I sense a certain amount of envy when he refers to the DGR and other socialist countries' centralized curriculum institutes, where pools of scientists, policy makers, and practitioners have the authority to generate an assertive curriculum.

One of Germany's most important scholars on teacher education and training concludes that Robinsohn failed mainly because his concept, like many other curriculum designs, rested upon a mechanistic image of teaching (Terhart 2002, 144): "Centrally developed, prefabricated curricula do not only define teaching content, but they also prescribe procedural methods and media and finally the measurements of results" (Ibid., translation by the author). Maybe other factors for failure were more important: The absence of public debates, the absence of central and authoritative institutes, and the apparent inability to understand curriculum development as a major concern of policy makers. And most probably another reason for failure was ignoring the warning that closes Robinsohn's small book on curriculum reform: "The task seems to be the following: To win the teachers' identification with the revision of the curriculum and their willingness to engage in its construction, testing and implementation by means of treating them as partners of a mission that requires many and many divergent kinds of experience, authority, competence, and commitment." (Robinsohn 1967, p. 95, translation by the author).

Robinsohn's attempt to construct a modern curriculum in accordance with Anglo-American developments did not survive. In an article for a recently published handbook on educational research, Rudolf Künzli (2009) speaks of the prominent status of curriculum as a topic for research and teacher education in the English-speaking world. He cites several English handbooks as proof, contrasting this with the German situation where not one journal on curriculum exists and where the *Handbook on Curriculum Research* (Hameyer, Frey, & Haft) is a publication from 1983. This handbook comprised the state of the art in the German speaking countries. "Looking back this handbook makes itself appear as the final report of a finished era" (Künzli 2009, 136). And it is not totally exaggerated when some observers believe that a long depression followed: *The International Handbook of Curriculum Research* (Pinar 2003) "reports the state of curriculum development in 28 nations. There is no article from a German speaking country" (Künzli 2009, 136, translation by the author).

Another significant approach to curriculum reform was the publications of Wolfgang Klafki. In a 1985 essay about a "new theory of education," he proposed a didactic based on the identification of global and epochal key problems. This concept gives orientation to a new way of selecting curriculum content beyond the traditional structure of subjects or domains. Liberal education has to be related to "real life" and has to empower the students to master individual and social problems and challenges. In this sense, he is close to Robinsohn. He also argues in accordance to a classical idea of general education (*Allgemeinbildung*) in stressing the importance of a "holistic" approach: Education has to embrace all dimensions of the human existence, i.e., emotional, biological, cognitive, technical, and esthetical. *Allgemeinbildung* should develop attitudes and abilities as to give and to receive criticism, and to feel for others (empathy). Klafki's key curriculum issues are peacekeeping and international understanding, human rights, social inequity, technology assessment, equal rights of men and women, labor, environment protection, and the pursuit of happiness. This is an open list, but for it to be considered as epochal and global, a challenge or problem has to meet certain criteria. A topic qualifies as a key problem if it addresses structural problems on a societal or even global scale and at the same time affects every individual. As elements of general education, they should cover content and formal aspects like communication.

Focusing on key problems was expected to be able to produce a consensus on curriculum. And in fact, throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, Klafki's didactic dominated teacher education and training and was widely accepted, but hardly implemented. Today, the remains of his work can be detected in school projects that—usually in the course of a week—deal with topics that require the engagement of different subjects and insofar can claim the status of "key problems."

There is one topic that ran through the curriculum debates in Germany,[3] and as we will see later, still does: Open versus closed curricula. And, in fact, this debate has never been decided on a national level or within the German states. Nobody has counted the "Lehrpläne," but there must have been more than 2,000: 16 states, more than 20 school subjects, four (or even more) different types of schools, and two or three different performance stages. The varying denominations of Lehrpläne between the states imply differing pedagogical beliefs: teaching plan, education plan ("Bildungsplan") framework ("Rahmenplan"), or directive ("Richtlinie"). So, the curricular inputs differed widely: indispensable content, details, vague references, advice, ideas, etc. In one—and the only large-scale—empirical study on teachers' practices with the "Lehrpläne" the authors (Vollstädt et al. 1999) came to the interesting conclusion that teachers hardly care and do not really know the relevant curricular inputs. And this is also true for teaching methods and media that are also part of the typical "Lehrplan." On the other hand, teachers tend to legitimize their teaching with reference to the "Lehrplan," and in a sense it is a rationale for whatever they do or do not do in the classroom. Teachers' autonomy is actually very high in German schools, and their reference point for teaching usually is the teaching material (especially teaching books: "Lehrbücher" oder "Schulbücher") provided by commercial publishers.

After a protracted abstention from international comparative studies, finally Germany took part in the second wave of TIMSS in 1995. Surprisingly Germany was not very successful, but the public reaction was as weak as the German results. Nevertheless, this event laid ground for a stronger international orientation of education policy and research.

There was one short but fierce debate that was definitely rooted in this "internationalization": the debate on core curricula. This controversy related to a global debate about the curriculum and became an important element in the revision of governance of schools and the entire school system. The international concepts of "school-autonomy," "site-based-management," or "local management of schools" that followed the idea of decentralization led to the introduction of interrelated instruments like inspection, testing, or developing national syllabi or curricula (OECD 1989, 1995). Many researchers defined these instruments as measures of re-centralization to assure that the single schools followed a general policy. In efforts to enhance the quality of schooling by decentralization and thus delegate responsibility for outcomes, the curriculum as a steering instrument regained political and scientific attention. Following the demands of a—more or less—binding curriculum can secure the future of a school as a social and socially responsible institution.

A celebrated scientist in the history of education, Elmar Tenorth proposed a core curriculum for upper secondary education (S II) (2001). Another educator demanded a core curriculum for primary education and tried to make the controversial ideas of Donald Eric Hirsch applicable to the German situation (Böttcher & Hirsch 1999). The core curriculum was traditional or conservative insofar as it depended on domain specific content, but it was also progressive because it was closely related to the concept of equity: Quality in education means enhancing the capability to provide all children with the knowledge and skills necessary to successfully commence education or to be able to act responsibly in complex modern societies.

The core curriculum was meant to be a compulsory task of schools (performance provisions). Böttcher was quickly and harshly attacked by the professional association of primary teachers (*Grundschulverband*) as well as the German Federation of Teachers (GEW). They obviously felt the professional prerogative of teachers to make their own decisions regarding classroom performance had been endangered. This is a surprising interpretation because in the United States, the president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the late Albert Shanker, took sides with strong content standards to define the objectives and goals of education. He supported these as instruments to promote equity in education and to professionalize teachers.

It is the privilege of this article's author to reference the debate. No other possible author on Curriculum Research in Germany may have mentioned the "Core-Curriculum" proposals. But there is good reason to believe that these ideas at least had an indirect influence on the new debates on curricula that exploded at the beginning of the twenty-first century: Tenorth was the author of a central part of an expertise that, for the last 10 years, stands at the center of the current debates on educational standards. This definition resembles many of the ideas of strong standards as advocated in the core curriculum proposal. But they wouldn't have achieved it had Germany not taken part in PISA 2000. This comparative assessment changes nearly everything in the German educational debate, including the role and interpretation of curricula and syllabi.

After PISA

The publication of PISA 2000 (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001) provoked a radical upheaval in German education, and the idea of a "paradigm shift" became a common term in the discourses. The same is true for the "shock semantics": PISA shocked the system due to several disappointing results. The strong social segregation cannot have been the cause for a shock as this fact had been documented for at least the foregoing 40 years. But the identification of nearly 25% at-risk students and a ranking in the lower midfield of more than 40 nations, beaten by even developing countries, obviously hurt the German mentality and credo of belonging to the best.

From that time on, hardly any scientific article or political speech commenced without reference to PISA and further international comparative assessments. The results of PISA accounted for a whole bundle of activities. An outstanding example is the nationwide joined program initiated by the education ministers of the Länder and the federal minister for education and research. This program tried to respond to the challenges posed by PISA by promoting competences in language, reading and writing, mathematics, and science. And it wanted to place a special focus on children with a migration background. It also stressed the importance of preschool learning that from thereon experienced a remarkable quantitative expansion.[4] Even access for the children younger than three years had been a major issue, and German law guarantees places for 30% of this age group from 2013 on. This is remarkable because in West Germany before PISA, it was a taboo to force very young children into institutionalized education.[5]

With regard to curricula, it is important to mention the fact that PISA led to a completely new interpretation of preschool. While the "Kindergarten" traditionally had been a caretaking institution, now even qualification became an element in the service package. Everything but caretaking had been forbidden, and now kindergarten assumes duties from the school: education in the sense of qualifying and developing personal, social, methodical, learning, and factual competencies. Before PISA, the states had been strongly interested in maintaining their specific identities in and through education policy. After

PISA, without any hesitation, they joined in activities that were in sharp contrast to these former beliefs. Within a few months, all 16 states developed Preschool Curricula (*Bildungsplan*). Under this unanimous nationwide decision, the states acted independently. Some states customized the *Bildungsplan* on a few tens of pages, others on many hundreds of pages (see www.bildungsserver.de).

Reactions within school policy were more complex. An important, but in terms of curricular issues, minor provision was the implementation of inspection, basically a copy of the Dutch system. Here we again see a policy that oscillates between nationwide and "statewise" solutions. Within a few months, all 16 Länder adopted this new—and costly—approach but refashioned it into specific versions.[6] Inspection systems focus on questions of leadership and organization, but inspectors also visit lessons and aggregate their observations into a picture of the teaching methods. Deeper research into curricular questions is not an element of the inspection.

But another concept is central to the subject matter of this Handbook: The development and implementation of educational standards ("*Bildungsstandards*"). In the eyes of policy makers, PISA obviously suggested that successful nations deploy standards as an instrument for school governance. Although there was no solid research on the theory, effects, and use of standards, this idea instantly captured policy makers. From an Internet-publication on "Educational Standards and their Evaluation," we learn the following:

> One of the reasons for the below-average German results in the international PISA benchmarking study and for the growing gap between the different sectors of the German school system is a lack of binding national standards for education and performance. The successful states show that a targeted quality development of the education system requires national yardsticks. (BMBF 2004)

In a joint project, the KMK and the BMBF (Federal Ministry of Education and Research) concluded a contract with the German Institute for International Educational Research (DIPF) to prepare a statement of standards. Under the leadership of DIPF-director Eckhard Klieme, a group of experts[7] produced a concept for national education standards. This expertise referred to international, foremost U.S. developments, but the references were loose and lacked a critical perspective.

The aims of the statement was to explain standards technically and to produce a framework that allows for the understanding of their functioning in a comprehensive system of education [through] "monitoring, school evaluation, and program evaluation" (Klieme et al. 2003; BMBF 2007, 225) (translation by the author). Standards should have the quality to be "a motor for a pedagogical shaping of our schools" (Ibid.). And finally, one finds remarks on implementation.

The expert board as well as the BMBF made clear that standards should be linked to evaluation: "Evaluations are a matter of course in the countries which were successful in the PISA benchmarking study. Binding targets for skills and abilities of all pupils of an age group are defined. The performance of the education system is measured in terms of fulfillment of these targets. We therefore need binding definitions of targets across the Länder, e.g. with regard to the skills and abilities which all pupils should have acquired at defined points in time of their education career." (BMBF 2004) Two main aspects that characterize the new idea are as follows:

- Standards promise an increase in educational quality for all, and
- Standards install a system of performance evaluation as a completely new paradigm for educational governance.[8]

A few remarks will hopefully help to shed some light on this rhetoric. The concept of education is narrowed to fit the PISA methodology. Standards are yardsticks with which to make judgments on the success or failure of schools in main subjects or "domains." "Competence" is the basic term used to describe what is expected from students and comprises knowledge and skills as well as motivation and the ability to problem-solving." Competence is learned through content at hierarchical levels, and includes subcompetencies. Personal and social competencies are not part of this competence model. Competences in subjects like politics, history, arts, music, etc. do not have the same importance as those in mathematics and the sciences.

Standards are translated into testing procedures, in PISA's case based on an item-response theory of testing. Standards provide a specific answer to the problems of construction and legitimation in traditional debates on education and syllabi (Klieme et al. 2003; BMBF 2007, 9) (bold type in the original, translation by the author). The important and substantial debates on what education means and should be able to fulfill—in fact a core issue of education from the very beginning—is "pragmatically" suspended by psychometricians. This really is a paradigm shift!

Policy followed a major demand of the "Klieme-Expertise" to create a "test agency." They established an Institute to produce tests in accordance with the standards. Under the euphemistic title of "Institute for the Development of Quality in the Education System," the staff works on test development, implementation, and specification of standards, or state-level performance comparisons. And, in fact, the idea of measuring, testing, and comparing educational results has invaded the politics of all 16 German states. Many states work together in the concept of "comparative performance" (*Vergleichsarbeiten*), which tests student achievement in the respective Länder. In all Länder, we nowadays have some kind of centralized testing at key educational stages. Germany is miles away from the high stakes testing system like the one—for instance—in the United States. But we walk—or even drive—on the same road.

In another respect, policy did not follow the expertise. There we find the proposal the standards should describe a "minimum" that defines what all students are supposed to learn. This concept of "minimum standard" is strongly linked to the idea that education has to secure a certain level of knowledge and skills for all. It is connected to the equity principle of democratic education and would force schools to secure this level. But it would also force the policy makers to supply the resources necessary to teach students up to this level: "drop-outs" or underachievers would not be tolerated. This was not appealing to policy makers because it would place upon them a new kind of responsibility. So they formulated average standards (*Regelstandards*) with far-fetched arguments like mixing up the terms "minimum"—that defines what all students are supposed to know and be able to do—with the term "minimal," which insinuates that it would be okay to just teach some trivial and simple content. This misinterpretation distorts the vision of equality in education.

BMBF expects standards to provide orientation for teachers, learners, and parents as their "prime function" (BMBF 2007, 9). This ideal is more precisely explained by the above-mentioned historian Heinz-Elmar Tenorth in his contribution to the "Klieme- Expertise." Here, with reference to the requirements formulated in the core curriculum debate, he expects standards to be clear, transparent, concise, and thus understandable for all stakeholders. But this postulation is hardly met. There is evidence that standards are vague and full of jargon and, in this sense, are wide-open to multiple interpretations.[9] As a consequence, the reference points for teaching are tests, not the standards.

The implementation of national standards was not understood as a national task. Obviously, nobody in charge even expected the national standards to directly influence teaching. The egoism of the Länder was accepted, and they were allowed to "translate" the standards into state-level concepts. And these again were the basis for the order to schools to generate "school-owned" curricula. Not to forget that, in the classroom, the teaching materials and schoolbooks produced by the professional publishers might be prevailing—especially in an era of uncertainty within the teaching force.

Efforts to systematically disseminate education standards and their application in teaching have not been particularly pronounced. The same is true for research. Research is dominated by the development of competence models and their measurement. Pedagogical Psychology is the leading approach in German educational research. During a panel discussion on the 2012 biannual conference of the German Society for Education (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft,* DGfE) a representative of this group identified two kinds of research that he respects as being empirical: large-scale assessments and experiments.

Although the official statements of politicians and protagonists in the research field persistently relate to international developments,[10] there are only a few articles that reflect the origins of the standards debate (see Böttcher 2006; Lind 2009). Jennifer O'Day's presentation at a Berlin conference is hardly referenced. She makes clear that "standards-based reform was not originally conceived as standards and accountability alone. Rather, support for achieving the standards and restructured governance structures were integral to the early conceptions and to concrete instantiations of those conceptions in a number of states and locales" (O'Day 2008, 112). O'Day identified three fundamental components of the original standards-based movement: "standards as the lynchpin for policy and practice, an aligned and coherent state policy structure to support the attainment of those standards, and a restructured governance system to bring together rich bottom-up initiative and more centralized policy direction into a system that could reap the benefits of both approaches" (O'Day 2008, 112).

When standards are mainly understood as an instrument to promote testing, the original idea is contaminated. This is not a plea against assessment and testing. But it is a plea to reanimate the standards debate as a debate on curriculum, curriculum-oriented teaching, and debates on resources prerequisite to a certain quality of education for all. And one central element has been the strengthening of the teachers' potential to exercise internal evaluation and formative assessment as regular part of everyday teaching and to make possible an individualized, differentiating instruction (see McLaughlin & Shepard 1995).

A Few Final Ideas

The post-PISA education reform in Germany asserted the issue of education standards and therefore reanimated the curriculum debate that had fallen into a deep sleep during the mid-1980s. But this debate very soon ended. Instead of a public dialogue and research on the question of what youngsters need to know and be able to do to lead a safe and happy life in a complex society, groups of experts decide on curriculum content on the basis of testability. For a short period, there was hope that Robinsohn's idea of an open and transparent debate on education content would be reincarnated. But now the ground is prepared rather for an emerging German test industry rather than a "grand public debate."

Wolfgang Klafki shares Robinsohn's fate. While in the video-advertisements for PISA—the reference point for German policy makers and the actual leading researchers—Andreas Schleicher of OECD emphasizes "problem solving," "application of knowledge," "thinking skills," and social competencies ("collaboration") (OECD www.oecd.org/pisa/)—phrases that can sound profound. But the curriculum debate is actually is "pragmatic" and trivial compared to the complexity of global problems to be solved. Problem solving in the age of PISA is to calculate how many variations I can produce if I can pick three from six toppings for my pizza!

And last but not least: A rational curriculum that is the fundament to a good life is "common to all students" (O'Day 2008, 112). Standards-based reform is a concept for the reduction of inequality produced or legitimized by education. The "testable" curriculum does not serve this purpose but, rather, the purposes of testers and politicians who can, after Germany has gained a few places in the education rankings, fool an innocent public into believing that this was the effect of smart politics.

Notes

1. The school in the GDR was closely linked to the world of labor by the concept of polytechnic in education.
2. The *Kollegschule* did not survive. But today many students earn their *Abitur* in vocational schools.
3. Not in the GDR, as far as I know.
4. The success- story cannot solely be attributed to PISA. The expansion can also be explained by political action to allow the demands of family and career for young women.
5. The preschool system in the GDR offered a 100%—supply for all children, even the youngest.
6. In the meantime, one state left the common approach.
7. No expert in the fields of school development or educational governance was a member of this panel.
8. German scholars tend to name this concept "Output-steering"—meaning "outcomes"—as the opposite to what is called "Input-steering," a concept they believe had governed education before PISA.
9. How would you teach on the basis of a standard like: "Students must be able to make critical reading."
10. Mentioning internationalization or globalization seems to be a universal and long-serving argument that absolves from deeper analysis or proof (see Zymek 1975).

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16

Competence-Oriented Curriculum Reform in the Federal Republic of Germany

CHARLOTTE RÖHNER

After the curriculum reform of the end of the 1960s/beginning of the 1970s, which resulted in a short period of intensive curriculum research in West Germany and in the introduction of fundamentally modernized curricula (Robinsohn 1967; Stifterverband 1972; Hameyer, Frey, & Haft 1983; Haft & Hopmann 1987), the interest in the development of school curricula was clearly on the decline, and for long periods it was not a subject for educational science or education policy. How far curricula might contribute to modernizing teaching and how they affect the quality of teaching and school performance has been little analyzed and is a desideratum of research on school and teaching in Germany. The latter has not dealt with the effects of teaching. A systematic discourse on the curriculum topic, as it happens at the international level and is expressed by the paradigm change from *curriculum development* to *understanding curriculum* (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman 2000; Pinar 2003), has not happened in this way in Germany. The theory of the curriculum, as it is developed in Pinar et al., conceptualizes it as a postmodern discourse and text analysis of the different scientific readings of the curriculum, including phenomenological, autobiographic, aesthetic, or post-structuralist points of view and those of *gender, race,* and *politics.* These stimulations from U.S. curriculum research have not been taken up by the debate in the German-speaking countries, and the curriculum debate is characterized by stagnation.

After the curriculum reform of the 1970s, whose stimulations started fading in the 1980s and 1990s, a fundamentally new debate on the orientation of school curricula started only with the debate on school performance in connection to TIMMS and PISA from 2003 on. As a consequence of the negative balance of school performance, the German education-political reform focused on a reorientation of learning at school, seeing an improvement of the quality of education and school performance most of all in core curricula, compulsory educational standards, nationwide comparative tests, and compulsory final examinations. Education policy believes national educational standards and their evaluation at regular intervals to be a promising way to improve school performance. In this context, one may refer to the experiences and results of countries that achieve a high level of school performance in the international comparison. A common feature of successful states is that they have standardized expectations towards performance in the form of educational standards and that these are evaluated by way of appropriate tests. An analysis of those countries performing well with PISA shows that the school systems of these countries are characterized by independence of schools, output-oriented external evaluation, and purposeful intervention in case of problems (Döbert 2003).

The Curricula of Elementary Education

In the context of the post-PISA debate on the quality of school education, all efforts focus on the question of how initial skills at the transition to school could be improved. In particular the initial language skills of children from families with a migration background, who are considerably disadvantaged in the German educational system (Stanat 2008), have become a focus and have resulted in extended language support measures at the prep-school institutions of all federal states.

The conclusions drawn from PISA as well as the debate on the only average quality of prep-school institutions—known already since the end of the 1990s—became the starting point for a comprehensive reorientation of elementary education (Tietze 1998). The crucial change was started by a decision by the Conference of Education and Youth Ministers of 2004 on a "Common Framework for Early Education at Day Nurseries," which, at the national level, provided the basic conditions for the development of education and teaching curricula in the elementary field, thus decisively stimulating the further development of day nurseries into educational institutions. Thus, for the first time in the Federal Republic of Germany there was a binding agreement among all federal states and the field of schooling and youth aid on the tasks of prep-school teaching and support. Therein it says: "Education and learning start with the family, go on at day nurseries, and are age-appropriately, by the curriculum there, continued at primary schools. At both institutions, the child's individual development and learning processes are encouraged and supported. Thus, day nurseries, primary schools and parents cooperate closely for the purpose of a sustainable educational biography" (Joint Decision Conference of Education and Youth Ministers 2004).

The degree to which these plans are compulsory is stipulated differently. As Diskowski (2008: 51) concludes, there are three different ways: "that of legal obligation, of financial ties, and that of agreed-on self-obligation." Whereas some federal states passed laws declaring them the compulsory foundation of education and teaching, some opted for financial ties, in the context of which the agreements between municipalities and independent organizations providing educational institutions are connected to quality agreements and the orientation of educational work. Some federal states decided for the opposite course, by just agreeing on recommendations with associations on education and teaching, which are supposed to take effect by way of a joint consensus. Most federal states move somewhere between these positions of stipulation and recommendation. In many cases, there have been agreements between the ministries of federal states and independent welfare associations on the binding nature of educational plans and recommendations. Also, the many different terms, such as *educational plan, educational programme, guideline plan, framework plan,* or *recommendation on education and teaching,* give expression to the variety of normative regulations.

The introduction of educational and teaching plans for the prep-school field in all federal states is a fundamental innovation of curriculum development in the Federal Republic of Germany by way of which the significance of the elementary field as the first level of education is recognized and connectable education processes at the transition from elementary to primary level are supposed to be guaranteed. As in the field of prep-school parental authority takes priority and it is the parents who decide on prep-school education, Diskowski (2008: 45) calls the introduction of educational plans a "development which radically breaks with the traditions" of the Federal Republic of Germany. The introduction of plans for teaching and education in the field of prep-schools means a reorientation of the elementary field for the purpose of improving the pedagogical quality of institutions of early education and supporting the development of elementary education.

The conceptual orientation of these plans reveals different theoretical positions on the understanding of early childhood education, which may be attributed to two diverging approaches: Part of the educational plans is oriented at the approach of education as "self-education," which comes from the German educational tradition and is different from the way of understanding education, development, and learning as it has developed in the international debate (Fthenakis 2011). According to this understanding, education is defined as self-education in a double sense: "Education by way of self activity, and educating the self as the core of personality. Thus education—according to this way of understanding—would be the child's contribution to its own development" (Laewen & Andres 2002).

This is contradicted by educational plans following the approach of co-construction and favouring a concept of early-pedagogical education based on children and adults jointly constructing the significance of knowledge and world and thus attributing a high value for the organization of processes of early childhood education to a joint interpretation of meaning. This approach understands education as a social process "which is embedded in a concrete context and is jointly constructed by the children themselves, by experts, parents and other adults" (Fthenakis 2011: 200). Whereas the approach of self-education is conceptualized by delimiting by understanding school in an instruction sense (Schäfer 1995, 2002, 2003), the programme of the co-constructivist concept of early childhood education is immediately connectable to an understanding of learning at school as it is rooted in the more recent competence debate (Fthenakis 2011: 202 seq.). Such approaches are assumed to result in a "schoolization" of early childhood education, as it is also found at the international level and must be education-theoretically reflected on and controlled by its empirical relevance.

However, beyond this divergence as it is revealed by the clarification of theoretical positions, all educational plans show a surprising congruence of their essential contents regarding educational work and the definition of fields of education and development as well as of possibilities of childhood learning, and they are oriented at the 2004 decision by the Conference of Education and Youth Ministers, which sets the following six fields of education as a basis: 1) language, writing, and communication; 2) personal and social development; 3) mathematics and natural sciences (information) technology; 4) art and music education—how to deal with media; 5) body, exercise, and health; and 6) nature and cultural environments.

According to each group of authors and their subject orientation, which was differently constituted and oriented in each federal state, the guidelines were implemented differently in the education and teaching plans, which is why the curricular concepts look widely different from each other. Frequently, the essential topical fields of early childhood education are formulated in such a way as to delimit them from subject classifications and school subjects, thus being oriented at a genuine understanding and independent value of early childhood education. Indeed, those educational plans which are co-constructivist oriented show competence descriptions at the competence levels of individual-related competences, competences to act within a social context, learning competence and learning-methods competence as well as competence in terms of change and being burdened in the sense of resilience (e.g., the educational plans of Bavaria and Hesse), but there are no norms for the competence level that is supposed to be achieved as it is strived for and realized in the school context.

The current state of the debate and development of the introduction of educational plans in the elementary field does not answer the question of which effects we may expect from their introduction in terms of an improvement of the quality of educational processes at institutions of early childhood education. For there is a gap between the theoretical-conceptual foundation of educational plans, their acceptance by trained educationalists, and their actual relevance for the changing of pedagogical action concepts—a gap as we also know from the research on schools and teaching, so that we may not assume that the input of curricula will influence the behaviour of teachers and the students' educational and learning results (output) (Vollstädt et al. 1999; Böttcher 2003; Oelkers 2005). We may expect such a finding also for the effect of educational plans on the acting of trained educationalists in the elementary field, so that the effectiveness of educational programmes in respect of the improvement of process quality is limited, and the quality of education depends essentially on personal and structural factors as well as of investments in the professionalism of teachers.

Competence-Oriented Educational Plans for Primary and Secondary Education

The understanding of educational standards and the acquisition of competence in the context of learning at school as it is constitutive for the nationally agreed subject-related educational standards is based on a study by Klieme et al. (2003) on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the Standing Conference of Education Ministries. This study defines educational standards as follows:

> Educational standards formulate demands for teaching and learning at school. They define goals of educational work, in the form of desired learning results of students. This way standards substantiate the educational mandate of schools of general education. Educational standards take up . . . general *educational objectives.* They name those competences as school must communicate to their students in order of achieving certain essential educational objectives. Educational standards define which competences children and young people are supposed to have acquired at a certain grade. (Klieme et al. 2003: 19)

This definition puts the terms educational standard and competence acquisition at school in a systematic context: Educational standards substantiate the objectives of learning at school in the form of competence requirements in a certain topical field. When giving scientific reason to nationwide educational standards and conceptualizing them, the team of experts refers on the one hand to the theoretical discourses of pedagogics on redefining general education as they have been developed in the context of the national debate on education; on the other hand, they refer to a psychologistic, cognitive understanding of competence aiming at competence development in subject-related domains. By their education-theoretical understanding, the team of experts connects to a way of conceptualizing general education that connects to classical education theory and considers modes of experiencing the world, which already Humboldt defined as dimensions of general education, the essential areas, and reference fields of learning at school. While referring to Tenorth (1994) and Klieme et al. (2002), the expert report is based on a concept of general education which, in the tradition of Humboldt's concept of education, makes historical, mathematical, linguistic-language-related, and aesthetic-expressive modes of experiencing the world both the objective and the starting point of education and learning:

What is new with the concept and understanding of educational standards is connecting it implicitly with the theory of competence and competence development. According to the understanding of the team of experts, Klieme et al. (2003: 65) describe:

Competences . . . as those skills of subjects as also the concept of education would have referred to and assumed: acquired, that is not naturally-given, skills which have been experienced by and in certain dimensions of social reality and are suitable for shaping the latter; furthermore skills which are open to lifelong cultivation, increase and refinement, so that they may be internally graduated, e. g. from basic to extended general knowledge; but also skills starting a process of self-learning because one aims at skills which have not been acquired in connection to a task or process but can be separated from the original situation and are sustainable and open to problems. According to the expert report, educational standards must be judged by the question of whether they will open up the access to general educational objectives and the debate on these criteria. According to this thesis, competence-theoretically defined educational standards are capable of this, "already because obviously they pursue the logics of education-theoretical debates themselves and can be systematically located within a modern core curriculum of general education" (Klieme et al. 2003: 69). Whether this judgement is true and can be realized by formulating educational standards and competence expectations will be discussed and evaluated in the following.

The competence concept of the study refers to Weinert's understanding of competence, which he developed in an expert report for the OECD in 1999. According to this definition, competences are functionally adjusted cognitive performance dispositions that are related to certain classes of situations and demands and can be psychologically described as knowledge, skills, strategies, routines, or also field-specific abilities (Weinert 1999). By extending

TABLE 16.1
Basic structure of general education and canon following Baumert (2002)

	Basic competences of linguistic self-regulation (cultural tools)				
Modes of encounteringthe world(canonic orientational knowledge)	**Mastering the common language**	**Mathematizing competence**	**Foreign language competence**	**IT competence**	**Self-regulation of knowledge acquisition**
Cognitive-instrumental world modeling					
mathematics					
natural sciences					
Aesthetic-expressiveen countering and organizing					
language/literature					
music/painting/fine arts					
physical expression					
Normative-evaluative discussion of economy and society					
history					
economics					
politics/society					
law					
Problems of constitutive rationality					
religion					
philosophy					

(*Source:* Klieme et al., 2003: 68)

the cognitive competence concept, Weinert (2001: 27 seq.) defines competences as “individually available or learnable cognitive abilities and skills for solving certain problems, as well as the thus connected motivational, volitional and social readiness and abilities to be able to successfully and responsibly use these solutions to problems in variable situations.” Weinert’s psychologic-cognitivist concept of competence, on which educational standards and thus base core curricula are based, is a blatant regression behind an understanding of categorical education as Klafki developed it in education theory and didactics as a synthesis of material and formal education. Whereas Klafki’s concept of education includes cognitive, emotional, and social learning processes and in the context of epoch-typical societal key problems and individual existence aims at developing an ability to argument and criticize as well as the capability of self-determination and codetermination, Weinert’s concept of competence exclusively refers to cognitive tasks and problems of learning at school as they are configured by the psychology of thought processes and learning. Weinert’s concept of competence may be understood as an attempt to replace the education-scientific concept of competence by a psychological equivalent. The understanding of education as dealing with the specific representations of cultural knowledge and cultural discourses, as it has been developed from the education-theoretical perspective, retreats in favour of a concept of formal education which, by retreating to basic competences, “makes us miss [any concrete statements] of what now must actually be learned and read” (Prange 2007: 179).

The team of authors on the development of national educational standards as well as those teams of researchers on the development of competence models in subject-related domains (Köller 2008)—depicted by the educational standards—which were then established at the *Institut für Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen* (IQB) (Institute for Quality Development in the Field of Education) follow this formal concept of competence as defined by Weinert. Thus, connected is the claim that the determined competences can be processed into tests and “can in principle be recorded by help of test procedures” (Klieme et al. 2003: 9). Based on Weinert’s understanding of competence, national and international educational research has developed domain-specific competence models for selected aspects of defined knowledge domains, such as reading competence or mathematical competence (PISA and TIMMS), which are clearly defined and are used for the empirical evaluation of performance achievements. According to Massing (2005:17), the claim that competences must indeed be measured “results in a reduction to cognitive fields of performance, after all.” On the other hand, more complex competences, such as in the field of political-social or artistic-aesthetic learning, are a dilemma of the context-specific, cognitive understanding of competence for which competence research currently has no solution (Hartig & Klieme 2006). Those competence models and measurement procedures as have been developed in the context of the framework programme of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for the recording of individual learning processes and the evaluation of educational processes (Klieme, Leutner, & Kenk 2010) focus on the mathematics/natural science domains and the recording of reading competence as they are analyzed by TIMMS and PISA. Concerning an essential subject, competence models not belonging to the field of mathematics and natural sciences are tried out only in the context of the subproject on the theoretical modelling and empirical validation of literature-aesthetical judgement competence.

Regarding curriculum development after competence modelling: for the time being, empirically evaluated competence models, which might provide a basis for working out curricula have been presented only for selected subject-related domains, whereas for the vast majority of subjects, competence expectations are defined on the basis of a consensual didactic knowledge, which is determined by the expertise of the respective Ministry teams of authors, consisting of scientists, Ministry officials, and selected practitioners from schools and administrators of the individual federal states. Insofar as Weniger (1930/1952) already had it in his curriculum theory, here the normative derivation from “informed arbitrariness,” on which curricula are based, is more or less continued; however, the new curricula are oriented towards core curricula which, on the basis of educational standards, strive for a reduction of the extent of binding curriculum demands.

In the context of the current transformation of curricula into core curricula, often the teaching objectives of older educational plans are simply reformulated into competence expectations and learning achievements at the end of a grade or school year (Oelkers 2005), so that, metaphorically speaking, often it is just “old wine in new skins,” and the only difference for practical work is that, in the course of one school year, standardized performance evaluations in the form of trans-regional comparative tests and federal statewide final examinations for the various types of schools evaluate the results of learning and the curriculum input.

The change of direction of curricula and their orientation at competence demands and core curricula shall now be illustrated by the example of the Federal State of Saxony-Anhalt’s guidelines for the primary field. In its curriculum for primary school, Saxony-Anhalt refers to the new output-oriented system of education control and orients learning at school at educational standards and competence demands. According to this understanding, educational standards do not cover the entire curriculum “but only an indispensable core of competences to be achieved, which the student must have achieved at each defined stage of education” (*Landesinstitut für Lehrerfortbildung* 2005). The subjects of German and mathematics are based on the standards of the Standing Conference of Education Ministries, and for those subjects for which no educational standards have as yet been developed, the authors of the educational plan develop competence demands that are based on their own expertise.

Concerning the procedure of curriculum development, this is nothing else than the already quoted procedure of “informed arbitrariness” which Weniger formulates in his theory of educational planning, as both the Standing Conference of Education Ministries’ educational standards for German and mathematics and the guidelines of individual federal states for other subjects pursue these principles. What is new with the orientation of these curricula is that they give up on contents and didactic-methodical guidelines for the organization of lessons and focus on the definition of learning results. Whereas the educational standards describe the core of indispensable knowledge and skills in a competence-oriented way and define the binding frame of learning at school at a general level, it is the task of schools to implement the core curriculum according to their locations and learning groups, thus “providing a basis for lessons being individually organized by teachers” (*Landesinstitut für Lehrerfortbildung* 2005: 12). The new curriculum concept is presented as follows (Ibid.):

Following the 2003 agreements of the Standing Conference of Education Ministries on compulsory educational standards for the main school subjects (German,

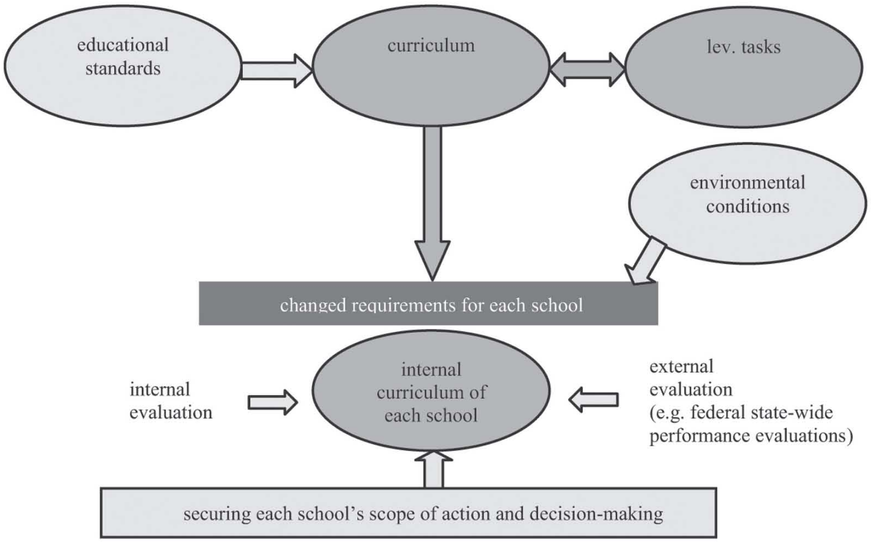
educational standards
curriculum
lev. tasks
environmental conditions
changed requirements for each school
internal evaluation
internal curriculum of each school
external evaluation (e.g. federal state-wide performance evaluations)
securing each school’s scope of action and decision-making

Figure 16.1 The new curriculum concept by the example of Saxony-Anhalt.

(*Source:* Der neue Lehrplan für die Grundschule in Sachsen—Anhalt, Landesinstitut für Lehrerfortbildung, Lehrerweiterbildung und Unterrichtsforschung von Sachsen-Anhalt (LISA), 2005, 12) mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign languages), the federal states initiated a fundamental reform of curricula that resulted in the development and introduction of competence-oriented core curricula. In the individual federal states, this has been implemented to different extents and has not yet been completed.

Development and Criticism of Competence-Oriented Core Curricula

To scientifically develop and drive forward the operationalization, evaluation, and norming of educational standards, in 2003 the Standing Conference of Education Ministries established the *Institut für Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen* (IQB), whose task is the successive development of empirically secured competence models for educational standards and to draft test methods and task formats that are suitable for evaluating the measurement of educational and performance standards by way of comparative tests. By referring to national and international models of competence levels in the wake of PISA and TIMMSS as well as for previously not covered competence fields of the educational standards and first drafts of competence models for the core subjects of the intermediate level as well as for the subjects of German and mathematics in the primary field were tried out in the respective subject-related domains. These models were developed on the basis of subject-didactic expertise and were, for the first time, evaluated by way of random samples in grades 8 and 10 as well as 4. In this context, while following though with modifying the PISA model of competence levels, five selective competence levels were defined—Standard (Level I), Minimum Standard (Level II), Obligatory Standard (Level III), Obligatory Standard Plus (Level IV), and Maximum Standard (Level V)—which depict a bell-shaped distribution of performances (www.iqbhu-berlin.de/bista?reg=r_4). Basically, this is the definition of performance standards as they were granted by the authors of the draft versions and that, in the future, are supposed to be empirically evaluated and further developed by way of federal state comparisons on the basis of random samples. This is supposed to be done under the guidance of the *Institut für Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen* (IQB).

This development research analysis on the implementation of educational standards and core curricula does not tackle the crucial question of *how* students are supposed to acquire competences in the course of the learning process. If educational standards determine which competences must be achieved by a certain grade, this means defining the obligatory requirements according to which students are graded and organized into a relative hierarchy. Schlömerkemper (2006: 267) calls the thus connected selection-oriented organization of learning unproductive "because due to its structure it sends part of the students from one learning progress to the next one, although they have not sufficiently acquired those skills and abilities as are usually necessary for progress." The development research on competence models, as it has been established at the national *Intitut für Qualitätsentwicklung* in Berlin (IQB) in the wake of the expert report of 2003, mostly ignores the question of the process dimension of learning and of the individual acquisition of competences. It is product-oriented and puts the best possible way of measuring learning results in the fore, whereas processes of competence acquisition among students are no subject of empirical research. A research approach that looks only at the results of the learning process and the learning achievements of students is not suitable for grasping how the contents of learning at school are transformed into individually available competences. This is still a desideratum of the context-specific, cognitive competence model to which the current curriculum revision is oriented.

Brügelmann (2004:15) pointed out this connected legitimation problem: "Nobody is really able to say which necessary basic qualifications must be defined at which level. Neither for success in senior grades nor for coping with everyday demands there exist empirically proven threshold values." Furthermore, he makes us aware that there are no reference data on the learning progress in the various grades and performance groups. For example, Brügelmann's research results on the acquisition of written language show that, over the years, most performance groups make similar progress (Brügelmann & Backhaus 2003), from which he concludes that performance differences are no obstacle for the individual development of learning—"unless one establishes performance obstacles without reference to the respective base level, as the Standing Conference standards do" (Brügelmann 2004:15).

Nevertheless, the functional-pragmatic approach of understanding competence, as it is driven on by the development of competence models at the *Institut für Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen* (IQB), serves as the basis of the new, competence model-oriented educational plans for schooling which, in the future, will decisively determine the further development of competence-oriented core curricula. Regarding the development of curricula in the Federal Republic of Germany, we must expect a national standardization of competence expectations towards learning at school and their codification by core curricula which, contrary to the previous curriculum practice, will result in a fundamental paradigm change from a variety of curricula to a standardized school curriculum oriented at national educational standards.

The competence-oriented curriculum model, based on a cognitively restricted psychological concept of education and learning, is embedded in an understanding of learning at school which makes the effectiveness and outcomes of educational and learning processes, their measurability and control, the essential paradigm of the development of education and teaching. It is subject to the figure of thought of the economic rationality and rational control of teaching, which ignores the unavailability of subjects—both for students and teachers—as well as the complexity and multidimensionality of teaching (Doyle 1995; Combe & Helsper 1996) and thus represents an instrumental understanding of learning that models the acting of teachers as applying scientific knowledge according to rules.

If one uses those curriculum concepts as a basis as developed by Eisner and Vallance (1974) as a cognitive process approach, curriculum as technology, curriculum of self-actualization, curriculum for social reconstruction, and academic rationalism, a curriculum concept which is one-sidedly based on a cognitive-psychologistic concept of competence development at school can be identified as a primarily cognitive-academic concept of learning at school. The aspect of standardization and orientation at measurable results of competence development also reveals the technological orientation of the curriculum. This competence model, which mostly focuses on natural sciences and mathematics domains, is nothing other than the "privileging of science and technology subjects in schools and universities to serve the needs of global industrial competitiveness," as Smith (2003: 38) identified it, also a typical feature of the curriculum debate during the first stage of neoliberal globalization. If we further consider that the competence and standardization debate following *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and the Holmes Report (1986), as it happened in the United States, was adopted in Germany only 30 years later (Criblez 1998) and was used as the basis of the development of educational standards and competence-oriented curricula, it becomes obvious that the German debate lags far behind the international theory development as it is conceptualized by the postmodern discourse in understanding curriculum (Pinar et al. 2000; Pinar 2003). It represents a regression behind the international debate on the challenges globalization means for curriculum studies. A discourse on the question "How do we understand curriculum in terms of politics, culture, economics, identity, and history?" (Pinar 2003: 3) is still missing in the German debate. Whereas the American curriculum debate takes social, cultural, economic, and political-social transformations resulting from globalization into consideration and starts a critical discourse that takes ideas of economic and cultural capital and discourses in the cultural studies, multiculturalism, postmodernism, and post-colonialism (Matus & McCarty 2003) into consideration, the current German debate ignores these challenges for the curriculum and, by way of educational standards and core curricula, opts for a nationwide orientation and standardization of curricula.

It must be left to the future in how far the new, competence-oriented core curricula will contribute to an increase in the quality of education, to the improvement of students' performance, and to a reduction of educational inequality which, according to the findings of international research on school performance, is blatantly high in Germany. The state of both national and international research on instructional effectiveness is telling (Oser 2011). The more recent offer-utility models of teaching (Helmke 2012) do not assume any causal, unilateral relation between the acting of teachers and the performance of students, and not knowing about the effect of pedagogical acting (Helsper 2002) is one of the determining factors of teaching and education.

There is no reason for exaggerated expectations. Existing findings on guideline acceptance among teachers (Vollstädt et al. 1999; Vollstädt 2003; Oelkers 2005) makes us expect a trend towards lacking acceptance among teachers. According to the overview on the state of research provided by Lipowsky (2006), international findings make us expect that no curriculum reform will be successful if teachers are not actively included. The effectiveness of educational plans and curricula is linked to a network of support measures assisting trained educationalists with their everyday activities and providing professionalization offers and resources for the implementation of new demands on teaching and learning. If we try to achieve acceptance and an educationally responsible, reflected way of dealing with binding educational standards and thus corresponding performance expectations, we need a critical, discursive debate on these new top-down education-political implementation strategies, a debate which can only happen with educational actors at schools themselves.

According to Künzli's analysis of the failure of the curriculum movement in the past decades, however, little suggests (2009: 145) "that this new alliance of curriculum standardization and scientific monitoring will be able to sustainably improve educational processes and will be helpful with coping better with the complex problems those who are responsible for heading the educational institutions of modern, multicultural societies are confronted with," so that we have reason to be skeptical. According to Künzli (2009: 138), curriculum decisions "always also reflect social power relations" so that any choice may be understood "as an expression of 'cultural arbitrariness' and the socially selecting effect of such a choice as an act of 'symbolic violence' " (Bourdieu & Passeron 1970, 1973): "Those topics, value attitudes and lifestyles as being ignored by curricula or are classified as being of minor value provide an answer to the question of which degrees of freedom and which implicit cultural mechanisms of selection and control characterize an educational system" (Ibid.). A critical analysis of the curriculum discourse and the thus connected theoretical and empirical questions is a challenge to education-scientific research, which, in the German speaking countries, must still be developed.

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17

In Search of a Diverse Curriculum

Toward the Making of a Postmodern Hong Kong in the Twenty-First Century

Edmond Hau-Fai Law

In 2007 and later in 2010, McKinsey and Company published their report, “How the world’s best performing school systems come out on top.” The report focused on the infrastructure of a select group of school systems and identified key features that accounted for their success in international tests and assessments. The top three countries—known as “sustained improvers”—include Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea. All three countries achieved excellence according to the report (Mourshed, Chijioke, and Barber 2010). Among the six factors that accounted for their success, three are related to the core themes of this chapter:

1. decentralized pedagogy and perpetuation of innovative practices,
2. leadership for change, and
3. empowerment of teachers and school leadership.

The public expenditure per student as a percentage of GDP per capita of Hong Kong, however, was low compared with South Korea, Japan, Finland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The table below summarizes expenditures per pupil as a percentage of GDP in selected countries. However, in his recent Policy Address, Mr. Tsang, the Chief Executive of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), repeatedly emphasized that the percentage spent on education accounts for approximately 17.5% to 18.5% of the total public expenditure in fiscal year 2011 to 2012, as estimated by the Government (The 2012–2011 Budget, February 23, 2011, Appendix 24).

TABLE 17.1
Public expenditure per pupil as a percentage of GDP per capita in selected countries

	2009		**2010**	
	Primary	**Secondary**	**Primary**	**Secondary**
Hong Kong	13.8	16.7	15.1	18
South Korea	23.1	23.6	–	–
Singapore	10.7	16	11.5	17.5
Japan	–	–	23.7	24.3
Finland	20.5	36.1	–	–
UK	24.5	31.1	–	–
USA	22.4	25.2	–	–

(UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012)

The question remains: what makes these Asian countries successfully produce children with high aptitude for science, reading, and mathematics? The issues are quite complex. Professor John Biggs of Hong Kong University was puzzled by the following paradox, evident in the early twentieth century (Biggs, 1996). On the one hand, child-centered progressive education was considered the most effective pedagogical strategy in cultivating personal autonomy and in enhancing the individual potential of children. It emphasized the intrinsic values of life-long learning, the importance of learning skills, and the roles of children in constructing knowledge and developing their own individuality. Major Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and mainland China have a long history of Western influence, especially in terms of progressivism in educational thought. Japan introduced Froebel’s child psychology in the Meiji period, whereas Apple, Pinar, and Giroux’s works have influenced contemporary Japanese educators (Hashimoto 2003; Abiko 2003; Asanuma 2003). South Korea has also had a clear record of being influenced by contemporary Western curriculum specialists such as Bloom, Tyler, and Bruner and Marxist scholars such as Freire, Carnoy, and Althusser. The more recent works of Pinar and Apple explain their impact on contemporary educators in South Korea as well (Lee 2003). Mainland China and Taiwan share similarities in their contemporary history of education (Hwang and Chang 2003; Zhang and Zhong 2003). The influences of the educational thoughts continue their engineering function in shaping both theoretical works and educational practices in schools in contemporary Asian countries.

TABLE 17.2
Performance of 15-year-old students in reading, mathematical, and scientific literacy in PISA 2009 (top ten in all domains)

Reading		Mathematics		Science	
Countries	**Mean (S.E.)**	**Countries**	**Mean (S.E.)**	**Countries**	**Mean (S.E.)**
Shanghai, China	556 (2.4)	Shanghai, hina	600 (2.8)	Shanghai, China	575 (2.3)
Korea	539 (3.5)	Singapore	562 (1.4)	Finland	554 (2.3)
Finland	536 (2.3)	Hong Kong	555 (2.7)	Hong Kong	549 (2.8)
Hong Kong	533 (2.1)	Korea	546 (4.0)	Singapore	542 (1.4)
Singapore	526 (1.1)	Chinese Taipei	543 (3.4)	Japan	539 (3.4)
Canada	524 (1.5)	Finland	541 (2.2)	Korea	538 (3.4)
New Zealand	521 (2.4)	Liechtenstein	536 (4.1)	New Zealand	532 (2.6)
Japan	520 (3.5)	Switzerland	534 (3.3)	Canada	529 (1.6)
Australia	515 (2.3)	Japan	529 (3.3)	Estonia	528 (2.7)
Netherlands	508 (5.1)	Canada	527 (1.6)	Australia	527 (2.5)

Source: HKPISA Centre (2011). The Fourth HKPISA Report PISA 2009 Executive Summary. Hong Kong: HKPISA Centre, CUHK.

On the other hand, the results of international assessments have indicated that, for a long time, the countries that lack progressive traditions have topped the table. Hong Kong, together with other major Asian countries, continues to do well. The following table shows a concrete picture of the performance of the children who come from the top ten countries.

One might easily attribute the achievements of student learning to the cultural values embedded in the Confucian heritage of these countries. Effort and hard work have been considered essential to academic success rather than motivation and natural capacity for learning.

> . . . a traditional Chinese society . . . maintains a strong emphasis on hard work and the belief that ineptitude can be overcome through diligence, and people think that one's own efforts will supplement any lack of natural endowment. Under the influence of such a tradition, Hong Kong has over the years nurtured a lot of distinguished talents and high quality schools. (Education Commission, 2000, p. 39)

Notably, countries with a Confucian heritage overemphasize examinations, accord excessive priority to rote learning and memorization, and depend heavily on teacher talk and transmission models. Confucian perspectives on learning are quite different from these stereotypical views of pedagogy that are commonly associated with these countries. Confucian traditions state that

> Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application? Every day I examine myself on three counts. In what I have undertaken on another's behalf, have I failed to do my best? In my dealings with my friends have I failed to be trustworthy in what I say? Have I passed on to others anything that I have no tried out myself? Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous. (Confucius, Analects and Great learning "Da Xue")

These quoted passages show that Confucian traditions value thinking, investigation, authentic learning, the experimental nature of learning, self-reflection, application, and a personal attitude toward learning. I believe that these concepts of learning and pedagogy resemble modern progressive thought on education. How these cultural values and traditional practices operate and function in the learning processes of children and young adults in Hong Kong remains a key research question.

In Search of a Quality Curriculum (1982–2001)

In the 2003 version of this paper, I deliberately selected a range of key curriculum issues and concerns based on endeavors of the educators, teachers, policymakers, parents, and the community at large in search of a quality curriculum for the twenty-first century. The selection of the themes and the research studies was arbitrary, and the choice of Tyler's curriculum framework was convenient. The key observations and arguments made there were as follows:

1. The definitions and the understanding of curriculum and curriculum studies have been so diverse that I took a liberal approach in understanding the theories and practices of curriculum. Tyler's framework facilitated the organization and explanation of my thoughts.
2. The educational system during the colonial period was characterized by its political affiliation with British traditions and values. Thus, a traditional and rationalist approach to educational organization and practice was adopted (Morris 1996). The fund allocated to education remained minimal compared with the budget allocated to education in some developed

countries in East Asia, Europe, and America, including Japan, Finland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

3. In 1982, a visiting panel submitted a report to the Hong Kong Government outlining their key observations and recommendations on the issues and problems crucial to the provision of an effective educational system in Hong Kong. The Llewellyn report paved the way for the foundation of a modern educational system and practice in Hong Kong.
4. In search of a quality curriculum and educational experiences for children in Hong Kong, student-centered educational philosophy and principles became the foundational orientations in educational planning and pedagogical reforms in Hong Kong since 1972. These reforms were formalized in 1982 by the Llewellyn Report. Traditional practices and understanding became outdated and were considered ineffective modes of educational thinking. However, resistance from teachers in classroom practices in various forms was well acknowledged by teaching professionals and policymakers.
5. Education Commission Reports 1–6 revealed that the educational system in the 1980s and the 1990s focused on its internal effectiveness and structural issues, which eventually paved the way for the search of a quality curriculum in 1999 and 2001.
6. The planning and implementation of major curriculum reform from1989 to 1999 was immature. However, this built the foundation for a new wave of curriculum reforms in 1999 and 2001.
7. Decentralization of educational management and curriculum decision making were key themes in curriculum reforms from 1982 to 2002.
8. The policy bias toward a Western conception of learning effectiveness overlooked the role of Confucian cultures and the traditional practices in Hong Kong.
9. Curriculum diversity has been a function of the social, religious, and political backgrounds of school management, which means that Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam are also functions of the liberal attitude in the governance of the school system in Hong Kong. These religions have a direct impact on these various "backgrounds" in shaping the curriculum experiences of the children.

In summary, Hong Kong's experience in searching for a quality curriculum has been a question of how a harmonious compromise can be achieved between Western progressive thought in education and Eastern traditional practices in a socioculturally different milieu. The former is characterized by its emphasis on the development of personal autonomy, whereas the latter focuses on communal preferences and the priority it gives to the hierarchical harmony embedded in the structures of human relationships and institutions.

The Changing Nature of the Hong Kong Educational System (1997–2012)

Hong Kong's sovereignty was returned to Mainland China in 1997. Kennedy depicted the period from 1998 to 2012 as a period of "post-colonial release" (Kennedy, 2011, p. 98) in the sense that the first major reform in educational structure was the British orientation of requiring three years of junior secondary, two years of senior secondary, two years of A-level examinations, and three years of undergraduate study. The new model is known as the 334 model because it comprises three years of junior, three years of senior, and four years of undergraduate study, implemented in 2009.

The cluster curriculum framework, which has streams or clusters of subjects, was replaced by a model with a core of four subjects: Chinese, English, Mathematics, Liberal Studies, and electives in the senior secondary level. The underlying philosophy of an "academic rationalist" approach with very strict subject boundaries based on a collection code curriculum was replaced by a curriculum that emphasizes choices and flexibility (Morris and Chan 1998). Therefore, subjects in schools are grouped under disciplines to allow greater flexibility in organizing learning across traditional subject boundaries.

The two public examinations were replaced by one examination toward the end of senior secondary as the general entrance requirement for university courses. This change was instituted to re-orient the pedagogical and learning approaches away from the examination-dominated curriculum (Kennedy, 2011). The shift to a progressive curriculum for effective learning and development of personal autonomy was well received. This framework added a socio-economic but local function that will produce a generation of human resources for knowledge creation and innovations in the knowledge-based economy of Hong Kong.

> [L]earning is driven by the needs of the knowledge economy for ideas and innovation. This learning . . . draws from the broadest conceptions of progressivist teaching and learning principles. Its emphasis is not so much "child-centered" progressivism but rather social efficiency that focuses on the role of schooling in the provision of a skilled work force. (Kennedy 2011, p. 92)

One may argue that this "added value" of a progressive curriculum is a traditional and Confucian perspective of the function of education deeply rooted in the cultural values of a Confucian-oriented Chinese society (Education Commission 2000, p. 39). In Kennedy's view, this change signals "an end of the colonial education system and the beginning of a locally developed and internationally recognized system of education" (Kennedy 2011, p.110). Professor Cheng (2009) conceptualized the major reform policies, and they are summarized in the following table:

TABLE 17.3
Characteristics of educational reforms (2001–2009)

Macro level	Re-establishing a new national vision and educational aims;Re-structuring educational systems;Diversifying the market-driven approach to educational provision.
Meso level	Increasing parental and community participation in the management and financing of school education.
Site level	Increasing accountability;Demanding teacher quality and students' standards;Decentralizing management and curriculum.
Operational level	Strengthening ICT in teaching and learning; Re-orienting teaching and learning toward student-focused approaches;Emphasizing assessment for learning.

(Adapted from Cheng 2009)

From Nurturing Civic Responsibility to Engineering a National Identity (1999–2012)

Many, including the new Government in Hong Kong, were surprised that on July 29th, 2012, approximately 90,000 people, including students, parents, and teachers, took to the streets to protest the imposition of a national education program for the primary and secondary students to be implemented in 2013. That was the first time that these people protested against an educational program on political grounds. That was also the first time that the protesters made their political vision on educational aims that steer away from political indoctrination or any attempt by the Government to impose a political view and perspective on the school curriculum. The materials in one of the teachers' handbooks funded by the Government but published by a pro-Beijing teacher organization directly praised the Communist Party as "united" and "selfless." The teachers, parents, and students claimed that the national education program was "toxic milk powder, poisoning the next generation" of children in Hong Kong (*South China Morning Post,* July 30, 2012, p. 1).

Prior to 1997, the year that Great Britain returned Hong Kong's sovereignty to Mainland China, the aims of education seemed to avoid problems and controversies. The aims covered the major aspects of human development, such as intellectual, aesthetic, physical, and social. They appeared universal and uncontroversial to Hong Kong citizens (Education and Manpower Branch, 1993). The appeal for a national education and national identity as the aims of the educational system began as early as 1999 based on a consultation document on educational reforms, which was later adopted in the formal educational reform document in 2000.

> To enable every person to attain all-round development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physique, social skills and aesthetics according to his/her own attributes so that he/she is capable of life-long learning, critical and exploratory thinking, innovating and adapting to change; filled with self-confidence and a team spirit; willing to put forward continuing effort for the prosperity, progress, freedom and democracy of their society, and contribute to the future well-being of the nation and the world at large. (Education Commission 2000, p. 30)

The development of national identity permeates the school curriculum across pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels. The development of this identity becomes one of the five essential learning experiences under the domain of moral and civic education (Curriculum Development Council 2001, p. 20). "[T]he promotion of national identity and commitment to society and the nation are imperative for realizing Hong Kong as part of China as well as an international Asian city" (Curriculum Development Council 2000, p. 42).

Interestingly, the promotion of national development in schools among schoolchildren has not been mentioned at all by the chief executive of the Hong Kong Government in any of his policy addresses from 1998 to 2006. In his policy address in 2007–2008, he mentioned specifically that the Government would respond actively to the appeal by President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China on June 30th, 2007, for a national education for the youth in Hong Kong to love "our motherland and love Hong Kong." He further asserted that the national program should "foster among young people a sense of affinity with our motherland and heighten their sense of national pride and identity" (clause 119). The importance of cultivating a strong sense of national identity was repeated in his policy addresses in the years 2008–2009 and 2009–2010. In his policy address in 2010–2011, he stated specifically that a national education should be developed into a school subject tentatively called "moral and national education" to be implemented in 2013–2014.

In May 2011, a curriculum guide on Moral and National Education for primary one to secondary six was announced and promoted publicly (Curriculum Development Council 2011).

The protests reflect the conflicts between the well-established core values of Hong Kong as a city of diversity (in which the school systems have radical and different aims of education based on their governing and management bodies) and the urgency on the part of the central Government to engineer a strong sense of national identity with Mainland China, including the recognition of the Communist Party as the legitimate and sole representative of the Chinese people. The school curriculum in Hong Kong becomes a battleground between two contrasting ideologies that are deeply rooted in two different cultural and political traditions. Unification with the motherland has been identified with the uniformity of thoughts and ideologies by those who have strong affiliations with the central Government in Mainland China. However, the majority of Hong Kong people take for granted that the core values of Hong Kong as a cosmopolitan city lie in its political and cultural diversity, which is embedded in its political and educational structures. Hong Kong society shares many characteristics with a postmodern society, such as diversity, openness, and individuality. Currently, the insistence on the part of the current Government to implement a curriculum that is used for a particular political ideology may run against the postmodernist values embedded in diverse lifestyles within the political and social infrastructure in Hong Kong. Notably, in the 2000 Education Commission Report, one of the visions of the reform was:

> [T]o construct a diverse school system: to inject diversity in education ideologies, modes of financing and focus of curriculum, so that learners have more choices and multi-faceted talents will be nurtured. (Education Commission 2000, p. 5)

Curriculum Research (2003–2012)

I adopted two strategies to survey curriculum research in Hong Kong. First, I downloaded all papers that have two key words, "Hong Kong" and "Education," from the ERIC database. I was able to download 1,835 papers and categorized the 892 papers published between 2012 and 2009. Second, I asked my research assistant to download all research papers from each personal profile of faculty from Hong Kong University, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Baptist University, and Hong Kong Institute of Education. These may overlap with the ERIC database. Third, I also downloaded all the press releases of the biggest and most influential teachers' union in Hong Kong from 2002 to 2012. I found that their major concerns in terms of the educational and curriculum policies include their implementation from the perspectives of frontline teachers (http://www.hkptu.org/mainindex.php?content=wisnew/newsrelease.htm).

Given the number of publications, I will be highly selective in my choice of research papers and publications that relate directly to the key concerns and issues that were identified and discussed in the early part of this chapter (Yeung, Lam, Leung, and Lo 2012). I start with one written by Professor John Lee in 2009 on a comprehensive review of the research publications in international curriculum journals, local Hong Kong journals, and from ERIC database from 1980 to 2008 (2009). He found that more papers and publications related to curriculum practice than those related to the curriculum theories emerging in the 1990s and the 2000s. He classified them into eight broad categories:

1. Curriculum policy and history
2. Teachers' curriculum beliefs and conceptions
3. School-based curriculum development and leadership
4. Subject-based curriculum and current curriculum reforms
5. Student conceptions of learning and change
6. Curriculum implementation and evaluation
7. Special local curriculum issues
8. Curriculum studies beyond Hong Kong

Lee observed that not many research publications were based on postmodernist or re-conceptualist approaches, although some theoretical work was identified. Second, studies on school-based curriculum development dominated; scientific studies or experimental approaches were rarely found. Third, numerous methodological preferences were found over case studies and historical narratives. Similarly, few studies employed action research, experimental testing, a critical approach, and an ethnographical approach in curriculum studies. Fourth, research on core school subjects such as languages and mathematics was dominant, whereas cross-curricular issues were very few. Fifth, theoretical orientations mostly follow Anglo-Saxon traditions, whereas practical curriculum issues elicit more research attention other than theoretical explorations (Lee 2009, p. 113).

The lack of theoretical pursuit in curriculum studies is a complex issue that is related to the orientations of Government policy in allocating resources for research studies. The Quality Education Fund, which was established by the Government in 1998 to provide competitive additional funding for enhancement initiatives by schools, has a strong impact on research activities and collaboration between university faculty and schoolteachers. The practical and professional relevance of innovations and curriculum projects have been the key criteria for successful applications for funding. Theoretical explorations do not interest policy makers or decision makers whenever funding is concerned. In addition, the quantitative aspect of curriculum engineering work dominated the 1980s and 1990s, whereas in the twenty-first century, educational reforms shifted to concerns on quality of learning and teaching (Cheng 2009).

Gender, inequality, ethnicity, and political issues emerged only recently as major educational discourses among stakeholders such as parents, teachers, and the community at large (Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union 2012). In the press release of the Professional Teachers' Union on its request for Government actions to solve educational problems, one out of all ten requests was about the political and sociocultural issues of educational policy and practice. The requests pertain to the preparation of modern citizens for autonomy and independence, the implementation of an authentic education for civic responsibility, and their rejection of any form of indoctrination in national educational program. The other requests on the list include the protection of the wellbeing and the quality of life of teachers in their jobs and careers (Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union 2012).

Compared with the 892 papers between 2012 and 2009 available on the ERIC database, the following is evident:

1. Papers on gender issues, political, colonial, and reproduction aspects of the school curriculum and policy account for approximately 22 papers.
2. Papers on teacher beliefs, teacher education, and teacher development account for 95 papers.

3. Papers on the secondary curriculum and education account for approximately 45 papers.
4. Papers on higher education account for approximately 46 papers.
5. Special education and early childhood education have more representation than other aspects of the school curriculum.

In his early review of the research publications, Professor Lee noted the lack of papers or research studies on the postmodernist tradition and the re-conceptualist framework that has likely continued since 2008. This may be one consequence of the deliberate orientation by the funding agencies in Hong Kong and the policy of the assessment criteria on the practical relevance of educational research studies. The priority given to research applications and proposals, which have clear and direct practical relevance, affects the research directions of the researchers in the faculties of education in Hong Kong universities.

Re-Orienting and Consolidating Pedagogical Principles and Practices (1972–2012)

Western progressive principles such as Dewey's or the child-centered approaches to teaching and learning such as Piaget's and Bruner's have been well-received clusters of educational thoughts and were well-adopted in educational policies in Hong Kong (Llewellyn et al. 1982). However, at the operational level in classrooms, progressive approaches have often been diluted and mediated, which is considered an inauthentic version of its original philosophical and educational principles: "AA (Activity Approach) is found to have, to some extent, degenerated into a form of teaching very similar to the traditional one" (The Board of Education 1997, p. 45).

Colleges of education taught progressive educational thought and its implications on pedagogical design and practices in classrooms. When I was undergoing a reading in-service training course at Northcote College in 1979, I listened to lectures on Piaget, Vygotsky, Dewey, and other progressive educationalists. My field experience and practice were all modeled after progressive educational principles. This progressive tradition in education courses for teachers continues in other education faculties in Hong Kong. In my study on the pedagogical strategies adopted by professors and faculty in a department of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, I found that progressive principles had been well infused and used in curriculum design and pedagogical practices in training and educating future teachers (Law et. al. 2007, p. 253). The Government did not only accept in principle the values of "small class teaching" (Policy Address 2011–2012) but also began implementing it in primary and secondary schools. However, the change and the reduction of class size have been gradual. The acceptance of the policy change also resulted from great pressure from teachers' unions (The Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union 2012).

Small Class Teaching (1974–2012)

The promotion of student-centered curriculum began in 1974. Additional resources were provided to schools that adopted Activity Approach (AA). Schools that implemented AA enjoyed smaller class sizes and more appropriate resources even though evidence on its effective implementation at the classroom level has not yet been established (The Board of Education 1997). The persistence in advocating student-centered approaches in teaching and learning continues at the policy, teacher education, and quality assurance mechanism levels. The reform proposals in 2000 make "student-focused" the first principle in reform (Education Commission 2000, p. 6). Furthermore, the role of the students to "construct a core of basic knowledge and develop their basic abilities and attitudes to prepare them for the building of a learning and civilized society" appears to be the only aim for the school education in the document (primary and junior secondary education) (Education Commission 2000, p. 31). From 2007 to 2008, the Government formally approved "small class teaching" as a policy. In 2009, the approach was implemented in primary one level. Students in primary one to six levels will be taught via AA beginning academic year 2014 to 2015 (Policy Address 2007–2008, clause 91). From 2009 to 2011, 70% of, or 302, primary schools in Hong Kong implemented the "small class teaching" scheme. The Government has reiterated its commitment to implement the "small class teaching" scheme in year 2011–2012 (Policy Address 2011–2012, clause 113).

Research studies on the effectiveness of "small class teaching" in Hong Kong were conducted and supported directly by the Educational Bureau in 2003 and subsequently in 2004. A total of 37 primary schools participated in the pilot studies. The studies aimed to identify the best pedagogical approaches and the necessary conditions for effective learning in "small class" environments (Chan 2010). In 2009, the results of the studies were released. The results showed that the differential student achievements were not convincing in favor of "small class teaching" (Chan, 2010). However, the decreasing fertility rate in Hong Kong made many schools and teachers adamant in implementing the scheme in 2003. In the following years numerous schools had been "killed" (a local Chinese terminology used to vividly describe the critical situation confronted by the teachers and the schools) (Chan 2005, p. 23) due to a very low enrollment rate. This crisis caused by the decreasing number of students in the primary schools has prompted the teachers to strongly demand smaller classes to save their jobs.

Learning Study (1995–2012) One key strand in research studies on pedagogy in Hong Kong has been the pioneering work of Professor Lo and her colleagues on the introduction of a theoretical element called Marton's Variation Theory into the work of Lesson Study. This theory has traditionally been used in developing and improving pedagogical practices in Japan (Marton 1988; Lo 2009). Lesson Study has been implemented by many scholars in the United States and elsewhere as an effective way to enhance teachers as professional decision makers at the operational level, as well as an effective way to improve student-learning achievements (Stigler and Hiebert 1997). The role of the teachers in Lesson Study is similar to the conception of teachers as researchers (Stenhouse 1975; Elliott and Yu 2008). The development of Lesson Study in Hong Kong has incorporated a systematic and theoretical approach in the conceptualization of its function and operation. Hence, Professor Lo initiated the change in name to "Learning Study" to distinguish it from the other models of Lesson Study in Japan and other countries.

The basic assumptions and features of Learning Study in Hong Kong are as follows:

1. Teachers are engaged in cycles of lesson review, design, enactment, analysis, reflection, and redesign;
2. Teams include subject experts, theory experts, and classroom subject teachers;
3. Teachers follow a package of procedures and processes;
4. Data collection methodologies include pre-test, post-test, and interviews before and after the lesson enactment;
5. Variation theory provides pedagogical guidance in designing lessons;
6. Teaching focuses on the critical features of the object of learning; and
7. Learning indicates a change in one's way of seeing or understanding the object of learning.

Learning Study has spawned school-based innovations as it deliberately injects in the lesson design not only the theoretical but also the systematic dimension in its planning, design, and analyses. The project on Learning Study started with two schools in 1995. From 2005 to 2008, a project called "Variation for the Improvement of Teaching and Learning" attracted 120 schools in Hong Kong. The evidence of its effectiveness in enhancing student achievements, especially among low achievers, has been significant and well documented in many research papers published in international journals (Lo et al. 2005; Ko 2007; Lo 2009; Ko 2011; Cheng and Ko 2012).

Assessment for Learning The negative impact of excessive and selection-oriented public examinations as well as the different forms of assessing students' learning achievements and learning approaches has been well acknowledged by educators and the Government in Hong Kong (Education Commission 1990, p. 62). Excessive public examinations distort the intrinsic motivation of learning and orient students to adopt surface approaches to learning at the expense of deep and meaningful learning. Report Number 4 of the Education Commission revealed that the positive impact of public examinations and assessments of student learning should be emphasized and brought to the best interests of students in terms of effective learning. Therefore, the formative purpose of assessments and examinations should be addressed in schools (Education Commission 1990, p. 64; Biggs and Tang 1998).

Another issue discussed in the report is the lack of alignment between the attainment targets and the school curriculum at different grade levels. The clear attainment targets at each grade level would give students clear learning targets and give teachers clear teaching objectives to plan their lessons and pedagogical strategies. The achievements are criterion-referenced rather than norm-referenced. Following this framework, every student can achieve their targets of learning outcomes at their own pace and their achievements were well recognized in their progress reports. The Government and the teachers implemented this "target related assessment" policy until its termination in 1999, when new reform proposals were initiated. However, several key concepts were retained despite the confirmation of the new curriculum reforms in 2001.

I think that the most essential concepts are the formative function of assessing the outcomes of student learning and the adoption of a wide range of assessment instruments to measure various types of learning outcomes (Curriculum Development Council 2001, p. 80). Research studies that fall in with this line of policy orientations have been numerous. They investigated whether the aspects of the new assessment policies and their implementation strategies could be applied in Hong Kong schools. A few of them explored the theoretical aspects of the new assessment policy (Ngan 2011; Berry 2008; Bryant and Timmins 2002; Falvey et al. 1994).

From Teacher Participation to Distributed Curriculum Leadership (1982–2012)

The failure of the centralized models of research, development, and dissemination in the educational reforms of the 1960s has led to the emergence of a contrasting theory about social development and human learning. Teacher participation in professional school activities has been known to enhance not only teacher professionalism but also their ability to make pedagogical and curriculum decisions at operational levels that match the needs of the learners. Logically, pedagogical decisions enhance learning effectiveness. These beliefs were disseminated worldwide, reaching Hong Kong. As a colonial tradition, educational experts were asked to review the educational system in Hong Kong.

In 1982, the Llewellyn Report was completed. This report was a significant milestone in the modernization of Hong Kong's educational system and its practices. One of its recommendations was to institute a policy that would provide teachers space in making curriculum decisions (Llewellyn 1982, p. 56). This was positively accepted by a key decision-making body, the Curriculum Development

Council. In 1987, a scheme was established to encourage school-based and teacher-led curriculum innovations until its termination in 2001. This period of teacher participation in curriculum decision making was characterized by its focus on school subjects with a clear goal of producing suitable materials for teaching and learning from the early stage to a mature stage. In the context of this scheme, the teachers were involved in the whole process of reviewing, planning, designing, experimenting, and evaluating the innovations (Lam and Yeung 2010, p. 74).

Following Marsh's conception, teachers engaged in curriculum deliberation (Marsh 2010, p. 288). This decentralization of the school curriculum was criticized for its lack of a clear policy. In particular, people wondered about the ultimate aim of SBCD even though the teachers were involved in curriculum deliberation. Some people remarked that the curriculum designs were still individualistic and sporadic. In 2001, the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) encouraged schools to adopt a more dynamic and interactive model by setting up "curriculum development teams" in curriculum deliberation. The CDC policy in 2003 strengthened the institutionalization of the mechanisms and the practices of school-based curriculum development by establishing a senior post in curriculum leadership, a positional leadership that served as the change agencies in the school administrative structure (Education Bureau 2003). This policy was significant because curriculum decisions at the operational sites were well recognized formally by the authority and teachers were formally rewarded. Teacher leadership in curriculum deliberations was considered a career path for active teachers involved in curriculum innovations. What was even more important was the alternative strategy recommended by the Government agency. This distributed and collaborative model of using curriculum development teams was considered effective and efficient in bringing about innovations and changes in schools and among teachers (Curriculum Development Council 2002).

A research question arises regarding which mechanisms and under what conditions could SBCD function efficiently in effecting changes in school culture and teacher professionalism. Law and his research team (1999–2012) embarked on a series of design-based studies on this issue about the effective mechanisms and processes in teacher curriculum decision making. Based on the key educational principles and wisdom generated over the years in Western literature, he and his research team designed an intervention in an elementary school from 2003 to 2005. This intervention was replicated in 2008 in another elementary school. The intervention entailed the establishment of three curriculum development teams, each of which focused on one core subject (English, Chinese, or Mathematics) in the school curriculum. The teams were formed and regulated based on the following principles and wisdom found in Western literature about effective human learning. Learners learn more effectively if they learn in practical situations, in creating new knowledge, in a collaborative manner, in achieving clear aims, and in cycles of learning processes (Lave and Wenger 1991; Shulman and Sherin,2004; Engestrom 2008).

Their findings show that an elaborate style of leadership in teams expands spaces for teacher participation and therefore enhances teacher ownership and empowerment while making curriculum decisions. By contrast, a restricted style of leadership in teams asserts the hierarchical domination of a positional leader, therefore narrowing the space for teacher participation. The former model allows quality teacher learning, whereas the latter restricts opportunities for teacher ownership and empowerment processes (Law 2011; Law et. al. 2010; Law, Galton, and Wan,2010; Law and Wan 2008; Law, Galton, and Wan 2007; Law 2006; Law and Wan 2006). The research studies have also shown Asiatic cultures and their core features, such as the priority of social harmony and the preference for a cooperative mode of communication that mediates the interactive models in team meetings. Consequently, they influence the leadership styles realized in the interactions among team members. A less hierarchical and positional leadership results in more space the teachers have in expanding their professional sphere of ownership and empowerment.

Trends and Future Directions

In Hong Kong, research studies are closely related to key policy directions and reform agendas, such as pedagogical reorientations toward student-focused practices and individualization of learning and assessment, decentralization of decision making among central agencies toward school-focused innovations, and distributed models of teacher curriculum deliberation and empowerment. The search for an effective and quality pedagogy and curriculum began as early as the 1970s and continues to the present. However, the search aims at negotiating a curriculum for the diverse needs of different ethnic and cultural groups within the infrastructure of Hong Kong society. I believe that the search for a diverse curriculum is the search for a curriculum that allows for a postmodernist Hong Kong.

In the 2003 version of this chapter, I concluded that the search for a quality curriculum in Hong Kong has been a history of finding a compromise between the Western conceptions of effective learning for personal autonomy and the Eastern pragmatic approaches to the practical functions of school learning. I was suspicious of the domination of Western thought over educational policy and curricular practices in Hong Kong and other Asian countries, which have adopted policies of similar lines. This bias toward Western thought has misled policy implementations because they conveyed negative images of the traditional practices in these countries. The replacement model found resistance from teachers (Law 2006). I have argued that the essence of Confucian thought in education shares some commonalities with progressivism, which emphasizes the role of students in learning and the experiential aspect of learning and development. Thinking and reflection are equally valued in traditional Confucian thought. Policies should be geared toward finding a way to ensure the harmonious hybridization of two broad educational ways of thought in Hong Kong and its realization in the school curriculum and practices.

This search for a quality curriculum has encountered a new turn toward a curriculum that can accommodate demands for the cultivation of a stronger national identity among future generations. This turn for a more politically oriented curriculum with an explicit intention to "unify" the consciousness of the younger generations was met with the strongest resistance from parents, teachers, and the community that share a set of core values prevalent in Hong Kong society. These core values, such as liberty and freedom of speech, have been well developed to the extent that different religious and political affiliations could set their school aims and shape their curriculum toward their own cultural and political bias without being accused of indoctrination. Unlike their counterparts in France and other countries with secular school systems, Hong Kong schools have their own political and religious inclinations and affiliations such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam. Many other affiliations could have their own preferences in shaping the school experiences of their students.

These cultural and religious diversities in the school curriculum practices offer choices for parents and students. They also form the core value of a civil and liberal society that allows the greatest freedom of choice in lifestyles and ways of thinking. The promotion of a national education program runs against the core values of Hong Kong. In my observation, Hong Kong has been in the process of moving toward a postmodernist society, which accommodates the greatest diversity of lifestyles, choices in schools for children, and political activities within the broadest framework of a legal system based on civil liberty and freedom. The search for a curriculum in the next 10 or 20 years will be a search for a curriculum that offers the greatest freedom of choices and life preferences for those who seek the greatest liberty within a civil society.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my colleagues—Dr. Ngan Ming Yan, Dr. Ko Po Yuk, Dr. Chan Kam, Wing Paul, and Dr. John Lam—who contributed their papers and research reports in the preparation of this chapter. Special thanks are extended to Professor John Lee and Professor Kerry Kennedy for their generosity in sharing their scholarship and research experiences. I am especially indebted to the late Professor Colin Marsh for many years of personal friendship and continuous support.

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18

The Iranian Curriculum Field Recounted

Understanding the Multiplicity of Discourses

Mahmound Mehrmohammadi

Each of the multiple curriculum discourses discussed in this paper represents a different mode of "talk" or language that could be found in the curriculum field today. The concept of languages used as it related to the curriculum field, first proposed by Heubner (1975), is itself, from the perspective of the author, a powerful descriptive language that anchors and effectively explains the existing divergence and convergence that is being experienced in Iran. In other words, different curriculum communities have taken shape around each curriculum language embedded in a curriculum discourse. The curriculum discourses identified are: enunciated, fantasized, practiced, and researched. The degree and the kind of correspondence between discourses recounted here and the six modes of language used in curriculum as suggested by Heubner—which are descriptive, explanatory, controlling, legitimating, prescriptive, and affiliative—is open to speculation.

Two historical accounts, however, precede the introduction of discourses. The first account provides a long-shot view, so to speak, and the second one a close-up shot. Both are expected to serve as aids in achieving a more coherent understanding of the subject.

Introduction: Iran's Cultural Heritage in a Historical Perspective

At the outset, a cursory glance over the Iranian cultural heritage, prior to Islamic period and upon integrating Islamic doctrine and worldview into its traditional culture is deemed appropriate since it provides a necessary framework to assist the readers in reaching a more reliable understanding of contemporary Iran. Viewed in this light, this section is meant to offer the contextual material for discussions that follow. What constitutes the focus of attention here are elements explicitly or implicitly related to notions such as knowledge, creativity, innovation, and education, partly explaining the well acknowledged contributions made by Iranian elites to the advancement of human civilization too.

Before attending to the description of pertinent elements of Iran's ancient culture, though, familiarizing the readers with Iran in most general terms is attempted. Needless to say, such preliminary information allows readers who have not had previous exposure to Iran as a nation to engage more meaningfully with the text that follows. Iran is located in southwest Asia (the Middle East), bounded to the north by Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and the Caspian Sea, to the east by Pakistan and Afghanistan, to the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and to the west by Turkey and Iraq. Known as *Persia* until 1935, Iran is unique in many ways from other Middle Eastern countries. Its official language, *Farsi (Persian*), is Indo-European, which, after the conquest of Iran by the Muslims in the seventh century, adopted a modified version of the Arabic alphabet. Researchers believe the country has played an important role in the Middle East, as an imperial power and as a factor in rivalries between East and West (Arjmand 2008, p. 117). Its strategic position and its vast resources, including petroleum and natural gas, make it a nation to be reckoned with in the modern world. Iran is a multiethnic and multicultural country. The population of over 76 million, based on the 2011 census, is composed of 51 percent Persians, 24 percent Azeri, eight percent Gilaki and Mazandarani, seven percent Kurds, three percent Arabs, two percent Lur, two percent Baloch, two percent Turkmen, and one percent others. Fifty-eight percent of the population speaks Persian or Persian dialects as a means of communication, 26 percent communicate through Turkish and Turkish dialects, nine percent Kurdish, two percent Luri, one percent Baluchi, one percent Arabic, one percent Turkish, and one percent other languages. Eighty-nine percent of the population is Shi'a Muslims, nine percent Sunnis and the remaining two percent are the followers of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity.

Iranian (Persian) culture prior to Islam is said to have had deep reverence and appreciation for knowledge, education, and innovation. Although there is inadequate knowledge about education in ancient Persia, there is no disputing the high value Persians attached to education. Zoroastrian ancient religious texts (Denkard or the Encyclopedia of Mazdaism, 1897) emphasized that human beings can elevate themselves to illustrious positions by acquiring worldly knowledge. While many believe that Achamenids (associated with Achamenid [525–404 BC]) were Zoroastrians, others believe that the ancient pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion, Mithraism, was practiced along with one version of Zoroastrianism. Although there is not enough evidence to establish that there was formal education during the Achamenid era, there is extensive evidence that the Egyptians and Babylonians under the Persian Empire continued to follow their traditional education with scribal schools (Oppenheim 1977). The curriculum was composed of reading, writing, grammar, mathematics, and astronomy; schooling was intended solely for boys (Arjmand 2008, 119–120).

In the strictly hierarchical administrative system in place during the Sassanid dynasty (224–651 AD), however, education was reserved for the elite. Urban merchants were able to read, write, and count, but many peasants in rural areas were illiterate. Children of the nobility started school at the age of five to seven years and lasted until age fifteen. General education was composed of reading, writing, religious instruction, physical education, and courtly arts. Education included not only hunting and the arts of war but social manners as well. Teaching methods relied heavily on memorization of and obedience to sacred texts. The ultimate aim of education was ethical, e. g., "good conduct," a primary principle of Zoroastrianism (Arjmand 2008, 119–120).

Iran became an Islamic territory in seventh century. Both shared and collective political and cultural experiences of the Iranian people as well as the accommodating character of Islamic teachings functioned to create openness to Islam and were reasons for the smooth and tension free integration process and for the Islamic teachings to be embraced by the majority of people in a peaceful manner while sustaining elements of the pre-Islamic era which were commensurate with the Islamic view. Submission to Islamic teachings as sacred and revealed knowledge worthy of trust, faithful commitment, and a basis for interpretation and action in the private and public spheres of life became accepted.

Any Muslim starts discussion of education with the argument that the opening of the prophecy of Mohammad cites God's emphasis on knowledge: "And thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the pen, taught man, that he knew not" (Qur'an, XCVI: 3–5). This is proof for the significance of knowledge and education for Muslims. As the most important source of knowledge for Muslims, the Qur'an insists on the quest for knowledge. "Read" is the first word through which the Prophet is assigned as the messenger of God. God is the source of all knowledge, and the prophets were granted the access to knowledge and wisdom.

As Islam reached other lands, educational traditions of those civilizations left a permanent imprint on the Muslim system of education. Mohammadi and Qaieni (2002) (as cited in: Arjmand, 2008, p.78) argue that when Iran was conquered by Islam, there were already established educational institutions for children. They adopted Islamic curricula and continued their function, while maktab (kuttab) was added as the institution for learning the Qur'an. Kuttab was in a way the continuation of private home schooling, which was an established tradition among aristocratic families in Iran and some other countries. Arjmand (2008) argues that if we agree with Goldziher that some elements in the practical portion of the kuttab curriculum were borrowed from the Persians, we may come to agree that the Persian educational model practiced during the Sassanid era (before Islam) has served as the model to be emulated among Muslims. Goldziher (1908: 200) has maintained that "it would be absurd to suppose that the educational maxims which assign so prominent a place to swimming, had their origin in Arabia, as the country could provide but few opportunities for practicing the art." He argues that such educational ideals as riding, dart-throwing, and swimming, were largely influenced by foreign -and especially Persian and Greek- views.

Renowned historian of human civilization, Will Durant has described and documented the amazing contributions of some noble Iranian Muslim thinkers from the era that Europeans have classified as the dark ages (for example, see his 1948 address in Tehran). These thinkers not only fueled the ever-growing human desire for further knowledge and understanding in different domains of life at a time when such endeavors were notorious by their scarcity, but also set some standards of scientific and technological accomplishments that are a source of inspiration in some of today's centers of academic excellence.

Formative Years of a Field of Study

Curriculum as a field of study began about 30 years ago, signaled by the introduction of curriculum as a field of university study into Iranian higher education system. Curriculum practice, that is curriculum development and decision making for schooling purposes, had been in place for more than 150 years (since 1851) when the modern education system started to take shape.[1] As a field of study being formally recognized by the higher education system, it dates back to the 1980s (Mosapour 2012). Incidentally, it registers a lag of almost six decades compared to the field's inauguration in the West according to the historical account which regards Bobbitts's publication of *The Curriculum* (1918) as its starting point.

The PhD program, representing the birth of curriculum as a field of study in Iran, was developed by the central body in charge of higher education curriculum and was adopted by reputable public universities in the country. By scrutinizing this program, one can gain insight to the conception of the field that the developers, who were considered the pioneering figures, espoused. Here are the required courses, a single pre-specified track, which comprised the initial PhD program revealing, ironically, a very simple-minded curriculum design solution for the program of study on curriculum, reflecting no technical complexity such as determining the order or sequence of the courses:

- Curriculum development 1; two credit units
- Curriculum development 2; two credit units
- Elementary curriculum; two credit units
- Secondary curriculum; two credit units
- A sequence of Islamic education courses defining a mandatory minor within the program (total of three courses); six credit units
- Learning theories and teaching models; two credit units
- Economics of education; two credit units
- Inferential statistics; two credit units
- Educational research; two credit units
- Philosophy of education; two credit units
- Educational administration; two credit units
- The history of Western educational thoughts; two credit units
- Great educators; two credit units
- Dissertation; twenty credit units

The only encouraging mechanism entertained by planners was that the implementing higher education institutes were given limited authority to manipulate the courses by adding up to six units as prerequisites, partly tuning up the program to the candidate's differences in terms of academic backgrounds.

The author's reading of the above list of courses is that it is a pragmatically inspired package aimed at preparing college and university lecturers, which were in short supply at the time, and who would be capable of handling several courses at whatever site where they would ultimately become a faculty member. The program, therefore, did not endeavor to train curriculum specialists who would be recognized as carrying a distinguished academic identity. Rather, non-discipline bound specialists who would be capable of teaching a variety of courses belonging to different fields of knowledge, such as Islamic education, educational administration, educational planning, and economics of education as well as courses in curriculum development, all included in the undergraduate programs of study in the field of education offered by the university system. The ambivalent or blurred disciplinary identity, therefore, appears to be the fair characterization of the genre of program that not only symbolized the birth of the field but is still, more or less, intact today.[2] The first generation of graduates experiencing such a program quite naturally carried with them an inadequate multifaceted professional identity that was only partly informed by academic work in the field that was used as the program's identifier, which is curriculum. As time went by, this program of study was adapted and customized mainly on the basis of personal readings, experiences, and preferences of the faculty members in different campuses and, thus, ensuing generations acquired a more transparent and pointed curriculum identity compared to that of the first generation. The adaptation was made possible by the modest degree of academic freedom that higher education institutes enjoy at the operational level. The modifications either took place within the framework of the formal curriculum revision procedures at the institutional level, and hence with expected transparency, or at the discretion of a single faculty or department without reliance on endorsement from legal bodies within the higher education institute. In the adaptation or customization process of the program, the courses deemed less relevant were substituted with courses that made the program as a whole more aligned with the agreed-upon nature of the curriculum field or the field's identity.

The PhD program could, to the dissatisfaction of many concerned curriculum scholars, also be described as not giving a fair chance to all aspects of the knowledge base and depicting a skewed picture of the field. That is, the students and later the graduates were exposed to a biased and, thus, distorted conception of the field, systematically deprived of the pool of academic and professional knowledge representing the tensions, issues, views, and perspectives characterizing the status of a non-paradigmatic field. Most notably, reconceptualism (Giroux, Penna, and Pinar 1981) and Schwab's Practical (1970) paradigms or variations of the field were totally ignored and dimensions or subject matters of curriculum knowledge such as curriculum change (innovation) represented in the line of work conducted by scholars like Michael Fullan (1982), curriculum research methodology represented in the line of work conducted by scholars such as Edmond Short (1991), and curriculum history represented in the line of work conducted, for example, by Tanner and Tanner (1990) were dealt with either as marginal or null (Eisner, 1994) aspects of the field. This fact attached to the earlier point exposing the confused disciplinary character of the program creates a deeper sense of the non-disciplinary mode of the program.

Upon closer examination of the outline of curriculum courses included in the original program, one comes away with the understanding that the developers not only compromised the disciplinary identity of the field, but also took a traditional, executive stance toward the character of the field that was consistent with the orientation to the field espoused by Tyler. Tyler's 1949 monograph, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction,* had been translated to the Farsi (Persian) language by then (Kazimi 1972) and it looked quite natural to model the PhD program of study after the very traditional *currere*—meaning"race course" —concept he and his disciples promoted, placing emphasis on the function of curriculum specialists as curriculum makers or consultants (Jackson, 1992).[3] As was more or less the case throughout the world, Tyler was regarded as the prophet of the field and his monograph and the textbooks following his *rationale* regarded as its bible. Iran was no exception.

The good intentions of the originators, however, did not bear the intended fruits, at least with respect to providing a cadre of skilled and competent curriculum workers at the service of the education system who could contribute meaningfully to l curriculum development tasks and projects undertaken at the national level. The governing body, however, remained skeptical and publicly raised questions over the competencies and qualifications of graduates to have sensible and positive interaction with the curriculum development teams in different departments corresponding to different school subjects. In the ensuing controversies, the expression was repeatedly used that the majority of the graduates are not up to the task and are underprepared, in practical terms, to adequately engage in real curriculum decision-making /making processes. The author's firsthand experience is such that the claims made over the qualities of curriculum workers were not altogether unfounded and that marginalization of such post-graduate curriculum degree holders could be viewed as the natural byproduct of a fuzzy and confused identity embodied by the program.

This section could be promptly brought to a close by offering the readers an alternative formulation of historical evolution of the field in Iran from a more general standpoint. The stages explained below are suggested by Mosapour (2008) and are substantiated by empirical data. His investigation takes into account both what has been regarded by the author as curriculum praxiology and curriculum practice. The stages are as follows:

- The *familiarity* period (1850–1910), the period in which Iranians became familiar with educational developments in Europe and the corresponding curriculum activities
- The *acting/operating* period (1910–1960), the period in which actual curriculum planning has taken place without reliance on accumulated knowledge in the field
- The *identity formation* period (1960–1985), the period in which the necessary institutions responsible for curriculum affairs are established and knowledge transfer is consciously pursued
- The *consolidation of identity* period (1985–2005), the period in which curriculum specialists are trained and professional services are expanded
- The *active agency* period (2005–), the period in which production of curriculum knowledge and playing an active role in this domain is made possible.

Description of the Critical Features of Enunciated Curriculum Discourse

This curriculum discourse refers to the rationally-based political decisions made with respect to curriculum, alternatively known as *formal* or *intended* curriculum (Klein 1983). The most recent manifestation of this curriculum, though, is taking shape based on the decision made by the Higher Council of Education (HCE) in 2005 to devise a national document ultimately promulgated as the *National Curriculum,* prompted by experiences in other parts of the world such as England, Australia, and Japan. The argument was that, although the education system in Iran has, since its inception in modern times, almost always produced and implemented national curriculum for different school subjects, but it has never had a so called *constitution* defining the essential parameters to be followed by curriculum development groups regardless of their subject identity (the Secretariat of National Curriculum Project 2010). The description of the enunciated curriculum will also take into account the content of this high-profile piece of policy document, too. It has not turned into an official policy paper at the time this chapter was being drafted since the review and the subsequent enactment process is still underway at the time of writing. References, therefore, are to the final draft prepared for the legislative body that is the Higher Council of Education.

The predominance of Tylerian rationality (of the *measured curriculum:* Klein 1986), entailing a teacher and context proof curriculum which exempts teachers from exercising professional judgment and encourages a non-deliberative mode of behavior on their part is perceived as the first and most important element in this discourse. Conversely, the enunciated curriculum discourse treats notions such as uncertainty, ambiguity, anomaly, dissipation, and disequilibrium (Doll, Jr. 1993) as strange and irrelevant. Every attempt, then, is made to realize this conception of curriculum, the most visible among which might be the production of a national standard textbook along with the curriculum framework to embody the actual curriculum that teachers must adopt and be accountable for. Textbook production, in fact, enjoys such a salient status in the curriculum system that it would be fair to suggest the interchangeability of the two concepts of curriculum and textbook, within this discourse. The National Curriculum Document, however, contains laudatory statements with respect to teachers' substantive role in the education process, including curriculum decision making (see the section on *Curriculum Approach,* pp. 7–10). This would indeed prove to be a daunting task, running against the force of a long established tradition and far from the desired quality of teacher education compared to what can be witnessed at present time. The same document also makes reference to breaking the existing mold on the production and legitimization of a single standard textbook (see the section on *The Policies on the Production Learning Materials and Media,* pp. 30–31), which might become a reality with fewer complications compared to the former recommendation.

The recurring theme of inadequate sensitivity to cultural and ethnic diversity characterizing the Iranian society, despite limited and mostly ill-fated attempts to the contrary, is offered as the second thread of the enunciated curriculum discourse not totally unrelated to the previous point. This is argued to be the case while article no. 15 of the constitution of the country recognizes the rights of the constituent subcultures shaping the fabric of Iranian culture to exercise a certain amount of freedom in promoting unique aspects of their culture, which includes a direct reference to the teaching of their literature in schools as well. The conceivable reason for the continuation of this mode should be sought in the centralized character of the political system and the structure of education system, culminating in the desire to exercise a so-called standard version of curriculum.

The *organization of textbook compilation of Iran,* a branch of the ministry of education, symbolizing and institutionalizing this drive, came into being in 1962. This entity came to be known as the *Organization of Research and Educational Development (ORED)* in 1976 and has preserved and perpetuated that very mentality to date. This is the very institution that carried the responsibility of devising the national curriculum document mentioned before and is responsible for its implementation as well. The national curriculum document, however, contains transitory references to how future curriculum should detach itself from a long tradition of almost absolute centralization (see item 3 on Time, p. 32 and item 2 on Implementation Policies, p. 34).

The third important theme discussed in this section is the longstanding emphasis on separate subject design (Klein 1985) with negligible practical attention paid to curriculum integration (Jacobs 1989) as an alternative or complementary design option in the past decade. The clear cut allocation of time to subject matter in an independent fashion has always seemed to be the most convenient and the least objectionable mode of operation from the perspective of curriculum developers, who are mostly subject matter experts who attach the highest priority to the transmission of disciplinary content. Integration, in other words, is perceived by most to be a sign of contamination, so to speak, or the loss of purity when it comes to developing curricula and learning units. Under such understanding, collaboration with subject experts from other fields and departments, too, proves to be vulnerable, prone to abandonment, and breaks down upon facing the first instance of tension and disagreement. The National Curriculum Document, however, includes specific recommendations in this respect and offers suggestions as to how each learning area must be organized and represented in the curriculum of each grade level in future attempts (see the section on Learning Areas' Statements, pp. 15–27).

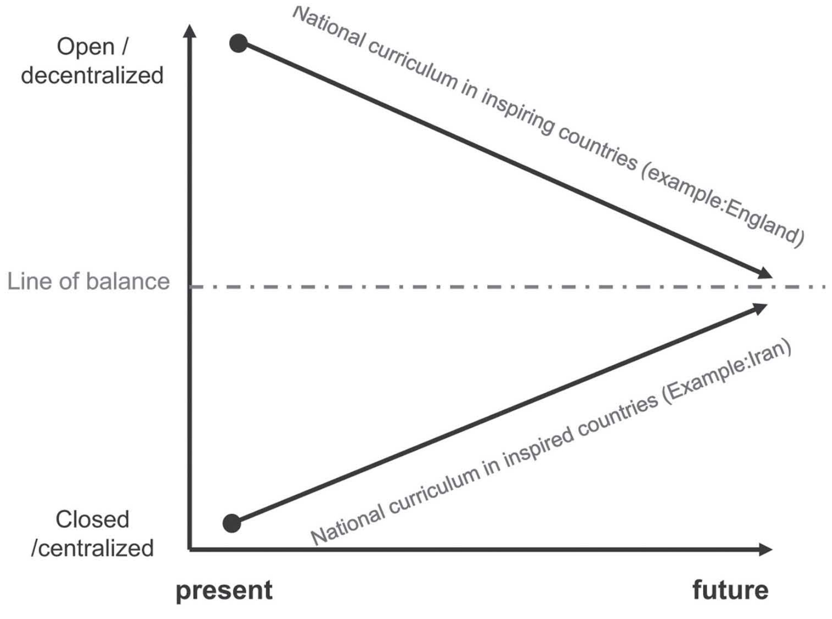
An emphasis on religious orientation, which is inspired by a more orthodox view (Eisner 1994), is the target of this fourth feature of enunciated curriculum discourse. Among Western curriculum scholars, nevertheless, a more optimistic reading compared to Eisner's that is a non-orthodox view with respect to religion and curriculum, has also been proposed. Most conspicuous in the field of curriculum might be Heubner (1975). He has had the following to offer when it comes to theology as a source of curriculum language:

> The rupture between theology and curriculum was valid at one point in the history of both curriculum and theological thought. To ignore theological language today, however, is to ignore one of the more exciting and vital language communities. Of course, theological language would not carry much weight as an explanatory language in most circles, controlling language and would prove quite ineffectual as legitimating language. However, it might serve as descriptive and legitimating language. (1975, p. 257)

Islamization as a legitimizing language has been a recurrent postrevolutionary theme, traceable in every attempt made at reforming the education system, specially the school curriculum during the last three decades. The justification is that the education system is not informed by the belief system that culminated in the Islamic Revolution, transposing the collective will of the people. Alternatively, *indigenization* of the education system is another popular concept characterizing this powerful component of the enunciated curriculum discourse. This discourse is thought to embrace a decolonizing tone since Islamic doctrine was instrumental in turning the colonial political system of the Pahlavi dynasty upside down and introducing conditions where exercising control over the cultural and economic destiny of the country based on the interests of people was made possible. Islamization of life in every aspect, it was so argued, would count as a safeguard for ideas known to be responsible for the revolutions' accomplishments and will, therefore, preserve the country's religious and revolutionary identity.

The education system and especially the schooling subsystem are, obviously, very high on any thoughtful and sustainable conscious social reform agenda, and Iran is no exception. This priority rests on the argument that the outcome of investments in this sector far exceeds that of other sectors. On the other hand, the school curriculum in the prerevolution era, was viewed as committed to a more colonial and antireligious end and, thus, acting as a fundamental force, blocking the people's movement toward freedom and independence pursued within the Islamic and more accurately Shi'tes' frame of thought. The rather limited but effective actions taken toward establishing Islamic schools by the revolution's religious leaders and their supporters is testimony to the viability of this analysis (Dara 2011). This additional insight makes the concentration of the education officials on redefining the school curriculum in line with the Islamization ideal more sensible. The author will reopen this file when discussing the fantasized curriculum discourse to express his nonconservative view on this subject.

In moving to the next discourse, it would be timely to share with the readers of this article the general view of the author on the notion of national curriculum, to resolve


Open / decentralized
National curriculum in inspiring countries (example:England)
Line of balance
National curriculum in inspired countries (Example:Iran)
Closed /centralized
present
future

The opposing direction of national curriculum initiatives in different systems of educational governance.

Figure 18.1

the apparently paradoxical attribute attached to it when employed in a centralized curriculum context, such as in Iran. I have argued for the existence of a sharp difference in terms of what the concept denotes when it is entertained in a decentralized and a centralized system of education. The meaning of the concept in the former, like England, must be understood in light of the resolution to tighten the grip while in the latter the resolution to loosen the grip must be recognized as the animating idea. The following graph depicts the idea in a clearer fashion. Based on the foregoing argument, the author has remained critical of the national curriculum initiative in Iran (Mehrmohammadi 2010), arguing that what makes it a potentially virtuous effort has not been tapped into as much as it should.

Description of Critical Features of Fantasized Curriculum Discourse

Fantasized curriculum discourse embraces theoretical attempts, mostly critical of the enunciated curriculum discourse. It is restricted to the views expressed by local scholars and curriculum theorists who have advanced ideas for change with or without real impact on the policies and programs roughly within the last 15 years. The discourse could alternatively be called *academic, ideal,* or *critical.* This curriculum discourse is partly the result of the ongoing interaction between the Iranian scholars and ideas put forward by non-Iranian figures that have played or are playing a leading role in the curriculum field at the international level. This is no surprise since, rephrasing what Pinar et al. (1995) have stated in their treatment of curriculum as international text, curriculum *thinking and understanding,* not development (pertinent to the discussion of fantasized curriculum here) *are not sealed airtight within national boundaries* (p. 792).

Among the figures with marked influence on the Iranian fantasized curriculum discourse, that is those who are most widely read, cited, and discussed, are John Dewey, Ralph Tyler, Jerome Bruner, Arieh Lewey, J. P. Miller, Elliot Eisner, William Pinar, William Schubert, Joseph Schwab, William Doll, Jr., Lawrence Stenhouse, Henry Giroux, and Edmund Short. To be sure, though, crossing the boundaries to reach curriculum thought and novel ideas has been mostly a one-way street so far. Participation in the international text in the future, one would hope, will move in the direction that Iranian proposed ideas and concepts in the field of curriculum, too, are recognized for their unique contribution to the international field. International entities such as IAACS (International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies) and WCCI (World Council for Curriculum and Instruction) hold exciting opportunities for such hope to be realized.

In this section, I attend first to few items selected from the pool of ideas comprising the Iranian fantasized curriculum discourse, conscious of the points raised in the previous section dealing with enunciated curriculum. To offset the limitations stemming from this selective encounter, then, I finish by referencing two other sources to provide the reader with a more thorough understanding of themes and topics characterizing this curriculum discourse.

The introduction of a three-tier curriculum design that would counter the existing teacher and context proof curriculum is the first item on the list (Mehrmohammadi 2011). The model has envisaged the ideal curriculum as one that recognizes a fare share for the *prescriptive, semi-prescriptive, and non-prescriptive* both at the *micro* (each subject matter or learning area) and *macro* (total curriculum sphere at each grade level or stage of schooling) levels. To elaborate, one could resort to useful expressions of schooling functions by Herbert Mead. The prescriptive portion is that share of the curriculum that attends to the *helping the students to become what they are not* function of schooling by persevering what is known as the core in the traditional curriculum design, while the other two portions endeavor to carry out the complementary function of *helping the students to become what they are* by providing the necessary space for interests and idiosyncrasies to be explored and pursued by students. The semi-prescriptive notion stands, conceptually, somewhere in between the concepts of prescriptive and non-prescriptive by borrowing and integrating the defining features of each. To elaborate, these represent the instances where the students are faced with, for example, a choice of foreign language while foreign language is considered part of the core curriculum. To follow the same example, the decision to include a second foreign language in one's program of study will be regarded a decision that falls into the non-prescriptive share of the curriculum. The author has referred to this conceptualization as a *democratically inspired curriculum shaping* a 3*2*3 *cubic model* corresponding to the three tiers, the two micro and macro levels and stages of schooling (2010).

As an extension of the previous point, the issue of the optimal distribution of power or the optimal curriculum decision-making process has been the focus of scholarly work and theoretical model building by Iranian scholars. The author, for example, has suggested a model dubbed as *chaotic* due to the complex nature of its application (Mehrmohammadi 2006). The chaotic model rests on the assumption that any single or universal formula with respect to decentralization is simplistic and bound to fail given the incredible diversity that epitomizes different regions' actual and potential power to intervene and take an active role in the defining curriculum or certain aspects of it. The heterogeneity, to be sure, is an indisputable fact and is manifest in many substantial aspects relevant to the issue of curriculum decision making, covering both factors internal to the education system and external factors in the immediate community that can brought to bear on the subject. The model therefore insists on *simultaneous management of different degrees of freedom* by the curriculum system based on an ongoing assessment of relevant factors in different regions of the country. The model has also identified six different degrees of freedom, from null at one end of the spectrum to the other end, which captures a maximalist option embodying real taming of the desire to control with respect to Iranian context. The maximalist option restricts the power of the state's curriculum body to the specification and enforcement of content areas' learning standards or outcomes. In earlier research, too, the deconstruction of the existing curriculum governance was attempted through concentration on the issue of curriculum needs assessment by Mehrmohammadi and Fathi Vajargah (2003; see the table below for details). The conceptualization advocated multiple levels of curriculum needs assessment, where levels referred to national, provincial, local, and finally school/classroom authorities and assigned to each certain tasks in sharing the curriculum responsibility. What expounds the complexities associated with the application of this model is its necessary interface with the three-tiered design model, which was explained as another façade of the flexibility and adaptability characteristic of the desired curriculum.

The negative impact of a centralized system on the development of the field is worth speculating about, too. The social demand for curriculum specialists with proper knowledge and insight to guide local and school-level initiatives will gradually fade out in such context. The capacities of the cadre of specialists trained by universities will, therefore, remain untapped by the existing system since the graduates could only seek opportunities for meaningful employment in university teaching, mostly to undergraduate students in the field of education.

Curriculum integration informed by the extensive curriculum literature (for example, see Beane 1997; Fogarty 1991; Brady 1995; Gehrke 1998) and the features distinguishing the Iranian case from other cases in the world has become another focus of attention for curriculum scholars. A fresh look at this significant and complicated curriculum theme to help in further enlightening the curriculum-making process can, thus, be counted as another thread in the fantasized curriculum discourse (Ahmadi 2000). The scholarly undertakings in this vein attempted to make this strange concept familiar by way of, for example, stressing the non-ideological encounter with curriculum integration, which labels as legitimate the coexistence of the separate subject mode with the integrate mode. Such an approach could yield to less resistance on the part of subject experts since they do not regard their specialty as a victim in the new curriculum scheme anymore. Under this formulation, the program of study at a particular grade level can be composed of certain traditionally organized subjects and other units of learning revolving around themes and topics that are informed by social problems or issues as organizing centers.

Scrutinizing the role of language in curriculum and stressing its importance as a neglected area of scholarship in the field of curriculum in Iran is introduced as yet another thread of this curriculum discourse. Language is a phenomenon with clear and well-founded theoretical significance from philosophical, sociological, linguistic, and psychological (Bruner 1985; Rosen 1972; Walsh 2006; Bernstein 1971) perspectives. The scholarly literature thus mentioned leads to a variety of concerns and sensitivities when it comes to an applied, practical, or normative field like education or learning, particularly for school-age children and the proper language that the educational programs and/or the teaching-learning process must be cast in, conscious of the meaning that is being constructed in

TABLE 18.1
Summary Characteristics of the Multilevel Model of Curriculum Development

Features Levels		Scale	Geographic coverage	Subject matter specificity	Final decision Produce	Orientation to time	Dominance by type of needs	Dominance by Source	Dominance by type of data	Key players	Final produce stability	Final produce specificity
Planning Pahse	1	Macro	Country/state	Subject free	Manifesto Ideology Conception	Future	Educational needs	Society (culture as large)	No	Policy makers, politicions	high	Highly general, diffuce
	2	Macro	Country/ state	Subject specific	Curriculum framework curriculum standards	Future	Educational needs	Society subject matter	Quantitative	Subject specialist, practicing teachers	Moderate	General
Implementation Phase	3	Micro	Region/Province	Subject specific	Modified Curriculum framework of text selection	Present	Psychological needs educational needs	Students socity	Qualitataive	State level curriculum specialists, practicing teachers	Moderat	Specific
	4	Micro	School/classroom	Subject specific	Text selection or modification (interpretation operations-lization)	Present	Psychological needs	Students	Qualitative	Teacher or a group of teachers	Low	High specific

the minds of students (see the chapter on *Normative Curriculum Inquiry* in Short 1991 and the chapter on *The Word Weavers / The World Makers* in Postman 1996). The foregoing statement turns to a mandate with alarming magnitude when one considers contexts like Iran where cultural plurality and ethnic diversity is among the most visible facts of social life. Coupled with the centralized tendencies so deeply rooted in this education system and the subsequent decision of practicing caution and skepticism with respect to any curricular proposal that undermines the single model national program, a paradox emerges. The constitutional provision that declares *Farsi* as the formal (national) language of the country (article no. 15) adds still another dimension to this already complex case. Considered as an element of the fantasized curriculum discourse, however, and despite the restrictions, the scholars are arguing for a language-sensitive curriculum that caters to the existing language diversity and have invested part of their energy in conducting research that corroborates their claims (Dadras 2007). Dadras and Mansoorizadeh (2005), for example, found that Iranian children who enter the primary school share only 2% of the Persian vocabulary. According to the same study, students living in the countryside and villages are less familiar with the Persian vocabulary than city and town students.

In a recent attempt to further this cause and to raise the awareness of policy makers, the scholarship that is the outcome of the aforementioned research activities has been made available through the publication of a special thematic issue of the Iranian Curriculum Studies Association (ICSA)'s *Quarterly Journal of Curriculum Studies (Vol. 3, 2012).*

The argument in favor of "cognitive pluralism" (Eisner 1994) as the proper macro theoretical framework to guide curricular decisions has captured the attention of some curriculum scholars in Iran. Cognitive pluralism is based on a philosophical view about an essential human characteristic. Human beings are distinctively capable of inventing symbol systems to facilitate meaning making and meaning sharing or to quench the never ending thirst for understanding and communicating, as offered by Suzanne Langer (1942, 1976). Cognitive pluralism is also said to be consistent with a psychological view of human intelligence, namely Multiple Intelligence or MI, espousing the existence of several talents or forms of intelligences comprising the whole of human intellectual capacities, all awaiting nourishment and enrichment through education, as put forward by Howard Gardner (1983). The appeal of the theory has been argued by Mehrmohammadi (2011) to derive from embodying a value orientation, which is globally persuasive, since it aims at accounting for a comprehensive scope of learning congruent with all recognized *forms of representations* (Eisner 1994), *forms of knowing* (Hirst 1962, 1973, 1993), *realms of meaning* (Phenix 1964) and *ways of knowing* (Eisner 1985), which conforms to a general definition of education. Humans, in other words, are considered fully educated if they become indiscriminately conversant in all these forms of representation, enabling them to engage in effective encoding and decoding within each mode. Yet, it is maintained, the framework remains locally adaptive and responsive to culture-specific priorities so that the resulting curriculum can be characterized as global and local at the same time (Ibid).

Another line of scholarship worth considering in the context of this curriculum discourse pertains to the theme of Islamization. More specifically it represents an attempt to offer an alternative—that is a nonorthodox and pluralistic view—on the subject of Islamization of curriculum (Mehrmohammadi 2012). The subject entertains the ways and means of infusing Islamic views and values into school curriculum, thereby introducing a religious understanding of all subjects of study to students in concert with the state's ideology. Some scholars have argued that the emphasis on Islamization of curriculum (knowledge) as represented in the enunciated curriculum discourse represents a naïve outlook with respect to both Islam and education. Religiously orientated curriculum with a nonorthodox view, in other words, is suggested as desiderata. That is, envisioning a non-secular (religious) character of the education system that preserves its *educational* identity at the same time, where education is defined principally as a social intervention at the service of human growth, development, and understanding or excellence, rather than events that arrest or endanger such existential experiences or transformations. Any intervention, religion-based and otherwise, that denies existential transformation of human beings is, therefore, *anti-educational* by definition. Power of reasoning and thinking, power of curiosity and questioning, power of analyzing and synthesizing, power of being critical, and, finally, power of accepting and rejecting, are among the basic human qualities and potentialities that are expected to become subject to further growth and development and to be authentically exercised through education (Ibid). Religious education or religious orientation to curriculum has been argued to be susceptible to such humane and pluralistic interpretation, making the two seemingly conflicting spheres of religion and education coexist within the education system. This notion has been dubbed by Mehrmohammadi as an *educationalogist* approach (2012). To express the claims embraced by this view in positive terms, it could be stated that scholars who offer a more open ended and humanistic interpretation of Islamization of curriculum maintain that religious beliefs will be strengthened, not weakened, as a result of acquiring knowledge, disposition, and skills that are found in most of the secular education systems, provided that the education system adopts a rational approach in criticizing elements that pose discrepancies with fundamental views and values espoused by the religion. In other words, the approach does not condone elimination of such elements and considers it as an anti-educational act. Critical encounters with such issues are deemed congruent with the principles of the alternative view.

The call for adopting a Schwabean practical inquiry/deliberative approach to curriculum has recently become a focus of continuous dialogue most visible in the formation of the ICSA's Special Interest Group (SIG) (2010), which serves as the seat of such scholarly conversation.[4] Michael Connelly, an influential figure in keeping the interest in the practical paradigm alive worldwide, has been instrumental in provoking and sustaining interest in Iranian scholars as well. Connelly, in a personal communication prompted by questions raised by the author and a doctoral student of his (Mehrmohammadi and Alehoseini 2011), stressed as a terminating statement the need for Schwab's theory to be viewed as *generative* rather than *summative.* This very intelligent advice has assisted in confidence building to seek customized interpretations of Schwab's words. For instance, the exclusive legitimacy attached to school-based initiatives by Schwab is considered so radical in the Iranian context that it must be amended by acknowledging reasonable institutional intervention as also conceived by Reid (1999, pp. 1–4). Another customized application is offered when a model to pursue the noble goal of democratic citizenship is created mainly based on Schwab's concept of deliberation. It offers the practice of deliberation and the students' lived experience as the criteria for genuine educative events to occur. The implication is that students should face ample opportunities to deal with problematic situations and to be able to handle them personally or collectively in the context of school activities. The power of critical mindedness being the cornerstone of democratic citizenship is nourished only by having extensive firsthand experience of democratic life in the school, in line with the spirit of Dewey's now classic argument that *schools should operate as a miniature democracy* (1916, 1938).

The final thread of the selected themes of fantasized curriculum discourse is a critical issue concerning the very nature of the field of study and its advancement as it relates to the evolutionary circumstances prevailing in Iran. Curriculum is understood by some as a *simple* disciplinary whole (unit) indivisible into meaningful smaller disciplinary identities. Others envisage the curriculum field as a *complex* disciplinary whole (unity) susceptible to further meaningful disciplinary divisions that diversifies and enriches the possibilities of acquiring curriculum identities and, thus, enjoying the public trust, both professionally and academically. The two positions have recently become a source of debate among Iranian curriculum scholars. Both views rest on the assumption of the integrity of the field, meaning that both attribute a disciplinary identity to the bearers of curriculum knowledge. However, the former does not recognize the possibility of multiple relevant identities and fuels the conception of curriculum specialists as sideline critiques easily dismissed by the public and policy makers; while the latter acknowledges a host of specializations with identity resemblances similar to that of family members, thus, increasing the chance of entering the space earned by public intellectuals (see Henderson and Kesson 2001). The advocates of the latter position argue that policy and programs of study need to be directed in this complex space to mark the transition of curriculum field from a non- (pre-) disciplinary status to an advanced post-disciplinary one, assuming that it has experienced a disciplinary mode of operation for almost the last decade, connecting the pre- and post-disciplinary operating modes.

As mentioned at the outset, other relevant sources of information can be brought to bear on the question of fantasized curriculum discourse. One such source is found by consulting the titles used to introduce organized groups of scholars who share a basic concern for curriculum. One could safely argue that such consultation would reveal a clear and meaningful picture of the fantasized curriculum fabric. Accordingly, the list of more than a dozen *special interest groups (SIGs)* initiated by ICSA since 2005 are presented in this section. The themes are indicative of the spectrum of more significant research and development interests being followed within the scientific curriculum community in Iran.

- Curriculum and culture
- Curriculum identity as a field of professional study/curriculum discourses
- Language Arts Curriculum
- Science and Technology Curriculum
- Curriculum and the teaching of the subject of physical education
- Curriculum and values
- Curriculum and neuroscience
- Curriculum and ICT
- Curriculum and the teaching of literary writing
- Curriculum and the teaching of the subject of Philosophy For Children (P4C)
- Mathematics Curriculum
- Curriculum Research Methodology
- Curriculum, knowledge, and higher education
- Curriculum and reconceptualism

The themes selected by ICSA's executive board, through wider consultation with the association members for national curriculum conferences, are another source that could also shed some light on the priority areas pursued in the Iranian academic community. Alternatively, the selected themes can be understood as the main areas where current curriculum action is proclaimed as inadequate and problematic by curriculum scholars or representing aspects of the working system that awaits critical and theoretical conversations and interventions by the scientific curriculum community. The list provided below covering the last 10 national conferences, therefore, is another valid source for identifying the constituent elements of fantasized curriculum discourse.

- Curriculum and thinking skills (2002)
- Curriculum at the age of ICT (2003)
- The integrated curriculum (2004)

- The prospects of the curriculum field in Iran (2005)
- Centralization and decentralization of the curriculum making process (2006)
- The elementary school curriculum (2007)
- The secondary school curriculum (2008)
- Curriculum: globalization and localization (2009)
- The higher education curriculum (2010)
- Teacher education curriculum (2011)

Mention must be made of the only international curriculum conference sponsored by ICSA as well. The theme of this conference, held in 2010, was *Science and Technology Education* at the public school level, reflecting an area of curriculum research priority within this discourse, which had a parallel in the list of SIG's alluded to earlier. One of the main ideas behind organizing this event was the concern on the part of some Iranian scholars of witnessing an increasing marginalization of technology education (For an example, see Mehrmohammadi 2010). Such concern was supported by an initial reading of the case at the international curriculum scene that technology is attached to science in more or a less a nominal fashion that is merely referenced in the title of courses and learning materials.

Critical Features of Practiced Curriculum Discourse

Referring to what transpires at the school or classroom level, relatively unknown and unaccounted for, can be called the *silenced curriculum* discourse in Iran. This is so partly because those in charge assume the operations at the school level perfectly match the blueprints drawn up as the formal curriculum at the state level. It has been argued elsewhere that such assumption is conceptually flawed and practically illusive (Mehrmohammadi 2002)—particularly when one views the situation in light of the substantial diversity and inequality in terms of material and human resources that is the reality of school life in Iran, with more than 112,000 school units operating throughout the country of which around 10 percent are private (Statistics and IT Center, MOE 2012). With such an unfortunate attitude, real school and classroom-level interventions and innovations, either conscious or unconscious, remain unaccounted for, and the educators performing such acts, especially actions that have the potential to be modeled by other teachers in their vital role as curriculum decision makers, may or may not decide to sustain such mood. Additionally, isolation, for them, would translate into loss of opportunity to effectively interact and grow. In other words, teachers in their unconventional and unappreciated role as curriculum agents are neither encouraged nor acknowledged for their courageous curricular deliberations. The curriculum system (institution) operating under such assumption systematically loses the chance for upgrading its performance based on local initiatives and accomplishments. The author, therefore, strongly feels that a system-wide qualitative research project to unearth the school and classroom-level curriculum actions is long overdue. Such a program of research by itself would embrace and spread the message of realizing teachers' interventions and their "out of the box" behavior as noteworthy. The diversions from the national curriculum are expected to revolve around curricular elements such as content, materials, and learning activities. Extracurricular activities, too, is another area where school-based initiatives can be traced.

Concentration of research activities with the intention of detecting, disclosing, and codifying the seemingly strong curricular current that exists at the deeper layers of education would give voice to the now silenced practiced curriculum discourse. Rigorous and persistent research with such focus promises to introduce *practice theories* (Harris 1985) capable of revitalizing the education of children in Iran as is known today. Currently, though, not much is available to be shared with the readers of this chapter. However, and luckily, concerted efforts are underway to compensate for this unpleasant situation by the curriculum research community. These efforts are organized under a nationally recognized project known as the *Iranian Curriculum Encyclopedia (ICE),* which is an initiative of the *Iranian Curriculum Studies Association (ICSA).* The content map drawn for the encyclopedia has acknowledged such deficiency and has set out to alleviate it by devoting a major section to the reflection of *schools*' *innovative curricular experiences,* mostly private schools that have registered a brand insightful enough to be characterized as *deliberating* (Schwab 1969). The plan is to have almost 50 research articles (entries), out of almost a total of 800, to account for the most extensive and widely known cases. The encyclopedia is due for publication in 2014.

In closing this rather short section, mention must be made of a national—though not consistently supported and adequately publicized—program that started in 1996 when the author was in charge of the *Institute for Educational Research (IER)* affiliated with the Ministry of Education. The program being referred to is called *Teacher Researcher* (Mehrmohammadi 2000 a and b, 2004; Saki 2004), which aimed to gradually change the mainstream image of teachers as passive implementers of curriculum to *active implementers* (Short 1982) who can practice professional judgment in treating the concrete educational problems encountered in the classroom. The scheme, in other words, was meant to encourage teachers to draw on their *reflective intelligence* (Perkins 1994) and act deliberatively (Gage 1978) while engaging in the process of teaching the mandated curricula Introduction of Teacher Researcher program, it is maintained, is an added cause why the system should demonstrate sufficient sensitivity to document practiced curriculum discourse. To conclude with a related note, I should like to refer to a scheme known as *lesson study,* which is regarded as a Japanese-invented mechanism for teachers' meaningful involvement in solving professional problems (Arani 2010). Lesson study has been interpreted as the collective and collaborative version of teacher classroom research and, as such, can be viewed as a natural extension of the initiative that is predicated on stimulating individual teacher's sense of agency. The collective scheme has recently caught the attention of Iranian researchers (Mosapour and Khakbaz 2009) and has even found its way in some policy documents.

Critical Features of Researched Curriculum Discourse

Researched curriculum discourse as defined here is a hybrid discourse. Partly overlapping with fantasized discourse and partly reflecting the enunciated curriculum discourse. This is so because *commissioned* research projects usually represent crossroads where curriculum experts/scholars and the administrators active in the curriculum field meet and reach a cooperation agreement reflected in the research proposal. The scholars, to be sure, are called upon to respond to the requirements of improving the curriculum of formal schooling system by carrying out research on themes deemed both as relevant and urgent. Curriculum knowledge will, no doubt, come into play in such instances. But the knowledge base performs a secondary or instrumental role, so to speak.

Analysis of the themes of more than 200 research projects undertaken from 1990, commissioned by the now dismantled *Research Institute for Curriculum Development and Educational Innovations (RTCDEI)* has culminated in the following classification by the author:

1. Evaluation of existing nationally produced (standard) textbooks for different subject matters from the perspective of an array of stakeholders such as students, parents, subject matter specialists, teachers, curriculum experts, and experts on foundational disciplines to detect mainly content and organizational defects and inadequacies
2. Evaluation of existing nationally produced (standard) textbooks for different subject matters based on comparative data (textbooks in countries with an established record of achievement in that particular area of study) to detect mainly content and organizational defects and inadequacies
3. Proposing alternative rationales or frameworks as a basis for developing new nationally produced (standard) textbooks for different subject matters
4. Evaluation of the effectiveness of existing nationally produced (standard) textbooks based on students' achievement data
5. Evaluation of existing nationally produced (standard) textbooks based on the analysis of content to assess compatibility with viable theoretical formulations in relevant areas such as learning and development
6. Field piloting the newly developed nationally produced (standard) textbooks (formative evaluation)
7. Introduction of rationale for new, unjustifiably neglected subject areas to be added to the existing curriculum, such as life skills
8. Introduction of alternative theoretical frameworks for a more defensible and productive conduct of tasks associated with curriculum development, such as needs assessment and evaluation
9. Introduction of alternative theoretical frameworks for a more defensible and productive curriculum design, such as integrated design

The table below shows the correspondence between this curriculum discourse with the other two discourses which, as alluded to earlier, maintain conceptual overlaps.

Researched curriculum types	**Fantasized curriculum**	**Enunciated curriculum**
1		✓
2		✓
3	✓	✓
4		✓
5		✓
6		✓
7	✓	
8	✓	
9	✓	

Overemphasis of the themes of commissioned curriculum research on textbooks in terms of its share of the total research activities is so transparent that nobody could doubt its centrality in this curriculum discourse. The author's estimate is that over 90 percent of research projects are *textbook bound* (types 1 through 6), which reaffirms the claim made when discussing the enunciated curriculum that concepts of curriculum and textbooks are so interwoven that the two can be hardly separated. Rather, they are used in conversations within the two highly overlapped discourses as interchangeable notions.

Curriculum research methodology is another dimension worth investigating. Although doing justice in this respect requires a space not available to the author here, nevertheless, in a hasty attempt it could be suggested that the field of curriculum research has witnessed a tangible change in terms of methodological beliefs and preferences of researchers and administrators in charge of funding agencies (Mehrmohammadi 2007). The aforementioned change, however, is consistent with the change characterizing research methodology in the broader fields, such as education and social and human sciences in general (Lotfabadi 2007). The direction of change is towards pluralism; that is, relaxing the methodological standards governing research rooted in a positivistic conception of knowledge to allow for the legitimacy of alternative epistemological views responsible for the so-called qualitative or interpretive paradigm along with the traditional scientific and quantitative one. The change discussed here is in its infancy, and the case in Iran should, therefore, be assessed as experiencing a four decade lag compared to the United States, for example, as explained by Walker (1996). Sustainability of this promising and yet immature development will hopefully lead to a more dynamic, encompassing, fruitful, and illuminating research field in Iran.

Concluding Thoughts: Factors Inhibiting and Assisting the Future Development of the Field

Participation in policy formation and policy evaluation is quite negligible on the part of Iranian curriculum specialists. To be sure, policy makers do exhibit behaviors that one could interpret as viewing interaction with the academic community an efficacious act worth the burden. The line of communication between the two parties as initiated by policy makers is to a large extent nonexistent. However, the academic community is expected to take the lead in discharging its fundamental social responsibility by unilaterally entering the field of policy evaluation and thereby try to gain grounds in terms of establishing the authority of the field's specialists. Passivity on their part, in other words, is not going to re-align the existing mode of policy making, the outcome of which is no doubt arrest of further development of the field. ICSA, as the organizational umbrella of Iranian curriculum specialists, is expected to play a critical role in this arena. Currently, as a result of a restructuring attempt, ICSA has instituted a particular department to pursue this line of action.

As discussed in previous sections, the centralized curriculum system in Iran can be awarded a high status in terms of negative structural impact on the list of factors inhibiting the development of the curriculum field. To the extent that the existing system remains intact, the demand for curriculum specialist services will be retained at its extant minimal level is constrained to the central curriculum body. In other words, as long as the social demand is restricted, the field's chance to demonstrate its contributions is dimmed. The complex and somewhat paradoxical case of Iranian curriculum is realized when this item is juxtaposed with the one explained below.

The policy of positively responding to the social demand for higher education has recently reached the postgraduate level with a more drastic impact on fields that are less technology bound, epitomized by human sciences and related professional fields. Education and curriculum, therefore, are witnessing an inflated volume of the student body, which is quite incompatible with the number of qualified teaching staff and the research capabilities they embody. Consequently, the risk of facing a considerable number of under qualified graduates threatens the field's status in terms of professional worth and discipline-specific contributions. This rather serious concern can be effectively dealt with through the question of disciplinarity discussed in the fantasized curriculum discourse and will be brought to a closure in the concluding paragraph of the paper.

The issue of disciplinarity is going to stay with the Iranian scholars, as is the case with Western curriculum scholars illustrated in publications such as those by Jackson (1992), Pinar (2007), and Schubert (2008) as well as the dialogue persistently perused by the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (AAAS). The theme chosen by ICSA's executive board for the 2013 national curriculum conference, too, is testimony to the truth of this claim. Across the border, conversation between curriculum scholars throughout the world on this critical subject promises to strengthen the academic and professional status of curriculum specialists.

Finally, the publication of the third edition of this Handbook would probably be the right time to report on the new developments in the field and encourage the reader to watch for the following trends:

- To see if the enunciated curriculum has moved in the directions articulated in the newly devised National Curriculum
- To see if the curriculum specialists have been able to exert their knowledge-based authority in the field of policy formation and evaluation
- To see if the curriculum scholars have been able to earn more credence or gain more respect for their discipline and professional services
- To see if the research curriculum discourse will move to a more balanced position, compensating for the current domination of enunciated curriculum
- To see if the field of curriculum studies in Iran has grown to the point that it can effectively engage in the internationalization movement with a more pronounced dialogical attribute.
- To see if the field of curriculum research in Iran would utilize a wider array of research methodologies to address a wider array of problems to the point that it could truly be called pluralistic in terms of methodology.

Acknowledgments

This research has been made possible by a grant from The Presidential Fund for Assisting Researchers and Innovators (PFARI).

Notes

1. The first school was set up at the age of Qajar dynasty known as Dar Al- Fonoon.
2. The course component of the program was reduced to 18 units around the year 2002, thus eliminating 12 units or six courses, because national policy directives changed in line with becoming more responsive to the expansive social demand to enter the PhD level.
3. I am indebted to Professor Mosapour for reminding the author that, well before the availability of the Farsi translation of Tyler's monograph, another well recognized traditional text had been in circulation in academic circles, in the original language with parts

being translated to Farsi for the convenience of students. The reference is made to Smith, B. O; Stanley, W. O.; and Shores, J. H. 1957. *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development.* Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book.

4. The heated conversations and debates among those who saw promises in Schwab's theory and those who did not share this view was instrumental in setting up another special interest group to initiate scholarly activities from the rival reconceptualist perspective.

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19

Curriculum Inquiry in the Republic of Ireland

Kevin Williams and Elaine McDonald

Over the last decades, curriculum inquiry in Ireland has been vigorous and extensive. Contributions have come from curriculum specialists, philosophers, and sociologists as well as from those not directly involved in the academic study of education (for example, from representatives of industry and youth groups). One irony of curriculum inquiry is that the analysis from both left and right shares the same critical view of the "system." Thinkers on the left argue that not enough is done for the disadvantaged, and those on the right believe that not enough is done to respond to the needs of industry. So, although academic inquiry continues to be very critical of current curriculum provision and practice, what is striking is that curriculum theorists espouse an orthodox set of opinions in as far as both share the same critical view of the "system." Some theorists prefer to offer standard critique of the system to fine-grained analysis. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that detailed evaluation of students' learning and achievement is provided by research conducted by the OECD and, in the Irish context, as the chapter will illustrate, by the Economic and Social Research Institute.

Since the first edition of the Handbook*,* there has been change in the orientation of curriculum inquiry through the concern of policy makers and researchers with the issue of inclusiveness. This theme could be said to underpin the five themes examined in this chapter. The first section deals with the role of pedagogy in the curriculum and is based on the research conducted on an initiative to make the curriculum more inclusive of all students by promoting active and engaged learning. Section two examines the research on the attempts to make the curriculum more inclusive of the less academically inclined at the senior cycle of second level schooling by connecting it more directly with practical living. The third section considers the inquiry on making the curriculum more inclusive with regard to gender. Section four explores the research on the efforts to promote an inclusive inter-culturalism within the curriculum. The fifth and final section addresses the relationship between religion and the secular curriculum, a particularly acute dilemma in respect of the role of religion in accommodating inclusiveness within the curriculum. Before addressing these themes, something must be said about a major publication on the curriculum in Ireland.

Essential Background Reading

This is Jim Gleeson's volume *Curriculum in Context: Partnership, Power and Praxis in Ireland* (2010), and it merits special attention. Drawing on his own long experience of curriculum development and evaluation, Gleeson succeeds in locating Irish curriculum inquiry and developments in their broader sociocultural and policy contexts and sets this analysis in the context of the international literature. Education and curriculum policy making are considered from the perspectives of economic growth, social inclusion, policy fragmentation, and the prevailing model of partnership. The study identifies the tensions that inevitably arise in attempting to achieve both quality and equality in education, and offers some alternatives to the prevailing contractual model of accountability. As Gary Granville (2011) notes, part of Gleeson's achievement is to present the seemingly inevitable evolution of the Irish curriculum structure as only one of a number of possible choices shaped by social interests. Among these are the major power blocks of the churches, the political establishment, and the teacher unions. Gleeson argues that the curriculum reform that was initiated in the 1970s was colonized by the official agencies and that this led to reform without change. The rhetoric reform was not matched by the reality.

Gleeson succeeds in applying not only curriculum theory but also insights derived from the social sciences and philosophy in locating curriculum policy and practice within an ideological framework. One very interesting feature of Gleeson's work is its use of an extensive set of in-depth interviews with various individuals who were central to curriculum developments in Irish education over the period of the late twentieth century. Some 30 people were interviewed at length (and in some cases more than once) on their experiences in the formulation and implementation of Irish curriculum policy. Again, as Granville rightly comments, this "constitutes an unrivalled and original database that provides a unique and valuable insight into the inner workings of the Irish education system" (Ibid., p. 131). From these comments it should be clear that Gleeson's book is essential reading for all students of curriculum policy in Ireland. This takes us to the first of the individual inquiries that are the subject of this chapter.

Pedagogy and Curriculum

Based in the Education Department of NUI Maynooth in cooperation with fifteen post-primary schools in three regions of Leinster, the TL21 project (Teaching and Learning for the 21st Century: 2003–2007) was designed to promote innovative teaching and learning. The initiative aimed to provide curricular experience that would be inclusive by engaging all learners rather than simply those who were focused on gaining entry to university. An interim report on the project's work, *Voices from School,* was published in September 2005 to highlight for colleagues in Ireland and internationally the more salient issues that the project encountered in its first two years. These insights in turn furnished some important lessons for enhancing curricular experience, and these were reviewed in the final report of 2007 entitled *Learning Anew* (Hogan et al. 2007). This also yielded more insights in the form of new evidence from innovative curricular practices in Irish schools. The authors start by explaining project's workshop structure.

> The project began its active phase in late 2003 by enlisting ten participant teachers, in five pairs, from each of 15 schools. In each case the pairings were: Principal and Deputy Principal, two teachers of maths, two teachers of science, two teachers of Irish, two teachers of English. Regular out-of-school workshops in these five areas enabled teachers to engage with colleagues from other schools in an ongoing way on issues of teaching and learning, and such sessions remained a feature of the project until its conclusion. The ICT strand of the project, which commenced in September 2005, enabled teachers from additional subject areas to enlist as participants and to become more active in advancing new initiatives within their schools. The workshops for participants in the ICT strand were school-based, and took account of the facilities available in particular schools. As the project progressed efforts were made to widen developmental initiatives to include the whole school. Whole-school seminars were organised in individual schools for this purpose during the later stages of the project. These drew mainly on recent innovative work by staff members who were participants in the TL21 project, but also on work by staff members who were not, or whose association with the project was on a more informal basis. (Ibid., p. 2)

One of the most significant findings of the research was the success in combating the boredom and low motivation among learners and the transformation of students into active learners.

> Many teachers admitted that they were agreeably surprised by students' willingness to share more of the burden of work in the classroom, and to follow through with more sustained efforts in their homework. (Ibid., p.78)

This kind of surprise reflects a welcome shift of perspective on the part of teachers: "a change of mindset—even a change of heart" (Ibid., p. 78). This change of perspective allowed the teachers to perceive things that they previously disregarded or overlooked. In brief, it enabled them to learn in new ways with their students. The report continues:

> A more active involvement by students in their own learning over a sustained period also led to higher achievements in tests and examinations, and particularly so among students described as less academic. The point to stress here is that such higher achievement is the natural product of something intrinsic, namely a higher quality of educational experience on the part of the students. It should not be confused with the increases in marks and grades that are driven chiefly by extrinsic factors, such as pressures to compete for higher positions on league tables, including unofficial or unacknowledged league tables. (Ibid.)

What is very striking is that improvement in learning had an impact in outcomes in traditional assessment, showing that, as Williams (2007a, pp. 34–41) argues, active and engaged learning can be perfectly compatible with study for examinations.

> In a few instances changes in the quality of student's learning, occurred in Leaving Certificate classes, as did increases in their examination achievements. This shows that despite the pressures for conformity to older ways that spring from a centralised examination system, there are still many opportunities for teachers to practice creative forms of learning with their students. At the same time, many teachers were reluctant to introduce innovations with examination classes. This was because of a strong belief that the examinations, and the points system for entry to higher education based on it, chiefly rewarded qualities like accurate recall and comprehension. While the points system is likely to remain with us for some time, efforts to reform the Leaving Certificate are continuing.

(The established or traditional Leaving Certificate is the examination that provides direct access to third level education based on a calculation of points for different grades of achievement within the examination.)

> Feedback we have received from teachers over the four years of the project give us good reason to believe that if the Leaving Certificate examination were seen to reward a wider range of accomplishments, including those that flow

> from active learning approaches, the effects of the points system on schools would be far less constricting. In such circumstances, teachers generally would be much more likely to pursue active learning approaches with Leaving Certificate students. (Ibid., pp. 78–9)

These outcomes are indeed positive and encouraging. One of the most significant aspects of initiative, however, is that it was generously funded by a philanthropic foundation. This meant that there was financing available to fund support staff and to enable teachers to participate in the project's activities. There is an important lesson to be learned from this by curriculum scholars and policy makers. Genuine innovation has serious resource implications, and these need to be honestly addressed; otherwise, discourse about curriculum change will remain merely aspirational. The innovative approaches to pedagogy taken in the TL21 project also inform the initiative called the Leaving Certificate Applied that will be examined in the section that follows.

Connecting the Curriculum with Practical Living

As Williams and McNamara explain (1985), since 1976, curriculum theorist have been trying to devise a programme at the senior cycle of secondary schooling that would connect the experience of young people more with the world outside school. In this way, it is hoped that the curriculum would be more inclusive of the academically challenged. The impulse to relate the tradition of liberal education to practical living is also reflected in the work of U.S. based Irish scholar D.G. Mulcahy, most recently in his internationally acclaimed volume *The Educated Person: Toward a New Paradigm for Liberal Education* (2008). Much that has been exciting and innovative has been generated by the programme that, since 1995, has been called the Leaving Certificate Applied (LCA). The LCA is the alternative to the traditional Leaving Certificate, and its goal is to prepare students for the transition from the world of education to that of adult and working life, including further education.

Regrettably, this initiative has met with very limited success because, despite criticisms of the traditional, academic curriculum, only some eight percent of the age cohort takes the LCA. Important research into the reasons why has been published by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRI) (Banks, Byrne, McCoy, and Smyth 2010) entitled *Engaging Young People? Student Experiences of the Leaving Certificate Applied Programme.* The study examines the characteristics of young people who participated in the LCA programme approximately one decade after its introduction and investigates their reasons for entering the programme, their learning experiences during LCA, and their subsequent employment and educational pathways. The authors of the report note the following observations based on their research:

> . . . students' negative academic and school experiences during junior cycle determine their entry into the LCA and highlight how the option of a differentiated curriculum at senior cycle attracts a distinct social profile of students who are predominantly working class. (Ibid., Banks et al. 2010, pp. 156–7)

This unfortunately leads to feelings of exclusion and, in some instances, to segregation from peers following the traditional Leaving Certificate programmes. (As well as the established Leaving Certificate, there is also the Leaving Certificate Vocational programme (LCVP). This programme involves taking particular combinations of subjects, together with a module on preparation for work. The programme is very little different from the standard or established Leaving Certificate.) The situation of students taking the LCA is made more difficult "by the lack of flexibility in moving between programmes and the limited choice of subjects available to them" (Ibid.).

More positively, the research shows that the school curriculum at both junior and senior cycle levels

> could benefit from the teaching approaches and methodologies used in the LCA. The ways in which students re-engage with the school process is evident in how they respond to small class sizes, modular credit accumulation, work experience and an interactive teaching style. (Ibid.)

Again it should be noted though the extension of the approach employed on the LCA would have serious financial implications.

The authors go on to identify ways in which the learning experience of students taking the LCA might be enhanced.

> Defining clear and transparent objectives for the LCA could help to resolve some of the problems associated with student entry into the programme and the varying interpretations of LCA by schools, parents and students. An understanding of who the LCA is intended for and its learning outcomes could be aided by improving the provision of guidance counselling in junior cycle when students are considering their senior cycle options. Introducing a more personalised form of learning with greater flexibility for students would address the issues around lack of challenge in the LCA curriculum expressed by students in this study. (Ibid.)

They also emphasize the benefits that could accrue from linking achievement at LCA with that at the traditional Leaving Certificate. This would allow students to accumulate the points that are associated with third level entry and which are based on examination results in the Leaving Certificate. This simple initiative would make the LCA more challenging and also enhance the general perception of its value. The authors also call for a more gender-neutral approach to the programme.

> In addition, if traditional gendered vocational subjects were replaced with, or augmented by, more engaging gender neutral subjects, such as Entrepreneurship Studies or Sustainable Development, students may, in turn, be exposed to a broader range of work experience placements. (Ibid.)

Such an initiative would increase the challenge for students and widen the scope of the curriculum, and this would have a positive impact "on students' educational and labour market opportunities post-school by broadening the sectors they enter" (Ibid.). It would also introduce "greater clarity about where the LCA is positioned within the National Framework of Qualifications" (Ibid.). This could help to enhance the profile of the programme "among employers, educational institutions and the public" and also contribute to reducing "the apparent stigma and negative labelling associated with the LCA as experienced by young people" (Ibid.) taking the programme.

Overall, the educational community has much to learn from the experience of the Leaving Certificate Applied. One lesson that this research teaches is that the perceptions of a community regarding the superior value of the traditional academic curriculum run very deeply. If medical faculties decided to accept only those who had done the Leaving Certificate Applied, we would see a transformation in the perception of this less academically oriented curriculum. But unless we have such a dramatic reversal in the requirements for university entrance, the priorities of parents, their children, and teachers regarding school are unlikely to change. Yet the implementation of the LCA shows we do not have to accept that curriculum and pedagogy are immutable.

The reference to the particular profile of male students and gender issues within the Leaving Certificate Applied raises the issue of gender and the curriculum, and this has been a concern of inquiry in Ireland.

Gender and the Curriculum

There can be little doubt that socio-economic changes have impacted significantly employment patterns and, as a consequence of the perception of gender roles, these changes have fuelled public discourse within the educational landscape. Needless to say, such discourse is not without controversy and, within the Irish context, this discourse has a particular edge given the dominance of single sex post-primary/second-level schools. This particular feature of the Irish education system provides fertile ground for researchers in terms of comparative studies between single sex and coeducational settings.

A pervasive research theme in terms of gender and the curriculum is the apparent under-achievement of boys in state examinations. The statistical data indicate that, in Ireland, in line with international trends, girls are outperforming boys, and the gap is growing. The construction, profiling, and reporting of girls' achievement in terms of boys' under-achievement is itself problematic. This apparent conflation of girls' achievement and boys' apparent under-achievement is over simplistic since it tends to focus on one aspect, namely examination results, but these are part of a complex set of factors inherent in gender and education. This narrow focus on examination results tends to ignore the range of achievement of boys and girls and, in particular, it detracts from the achievement of male students. The "girls vs. boys" approach is also problematic in that it presents male and female students as competing against each other when there is no evidence to suggest that this is the case. This oppositional analysis of achievement based on gender is also in danger of stereotyping boys as hapless observers within the education system whereas in fact there are potential injustices, exclusions, and disadvantages for both male and female students. A consideration of some of these potentially divisive issues forms the basis for the next stage of this inquiry.

In more recent years, two very significant pieces of research have emerged that deserve consideration and reflection. In 2007, the Department of Education and Science (DES) published a report entitled *Sé Sí: Gender in Irish Education.* The aim of this report was to provide "a comprehensive overview of education statistics disaggregated by gender" (Department of Education and Science 2007, p.1). Many of the statistics available in the report had already been published through the Department's annual statistical reports, but this was the first time that data had been compiled into time-series statistics. While most of the data extend from the late 1980s to 2003, it is important to note that census figures from the 2006 census (Central Statistics Office, 2006) show little variation in the patterns presented in the *Sé Sí* report. A number of interesting findings emerges. The report begins by highlighting the expansion of educational opportunities that are available to Irish citizens. In particular, the report draws attention to the fact that since the introduction of free second-level education in 1967, more than 82% of the population now complete upper second level, with more than half the population moving into higher education (DES 2007, pp. 2–3). This is, to say the least, a positive statistic given the fact that before 1967, two-thirds of the population had finished their formal education by the time they were fifteen, and less than 10% had the opportunity to take advantage of higher education.

While the *Sé Sí* report highlights the significant improvement in rates of participation, it also recognises that school completion and retention rates remain "a central issue" (Ibid., p. 3). The high participation rates point to the value that is placed on education and affirms the efforts that are being made to create a more inclusive system. From the point of view of gender, however, the data point to some disturbing trends. Data on early school leaving demonstrate the fact that boys account for almost two-thirds of the pupils who leave second-level education before the Leaving Certificate and two-thirds of those who leave school without any educational qualifications (Ibid., p. 3). As might be expected, the report also presents data on performance in state examinations; the data show that the gender gap in favour of females is consistently increasing. Given this high performance, there can be little surprise that women are outnumbering men in higher education, but concerns are raised with regard to the "representation of women in positions of seniority in educational institutions" (Ibid., p.10). The report acknowledges that while the figures are "remarkably similar" to international trends, there are "striking gender differences" when it comes to female representation in senior academic positions (Ibid., p.10).

In terms of special educational needs, the data harvested for the report indicate that boys outnumber girls by two to one, but the report is emphatic in contextualizing these data by making the point that while gender "appears to be a significant factor, particularly on the performance of pupils in reading, the most significant factors affecting performance are the socio-economic status and home background characteristics of pupils" (Ibid., p. 12). In their important research on this theme, McCoy, Banks, and Shevlin (2012) highlight the overrepresentation of students in certain categories of Special Educational Needs (SEN), "particularly for types of SEN that do not require assessment or diagnosis" (Ibid., p. 119). In light of this, the authors propose that the research on SEN needs to balance the focus on the individual child's characteristics with a more critical look at the influence of students' social background, teachers' characteristics, and the schools' social mix. The student's social background has always been high on the SEN research agenda, but the emphasis on the school's social mix and the teacher's characteristics should offer fresh insights to those concerned with the issue of diversity and inclusion.

In terms of the school's role in identifying and labelling pupils with SEN, the authors draw attention to the "substantial body of critical scholarship that examines how particular student characteristics are constructed negatively by schools, how such constructions lead to impoverished experiences and reduced opportunities, and how students become alienated by schools they feel reject them" (Ibid., p. 120). In an effort to maintain institutional homogeneity, schools determine what the norm is, and because the norm is "arguably set in terms of those groups that schools find it easiest to deal with it is no surprise that other groups . . . are disproportionately likely to be identified as being deviant and specifically as having SEN" (Ibid., p. 120). The research undertaken in this study reveals that, in line with international trends, boy are more likely to be categorised as having SEN, and this is particularly the case for SEN students who do not require assessment or diagnosis (Ibid., p. 133). The authors are concerned with the impact of such identification/labelling on the student's ability to access the curriculum and the wider school experience. They suggest that a "SEN label may elicit lowered expectations from teachers and peers," and when these lowered expectations are combined with "reduced curricular coverage," students will "learn the curriculum at a lower rate" (Ibid., p. 135).

In light of this research, it is fair to say that an ongoing investigation needs to be undertaken in relation to the apparent overrepresentation of boys being categorised as having SENs. The issues raised by McCoy et al. highlight the role of the school and the role of the teachers within schools in diagnosing students. School context and teacher expectations require more extensive investigation in terms of the overrepresentation and the underrepresentation of certain categories of student with SEN. For example, the danger of conflating behavioural difficulties with learning difficulties also runs the risk of under-diagnosing special educational needs and prioritizing emotional behavioural disorders. There is no doubt that where both are present, the issues need to be addressed, but this needs to be done in a manner that allows the individual student the fullest possible access to the curriculum.

The original data from the *Sé Sí* report in relation to SEN is thought-provoking for those concerned with curriculum inquiry. The fact that significant numbers of male students are identified as requiring additional supports to access the curriculum raises fundamental questions with regard to inclusion, engagement, and expectations. In highlighting some of the key findings of the *Sé Sí* report, it is clear that the data give rise to the need for further research, discussion, and debate. But before leaving this report one final finding might be referred to since the information will form the basis for the next stage of this inquiry. This finding is concerned with the issue of gender and subject take-up.

Gender and Subject Take-up The data presented in the *Sé Sí* report suggest that the trends in terms of subject take-up by gender reveal that the patterns have "remained largely unchanged" (DES 2007, p.4). In common with international trends, boys far outnumber girls in choosing subjects such as engineering, technical drawing, and construction studies while girls far outnumber boys in subjects such as home economics, music, art, and European languages (Ibid., p. 4). Given that these patterns are in line with European and international trends, there is little that is "new" in the Irish data.

While there may be commonality in terms of data, it is also the case that innovative research is taking place to investigate the attitudes and perceptions underlying subject choice and subject take-up. For example, one of the most interesting pieces of research from an Irish perspective has been undertaken by Smyth and Darmody (2009). Their research entitled "*Man enough to do it?*" is refreshing in that it privileges the voices of students and teachers and their views on subject selection. Some attention will now be given to this significant piece of research.

The researchers were particularly concerned with female students' take-up of technological subjects since the "low representation of girls in technological subjects has significant implications for their schooling career and subsequent pathways" (Smyth and Darmody 2009, p. 274). In terms of methodology, Smyth and Darmody draw on detailed case studies of twelve schools: four schools did not provide any technological subjects, four schools had relatively low take-up levels among female students and four schools had relatively high take-up levels among female students. Within each of the schools, semi-structured interviews were held with relevant personnel (principals, guidance counsellors, teachers of technological subjects) and students. In some cases, male and female students were interviewed together, and in some cases they were interviewed separately. The three subjects focused on—Metalwork, Material Technology (Wood), and Technical Graphics—are more likely to be available in the Vocational and Community/Comprehensive sectors, and this reflects the historical location of vocational education. The researchers noted that "what is especially striking is the fact that only a very small number of girls' secondary schools provide any of the technological subjects" (Ibid., p. 280).

The researchers highlight the fact that subject choice and availability are closely related to the schools' views on what is considered appropriate for the student population. This was borne out in the comments made by one of the teachers in the study who states,

> This is a working-class area here basically and most of the kids when they leave here, . . . the lads in particular now would be very anxious to go into the trade. A lot of them go into the trade of carpentry, building, mechanics, that kind of thing. (Ibid., p. 280)

In addition to the emphasis on vocational preparation, schools also cite the lack of resources, facilities, and suitably qualified teachers as considerable impediments in offering a broader range of subjects (Ibid., p. 280). The researchers note that where schools offer a "taster" programme, students "were potentially in a better position to make an informed choice based on their interests and competencies" (Ibid., p. 282). The role of parents also had a considerable influence on students' subject choices. According to the researchers' findings, "parental constructions of what constituted 'useful' subjects appeared to take account of gender, and to some extent social class" (Ibid., p. 283). In some instances, girls were encouraged by parents to choose Business Studies since this was seen as more useful than the technological subjects (Ibid., p. 282).

From the students' perspective, the researchers found that both male and female students preferred technological subjects because of the more informal classroom atmosphere and the perceived "break" from more academic subjects. The construction of technological subjects as "male" by both male and female students emerged strongly from the data gathered through the semi-structured interviews. For example, when giving her reasons for not choosing technological subjects, one female student responded: "In case I'd get a splinter or something in Woodwork and I think they're more boys' things than girls" (Ibid., p. 284). Male students also echoed this perception of subjects as being male or female. In a discussion on Home Economics one male student commented:

> They [girls] wouldn't really be interested in Woodwork as much as boys would, the same way that I wouldn't be interested in Home Economics. I don't like cooking and all that and girls they want to be in groups, they want to be with girls on their own. . . . It's the same thing, boys and girls, girls don't really like doing boys' subjects and boys' don't really like doing girls' subjects. (Ibid., p. 286)

What is interesting is that, despite this apparent gendering of subjects by male and female students, the students themselves were happy to contest this categorization. Girls in particular "invoked a gender equality discourse" but the level of female take-up of technological subjects indicates that there is a gap between their discourse and behaviour (Ibid., p. 287). When male students were asked about their views in relation to female students taking-up technological subjects, they responded "[f]air play to them," "[a]t least they're trying it out," and "[t]hey're man enough to do it" (Ibid.). As the researchers point out, the male students' responses were "highly gendered"; male students admired their female counterparts for being "man enough" to choose subjects associated with male prowess and strength (Ibid.).

In their concluding comments, Smyth and Darmody make the point that the "gendering of subjects at school level facilitates and reinforces gender segregation within the labour market" (Ibid., p. 289). They also echo a point that has been made at the opening stages of this section when they suggest that "the prevailing policy discourse on male underachievement in the UK and Ireland" means that "persistent gender differentiation in the take-up of subjects has been relatively neglected"(Ibid., p. 290). Narrowing the parameters of the discourse to achievement by gender in state examinations is in danger of avoiding the more complex and pervasive issues in relation to gender and education. As can be seen from this study, the task of investigating attitudes with regard to gender is complex and intricate but it is nevertheless a fundamental task for those concerned with implementing and sustaining an inclusive philosophy of education. This leads to an area where policy makers and researchers have had to be proactive in the last decade, namely, in respect to the role of the curriculum in achieving inclusiveness, that is, in respect to intercultural education.

Intercultural Education

Irish history has been characterized by decades of emigration; this outward-only movement ensured that culturally, linguistically, and religiously, Irish society remained more or less homogeneous and impervious to the changes that immigration was introducing in other European contexts. The improving economic fortunes of the late 1990s brought an unparalleled rise in immigration to Ireland that the country was ill prepared for. Between 1993 and 2006, the immigrant community rose from 3 percent to 10 percent; immigration was primarily driven by the economic boom, but by the early to mid-2000s there was a significant rise in the numbers seeking asylum from persecution in their country of origin. Whatever their reasons for coming to Ireland, the immigrant communities brought with them diversity and change on an unprecedented scale. This transformation of Ireland from a society dominated by emigration to immigration resulted in a more diverse school population. This was not the first time, however, that schools had been tested in relation to their ability to deal with diversity; the Travelling community has long been recognised as one of the largest minority ethnic groups in Ireland.

Travellers are an indigenous minority with a distinctive culture, characterised by specific beliefs and practices, but it is their nomadic way of life in particular that sets Travellers apart from the majority culture. Until the 1990s, schools responded to this nomadic way of life by offering Travellers' children segregated provision. This did more harm than good since it reinforced the notion that difference was not welcome in the mainstream classroom and furthermore, if children from diverse cultures could not fit into what was perceived as the norm, then they must be educated separately. This approach has been replaced by age-appropriate, integrated, and inclusive provision. Although the latter approach offered a more inclusive model of education, the 2002 census figures show that two-thirds of the Traveller community had left school before the minimum age of sixteen. (Central Statistics Office 2002, "Irish Travellers aged 15 years and over, classified by age at which full-time education ceased")

Given the urgent task of reviewing the status quo in terms of shifting power from the dominant voices in curriculum and policy, it would be imprudent to continue this discussion without turning to the ultimate stakeholders in relation to Traveller education, the parents of Traveller children. In a report presented by the Department of Education and Science entitled *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy* (2006a), Traveller parents articulated the following concerns in relation to their experience of the post primary system:

- They do not understand the complexity of the post-primary system.
- Their children are dropping out easily.
- The system seems to be more suited to girls than boys, and they would therefore like more practical subjects.
- Their children are progressing poorly with literacy and numeracy, and some were not learning Irish.(p. 50)

In relation to the post-primary curriculum in particular, Traveller parents raised the following issues in relation to their

> lack of understanding of the post-primary curriculum, concerns about the content of the curriculum and the availability of different courses, the variety of post-primary personnel and the number of subjects available, different levels on offer in each subject, a lack of understanding of the role of the different types of teachers and other educational professionals . . . a lack of inclusion policies in schools, a lack of encouragement, a lack of positive recognition of Traveller culture and life, peer pressure, the cost of post-primary education, and difficulty with homework. (DES 2006a, p. 51)

It could well be argued that many of the concerns raised by the Travelling community are shared by the wider community, and these concerns may often emerge from parents' personal experience of post-primary education. This is a view shared by some Traveller parents who recognised that

> barriers to their own advancement have been created because of their own limited education, problems with literacy and numeracy, and, for some, their nomadic lifestyle. . . . (Ibid., p. 50)

In recognition of the key role that parents play, the report called for community-based education initiatives that would enable parents to understand and participate in the education system so that they in turn can support their children. This needs to be balanced of course with the need for education providers to "have an understanding and awareness of the particular needs of Travellers and be skilled in enabling Travellers to become involved" (Ibid., p. 96). This mutual recognition of needs is essential if diverse cultures are to move beyond educational participation to real achievement and attainment. To facilitate this kind of engagement, the curriculum itself must, however, be flexible enough to move from a monocultural to a multicultural model. In relation to the specific issue of literacy and numeracy, for example, it might well be asked how literature, in its written and oral forms from the Traveller culture, is included in the formal and informal curriculum.

In addition to the support needed for Traveller pupils in terms of literacy and numeracy, concerns are also raised in relation to the type of curriculum choice that is available. A report from the Department of Education and Science entitled *Survey of Traveller Education Provision* (2006b) showed that Traveller parents and teachers believed that some Traveller boys "require alternative or additional curriculum provision that provides practical and skill-based learning opportunities matched to their needs, interests, and employment prospects" (DES 2006b, p.66). This point raises another significant theme in relation to the notion of a gendered curriculum and highlights the notion that practical subjects are more suited to boys than girls. Given the low levels of participation and achievement of the Travelling community in the education system, it might well be asked what lessons are being learned in relation to the inclusion of pupils from other minority backgrounds. It is to this question the inquiry now turns.

Immigrant Communities It would appear that with the first wave of immigration many of the mistakes that had been made in relation to the integration of the Travelling community were repeated. This was due in no small way to the policy vacuum within which teachers were operating. In her research on teachers' responses to ethnic diversity, Devine (2005) discovered that teacher's operating within this vacuum found it "difficult to make judgements about the learning needs of children when their fluency in English was limited" (p. 57). The subsequent "struggle" and uncertainty over "how to cope" had profoundly negative consequences for migrant pupils themselves.

The placement of migrant children within "weaker" streams is a case in point. Where such a policy was used, it was clear that the academic ability of migrant students was viewed solely in terms of their ability to speak English. In addition, it is fair to say that the prioritizing of English language acquisition helped to create a situation whereby other cultural issues were largely ignored. The absence of an appropriate policy resulted in a minimalist approach whereby "[i]nclusion of migrant children was defined by the state in terms of assimilation through instruction in the English language" (Ibid., p. 65). In short, integration meant absorption into the Irish norm.

In response to the policy vacuum on intercultural education the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), the body with statutory responsibility for curriculum and assessment in Ireland published *Intercultural Guidelines for Post-Primary Schools* in 2005. The aim of these guidelines is to "contribute to the development of Ireland as an intercultural society through the development of a shared sense that language, culture and ethnic diversity is valuable" (NCCA 2005, p. iii). The *Guidelines* describe IE as having two focal points: firstly, it "respects," "celebrates," and "recognises the normality of diversity in all walks of life," and secondly, IE "promotes equality and human rights, challenges unfair discrimination and promotes the values upon which equality is built" (p. i).

The *Guidelines* are intended to support all members of the school community and, to this end, they cover a range of issues from school and classroom planning to assessment and the language environment (Ibid., p. v). As might be expected, the *Guidelines* are based on the premise that intercultural education needs to be integrated into all areas of school life, in school policies and practices, and in the formal and hidden curriculum (Ibid., p. 16). In addition, the *Guidelines* emphasise a real-world approach that encourages teachers to enable their students to reflect critically on their own experience of discrimination or unfairness. While recognising that this real-world approach may give rise to "strong emotions, especially if students are being asked to consider if they are part of the dominant or discriminating group," the *Guidelines* also highlight the value of such an approach in developing a sense of empathy (Ibid., p. 17).

In order to achieve the potential of this empathetic engagement, the *Guidelines* stress the need for dialogue, which in turns leads to empathetic listening. Such listening is described by the guidelines as "getting inside another person's frame of reference, seeing the world the way they see world and trying to understand how they feel" (Ibid., p. 18). In terms of classroom practice, the *Guidelines* provide a checklist for teachers that enables them to critically review their current practice. The checklist pays particular attention to the social environment, the physical environment, and the use of resources. For example, in relation to the physical environment, the teacher is asked to consider the extent to which pictures, displays, and photographs reflect the diverse cultures and ethnic groups of Ireland and the school (Ibid., p. 37). The *Guidelines* encourage teachers to build cooperative learning environments that provide students with opportunities to work closely with people from different "social, ethnic or ability groups"(Ibid., p. 42). The *Guidelines* suggest that this cooperative, group-work approach means that every subject "can provide an opportunity for children to develop intercultural competence, irrespective of its content" (Ibid., p. 42).

In terms of the curriculum, the *Guidelines* identify practical opportunities in a range of subjects for dealing with intrinsic intercultural themes, such as: identity and belonging, similarity and difference, human rights and responsibilities, discrimination and inequality, and conflict and peace (Ibid., p. 62). The approach of the *Guidelines* is to encourage educators to look for opportunities that already exist in the curriculum and to use these opportunities as a platform for intercultural education. This embedded approach would seem to be a positive step in that it avoids the notion that intercultural education is yet another theme that must be added on to the curriculum.

The *Guidelines* are not without their critics. In her work on intercultural education, Audrey Bryan is unconvinced of the *Guidelines* potential to address the challenges of intercultural education. This is based on her conviction that the curriculum itself is fundamentally flawed. Bryan argues that what is needed is a "reconfiguration" of the existing curriculum so that it is "reconstituted from the point of view of those who are most marginalised within society" (Bryan 2009, p. 312). The author argues that educational discourse underlying the curriculum is founded on the belief that cultural homogeneity is the norm and that diversity is presented as a "new and aberrant phenomenon" (Ibid., p. 312). In the author's view, the curriculum is concerned with maintaining the status quo, and in the absence of a radical review of the curriculum itself, intercultural education has taken the form of "accommodation" rather than genuine inclusion. From this perspective, Bryan claims, the formal curriculum is at odds with the key principles outlined in the *Guidelines* and that, within this context, policies on intercultural education amount to little more than "slogan systems" (Ibid., p. 312).

It is important to note that Bryan's critique is not so much of the *Guidelines* but of the system and policies that the *Guidelines* are trying to engage with, and it would seem that this critique is more than valid. In a recent publication, *Cumulative Disadvantage?,* Darmody, Byrne, and McGinnity (2012) note that migrant children "are often allocated to younger year groups, less academic tracks, and, where practised, lower streams/bands" (p. 19).This allocation is based on teachers' "subjective recommendation" and is carried out with "the best intentions" that seeks to enable students to "overcome language barriers" and "provide students with a sense of achievement" (Ibid., p. 19). The authors also note that the strategy of placing students into lower age/year groups is largely related to English proficiency and this takes precedence over and above the student's academic ability or previous academic attainment (Ibid., p. 15). This strategy fails to take account of the wishes of the students' themselves or the potential impact on their educational careers and access to higher level education (Ibid., p. 19). It is unfortunate to see the replication of many of the issues revealed in Devine's research (2005); the limiting of intercultural education to language acquisition holds the very real possibility of cumulatively confining the first generation of migrant students to lower educational attainment, "lower occupational attainment and lower lifetime earnings" (Darmody et al. 2012 p. 20). It goes without saying that the consequences of this social stratification directly contravene the aspirations of intercultural education.

As long as the needs of the curriculum take precedence over the needs of the student, then cycles of exclusion and marginalization will be repeated. The *Intercultural Guidelines for Post-Primary* schools do not offer a panacea to the issues embedded in the curriculum that can impede the work of intercultural education, but they do, however, offer a broad base from which to critique current practices which views diversity in terms of deficit.

There is one aspect of inter-culturalism and the curriculum that is very prominent and highly contested in Ireland, and this is the role of religion in schools—in particular the relationship between religion and the secular curriculum. It is an area where the achievement of inclusiveness has been problematic.

Religion, Culture, and the Curriculum

It is ironic that, despite the huge public controversy about this issue, curriculum theorists have contributed little to the debate on the integrative role of religion across the school curriculum. Yet it must be said that much good work has been done on the character of Religious Education itself and its significance in the educational experience of young people (see, for example, Byrne 2010) and on its potential to promote inclusiveness. The Irish Centre for Religious Education has become very active in the area and its important publication (Byrne and Kieran 2013) is to be welcomed. Nonetheless, the relationship between religion and the secular curriculum needs further probing and detailed analysis. For example, until the publication of two reports commissioned by the Government (2011, 2012), the cross-curricular dimensions of religion has received extended treatment only in Williams (2005) and Alvey (1991).[1]

Why is the relationship between religion and the secular curriculum so sensitive in Ireland? Parents have the constitutional right to withdraw their children from religious education in the formative sense, but it is hard to see how such withdrawal could be complete or absolute in practice because the rules of the Department of Education require the maintenance of a religious ethos in all primary schools. An essential element of this ethos is a mandatory relationship between religion and other subjects through the integrated curriculum. The *Rules for National Schools* specifically relating to the teaching of religion and its overall place in the school are as follows:

> *Rule 68* Of all parts of a school curriculum Religious Instruction is by far the most important, as its subject matter, God's honour and service, includes the proper use of all man's faculties, and affords the most powerful inducements to their proper use. Religious Instruction is, therefore, a fundamental part of the school course, and a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. (Government of Ireland 1965, p. 38)

A similar integrative role is attributed to religion in the regulations that govern the operation of vocational schools at second level. The assumption underlying this aspect of curriculum policy is that being religious is part of being Irish. This means that the school curriculum cannot be inclusive of those young people who do not share a Christian perspective on life.

To some extent this aspect of curriculum policy has changed, although the input from curriculum theorists has been minimal. The initiative on the issue was actually taken by the State, and the revised document on the primary school curriculum (Government of Ireland 1999) seems to modify the State's policy in the area. The document affirms the significance for most Irish people of a religious perspective on life but it does not commit the State to a direct endorsement of the Christian view of human destiny. It is therefore no longer State policy to insist that the curriculum endorse a single worldview. But despite this, the requirement in Rule 68 still applies, and whether the revised document on the primary school curriculum would enjoy priority over *Rules for National Schools* is not at all clear.

The relationship between religion and the integrated curriculum is connected to the vexed issue of choice of schools. The vast majority (over 90%) of Irish primary or national schools are under denominational patronage. Whether state support for such religiously affiliated schools is desirable from civic and educational perspectives and whether this support will prove financially realistic in the future are large issues. But we do not operate from a clean slate—we are where we are in respect to the control and management of schools.

There is a whole knot of confusion regarding choice of schools in Ireland. Williams (2005, pp. 67–68) attempts to dispel this confusion by clarifying some of the concepts involved. He explains that a distinction has to be observed between freedom and rights and in particular between the right to education and the right to a particular kind of school. Children in Ireland have a right to education, and parents have the freedom to send their children to a school of their choice. But this does not mean that parents have a right in the sense of an entitlement to have a particular kind of school. The following analogy might make this clear. Citizens have both a right and a freedom to get married and the state has an obligation to respect this right and this freedom but the state does not have an obligation to find partners for people.

Yet this situation does mean that some parents may end up sending their children to a confessional school that supports an ethos that they do not subscribe to. These parents have a right to withdraw their children from lessons in religion and from sacramental preparation, but they do not have a right to expect the schools to protect them from exposure to the religious dimension of other subjects in the curriculum (see Williams 2005, pp. 67–71). For these parents, the school is not an inclusive space. But is hard to see how Irish schools can be entirely purged of religion. Take the language itself. Irish been described by John McGahern as providing the "ghostly rhythm" that expresses the religious spirit of life in Ireland.[2] Perception of the relationship between language and religion led Éamon De Valera in 1943 (*Taoiseach* or Prime Minister at the time) to argue that the language is "the bearer to us of a philosophy, of an outlook on life deeply Christian and rich in practical wisdom" (De Valera 1943). Idioms that make reference to God are quite common. *Dia Dhuit, Dia's Muire Dhuit, Dia's Muire Dhuit 's Pádraig* and *Beannacht Dé Ort* (God be with you, God and Mary be with you, God, Mary and St. Patrick be with you, the blessing of God be upon you) are everyday salutations. It would be impossible to teach Irish without exposing young people to its religious idiom.

This prompts an interesting comparison that is explored by Williams (2011b) in an article in *The Irish Times*.[3] Just as withdrawal is allowed from lessons in religion, exemption is possible from the study of Irish. Students who have received their education outside the State up to eleven years of age are entitled to such an exemption. The teaching of the language is compulsory in Irish schools, whatever reservations people may have regarding this policy. Schools not only teach Irish but, in many of them, the language is used throughout the day.

But the fact that some children are exempt from Irish class does not mean that teachers must refrain from using Irish in what might be called para-instructional discourse, that is, in contexts other than in direct teaching. Examples of para-instructional discourse would be the use of daily courtesies and the giving of instructions about taking out copies and so on. It would of course be only right for teachers to provide English translations of such discourse or, if possible, translations into the mother-tongues of those children for whom English is not a native language. Yet it would not be right to exclude the use of Irish from normal school life on account of the presence of some pupils who were exempt from studying it. Indeed the language can be used with an aim of making the curriculum inclusive of those who do not speak it and thereby facilitating their integration into the life of the country.

Likewise religious faith can be expressed in a manner that displays openness to young people who are exempt from the study of religion. To be sure, there are differences between teaching religion and teaching Irish. But giving expression to faith is a feature of most National schools, that is, primary schools supported by the state, and using the Irish language is a feature of all of them. One general condition that will certainly apply to the expression of faith is the requirement of teachers to exercise the utmost tact in their response to the children of parents whose beliefs and commitments differ from those that inform the ethos of the school. What is necessary here is the human and moral sensitivity that is a feature of all good teaching. This sensitivity and this respect will go beyond the admonition to be "careful, in presence of children of different religious beliefs, not to touch on matters of controversy." This long-standing injunction was deleted from the *Rules for National Schools* in 1965 (see Hyland and Milne 1992, pp. 106, 135). The sensitivity and respect in question will involve, for example, the avoidance of offensive or stigmatizing comments about beliefs that differ from those upheld by the school. These actions are obviously unacceptable. Another expression of pedagogic tact is the presentation of material that integrates religion with other subjects in a manner that respects the traditional protection that was included in the founding directive of primary schools in 1831. This is the responsibility of educators to avoid "even the suspicion of proselytism" (see Hyland and Milne 1987, p. 99–100) within the school premises. Whatever system is designed in the future, it is simply the case that we live in the world in which we find ourselves and not in some ideal universe of total religious and linguistic harmony where all demands can be met to the total satisfaction of everyone.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has surveyed part of the evolving landscape of curriculum inquiry in Ireland. As readers will no doubt have learned, curriculum inquiry in Ireland has been energetic and creative. There are two observations to be made in conclusion about curriculum inquiry in Ireland. The first is the commendable emphasis on research evidence rather than anecdote and impression in policy development (see Smyth and McCoy 2011). In their recent report, for example, the authors refer to the evidence that the teaching methods have changed little following the introduction of the revised primary curriculum in 1999 (Ibid., pp. 17–18). They express their concern that the aspirations for "more innovative approaches to teaching" (Ibid.) behind the reform of the junior cycle at second-level may not be realized in practice. Secondly, it should be clear that inquiry is seeking to analyse how the curriculum is defining and giving practical content to cultural identity and aspirations. The school curriculum is being theorized as an instrument of public policy through which the country's self-understanding is expressed and communicated to the young generation. In a sense, it could be said that some of the curriculum inquiry reviewed in this chapter is a response to the changes in the demography of contemporary Ireland and the attempts by the State to be more inclusive and welcoming. In studying the curriculum, we are therefore also studying ourselves.

Notes

1. The role of religion across the curriculum is also very controversial in France as Williams (2011a, 2007b) explains in his work on the subject.
2. The expression "ghostly rhythm" is adapted from John McGahern by Bruce Bradley (1994).
3. More than thirty readers accepted the paper' editor's invitation to "Have Your Say" on the article.

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20

Curriculum Planning from the National to the Glocal

The Israeli Case

Yehoshua Mathias and Naama Sabar

Introduction: The History of Curriculum Development in Israel—a Telescopic View from the Inception of the State to the Present Day

A review of changes in curriculum planning in Israel, from the establishment of the state to the present day, shows a shift from a uniform to a multifaceted curriculum and from a national curriculum to a "glocal" one. These developments largely reflect the influence exerted by globalization and social and cultural processes within Israeli society on its educational system (Harrison 1994; Yona-Shenhav 2005; Dror, 2007). Globalization in education, as in other domains of national setting, quite often takes a local particular character, also known as "glocal."

Changes in knowledge the curriculum represents and in legitimate sources for this knowledge will also be dealt with in this chapter. Research on curricula indicates that the knowledge contained within them depends on specific social and cultural contexts (Apple, 1990; Bordieu 1979; Goodson 1997). This distinction raises a series of questions about the prevailing culture, the social distribution of knowledge in curricula, the ownership of that knowledge, and the relationship between its distribution and economic and class stratification. Historical changes in the knowledge included in curricula, as well as in its conception and distribution, often denote changes in the balance of power between social and cultural groups, changes that are the outcome of struggles conducted within various arenas. However, in modern societies with complex educational and cultural systems, curricula are not merely reproductions of what is taking place in other sectors, but are also influenced by autonomous educational factors (Ringer 1979). Hence, an analysis of changes in curricula must seriously relate to the autonomy of the educational field and to curriculum development as a professional realm in its own right.

First-Generation Curricula: 1954–1967

Like other modern national movements, Zionism strove to create a modern secular Hebrew culture, based largely on a re-adaptation of material from ancient and religious Jewish culture (Shavit 1999). Schooling in general, and elementary schools in particular, were assigned the role to instill this modern Hebrew culture and nationalize the children of the Jewish community in Palestine (Elboim-Dror 1990). As such, Hebrew education in Palestine strove for a common ground, despite the fact that different political movements exerted control over schooling, with the educational system being divided into streams along political lines: Labor movement schools, Zionist religious schools, and liberal-center orientated schools. These movements imprinted their ideological orientation on the curricula as well as on the values of the different streams of schooling (Reshef and Dror 1999).

A marked change in curricula orientation occurred after the State's establishment. As with other emerging Nation-States (Gellner 1983), the demand for a uniform curriculum was an important part of the ideology underlying state education. The immigration of a large culturally heterogeneous population, which doubled the population of the State within a few years, reinforced the demand for a uniform curriculum. The 1953 State Education Law cancelled the separate educational streams and their affiliation with political movements. It laid down the aims of education in Israel common to all and invested the state with absolute authority over the elementary school and its curricula, thus completely nationalizing elementary education (Mathias 2002).

This new nationalized curriculum was intended to be "a stabilizing factor in the multiplicity of cultures and ethnic groups" (Ziv 1955). Its major goal was to create a homogeneous, common national cultural basis for the entire Jewish population. The planning was neither based on any theories of curriculum planning, nor were any formal strategies of evaluation employed in the committees' work (Ben Peretz and Seidman 1986; Dror and Lieberman 1997). The choice of goals, as well as the formulation of achievements expected of students, were designed to cultivate a patriotic attachment. A typical example is the goal set for teaching the Bible: "to instill in the pupils a love of the country in which their forefathers lived, in which the Jewish people took shape, in which our prophets prophesized and our poets wrote, the land in which the Book of Books was created and for which Jewish heroes have sacrificed their lives." (Ministry of Education and Culture 1954: 15, 64). The aim of the Bible curriculum, like that for literature and history, was to create a broad cultural "common denominator" for both the state religious and the state nonreligious elementary schools. The Ministry of Education also refused to commit itself to the secular nature of the state school, which educated "not for religion but not against religion" (Ministry of Education and Culture 1959).

Nonetheless, the state curricula were not as uniform as their authors describe them to be, if for no other reason than the fact that the State Education Law canceling the streams recognized that the religious had the right to pedagogic autonomy. Consequently, there were differences between the state elementary school curricula and those for the state religious schools, particularly in regard to the scope and content of the study of Jewish Law (written and oral). These subjects were naturally assigned a high priority in the religious schools. For example, in the history curriculum, the chapter on prehistoric man was deleted, since it did not fit in with the periodization of the Bible, and was replaced by "talks about the history of the First Temple period based on the Bible" (Ministry of Education and Culture 1954: 31).

It is interesting to note how the leaders of the Ministry of Education coped with the cultural heritage of the immigrants from Islamic countries, often referred to as Oriental Jews, who made up about half of the new immigration. Ben Zion Dinur, Minister of Education in the early fifties, recognized the social value of integrating the heritage of the various ethnic groups into the curricula, so that "every Yemenite and Moroccan child can stand tall" (Dinur 1953). In his view, this integration was part of the Zionist movement's project to create an encompassing national culture that would reflect the heritage of all ethnic groups that are part of the Jewish people (Dinur 1936). Dinur, however, laid down a prerequisite for implementing this integration—the possibility of finding in the culture and history of the Oriental Jews patterns, content, and artistic works, compatible with the cultural models and historical concepts that had become an integral part of the culture of modern European Jewry (Dinur 1953). Only those artistic works and cultural elements that met this test merited, in his view, inclusion in the curriculum. This stipulation underscored the fact that the state curricula represented the European Hebrew culture of the long-standing inhabitants of the country who dominated Israeli society.

Officially, the state acknowledged the need to adapt curricula to the special needs of the Arab population. But although the language of instruction in schools in the Arab villages was Arabic, at this early stage of the State, it refused to recognize the right of Israeli Arabs to nurture their national culture. As a result, Arab pupils learned more Bible than Koran, more Jewish and Zionist history than Arab history, and more Hebrew poetry than Arabic poetry. Modern Arab history was not taught at all, neither in the Hebrew schools nor in the Arab schools (Maari 1975; Majid 1995; Mathias 2003).

Isolated but vociferous voices were harshly critical of the curricula's pedagogical and nationalistic orientation. Zvi Adar of the Hebrew University claimed that a uniform curriculum for the whole country would do away with the teacher's and the pupil's personality, causing them to feel they are acting mechanically. A uniform curriculum would ". . . adversely affect the teacher's conscience and their relationship with their pupils, since they are obliged to teach them according to a uniform set curriculum regardless of whether or not it suits their abilities and needs" (Adar 1956: 43–44). He also deplored the nationalistic, ethnocentric, and narrow minded spirit of the state curriculum (Adar 1956: 64–66).

Nevertheless, everyone, including critics of the curriculum, agreed that under the existing historical conditions, a uniform curriculum was essential; the debate merely focused on its character and scope. Whereas critics were in favor of a minimal uniform curriculum beyond which each school could develop additional contents, the State officials wanted complete control in order to maintain uniformity of the national spirit. The greatest difficulties were encountered in those schools in which a large proportion of the pupils were immigrants from Islamic countries. The seriousness of this problem was fully revealed after 1955, when the Ministry of Education began administering national uniform tests to all the graduates of elementary school. These tests, known as the "seker" ("survey"), revealed a large gap between the achievements of children of immigrants from Islamic countries on the one hand, and those from the veteran population and European immigrants on the other (Lewy 1994). These gaps seriously questioned whether the declared aim of the state curriculum, i.e., to create a common cultural basis for the entire Israeli population, was being attained.

Over the years, the assumption that one nation should have one curriculum was challenged. Dissatisfaction with the uniform curriculum and the poor achievements of elementary school pupils paved the way for an overall reform of the structure of the educational system.

Roots of the Reform in the Educational System: 1964–1968

The idea of reforming the structure of the Israeli educational system was born in the mid-sixties, largely under the influence of the academic trend that developed in the United States following the launch of the Sputnik (Kliebard 1992: 97–112). The Six Day War in 1967 gave added momentum to the Israeli trend towards reform, the general lines of which had by then already been laid down (Shmida 1971).

From this point onwards, the goals of national curricula were expanded, with a major role now being to further Israel's economic and technological advancement. To achieve this goal, the knowledge defined by the curricula had to be updated and adapted to the requirements of a modern, highly technological economy (Yadlin 1971). This reform was first introduced in the sixties and continued throughout the seventies and eighties. The most comprehensive of all educational reforms in Israel, it was a three-part program. The first part was structural, which included the reduction of elementary school education from eight to six years and the creation of a six-year secondary school based on two stages: 3 + 3. At the same time, compulsory education was extended to cover ninth grade. This meant that secondary education had become a part of compulsory education in Israel, which amounted to a major step up for the majority of the population (whose parents in many cases didn't know how to read or write). The second part included increasing the academic training of teachers in the middle school, a move that led to an increase in the number of applicants to institutions of higher education. The third part dealt with the development of a new generation of curricula, also known as the generation of scientific curricula.

The Generation of Scientific Curricula: 1966–1978

The transition to scientific curricula was marked by the establishment of the National Curriculum Center in the Ministry of Education. The heads of the Ministry of Education believed that the development of new curricula was one of the most effective investments in the educational system, implemented on the basis of a systematic and precise approach, in cooperation with the finest scientific and pedagogical minds, and under the teacher's guidance. The curricula were seen as meaningful ". . . not only because they were written by people of renown, but mainly because they had successfully been tested in the classroom" (Yadlin 1971: 20).

The curricula were planned in two tracks (Sabar and Silberstein 1998). In the general track, as in the first generation, syllabi were developed for the various disciplines. They included aims and principles, a suggestion for the content of study, basic terms, key ideas, and their allocation among the various classes. But unlike the previous generation, they systematically related to modes of learning. In the second, empirical track, learning materials were developed. The development process was based on a multi-stage planning model according to Tyler's approach. This model emphasized several components: a clear definition of aims, preferably in behavioral-operational terms; development of learning materials consistent with these aims; training teachers to teach the curriculum based on the written teacher's guide; and evaluation of the classroom implementation. The entire process was perceived as an ongoing task of development, evaluation (formative and summative), and revision. The contents were disciplinary.

Instead of items of information, the structure-of-discipline served as a key concept in the development process. This concept is based on the ideas of Bruner and Schwab, and served as a basis for organizing and categorizing the contents of the various subjects. The contents are designed to represent the basic ideas of each discipline and the methods of research that characterize it (Bruner 1965).

Some latent functions of the structure-of-discipline approach also had the effect of disempowering teachers as curriculum writers, legitimizing instead the development of curricula by universities and national institutes of curriculum planning. This undercut teachers' enhanced professional status, relegating them to the status of consumers (Eden 1986; Silberstein 1984).

Educational Innovations and Public Consensus

The structure-of-discipline approach and the close cooperation with the academic community produced curricula that were for their time innovative, and at times daring. Curriculum developers justified their choices via a combined ideology that spoke on the one hand in favor of developing students' abilities and intellectual capacities, and on the other hand, in favor of strengthening their loyalty to society and its national objectives. Nonetheless, a large proportion of the innovations of this period did not find their way into the field. It is important to take note of this, since efforts to apply these innovations are continuing to the present day. For example, beginning from the middle school, science curricula attempted to nurture scientific thinking at the expense of memorization and information transfer (Adar and Fox 1977; Sabar 1988). They stressed the empirical, critical nature of the process of knowledge acquisition and the temporary nature of scientific truth. They attempted to make the biological experiment part of routine learning in the classroom. Their approach to learning was based on viewing truth as an outcome of rational inquiry conducted according to rules that would guarantee the validity of individual deliberation (Scheffler 1964). In this process, the student tests his assumptions in the light of sound facts and according to rules and arrives at truthful conclusions. This meant that the emphasis had to be shifted from the knowledge of details to the systematic development of skills, including the development of the individual's judgment and his or her mastery of the rules of scientific (scientific-oriented) thought.

Under the influence of this scientific-oriented approach, curricula were developed to grapple with topics that had previously been repressed in the Israeli educational system, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, political and social conflicts in the pre-state Jewish community, social gaps and interethnic conflicts in Israel. In the new curricula studies, the aesthetic judgment of literary works was no longer submitted to national and ideological criteria (Yaoz and Iram 1987).

A particularly interesting illustration, in this context, is the curriculum dealing with the Israeli-Arab conflict, which aroused a stormy public debate (Mathias, 2003). Faithful to the demand made by the discipline of history (namely, to develop historical understanding from multiple points of view within the conflict) the curriculum, for the first time, presented authentic voices of Arabs (their reasoning and their version of the conflict). This included the voices of the Palestinians, their demand for the recognition of their national identity, their national struggle against Zionism, and the refugee problem. These positions were presented in the name of their adherents, without any comments by the authors of the curriculum, and this happened at a time when the Israeli political establishment and Prime Minister Golda Meir were still denying the very existence of a Palestinian national identity (Mathias 2003). The new curricula posed quite a dilemma to the Ministry's educational policy where, in post-1967 Israel, consensus was a paramount slogan in Israeli politics (Pedatzur 1996). Nonetheless, the pluralistic and academic approach of the new curricula was enough to arouse opposition. The argument was that as long as Israel was fighting for its existence, an approach of this kind was liable to arouse doubts in the minds of the students about the Zionist cause. Principals, educators, teachers, experts on education, and supervisors in the Ministry of Education also felt that the trend of academization was undermining the main function of Humanities in the school, which, in their view, was to shape students' national identity (Zameret 1980; Shremer 1979).

The vociferous opposition to the new curricula confronted the Ministry of Education with an awkward dilemma. The Minister of Education and many of the top officials in his Ministry and in the Curriculum Center believed that national education according to the research-oriented approach was more suitable than indoctrination because it provided answers to all the existential questions that preoccupy the young generation in a time of violent and unresolved conflict. Nevertheless, the Minister of Education hastened to reassure the Knesset that he was committed to political and ideological consensus and thus "to achieve a coalition with all Israeli children but also to form a coalition with all sectors of Israeli society, and in the political sphere, with both the ruling parties and the opposition parties." However he also stated that he was ". . . not in favor of neutrality when it comes to the basic values of our national consensus" (Yadlin 1974). This double-bind clearly illustrates the limitations that prevented the Ministry from carrying out a comprehensive curricular reform in a society fraught with social, cultural, and political conflicts.

The structure of a discipline-based approach to curriculum writing was also not compatible with the aim of reducing the gaps between weak students and high achievers. The new curricula and their accompanying materials were far more sophisticated than the previous ones. Teachers and principals believed they were particularly suitable for the better students and that they were not appropriate for weak students (Lewy 1979; Wolf 1992). From other standpoints as well, the reform was disappointing. Studies on the implementation of the new curricula forced their advocates to view them in a more realistic light. While some of the most important innovations were rejected by teachers and students, many innovations were adopted. For example, the new biology curriculum was successful in making the experiment and the class discussion a part of teaching in the middle school (Sabar 1988). The same is true of the use of historical sources in history curricula (Adar-Fox 1977). In general, however, the new curricula did not prove to be successful in instilling students with a high level of disciplinary-based knowledge or with independent critical thinking within their subjects (Adar and Fox 1977; Sabar 1988). In addition, the new curricula also led to a revolution in the form of textbooks, reflecting epistemological and didactic changes. The new books were much more attractive and their pages were richer in various types of texts, visual material, charts, maps, and a range of activities and assignments for the student. In addition, they were written in a more factual style, free of pompous language.

Importantly, studies proved that the new curricula could not be evaluated solely on the basis of the teachers' fidelity to the developers' intentions, as additional unplanned advantages emerged from teaching the curricula that needed to be taken into account in evaluating its success (Sabar 1988). Over time, those involved began to realize that the quality of teaching was a key factor in achieving the curriculum's aims, and that the school must participate in adjusting these aims so that the curriculum will meet its needs (Sabar 1998). Along with this realization, mixed approaches were developed involving the Curriculum Center and the schools, and these laid the groundwork for the transition to the third generation of curricula in Israel (Eden 1986).

The Third Generation of Curricula and Beyond

From the 1980s, the Curriculum Center in the Ministry of Education gradually lost its monopoly over the curriculum and the way was open for a new generation of curricula to emerge. The decentralization of sites of development and changes in the identity of the developers resulted in an eclectic approach to planning, to the expression of new concepts of knowledge, and to new forms of displaying it. These characteristics shaped the third generation of Israeli curricula. However, along with these innovations, there was also a high degree of continuity over this time of key curricula representing the academic approach.

The reasons for these changes, and for the erosion of the Ministry's monopoly over curricula construction, lie in a series of processes that changed the face of Israeli society and its culture, including its educational system.

These continue until this day and are outlined in the following section.

Processes Changing Israeli Society and its Culture

1. *Ideological Polarization:* Since the seventies, Israeli society has been undergoing a process of ideological polarization. While the secular public has been largely adopting liberal, individualist, and hedonist values, the religious public has largely turned towards nationalistic, collectivistic values and towards religious conservatism, with a focus on the settlement of the Land of Israel (Harrison 1994).

2. *The Emergence of Cultural Pluralism:* From its creation, Israel was an immigrant society with a multiplicity of cultures, ethnic groups, and a large Palestinian Arab minority, along with other ethnic and cultural minorities. Taken together, since the late 1990s, minorities constitute close to half of the population. Each of these groups maintains a more or less separate cultural system, with a separate marriage "market," geographic population concentrations, and cultural life styles (Kimmerling 1998). This has led to an increasing rejection of the melting pot model (the early Zionist aspiration of a common identity) and the assertion of particularist ethnic identity. This ethnic revival has also had an impact on Sefardic Jews (Oriental Jews coming from African Countries such as Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, etc.). Oriental Jews, members of the Israeli middle class, and intellectuals who have been well integrated in the political and cultural establishment take part in this revival along with Oriental Jews from the periphery who belonged to an ultra-orthodox party consisting mainly of Oriental Jews. It is no wonder then that even the staunchest advocates of the melting pot model have admitted that it has failed (Lissak 1999). The significance of this change in attitude toward multiculturalism is that sectors of the population still holding on to the values of secular Zionism that molded the state's institutions has shrunk. Although these values, and the Hebrew culture that expresses them, continue to prevail in society, the media and cultural life, under the influence of the minorities' growing strength, the state has, however, officially abandoned the melting pot ideology in favor of cultural pluralism (Yonah 1999; Mautner and Sagi 1998). In this framework, criticism is being voiced against Zionism for suppressing non-European cultures: that of the Arab minority, Oriental Jews, and the ultra-Orthodox. Influential academics in Israel assume today that as a liberal democracy, the state of Israel should protect the right of individuals to their own particular culture, whatever that implies for the national character of the state (Margalit and Halbertal 1998).

3. *Postmodernism Cultural Pluralism and the Forging of a New Curriculum:* On the face of it, cultural pluralism is often taken in Israel as a denial of any attempt to grade cultures according to external criterion or the very existence of universal and objective criteria for such grading. This view creates a meeting point between multiculturalism and postmodernism (Hassan 1993). In present-day Israel, as in the West, postmodern ideas are resounding in culture and art as well as in the academic community. Postmodernism questions the project of enlightenment and the positivistic legitimation of science as a rationalist, unbiased activity (Lyotard 1979). Rationalism and the scientific method are, in the views of postmodernist critics, a sort of social or linguistic game dependent on specific (Western) historical, social, and cultural contexts, and as such, are arbitrary (Bourdieu 1979). This criticism also challenges the traditional division of knowledge into disciplines that developed in university research. With the collapse of science's meta-narrative, the distinction between "soft" and "hard" knowledge, between popular and scientific knowledge, as well as popular and high art is blurred (Gurevitz 1997). Postmodern art argues in favor of the pleasurable and entertaining "surface" and also blurs the distinction between the commercial and the artistic. There are some critics of enlightenment who define it as a project of oppression, control, or cultural dispossession in the service of the particularistic interests of the West, of the patriarchal order or, alternatively, of capitalism—or all of these (Hassan 1993; Best and Keller 1991).

This criticism also has clear implications for education and curricula; although only a small number of educationalists in Israel systematically advance postmodern ideas, their influence is definitely felt in the pedagogical and curricular discourse (Gur Zeev 1996; Aviram 1999). They challenge the legitimacy of the traditional curriculum based on a division into disciplines and subjects differentiated according to a hierarchic grading of their knowledge, as well as challenging the views that the role of the school and the curriculum is to impart values and canonical cultural texts to the coming generation. In literature, for example, "inferior" genres like science fiction and suspense stories are today recognized within the official curricula (Ministry of Education and Culture 1992). This is also true for the viewing of popular film dramas which, in some contexts, are now replacing the reading of literature. In history, feature films based on historical events have become a major source for learning about the past (Angvick and Borries 1997). Teachers, however, find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the ongoing use of these forms, which they were trained to believe to be inferior. Yet despite their resistance, they are also aware of the fact that movies have succeeded in arousing interest and pleasure in their students where teaching sources and other texts have failed. The use of movies is also consistent with the emphasis placed today on personal pleasure as an element, and legitimate goal, of the learning process, particularly in the state schools (Harrison 1994).

Changes in Curriculum Planning in the Third Generation: Autonomy and Variability Polarization in ideology and values between sectors of society (for example, between the religious population and the nonreligious majority) and the strengthened status of national and cultural minorities have together demonstrated the political shortcomings of a uniform curriculum. In response to this, the Ministry of Education is attempting to adapt to the new reality and to expanding cultural disparities. This adaptation has, from the eighties, placed both the politics of educational autonomy and the issue of cultural pluralism on the Ministry's agenda (Ministry of Education, G.D.C. [Director General's Circular] 1983, 1984, 1985).

The idea of autonomy embraces various models—from increased cooperation between the center and the periphery to turning the periphery into the center and creating a polyarchic system. The need for autonomous curriculum planning in each school was one of the lessons learned from the Ministry's unfulfilled expectations of the reform in curricula it had introduced in the seventies. One of the conclusions drawn from the studies on the implementation of these curricula was that their success depends first and foremost on the professional empowerment of teachers. However, such empowerment can only be achieved by expanding teachers' curricular authority (Sabar 1998).

A new theory of curriculum planning further validated the demand to move the emphasis on new curricula development to the teachers. According to this theory, the teacher's pedagogical content knowledge is the best guarantee of a curriculum's success (Shulman 1987). With the growing acceptance of this theory, the "structure of the discipline" idea, which assigned the leading role in curricula development to academic institutions, was no longer regarded favorably. This new approach to curricula also aimed to be more holistic and, as part of its definition, takes the experience of teaching into account. Hence, it becomes obvious that the demand to avoid any discrepancy between the intentions of curriculum planners and teachers' performance is both unrealistic and undesirable, since it ignores the experience of teaching as part of the curriculum and should thus be replaced by the mutual adaptation approach (Fullan and Pomfret 1977), which speaks in terms of a curriculum that is broken down according to the views and needs of all those involved in its development. Under the influence of these ideas, the Ministry and universities went out to the field and tried to develop curricula through cooperation with teachers and schools, thus paving the way for expansion of the teachers' curricula autonomy (Sabar 1987; Sabar and Silberstein 1998).

There are several outcomes of the policy of schools' curricular autonomy. Firstly, in the third generation, the number of people involved in curricula production increases; the social composition of curriculum developers expands and becomes more varied; more teachers are involved in curricular planning than in the past; and more private and public institutions not subject to the authority of the Ministry are involved in curricula construction. Secondly, there is a growth of pedagogical variations in the curricula: Up to the third-generation, the differences between school curricula were determined primarily on the basis of the school's ideological-educational sector and educational level (e.g., religious and elementary) (Harrison 1994). In most subjects, curriculum differences existed between orthodox schools, Arab state schools, state schools, and state religious schools and between the curricula of elementary schools, middle schools, and high schools. Since the 1980s, a growing number of schools, particularly on the elementary level, have developed enrichment curricula in the sciences, the arts, environmental studies, and other subjects. Most of these schools operate in upper middle-class communities and towns (Dror and Lieberman 1997). At the same time, schools emerged that differed from others, not in terms of the formal level of curricula, but rather in terms of pedagogical perceptions and social values: child-oriented, egalitarian, participatory schools in contrast to elitist, competitive ones and open and democratic schools as opposed to those structured according to the Ministry. This variability is also found in great part in the state sector of the Jewish population at the elementary school level. In contrast, there is little variability of this sort in the Arab state school system (Harrison 1994). Nonetheless, approximately half of the Arab urban population sends its children to private Christian schools, where they study in mostly traditional ways and according to separate curricula (Ichilov and Mazawi 1997: 38).

In summary, the greatest freedom of curricula autonomy exists in the Jewish sector at the elementary level. The higher the level of education, the more limited the autonomy of teachers and school are, with the Ministry of Education retaining a larger degree of authority, both organizational and moral, due to the final matriculation exams.

Multiculturalism, Postmodernism, and Variability in the Third-Generation Curricula

Despite their latent dangers, postmodernism and multiculturalism have had a beneficial effect on the educational system, as well as on curriculum policy. What is at stake when it comes to multiculturalism in curriculum discourse in Israel is what Charles Taylor calls the "politics of recognition"; namely, giving equal respect in schools to the identity and cultures of minorities from an internal point of view (as members of their particular communities) (Taylor-1994). Not that this does not lead to vigorous public conflicts and debates. The question that once again arises is how to present a more balanced picture of Israel that will take into account the criticism of Zionism that exists today without relinquishing its national modern and democratic ideals. An example of this can be found in the struggle of the Arab Palestinian population in Israel for recognition of their national narrative and identity. Since the seventies, the policy of the Education Ministry has been revised with regard to the Palestinian identity of the Arab minority in Israel, gradually shifting from disregard to controlled recognition (Majid 1995). The history curriculum for Arab high schools published in 1997 proposed to teach "parallel histories" that offer both the Palestinian narrative and the Zionist narrative of the people and the country. These narratives are presented from the internal point of view of Jews and Palestinians alike (Ministry of Education and Culture 1997). However, this particular history curriculum was only partially implemented due to the opposition of the Ministry of Education in the 2000s.

A second example can be found though the educational response to the Intifada, the Palestinians' uprising in the occupied territories in the 1980s. The Intifada forced Israeli schools to confront the moral dilemma of the Israeli occupation of the territories. The political debate that rocked the country found its way into the schools, and the Ministry of Education had difficulties in providing answers to the incisive questions being put to teachers and principals. It became clear that the issue of Palestinian identity, and of ongoing Israeli rule of the Palestinian population in the territories, could no longer be avoided (Mathias 2003). Today, the history curricula in the Jewish state sector require more critical inspection than in the past. New textbooks recently published portray the Jewish-Palestinian conflict as a struggle between two national movements, each of which has a legitimate right to exist (Bartal 1999; Podeh 1997). The refugee problem now appears as an inseparable part of the story of the war between Arabs and Jews and of the Israeli victory in the 1948 War of Independence.

Parallel to this, since the late 1980s, it has become common knowledge within the educational field that the recognition of the civil and cultural rights of Arab Israeli citizens is one of the decisive tests of the country's democratic-pluralistic character. This recognition has mainly become manifest in civics studies, where educational efforts in Israel are concentrated on nurturing universal, democratic values (Ministry of Education, G.D.C. May 1985; Ichilov 1993: 92–93). According to the new civics curriculum published in 1994, Israeli Arabs are entitled to "nurture their cultural, religious and national heritage and enjoy as well their civic rights as Israeli citizens" (Ministry of Education, On Being a Citizen 1996: 33).

The curricular transitions surveyed above gained political recognition in the late nineties when the Israeli Parliament approved a number of amendments to its National Education Law, a law that served as the basis for Israel's educational policy since 1953 (Eden 1976; State of Israel, National Education Law 2000). These amendments reflected Israeli society's shift from national collectivism with social democratic values to cultural and ethnic pluralism, liberal democracy, and individualism.

The Last Decade: A Possible Turning Point? From Multiculturalism to Israeli Glocalization

From a current perspective, Israeli educational curriculum policy during the first decade of the twenty-first century underwent some significant changes: These changes should be attributed, first and foremost, to the impact of globalization on Israeli educational policy. Indeed, the globalization discourse, which sowed its first seeds in Israel in the nineties, has now spread over the last decade and shifted to the center of the local educational arena. The goal of this next section is thus to identify the influences of globalization on educational planning policies in the Israeli educational system, that is, to identify the manner in which general, global processes in education have been transmuted through local and national educational traditions and conditions.

Globalization, the New ICT, and Their Impact on Curriculum and Pedagogy in Israel

As a rule, globalization encompasses a number of processes in different arenas (Bhagwati 2004). The most obvious one is the economic process, which entails increased competition in the national market, the opening of the local market to international markets, a free movement of capital, and the privatization of public firms and the increasing weight of international financial funds in national economy. Simultaneously, the immigration of workers from developing countries in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa to the West has been growing. As a result, the national economy has an increased dependency on international markets, and the Nation-State's traditional role of protecting local production and the local work force has been eroded.

Globalization also brings with it technological, cultural, and educational changes: dissemination of new information and communication technologies (ICT), which in their turn play a significant role in intensifying globalization by compressing time-space relations; sweeping out traditional political geographical and cultural borders; and offering new modes of storage and representation of knowledge, teaching, and learning. (Edwards and Usher 2008: 53–64). As a result, the world is slowly becoming a "global village," with a free and rapid flow of information between regions. Due to these changes in communication, new immigrant communities are, in many cases, transformed into "transitional diasporas" that both seek to assimilate into their host country while at the same time preserving the linguistic, cultural, and familial ties to their countries of origin. Recent Russian immigration to Israel may offer an excellent example of a transitional diasporas of this sort (Peres and Ben- Rafael 2006). Alongside the appearance of transitional diasporas, Nation-States that had been largely homogenous until the second World War have now become largely multicultural.

In the field of education, globalization can be seen both to expedite standardization and to increase the role played by international standardized assessments in local policy. This raises questions in regard to the future of national education systems that have historically constituted an inseparable part of the construction of Nation-States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some historians of education like Andy Green assert that

> the whole logic of postmodern and globalization theory is that the national education system per se is now defunct at once irrelevant anachronistic and impossible. . . .

> Governments no longer have the power to determine the national systems. They increasingly cede control to regional and international organizations on one hand. . . and to consumers on the other. (Cited by Morrow and Torres 2000: 36)

Indeed, during the current decade, the influence of international organizations on national education policies has grown, while the State's role in determining the nature of the education system has diminished. This is evident in the reinforcement of multicultural educational orientations, both in the demand for a cosmopolitan education and in the standardization dictated by international organizations (Todd 2007; Nussbaum 2004).

Even with these observations, however, it is too early to mourn the Nation-State's demise, since it is quite often the driving force behind standardization and reforms. Processes of globalization and the reforms that are its outcomes "are mediated translated and re-contextualized within national and local educational structures" (Lingard 2000: 80). They generate a context in which: "Cultural homogeneity and cultural heterogeneity are appearing simultaneously in the cultural landscape" (Burbules and Torres 2000: 14) and in which the "local, national and global relationship are being reconstituted but mediated by the history of the local and the national" (Lingard 2000: 81). It implies, *inter alia,* "think Global act Local" (Gough 2003). Changes in the educational programs in Israel over the last decade illustrate this process and the role played by the local national politics in its making.

Globalization and the National Curriculum: The Rise of "Israeli Glocal"

As the Israeli economy joined the process of globalization and with its acceptance into the OECD, both globalization discourse and international educational organizations have exerted greater influence on educational policy in Israel over the last decade (see, for example, the interview with Andreas Shcleichfer, Head of Education in OECD, in Kasthi 2009).

Globalization shifted Israeli educational discourse from its former official agenda of reducing disparities between different ethnic and class groups to reducing disparities between Israeli educational achievements and those in the leading world economies (Resnik 2009). This shift meant a transition from a social-democratic discourse, at the center of which lay issues of the just and equal distribution of educational resources within society, to a neoliberal discourse focused on competition and individualistic achievement within the global market. A similar trend was evident in the reforms regarding teacher's compensation: instead of emphasizing pedagogic collaboration between teams of teachers within a school, each teacher was to be compensated according to their personal contribution in promoting their own students' achievement levels.

Criticism of the public education system over the last decade has also acted to legitimize public expense cuts alongside the need for an increase in private expenditure on education (Taub Center, http://www.taubcenter.org.il/). On the other hand, over the past three years, and as a response to criticism coming from the OECD that stated that public investment within the Israeli educational system was low compared to the accepted average amongst other members of the OECD, the education budget has being increased significantly. Consequently, some of the hours that were slashed during the first years of the decade have now been restored. However, while massive resources have recently been allotted to the system, this has been done differentially, based on school needs. Due to the introduction of standards, universities have paid more attention and allocated more financial and intellectual resources to teacher education. These changes emphasize the complexity and the contingent impact of globalization on the local education system. On the one hand, it has encouraged the adoption of neoliberal models of privatization, minimizing public expense, and on the other hand, it reinforced the demand for increased public investment, striving to increase the competitiveness of the Israeli market within the global market.

Moreover, in Israel—as in other countries during this period of globalization—the State continues to play a dominant role in defining the educational curriculum, allocating hours, mobilizing pedagogical and organizational reforms, evaluating achievements, and training and supplying the educational system's workforce (Benavot 2008; Furlong et al. 2000). As such, the Nation-State maintains the power to "interpret" what is meant by "global educational reform" in the aforementioned fields, reforms motivated by the desire to increase the national market's competitiveness in the international arena. The main official document displaying the policy of globalization in Israeli education is the National Task Force's Report (State of Israel, The Task Force 2004), known also as "Dovrat task force" and which was ratified by the Israeli government in 2005. The reforms proposed by the committee, headed by Shlomo Dovrat, a renowned Israeli businessman, were administrative as well as curricular and were echoing similar reforms introduced by the leading economies: they expanded the authority of school principals; strengthened the influence of the local community; and consolidated relations between schools, communities, and businesses. Concurrently, they called for strengthening public education and accountability by introducing measurable standards in every aspect of the educational field: students' learning, teachers' instruction, teacher education, and management for principals. It called for reform in teacher education as teachers were largely considered to be responsible for students' poor performance.

In the curriculum, several reforms illustrate the way in which the Israeli "glocal" is expressed and its consequences. These include:

- *Standards:* formulating, implementing and assessing general and uniform standards through the official curriculum, which should become mandatory for all schools.

- *Core curriculum:* an attempt to consolidate a comprehensive mandatory core curriculum, which shall comprise as well civic education and civic values.
- *Digital literacy*: expanding digital competences of the students and teachers as part of schools' accountability and the promotion of their achievements.

The standards policy implemented at the beginning of the twenty-first century constituted a farewell and shift away from (or one might even say, a counterreaction to school autonomy and multiculturalism that characterized the educational policy within the two preceding decades. Underlying the new policy was the presumption that there is a correlation between ranking in international assessment tests and success in global economic competition. The belief that a lack of clear standards and multiculturalism are to be blamed for the poor results of Israeli pupils in comparative international assessment tests is generally accepted by the public and by the Ministry as well (Ben David 2008; Tamir 2008). The facts, however, are different, showing that the test scores of Israeli students are very similar to, or above, the average scores reached by all countries taking part in these exams (for example, Zuzovsky and Olstein 2004, RAMA 2008). However, in presuming a direct correlation between ranking in the international assessments and success within the global economic competition, these scores were looked upon as evidence of educational failure by the political community and also according to public opinion.

Standards were imposed on the national educational agenda at the end of the 1990s, at first in the curriculum of English as a foreign language, and were accentuated in the course of the first years of the last decade in other subjects as well (Steiner 1999). In 2002, an internal committee within the Ministry of Education was established whose mandate was to formulate a uniform standards policy for the entire education system . The need for such standards was explicitly linked to the movement of international educational assessments initiated by international organizations, e.g., OECD, and Israeli's relatively low scores within them. The official documents of standards were published in the following years (Ministry of Education, The Basic Plan for Primary Education 2003a, 2005a; The Basic Plan for Junior High 2009b; G.D.C. 2003c, 2006a, 2009a). They were based on the assumption that adopting standards similar to those in leading global economies would provide Israel with

> ". . . one of the tools with which to advance and improve education. The school's transition . . . to standards based practices requires a large scale transformation that has already begun, and includes educational programs, teaching materials as well as teaching and learning methods, school environments, instilled values, management and evaluation." (Ministry of Education, Minhal Pedagogy 2005a, G.D.C. 2006b)

The Ministry of Education's objective was to define standards in a variety of different areas, including content, skills, school environment values, and learning opportunities; but in reality, they were mainly defined in the cognitive field and less in others. They mainly targeted informational foundations and were directed less toward other aspects of the pupil's world and identity. An analysis of the standards developed also show that, de facto, there are subjects for which two standard levels were set, one that required higher-order thinking and another that emphasized learning by rote and memorization that were obviously intended for low achievers (Ministry of Education, Yoad 2009a).

The Dovrat Committee report led the Ministry of Education to establish the National Authority for Measurement & Evaluation (RAMA) in 2006 (http://cms.education.gov.il/educationcms/units/rama). This authority holds periodic nationwide evaluations of "school progress and efficiency." The working premise is that "measurements and evaluations using objective and reliable tools are an important stimulus for improvements in education, as they provide practical, researchable insights for the leadership of the educational system and for the system at large. These insights can then be put to use in promoting central educational targets, amongst which are: improving achievements, reducing disparities, improving school environments, and reducing violence." RAMA's leading slogan is "measurement in service of learning." which supports a combination of internal school evaluations based on "open" questionnaires alongside external evaluations based on "closed" exams (RAMA, Ministry of Education). In reality, the external "school progress and efficiency" exams held by RAMA are the defining evaluations for the ministry (rather than the internal school evaluations). Similar to other countries, the implementation of standards and standard based evaluation exams in Israel has been followed by a heated dispute regarding their value and results (Pinar 2005; Popham 1999; Marzano and Schmoker 1999).

The standards policy does indeed call for serious discussion of the significance of efficiency in education, which these standards are supposed to measure. What impact does such a policy have on teaching and other educational processes that take place in schools and on teacher-pupil relations? For example, can standards-based testing truly measure the important factors in a person's education? Are they reforming or rather deforming education by ignoring its intellectual and personal meaning in students and teachers lives for the sake of extraneous instrumental results (Pinar 2004)? Another argument brought up against the standards policy in Israel refers to the fact that, in Israel, unlike the United States and England, there have always been nationally mandated programs in all schools' subjects and disciplines. As a result, the Israeli education system does not require standards in order to ensure uniformity or clear and definable objectives (Ministry of Education, Yoad 2009b).

A review of the main subjects for which Israel has implemented a strict standards policy—the "three languages" (mother tongue: Hebrew/Arabic and foreign language: English) and mathematics—show that they have often been defined in terms that refer to changes in pupil behavior (Ministry of Education, Curriculum: English for all Grades 2001, Mathematics 2006, Hebrew 2003). At the same time, the standards policy can be seen to be controlled by an economic paradigm that seeks to measure educational products in terms of inputs and outputs.

Critics of the standards system in Israel have specific objections: that they damage the teacher's autonomy and personal discretion in teaching and that they disregard the diversity within the student population that also requires consideration in both curriculum and instruction methods (Ministry of Education, Yoad 2009a). Standards are also regarded as ineffective in measuring processes (the effectiveness and values of the education process) as they are formulated around isolated units of information. As a result, they disregard the quality and the value of the educational process as it takes place between the students and their teachers (Adler 2004, 2006). Standards are also seen as quite often being culturally biased. For example, while educational programs for Hebrew literature define goals and materials in a general manner (emphasizing multiple dimensions of learning and mastering the mother tongue such as "loving to read literature"), the standards are constructed in a way that defines "love of literature" through a mandatory list of literary works that are in turn taken from a specific canon. Rather than inculcating a disposition and value, it equates "love to read" with mastery of content knowledge of certain literary works. Critics of mandatory uniform standards and adherents of higher order cognition support a constructivist model of learning that defines educational achievements as a personal intellectual and social formation process that takes place in class as well as in the inner subjectivity and the mental life of the learner (Duffy and Jonassen 1992).

It is clear that the latter approach cannot easily incorporate uniform standards-based evaluation that defines the educational program as an objective body of knowledge, predetermined by a community of researchers and delivered to pupils through an institutionalized instructional process. Indeed, constructivism has many followers in the Israeli educational researchers' community, in teacher's training institutions, and even in the Ministry of Education (Levine 1998; Harpaz 2009; Ministry of Education, Yoad 2009a). However, it seems that the Israeli educational community, including the critics, seek the middle ground and thus support an integration of the constructivist approach and higher-order thinking within standards-based evaluation (Zuzovsky 2004; Fisher et al. 2007). This approach stems from the belief that equal achievements formulated in standards and evaluation based on them are part of equality and equal opportunities in education and, as such, it is the responsibility of the state to initiate, formulate, and assess them (Yair and Inbar 2006; Dovrat Task Force 2004; Adler 2004).

Educationalists in Israel consider constructivism as being complementary to the standards policy, going some way toward answering the need to consider cultural variations and to tailor curricula and learning to diverse populations and to the needs of individual children. Constructivism also provides both the educational community and the general public with a sense that the educational process is taking place "from the bottom up" and not merely "top down." The adherents to the middle way also believe that in a multicultural and multinational society, a curriculum based solely on a constructivist approach may ignore and consequently damage the school's obligation towards the "public good" with its integrative social function. In this sense, constructivism refers merely to teaching methods (which vary according to students needs and culture) but not to the sorts of knowledge, skills and time allocation provided by the State official curriculum and its assessment. It is this kind of deliberation that motivates some of the critics of the standards-based exams to ultimately accept them as a political and public "necessary evil" (Gibton 2009).[1]

As a result, current curricular policy seems to be shaped by two contradictory paradigms: on the one hand, uniform programs and uniform standards and a linear approach to learning, while on the other hand, learning as a personal decentralized process that is not predefined by standards. The programs recently released by the Ministry of Education continue to embody both belief systems, resulting in a situation where constructivist discourse and a methodology based on closed and rigid bodies of information and knowledge structures are often conveyed within the same documents.

The debate on standards is intertwined with the political arena as well. Between 2006 and 2008, a new minister of the left replaced the former minister from the right, and consequently, a policy based on higher-order thinking seemed to replace the policy of standards, although the latter have not been abolished (Ministry of Education, G.D.C. 2008; Zohar 2008). These exchanges, together with the corresponding changes within the official curriculum of Jewish culture, have come to paint the standards policy in unmistakably political shades: it has become the trademark for conservative cultural politics (Ministry of Education, G.D.C. 2009a).

Forging a State Core Curriculum?

The Ministry's G.D.C. (General Director Circular) states that the implementation of the core curriculum is a precondition for any school that wishes to get public funding. However, defining a "core curriculum"—a body of knowledge and values that must not be neglected—has been at the heart of some of the most heated debates in the history of Israeli education (Dror 2007). In a multinational immigrant society with multiple cultures and traditions, defining the core curriculum is necessarily an act reflecting both political and social power dynamics. Indeed, the Israeli education system's need to redefine its core curriculum over the last decade is the result of the Ministry's recognition that Israeli society has transformed. This change is depicted as a transition from a state of "social solidarity and concern for collective welfare as the foundations for its existence to a sectorial, sophisticated society where collectivist values have been almost completely eliminated, characterized by the individual's personal welfare" (Ministry of Education, G.D.C. 2003c: 10/a).

This description as a transition from a collectivist and national to a neoliberal society is far from being an adequate account of the shift in the State's core curriculum, which still reflects nationalist and traditional-religious values. Nor is it an adequate account if we analyze the kinds of cultural literacy promoted by the core curriculum, and with this, both the power distribution between state and school, and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the teachers versus state authority. These aspects could also be inferred by an analysis of the contents and the time allocated by school curriculum to the core versus the elective part of the curriculum.

Analyzing the Core Curriculum

The new core curriculum attempts to instill the knowledge and skills set necessary for youth in a technological globalized economy and to nurture a cultural platform based on the perception of Israel as a modern, national, Jewish, and democratic State. The program for primary schools includes four branches: social sciences, humanities and heritage, linguistics and literature, and mathematics-science-nature-technology and physical skills (Ministry of Education, GDC 2005b). As students graduate from one grade to the next, the core curriculum's portion within the total school time of the student increases. In the first grade, 15 of out of 29 school hours are dedicated to the core curriculum, while students in the fourth to sixth grades dedicate 20 out of a total of 32 hours in the Jewish sector and 23 out of a total 32 hours in the Arab sector. Moreover, ultra-orthodox schools are only required to fulfill 75% of the core curriculum, and "exempt institutes" within the ultra-orthodox sector are required to fulfill only 55%.

The different branches and the hours allocated to each branch also give evidence on the core curriculum's academic and theoretical orientation. In the fourth through sixth grades, seven hours are dedicated to mathematics and science, while linguistics, heritage literature, and social studies are allotted 11 hours. Physical education is given only two hours, whereas arts and music are not included in the core curriculum at all.

In the middle school (grades 7–9) the core curriculum permeates across four areas into which the overall curriculum is divided (Ministry of Education, GDC 2006: 3/a, The Basic Plan for Junior High School 2009). The first area covers "basic languages skills," the mother tongue (Hebrew/Arabic), mathematics, and English; the second area covers civics, cultural heritage studies, life skills, and physical education; the third area includes history, Bible studies, literature, geography, heritage culture, and religion; while the fourth area includes other languages and electives. Most of this core curriculum is dedicated to academic subjects, while only a small portion is dedicated to civics. Whilst in primary schools the core curriculum on average occupies sixty of the ninety school hours for grades 4–6, in middle school, the mandatory program's portion grows dramatically, occupying an average of 90 hours from a total of 109 hours for the three years of middle school, with only 24 hours left over for other languages and electives. Based on its stated intention, the core curriculum is supposed to represent and recognize the social and cultural diversity that exists in Israel. However, a review of the ratio between the scope of hours dedicated to the core curriculum and the total learning hours reveals that the core curriculum has imposed itself over policies recognizing cultural pluralism. As the pupils mature, the proportion of time spent on the core curriculum increases (11 hours in the first grade compared to 20 hours in the sixth, and this from a total of 29 to 32 hours studied in primary school overall). This goes counter to our understanding that a multicultural sensibility would demand the opposite.

Civic Education and the Core Curriculum

As a rule, globalization, multiculturalism, and the erosion of the Nation-State have changed the contemporary meaning of citizenship and the scope of civic education in Western countries. Consequently, the need for a reorganization of civic education emerges, and particularly, for a reorganization of the types of knowledge, skills, and capabilities that ought to be developed today within its frame (Yuval-Davis 1999; Kalderon 2000; Macedo and Tamir 2002 Yona and Shenhav 2005). The new civic program launched in Israel in the nineties and implemented in the course of the last decade grapples with the need to give space to multiculturalism and thereby forge a new national identity. Nevertheless, civic education in Israel since the 1990s continues to seek a common ground, a solidified and authentic core, that would provide a foundation for Israeli identification and solidarity around the perception of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, although it is not able to supply the types of knowledge, the materials, and the symbols necessary for general public and educational consensus. The Arab minority does not identify with the Jewish identity of the State, seeing it as an emblem that justifies the discrimination it suffers from within Israeli society, and demands a civic education based solely on liberal and democratic values; Israel as a "State for all its citizens." In contrast, within ultra-orthodox Jewish education (and to a growing extent, within state-religious education), there is a growing opposition to liberal and democratic values. Thus, instead of serving as a platform for a common core, the perception of Israel as a national Jewish and democratic State has become by now a source of political and ideological conflict, both in the public sphere and in schools. As a result, public and educational debates over civic values and the historical heritage and the historical narratives included in civic education have been accentuated (Zerubavel 2004; Mathias and Sabar 2004; Naveh and Yogev 2002; Podeh 2002). Instead of consolidating the rifts polarizing Israeli society, the attempt to enforce a consensus around civic education and Israel as a "Jewish democratic state," has deepened cultural, political, and educational conflicts.

There are those who maintain that under such circumstances, the political and ideological nature of civic education should be introduced in classes as well. And since there are no prospects of reaching agreement, the conflicting nature of Israeli identity should be acknowledged, and schools should encourage a dialogue between the various groups that constitute the Israeli mosaic (Pinson 2005; Pedahzur and Perliger 2004). The advantage of this dialogical model is that it does not commit itself in advance to a particular culture or to specific civic values, and thus does not set conditions for public funding to schools based on their guarantee to accept such constraints. However, even this model suits rather liberal groups, as educational dialogue requires the cultivation of tolerance, the ability and willingness to hold rational debates on public matters, and the embodiment of civil manners towards adversaries (etc.), all of which are values and skills engraved in the educational foundation of multicultural, liberal democracies (Kymlicka 2005).

The Core Curriculum Embroiled in Politics

In fact, it is not merely civic education, but the whole core curriculum and the State's attempts to enforce it that have run into political and cultural roadblocks during the past decade as a result of the dissentions within Israeli society. This platform and definitions are neither accepted by the ultra-orthodox sector, nor by the Arab-Israeli population. The children of these two sectors of society together comprise nearly 40% of all children studying within the Israeli education system. The orthodox sector considers Jewish religious studies to be at the center of their children's education. They disagree on the importance of a general civic and scientific education and oppose the liberal values instilled by civic education (Session of Education Committee of the Knesset 25 April 2007). For most of the Arab-Israeli minority, dissention comes from the other direction. They oppose the definition of Israel as a Jewish State, as it positions them, based on their experience, as a sidelined minority within Israeli society. This leads to a rejection of the historical and civic components embedded in the core curriculum. Even though the Ministry of Education has attempted to include representatives from both minorities in discussions on the core curriculum, these efforts have not yielded any constructive results for resolving these issues. Moreover, even within the majority of the Israeli public (who adopt the State line on core curriculum) there is a growing political and cultural disparity, between left and right, in regards to the relative importance of democratic vis-à-vis national values and between religious and secular groups regarding the place of Jewish religious heritage in the making of Israeli society (Peres-Ben Rafael 2006;Yona and Shenhav 2005).

Today, ultra-orthodox parties use their political strength as a deciding factor in the making of the political coalition that is in power (right or left) in order to leverage educational concessions for their constituency. Thus, orthodox schools for boys continue to receive exemptions from nurturing the civic values and the practices of democracy and quite often also from the study of English, math, and history—and the Ministry of Education has neither been able to enforce them nor shown any eagerness to do so. In these circumstances, it is inevitable that the very attempt to set a common core curriculum for all Israeli pupils over the past decade has become one of the most sensitive subjects within the Israeli political and educational arena, with exemptions given by the government to orthodox institutes stirring heated public opposition. As in other cases where the Israeli political system was seen to be unable to find a solution, the problem has then been passed over to the High Court of Justice for a ruling. A petition was filed by different ideological and educational movements (including the secondary teachers' union) to the High Court of Justice asking it to order the State to cease funding for orthodox education facilities that did not fulfill the core curriculum (High Court of Justice 1999). The petitioner's motives were based on opposition to public funding for a private education that does not accept the cultural and educational values on which the State of Israel was founded as a modern Jewish State. The High Court of Justice's ruling agreed with the petitioners that public funding of orthodox education that is exempt from fulfilling the core curriculum damages the principal of equality before the law. The verdict also stated that the goals of education, as they have been expressed in the public education law, include the entire education system and are also a condition for receiving state funding.

Officially the government endorsed the High Court of Justice's ruling, and the Ministry of Education announced that it would prepare a new core curriculum that could be implemented in orthodox education, but the verdict launched political negotiations and an attempt to reach a compromise with the orthodox political parties. Many of the Rabbis (regarded as the highest authority by their followers in the orthodox world) not only opposed the scope of the secular studies mandated by the core curriculum (in mathematics, English, and science), but opposed the very existence of such secular studies within an orthodox Jewish education.[2] As a result, the orthodox parties whose actions in the Parliament depend on these Rabbis' instructions, reached an agreement that was soon legislated, which ruled that the State would continue funding orthodox schools that do not comply with the core curriculum (Kashti and Ilan 2007). The law also permitted equal funding of orthodox Talmudic colleges (by local councils) although they do not implement the core curriculum. This new law proves that the attempt to create a general core curriculum for all schools not only did not create a common cultural denominator for all school children but just the opposite: it increased cultural conflicts within Israeli society, reflecting the growing political power of the ultra-orthodox in Israel. In retrospect, the passing of this law also reflects the State and governing political party's acceptance (either on the right or on the left) of this polarized reality.

To sum up, the policy of enforcement of standards and core curriculum was driven by an endeavor of the state to increase its control on school achievements and school efficiency in an era of globalization. But looking at the outcomes, the governance of the educational system by the State is turning out to be more and more difficult. Due to centrifugal forces working within Israeli society, the system itself has become increasingly messy, comprising many privatized enclaves financed by public education (Gibton 2011).

The Rise of Digital Literacy in Israeli Education

Economic globalization and the development of ICT pushed the ministry of education to promote digital literacy as an educational goal. Digital literacy refers to the knowledge and skills necessary for students' intelligent use of a digital environment and of new information and communication technologies. In Israel, there is a heightened awareness both within the general public and within the education field regarding the value and importance of digital competencies.

A survey that was conducted amongst a representative sample of students within the Israeli education system by CET (Hamburger and Freund 2010) from 2009 to 2010 reveals that Israel has a place amongst the leading countries concerning the quantity of technological tools owned in households (including computers, internet access, Ipods, digital cameras, computer games, etc.). Schools take only limited advantage of these technologies, using them mainly to write and edit texts, as opposed to the manner in which students use them at home, uploading and editing visual content, emails, chats, virtual communities, and more. Most students are interested in learning through the Internet, stating that it is better suited to their needs and to their personal learning pace. This method of learning is not, however, possible while schools suffer from a shortage of computers and lack of internet or fast internet. Different studies show that effective use of new technologies requires that each pupil have a personal computer (Spektor et al. 2010). Even though this is still a distant target, over the past few years the Ministry of Education has launched programs to expand the use of new technologies within the education system. The schools that serve as pilot schools for the national project "a computer for each child" are low socioeconomic schools, situated mainly on the peripheries. The educational discourse on ICT in Israel focuses mainly on its contribution to the students' cognitive development, the use of digital tools to promote underprivileged populations, changes in teaching and learning methods, and the need for students to become integrated into the global economy.

The development of ICT in Israel in respect to curriculum development deserves a separate chapter because of its importance and its up-to-date status due to the success of Matac"h (center for educational technology), which is responsible for providing the largest part of digital materials mainly in Hebrew but also in Arabic and English. The latter is exported to other countries.

Summary

The question remains open: in what direction will Israeli schools be heading? Will state curriculum be forged in the light of a vision of public education as an institution of solidarity and social integration that provides equal opportunity for all, including the weaker members of society? Or as an instrument to perpetuate gaps and continue to give expression to the divisions and disparities between cultures and between social and cultural groups? In the past, the school aspired to a form of integration that was imposed from above. But today, ethnic and cultural minorities enjoy political power to the point that such an imposition cannot succeed. Still, the question remains whether, and how, a policy of standards and core curriculum might affect the school as an institution of social solidarity. The present situation calls for a public and educational discussion of the core curriculum, including how it is to be created and whose knowledge is to be represented in it. Is it sufficient that it should comprise Hebrew, English, and math, which are all required for integration into the global economy? Or is it important to include cultural literacy, civics, moral and aesthetic values, as well as discourse around questions of whose culture and knowledge this will be (Salomon-Almog 1994)? There is less agreement today than there was a decade ago that a core curriculum should strive to nurture common civic values, the presence of which is vital for the existence of a democratic and liberal society (Ichilov et al. 2005).

A multicultural approach to core curriculum and cultural literacy in a multi-ethnic and multinational society should refer to three concentric elements (Tamir 1998): One element is knowledge of values and abilities common to all; a second element is knowledge of each group's cultural origin; and a third concerns members of each culture becoming acquainted, and able to hold dialogue with, "others" and their cultures. It is desirable that every school at every educational level be required to give representation to all three concentric elements. Exposing the learner to all three concentric elements will ensure greater freedom of choice for every individual in each of the different cultures. If we want the educational system to answer the educational needs of the population, and also ensure social and national integration, it is important for diverse arrangements to exist side by side: autonomy along with centralization, a certain degree of homogeneity along with variability (and expansion of the social basis of that variability). This is also true for the knowledge policy of curricula, the types of knowledge they represent, the teaching methods, and the final examinations. However, it seems that in the present conflict-ridden reality, Israeli society and its schools are not yet ready for a serious curriculum comprised of these three concentric elements. The cultural gaps in Israel today are large, and therefore, in the near future, there may be no choice but to reconcile ourselves to a situation in which the shared concentric element will become even smaller. With this reality in sight, the available route and strategy seems to focus on a common core that at least ensures that all the students will get an education that will enable them to participate within the Israeli economy, thereby avoiding the creation of large social gaps.

Notes

1. In addition, see: blacklabor.org for reports of discussions in the curriculum center of the Ministry of Education (Yoad 2009; Adler, 2004), in the Mofet Institute on Standards in 2004, and on standards in teacher training (Yair and Inbar 2006).
2. The rejection of secular studies rests on a variety of factors. For some Rabbis, secular studies take up time that should be devoted to the study of Torah; for others, rejection is based on a fear that such studies would lead some students to abandon their unique orthodox lifestyle.

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Items in Hebrew = in Heb.

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21

"Cities and Signs"

Understanding Curriculum Studies in Italy

Paula M. Salvio

> "No one, wise Kublai, knows better than you that the city must never be confused with the words that describe it." (*Invisible Cities*, Italo Calvino)

Introduction

Constructed Empires Italo Calvino's 1972 allegorical novel, *Invisible Cities,* describes an imagined encounter between Venetian explorer Marco Polo and the Tatar Emperor, Kublai Khan. During the meeting, the aging Kublai Khan commands Marco Polo to describe the cities Polo has visited within the Khan's empire. In response, Marco Polo spins tales of the cities he has seen: cities of desire, trading cities, thin cities, cities of the dead, hidden cities. But in the end, he reminds the Khan that "the city must never be confused with the words that describe it." In fact, the empire's cities, that are not to be confused with Polo's accounts, are in ruins. "It is the desperate moment," writes Calvino, "when we discover that this empire, which had seemed to us the sum of all wonders, is an endless, formless ruin, that corruption's gangrene has spread too far to be healed by our scepter" (5). Eventually, the Khan finds that the cities "wrapped one within the other, confined, crammed, inextricable" (1972, 5) are not only many but one city, one city in ruin.

I open this chapter with Calvino's story to capture the character of curriculum studies in today's Italy. The questions that are central to contemporary Italian scholars in curriculum theory are grounded in a set of problems that, on the one hand, could be understood as exclusively Italian. What role in the curriculum, for example, is played by Italy, a nation that itself is held together by an idea rather than by shared language, custom, or culture? How have the post-World War II curriculum and educational reforms in Italian schools cohered around, offered, sustained, and challenged various versions of the *idea* of Italy? How do the curriculum and curriculum scholars represent a nation that has been described variously as being an altruistic colonizer, as having presented some of the most politically radical movements of the post WW II period, and as being a failed state?

On the other hand, how can we understand Italy and its emergence in the curriculum as being of the same place, "the same city," or as one with the many countries and their educational curricula that have collapsed into, even, perhaps, lie in ruins within a globalized marketplace? Finally, how might it help us approach these questions overall if, as Calvino's story suggests, we think of both Italy and the homogeneous global city as existing on a virtual plane within the curriculum?

The account I offer does not in any way represent a comprehensive analysis of the Italian curriculum or the field of curriculum studies in Italy. As noted scholar of Italian history, John Dickie (2001) writes, the history of Italy offers "no common plane of analysis" (40). Like Calvino's fictitious Marco Polo, Dickie argues that the notion of Italy as a unified nation is not given to us directly through historical resources, but rather, must be constructed. His rendering of post-unified Italy is an effort to understand how the *idea* of Italy has informed and been influenced by the key problem of nation—and state-formation (40).

The "Idea" of Italy Italy has long experienced, observes Dickie, "a curious inverted patriotism of pathos mixed with anxieties about the state of the nation and pessimism about the 'national Italian character' " (28). The North and the South remain divided and bound to stereotypes that contrast the "Arabic" or "oriental" nature of the South to the federalist, European North. In Italy, notes Dickie (1999), "the Northern League works as a 'political entrepreneur' . . . faced with a task, that of constructing a territorial consensus, which is analogous, at the level of symbols, to the nation building of Italy's first rulers" (146). Dickie argues that today, Italian culture continues to

> . . . be dense with stereotypes of the South and with the anxieties about national identity that those images often signal.

> Fascination, disgust, exoticism and fondness are still on the palette of the South's difference. . . . The notion of a corrupt or maladministered South, alien to norms of modernity, is also still used to shame the nation into remedial action. (144)

Dickie underscores that in Italy, "the collective interest is an elusive ideal, and political homogeneity is undermined by cultural diversity . . ." (2001). Dickie reminds us that Italy is a relatively young nation. He writes:

> The notion of Italy as a nation is frequently the product of a shifting mosaic of miniature textual strategies whose common assumption is the construction of the nation as a concrete fact, or a group of people, or a single idea, existing independently of the concepts people have of it. Paradoxically, the vagueness of the language of the nation, and the logical sleight of hand with which it is often used, both contribute to the production of the mirage of a single, simple idea or thing. The very ambiguity of the terminology of nationhood allows 'Italy' to be constructed in a variety of fantasy scenarios, narratives, imperatives and arguments that help to give this notion its intellectual and emotional hold over us. (2001, 31)

How does the idea of Italy emerge in both the Italian curriculum and in Italian curriculum studies? To what extent do the tensions between the North and South play out in curricular reform efforts? What diversity does the idea of Italy sustain, deploy, and erase within the curriculum?

One Within the Global Marketplace Despite Italy's peculiar status as an "abnormal" nation whose northern and southern regions remain starkly divided, and whose borders contain an unusual diversity of people relative to other European countries, Italy has also fallen into step with what is perceived as a global market demand for a unified curriculum that is homogeneous with the rest of the continent, as made evident, to provide one example, by its participation in the PISA program (Program for International Student Assessment).[1] In this sense, Italy can be read as a "continuous city" on the international curricular landscape, coterminous with global and international markets, at once visible and invisible, constructed and undone. These markets understand curriculum as a scripted text aligned with measurable skills, audits, and market mechanisms that appeal to the rhetoric of globalization. They impact basic understandings of belonging as well as of the purposes of education.

Overview This essay begins with a brief exploration of the idea of Italy as represented in history textbooks during the post-World War II era and the curious omissions, distortions, and disavowals of Italy's colonialist past in Africa. The invisible empire Italy aspired to in the prewar period and during Fascist rule informed and left traces in the postwar curriculum, as did the imagined unity of a nation that disavowed its own inherent splits between north and south. I then turn briefly to select reform efforts that sought to confront this distorted history. The student-worker strikes in 1969 brought Northern and Southern students together in a fight for the reform of an arcane educational system mired in social privilege and denial of the country's history of colonialism. The idea of Italy was contested and curricular reformists sought to equate it with the prospects of economic and social equality. By the latter part of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century, the idea of Italy seems to have given way to a more globalized "city" or transnational marketplace, where students compete for high test scores and teachers are subject to unprecedented assessments. I consider this aspect of the curriculum in terms of PISA.

The ideas of Italy that I focus on and that have been presented in the curriculum are necessarily incomplete and partial. Much remains to be done in investigating how that curriculum promoted ideas of Italy that not only functioned to fabricate a nation that had only recently been united but also mobilized and deployed constructions of an internal Other, such as the South, to stabilize and paint over the "shifting mosaic of miniature textual strategies" (Dickie 2001) in order to create the image of a unified nation.

In the second part of the chapter, I present the internal configurations of curriculum studies in Italy by drawing on the scholarship of Nardi (2009), Caputo and Vertecchi (2007), and Ives (2009). Their work represents a conversation with the historical and current social inequities present in Italy today and made manifest in Italy's participation in PISA. One final preliminary point: this chapter moves across discursive matrices in order to understand how the idea of Italy, within the curriculum and beyond, spoken and unconscious, is refigured and dissolved through current reform efforts to template Italy as a "normal" Western nation in which, notes Bernadette Baker (2009), "polis is reduced to management . . . and evaluation is proffered as a response to the new version of the 'problem' of difference." (36) Italy is both committed and not committed to the "reenactment of modernity-science-nation-West nexus" (59) and it is in Italy's resistance to and anxieties about such commitments that we might begin to consider new opportunities for understanding curriculum and educational scholarship.

Histories

Post-WW II Curriculum To understand the curriculum in Italy in the postwar period,, it is necessary to understand an educational reform that occurred prior to the war. The Gentile reform of 1923 or *Riforma Gentile,* was set in motion by Mussolini's first Minister of Public Instruction, Sicilian born Giovanni Gentile. Gentile was an educator dedicated to a common, nationalist project and to the spirit that inspired Italians to create a new nation in 1861 (see Clayton 2010). Gentile, who in 1924 founded the National Institute of Fascist Culture, believed the individual found freedom within the laws of the state. "In the final analysis," wrote Gentile (see Clayton, in Mayo 2010, 62), "I will what the law wishes" (646). The Gentile Reform introduced compulsory education up to the age of 14 and established policies for examining and tracking secondary students into vocational and classical schools: *liceo classico* (classical) and *avviamento al lavoro* (vocational).

Historians have noted that Mussolini described the Gentile Reform of 1923 as "the most Fascist of the reforms," (De Michelle 2011, 109). De Michelle goes on to note that this did not imply, however, that Gentile's reform was inspired by Fascist ideology alone. "The liberal elites were also interested in creating a more closed and selective educational system, and the 1923 reform was also a response to this . . . demand" (113).

By determining tracks based on an exam meant to empower the individual, the system ended up favoring the wealthy, who could better prepare their children for those exams and were already endowed with the social and cultural capital addressed by the exams.

Gentile also abolished the instruction of all languages other than standard Italian.[2] Such a move reflected Gentile's philosophy that the ". . . majestic will . . . is the will of Italy"; this "will of the State reveals itself . . . in law," both public and moral (Clayton 2010, 62). The belief that the individual practices his or her individuality by merging with the state, Italy, was, of course, a hallmark of Italian Fascism. The Italy that students encountered in the curriculum and with which they were expected to merge was an Italy of both an imperial past and a colonial present. The "glory that was Rome" inspired the Italian empire that was announced by Mussolini in 1936. The "empire" included Libya, Somalia, Eritrea, and Ethiopia as well as Albania and parts of the Dalmatian coast, and that empire emerged as well in the curriculum under Fascism.

Even a cursory reading of the post-World War II curriculum reveals that Italian schools remained effectively tracked after the war. Students who attended vocational schools were perceived as less intellectually "gifted" than students who attended classic high schools. Nonetheless, all students studied abridged histories that subsumed the entire history and civics curriculum into a single subject called "general culture." That curriculum presented an oversimplified version of Italian colonialism. Included in sections on civic education were descriptions of colonialism as a meritorious project through which Italians educated "savage peoples to more elevated forms of life" (Barbadoro and Montanari 1961, 187 as cited in De Michelle 2011, 113). Passages urged students "not to berate [their] Italian hearts for the loss of the colonies, but rather to be proud of the ability of Italian governments to 'transform our colonies into advanced countries that are able to rule themselves' "(Barbadoro and Montanari 1961, 220 as cited in De Michele 2011, 113). The reality of defeat at the hands of the allies, a sense of lost greatness, and the attachment to a mythic Roman past animated a curriculum offering a heroic victimhood as the organizing principle for an Italian nation already built around and on fabrications and exclusions.

Some of the most distinctive but often overlooked features of post-World War II ideas of Italy are found in the school textbooks circulating between 1947 and 2002. In an analysis of about 70 textbooks, Grazia De Michele (2011) found that the representation of Italy's colonialist past in Africa included a disturbing series of images and omissions in the name of state-formation and constituted an effort to inscribe a sense of Italian-ness. The high school textbooks from the postwar period depict Italian colonialists in Eritrea, Somalia, Libya, and Ethiopia as virtuous and hard working, and as steadily guiding the savages of Africa on the path toward development (4). De Michele (2011) observes that

> ". . . the discussion of Italian colonialism offered by textbooks published in post-war Italy is particularly revealing in terms of the persistence of stereotypes, [such as that of the 'Arab traitor'] and the deliberate false histories which had already marked both liberal and fascist colonial propaganda" (4).

In fact, De Michele found that a significant number of financially successful textbooks published under Fascism continued to be used in classrooms during the postwar period, consequently provoking serious objections among students, teachers, and scholars active in the postwar educational reform efforts about the use of these books in the curriculum. As early as 1951, progressive Italian educators active in the *Movimento Cooperazione Educativa* (MCE) raised concerns about the traditional overreliance on textbooks as well as the contradictory messages students received in textbooks between the founding values of the Republic and Italy's long imperialist presence in Africa (Beattie 1981, 222). On a broader scale, however, leaders of Italian social protest movements in the 1960s and 1970s generally confined their focus to a history of injustices rooted in class, gender, capitalism, religion, regionalism, and U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. They generally ignored the problems of colonialism or racism (von Henneberg 2004). What "ideas of Italy" were promoted in post-World War II high school history textbooks in the name of nation-building?

One recurring narrative presented to students pertains to the way that the Italians were received by Libya in 1912. The Italians believed they would be welcomed by the people of Libya given the Libyans' hostility toward the Ottoman government. They were mistaken. The Libyans launched an attack on October 23, 1912, in the oasis of Sciara Sciat, during which about 600 Italian soldiers were killed. Feeling betrayed by the Arabs, the Italians responded with what De Michele (2011) describes as "ferocious repression: mass executions lasted for several days and thousands of people were deported to penal colonies in Italy" (110). None of these complications are mentioned in the textbooks. What endures and resonates as part of Italian colonial propaganda is the image of "the Arab as traitor." Such a view becomes important because the Other within post-World War II Italy comes increasingly to be defined in terms of being a traitor to the nation.

Rinaldi's 1951 textbook also presents the idea that "Muslim propaganda" (cited in de Michelle, 139), not the Italian occupation, incited unrest in Libya. "According to Alfonso Manaresi's 1948 textbook," notes De Michele, "the responsibility for the 'killing of some of our brave missionaries,' which had taken place just before the war, was to be imputed to 'the blind fanaticism of the Arabs' " (Manaresi 1948, 140 as cited in de Michelle, 111). These textbooks construct an image of Italy as not only savior but also victim, and they do so by constructing the "Oriental" other out of the Libyans.

We can locate another example of the interplay between white-washed history and nation building in passages from a 1950s history textbook that explained the colonial conquest in Libya in terms of "the extraordinary growth of the [Italian] population, which required new lands and new commercial and industrial fields of activity" (Landogna 1950, 365 as cited in De Michele 2011, 10). The decision to invade Libya was explained to students as based on establishing Italy's right to exist and to make progress, as well as on cultivating her maturity as a nation (De Michele, 2011, 10).

The idea of Italy as a courageous and hardworking country that made many sacrifices in the name of civilizing Africa emerges in high school history textbooks that, until the curriculum reform efforts in the 1960s and 1970s, justified colonial expansion by relying on a generic moralism and, as De Michele (2011) so astutely points out, "kept the hagiographic and mythic image of colonialism created by liberal and Fascist propaganda alive in Italian culture and society, thus rendering Italy as innocent with regard to their brutal, cruel presence in Africa" (De Michele 2011, 105; see also Ganapini, Gruppi-Farina, Legnani, Rochat, and Sala 1964, 69; De Michelle 2011,109).

Italian curriculum did not see any substantive change in history textbooks until the student protests of the 1970s. And while textbook reform was also influenced by international attention paid to the history of imperialism, the content continued to be criticized for simply presenting history as "a cleaned up reconstruction of facts" (De Michele 2011, 109).

Reform efforts continued to gain momentum, and during the 1960 reforms were increasingly informed by Marxist theory. The class divides in so many regions of Italy, but also between the North and South, divides that had been papered over in the name of unity, gradually undermined the idea of Italy previously presented in the curriculum. Not only textbooks, but soon policies governing entrance exams, admissions to university and student retention reflected a new idea of Italy, one that presented itself as more egalitarian. It would be an idea that would a few years later explode in revolutionary fervor.

The 1960s and 1970s By 1965, university entrance exams had been removed, and students from technical schools were being allowed to enter college for the first time. This resulted in unprecedented numbers of students entering universities that were entirely unprepared for increased enrollments. The conditions of high schools and universities, which were already compromised by limited resources, declined rapidly: there were too few classrooms, a shortage of textbooks, poor library resources, inadequately educated teachers, and an archaic curriculum (see Keach 2009). William Keach (2009) reports that university campuses built to accommodate 5,000 students were by 1968 jammed with 30,000 (Bari), 50,000 (Naples), and 60,000 (Rome). Added to overcrowding and poor resources was the plight of university faculty who were prohibited from teaching more than 52 hours a year and thus often held other full-time positions and, as a result, were frequently absent from their teaching posts. Students were often left to teach themselves.

Exams, which were primarily oral, introduced unreliable methods of assessment and evaluation, thereby resulting in high rates of failure that, according to policy, did not require students to leave the university. Significant numbers of new students were working class, yet, except for scholarships offered for academic achievement, there was no government financial aid available to support them. "The decision to allow open access to such a grossly inadequate university system," Ginsborg (2003) concludes "amounted simply to planting a time bomb in it" (314). And while the government promised reforms, few were effectively carried out. These conditions, combined with the Minister of Education's plan to reintroduce restricted entry to university education and raise tuition, provoked militant student rebellions.

In 1968, Italian workers and students joined in solidarity to strike to improve working conditions and conditions in schools. Women also struck and protested, demanding equal pay. A series of occupations and protests led by intellectuals such as Antonio Negri, Oreste Scalzone, and Franco Piperno on university and high school campuses, called for not only more responsive educational institutions but a curriculum that represented Italy's colonial and Fascist past in terms of class conflict. Italy as an *idea* infused with images of imperial power and splendor and deployed to strengthen the state emerged as secondary to the economic dynamics structuring the daily lives of workers and students.

In 1969, students took occupancy of buildings on campuses across Italy and demanded the reform of an authoritative and corrupt educational system that reflected a fundamentally exploitative social order (see Keach 2009). Students and workers seemed to have arrived at that "desperate moment" that Calvino wrote about, and pushed fiercely to uncover the "endless, formless ruin" (1978, 5) that spread beneath the imperial visions still embodied in the curriculum. They fought to expose "corruption's gangrene [that had] spread too far," only they thought it *could* "be healed by [their] our scepter" (5).

The massive period of strikes characterizing what is remembered as the hot autumn of 1969–1970 (*autunno caldo*), eventually escalated on December 12, 1969, when a bomb exploded at the Banca Nazionale dell'Atricoltura in Milan's central Piazza Fontana. The explosion, for which no one claimed responsibility, killed sixteen people and injured more than eighty. The explosion at the Piazza Fontana marked the beginning of what many radical groups believed to be a *strategia di tensione* (strategy of tension) taken up by right wing terrorists with links to the state and its leading Christian Democrat Party in order to incite fear among the public and to increase the appeal of the military protection.[3]

This "strategy of tension" established what Giorgio Agamben (2005) describes as a state of exception wherein a special kind of totalitarianism was put in place to ostensibly protect citizens and secure democracy. Difficult to define, the state of exception appears as a paradigm of government that creates a permanent state of emergency in order to physically eliminate political adversaries as well as entire categories of citizens who cannot—or will not—be integrated into the political system (see Agamben 2005, 2). Despite the increasingly repressive measures taken by the government at this time, the solidarity between militant students and workers sustained itself throughout the 1970s, and, according to historians (e.g., Keach 2009), the revolutionary energy lasted longer than in any other European country or in the United States. What became of the radical reform efforts taken up by students and workers, led by leading intellectuals such as Antonio Negri and Franco Piperno? What happened to the idea of Italy as an egalitarian country of worker-citizens?

1980s to the Present As in the United States and England, the 1980s in Italy saw the emergence of neoliberal economic and educational policies. Over the course of the next thirty years, under the leadership of 28 prime ministers, Italy moved increasingly to the right or center right but almost always in the direction of neoliberal reforms. Increasingly, Italy came to be perceived as a failed state, replete with commercialized images of its imperial past, its arts, and its religious center in the Vatican. Such a tilt right and particularly the right wing populism of Silvio Berlusconi resulted in a media coup that legitimized, as Vincenzo Consolo, the Sicilian novelist writes, "the imposition of a death knell for pluralism in information, [and] for freedom of the press—which means freedom of opinion and expression" (as cited in O'Connell 2007, 84).

The current dominance of neoliberal educational reforms raises pressing questions for Italian curriculum scholars addressing the international neoliberal policies that work to centralize education, and insidiously marginalize the population of students who have always been denied substantial educational resources. Is there currently a cohesive "idea" of Italy that grounds Italy's curricular research, particularly given the challenges it faces today with respect to immigration, migration, and coming to terms with a colonial past? Is the Italy, as represented implicitly or explicitly in the curriculum of the same place, "the same city," or one place continuous with the many countries and their educational curricula that have collapsed into, even, perhaps, lie in ruins within a globalized marketplace?

Curriculum Research, Social Inequities, and the Continuous City . . .

PISA Italy has taken part in the PISA program (Program International Student Assessment) since it was first implemented in 2000. No one is quite sure what PISA measures, but what we do know is that PISA is a private corporation sponsored by the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and supports the OECD's promotion of STEM curricula (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics). [4] In an analysis of the foundational reasoning underlying PISA and its relationship to the OECD, Baker (2009) describes PISA as

> . . . a meeting point of the technology of a world map, occidentalist presumptions about the nature of reality and evidence (science, statistics, and realism), about an almost uncontested locus of awareness in the human (mind, consciousness, memory, and mental measurement). It is important to remember that beyond these wider historical vestiges which give it shape that PISA is also an offspring of the OECD [the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development] and that OECD's version of world . . . relies upon the nation frame as the defining structure of belonging and upon capitalism and democracy as disarticuable. (24)

Claiming to bring together all governments of the world committed to democracy and the market economy, PISA administers test questions to 15-year-olds in 57 countries in the areas of mathematics, reading, and science in an effort to correlate an increased percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with improved examination outcomes as determined by students' responses to their questions. According to Baker, implicit in the PISA program and its attendant processes of administration and assessment is a belief that the nation-state is the sovereign zone of educational policy. The student-subject's authenticity and sense of belonging are, Baker suggests, determined by the nation frame—to fall outside this frame is to be cast in the realm of the abject, maladjusted, abnormal. The PISA exams, Baker argues, use examination techniques that trade on and test the strength of rote memory. Like all standardized testing, PISA uses numerical formulations to assign worth and value to an international student body (Baker 2009, 26).

What strikes me about Italy's participation in PISA as well as educators' involvement in assessing, advocating, and critiquing its presence on the Italian curricular landscape, is that it is in itself a symptom of another kind of colonialism that uses strategies of counting, measuring, and categorizing to organize "human capital" in order to establish those regions and humans who have the most worth (see Cosgrove 2001, x). Like the Khan's empire in Calvino's (1978) *Invisible Cities,* PISA renders their member cities of the same place, the same city. Unlike Italy's twentieth-century colonialism, this colonialism has no center. PISA works as an international unifying management system that measures students' capacity to belong to the nation-state understood in terms of economic location within a global financial grid. Within the PISA framework, the conditions for what it means to be international become the precondition for notions of the national (Baker 2009, 34–35). The "idea of Italy" generated by PISA expresses not only a country in decline, but, when scores are bundled according to region, a country deeply divided.

Effects of PISA: A Country Divided Contemporary Italian educators are finding, when assessing PISA scores that, despite reforms made in 1962 to de-track lower secondary education and alleviate social selection and poor educational outcomes for poor and working class students living primarily in the southern regions of Italy, substantial inequalities persist (see Polesel 2010, 174). Statistics gathered from leading educational theorists focusing on Italy such as Nardi (2001, 2009), Capano (2002), and John Polesel (2010) show continued and substantial disparities between educational resources for southern and northern students.

In his study of the links between social selection, regional inequality, and levels of family cultural capital, Polesel (2010) draws attention to the fact that while Italy shows overall low levels of educational performance as a nation, as documented from PISA scores, these scores mask significant regional variation (176). In Polesel's analysis of scores in 2006, he indicates that he is suspicious of the reliability and validity of PISA measurements, but uses them in order to establish the social inequities within the Italian system. Dismayed, perhaps shamed, by the overall national scores, the Italian government had requested the disaggregation of scores by region in order to prove that it was most likely that the "maladministered South, corrupt and alien to the norms of modernity" (Dickie 1999, 144) was bringing down the scores of Italy.

When the scores were calculated by region, the results were strikingly different. Taken as a group, the four regions of Piedmont, Lombardy, Veneto, and Tuscany, as well as two provinces, Trento and Bolzano, show, according to Martini (2005) that "low performance is not uniformly distributed along the peninsula" (176). Polesel (2010) summarizes the results:

> In fact, the south and islands macro-region falls even further behind the OECD means on all competencies—reading (-60), mathematics (-127) and science (-180). By contrast, the north-east, to use an example, jumps well above the OECD means—reading (+25), mathematics (+11) and science (+13). Martini goes on to isolate specific provinces, where the mean scores are even higher, for example, Trento, a province in the north-eastern region of Trentino Alto Adige, where the results equal or surpass those of the OECD leaders—reading (48 above the OECD mean), mathematics (47 above the OECD mean) and science (66 above the OECD mean) (176–177).

Drawing on the work of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Polesel (2010) attributes these persistent disparities to the levels of family cultural capital reserved among families living in the northern, primarily wealthier areas of Italy where families exercise "concerted cultivation" by deliberately organizing their children's leisure time activities and lessons outside school. This stands in contrast to working class families, who view the school, not the family, as primarily responsible for educating their children and expanding their cultural horizons.

Polesel (2010) admits doubt about studies such as Martini's (2005) that rely on PISA performance. He does find, however, when turning to Fini's analysis of Bank of Italy data (Fini 2006) that a very strong relationship is demonstrated between region and educational levels of the population. Fini's analysis shows that ". . . the north-eastern macro-region of Italy has the highest rate of upper secondary school completion and the highest rate of university completion," thus reinforcing the close relationship between family educational background and educational success postulated by Martini" (Polesel, 177).

Polesel reports that ". . . despite changes in 1962 which unified (de-tracked) lower secondary education, thus forming the comprehensive three-year *scuola media unica* (unified middle school), upper secondary education has remained tracked, separating students from the age of 14 into two main groups. . . . Poor employment outcomes for university graduates from the southern regions and high levels of university attrition due to outdated and inflexible pedagogical approaches contribute to creating dismal educational conditions for students without strong pools of cultural and social capital" (174).

What "ideas of Italy" are embedded in the current efforts to nationalize curriculum? How are Italian curricular scholars currently working to understand the persistent obstacles to reconceptualizing a national Italian curriculum that would assure equity for a broader population of students? Why, they ask, is a centralized national system producing such markedly different results in the diverse regions of Italy?

Both Polesel and Martini (2010; 2005) underscore the fact that socio-economic status mediates school choice, which is strongly influenced by family background and aspirations rather than an apparent meritocratic selection process. Martini and her colleagues argue that the notion of self-selection (i.e., I can choose which university or area of study I want to pursue) disguises the ways in which persistent regional inequalities and corruption within the university system reinforce the role social status and class privilege play throughout Italian society. But these limitations are not peculiar to Italy and PISA. While claiming to establish and use a nation-state universal framework in the name of democracy and building a robust global economy, PISA in fact does nothing more than reduce all nations into the same, where cultural and fiscal capital pool into the hands of a few while more and more people are relegated to live in zones of exception, unprotected by the state and vulnerable to military intrusions, disease, and violence. What might it mean to loosen the grip of national standards and notions of nation on education in Italy? What ideas of Italy might take form and inspire? What memories and ideas of Italy are lost in the name of nation and the ideas Italy holds of itself when it speaks a national discourse both within and beyond the borders of home?

PISA, read as a global nation-building project, functions to produce an idea of Italy as deeply divided by intellectual capacities that align with racial markers. This "idea" is made evident in a 2009 study by Richard Lynn that appeared in the psychology journal *Intelligence.* His abstract reads as follows:

> Regional differences in IQ are presented for 12 regions of Italy showing that IQ's are highest in the north and lowest in the south. Regional IQ's obtained in 2006 are highly correlated with average incomes at r = 0.937, and with stature, infant mortality, literacy and education. The lower IQ in southern Italy may be attributable to genetic admixture with populations from the Near East and North Africa. (Lynn 2009)

The 'admixture with populations from the Near East and North Africa" that bring down IQ ratings, no doubt, would be seen by scholars such as Lynne as contributing to Italy's overall low PISA scores. The move to international "standardization" promoted by PISA, while appealing to notions of plurality, in fact renders abject all those who deviate from norms established in the name of "coherence" and measurability (see Baker 2009, 32). Lynn's findings further promote what is described as "Italian economic dualism" as well as myths about what is described by economists such as Felici (2007) as the "questione meridionale"—the social, cultural, and economic backwardness of southern Italy" (Felici, 1). While IQ and PISA testing are not identical, they both rely on a numeric metric that leads to promoting the idea of an intelligent north and a genetically inferior south. Lynne concludes his study by stating that "all these data taken together indicate that the north-south gradient of intelligence in Italy has a genetic basis going back many centuries, and hence predicts the social and economic differences documented in the nineteenth century up to the present day" (98), a stunning finding given that this study was published in 2009. Lynne's conclusions resonate to the concerns expressed by the northern regions when they asked to disaggregate their scores from the south—not only are the northern regions assessed as "more intelligent" according to PISA standards, but this assessment suggests that the northern Eurocentric quality of intelligence possessed in the north (and valued by the OECD) is a competition-oriented mentality that will fare better in the global economy.

The problem of value that emerges in contemporary Italy—what knowledge is of most worth, which students have the most potential to enter the global marketplace at an advantage, and which have "negative value"—emerges in various forms as curricular scholars work to understand the "idea of Italy" at play on the curricular landscape. What is not "valued" by international corporate auditing systems such as PISA is the art of cultivating historical consciousness and truth as well as forms of remembering that would illuminate rather than obscure aspects of Italy's history of colonization. In fact, I would argue that PISA, with its rank-ordering, its drive for coherence, and its focus on only that which can be "measured," draws the unfamiliar and unaccountable cultures of the world into a systematic universe of *negative* value and represents this universe as deviant. In turn, it undervalues and negates this universe. We can see this process at work in Italy's request to isolate the northern PISA scores from those of the southern regions. PISA has worked to construct an Other within the idea of Italy, an Other that has helped constitute the curriculum at different historical moments. In similar ways, those countries and peoples colonized by Italy have, at different times, served as the Other around which the idea of Italy has coalesced. We can, without too much of a leap, read PISA as another form of colonization.

Conclusion

Toward the end of Marco Polo's stories of invisible cities, he tells the Khan of the city of Penthesilea, a city "carved in stone, with a compact thickness and pattern that will be revealed if you follow its jagged outline" (1978, 156). Polo reports to the Khan that Penthesilea is different, for while you may ". . . advance for hours . . . it is not clear to you whether you are already in the city's midst or still outside it" (156). Intent on finding the city where people live, Polo is led from one scattered suburb to another, from one outskirt to ". . . another sac and wrinkle of dilapidated surroundings" (157). Polo finds that the city of Penthesilea exists indeed ". . . as only the outskirts of itself" (1978, 158). Much like the global curricular landscapes colonized by policies and attitudes created and sustained by audit practices as exemplified by PISA, no outside exists. Polo ends his report with a question relevant to curriculum studies: "no matter how far you go from the city, will you only pass from one limbo to another, never managing to leave it?" (1978, 57). Polo's question suggests the current state of international curriculum today, a state we might argue lies in ruins within the global marketplace. Within the Italian curriculum, the idea of Italy, whether as glorious empire, colonial savior, or socialist utopia, has dispersed within PISA, global systems of accountability and audit. Such a grim view does, however, point to new directions for transnational research in curriculum studies. We might pursue a search for the invisible cities within the cities that are apparently most visible. We might begin, for example, to excavate lost histories of curricular projects in schools and communities whose generative and imaginative power may be found in their apparent failures, limitations, and disinterest in fetishes of cohesion and homogeneity.

Notes

1. See http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pisa/ for a description of the objectives of the PISA program.
2. The term "reform" was also used when implementing conservative changes in the educational system under Fascism. The changes made by Gentile did not represent a form of renewal as ordinarily understood when using the word reform, but rather, these changes re-established a socially elite and static system.
3. In 1973, the Historic Compromise was agreed to among Italy's three leading parties—the Communists, Socialists, and Christian Democrats. It was designed to prevent the government from dividing along party lines and to protect Italy from the coup attempts taking place in countries with a strong communist presence such as in Chile. The Historic Compromise resulted in the Legge Reale, or Reale Law, a parliamentary act that allowed the police to exercise discretion to open fire whenever they felt it necessary in order to protect the public order. This event solidified the suspicion activists had of trade unions. Extra-parliamentary groups such as Potere Operai and the Red Brigade felt it their responsibility to shock workers into an awareness of how exploited they were. In 1973, Negri founded Autonomia Operai, a rhizomatic organization (an intentional design based on the influence of Gilles Deleuze, whose work substantially influenced Negri). Autonomia was a decentralized, disconnected, grassroots organization. The approach described by Negri in interviews brings to mind the new militancy of the occupy Wall Street campaigns currently taken up in the United States and extending throughout international communities. One of the group's tactics was "autoriduzione" or autonomous price setting. If a family had to, for example, pay 1 million lire in rent, but paid only 500,000 because their salary was low, they would be practicing autoriduzione. Whole neighborhoods banded together to autoreduce their rents, groceries, the cost of transit and so forth. This went on until the 1980s when people began to get arrested.
4. In a 2008 essay in *Dissent Magazine*, Gerald Bracey astutely points out that PISA qzuestions "ramble discursively and sometimes contain irrelevant information and factually incorrect material. PISA's long questions, administered to 15-year-olds, mean that its assessment of science and math is hopelessly confounded with reading" (Bracey 2008, 1). Also important to note is that PISA uses a statistical technique called "One Dimensional Response Theory." Bracey draws on the work of Joachim Wuttke of Julich Research Center in Munich to establish the way in which this technique works. Wuttke explains, "Items that did not fit into the idea that competence can be measured in a culturally neutral way on a one-dimensional scale were simply eliminated. The rationale for this approach to measurement is to yield unambiguous rankings" (3).

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22

Educational Reform in Contemporary Japan

Tadahiko Abiko

Introduction

Japanese politicians assert that recent educational reform is the end of "postwar education," and the start of new education. However, most people in our educational field do not think there is much difference between the two. Historically, many Japanese have had a very positive attitude toward the 6–3 system because, over the years, the junior high school in Japan became a symbol of the democratization of educational opportunity, symbolizing equality of educational opportunity. For this reason, the Japanese junior high school has not been the focus of comprehensive reform. However, since 1971, and especially since 1984, the 6–3-3 school grade organization has been the subject of increasing discussion by educators and politicians due to two factors: a growing awareness of the actual developmental characteristics of Japanese young adolescents, and the decentralization of educational policy from the central government to local governments.

In 2005, the Central Council for Education emphasized compulsory common education and called for more flexibility and experimentation in the 6–3 school grade organization. As a result, some local governments have changed their 6–3 grade organization to a 4–3-2 or 5–4 system or even 3–4-2 systems, largely as experiments. So far, there has been a positive assessment of those experiments. Changing demographics (a decreasing number of school students) and declining school budgets have pressed local governments to consolidate smaller schools into fewer but larger schools (MEXT, 2006). Under these conditions and situations, the national curriculum was revised around 2005.

The State of Japanese Public Schools

Until 2000, Japan did not show much concern for the international test scores of IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) or OECD/PISA (OECD Program for International Student Assessment). Scores were solid, and the nation's rank was satisfactory. But when we found the 2003 PISA scores of Japanese students of the age 15 were worse than we had expected, educators were pressed to look for reasons.

In PISA 2000, Japan was top in mathematical literacy, eighth in reading literacy, and second in scientific literacy; however, in PISA 2003, Japan was sixth in mathematical literacy, 14th in reading literacy, second in scientific literacy, and fourth in problem solving across 40 countries and regions. Many Japanese worried over reading literacy, which went down from eighth to 14th, registering a score that was almost equal to the OECD average. The trend of Japan's scores in PISA 2006 was almost the same as those in PISA 2003.

In IEA/TIMSS (IEA's Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) 2003, Japan's Mathematics score was fifth in lower secondary school across 46 countries and regions, compared with fifth across 38 countries and regions in 1999, third across 41 in 1995, first across 20 in 1981, and second across 12 in 1964. In addition, Japan's Science score of lower secondary school was sixth across 46 countries and regions in 2003, compared with fourth across 38 in 1999, third across 41 in 1995, second across 26 in 1983, and first across 18 in 1970. These trends in Japan's ranks of mathematics and science scores forced a review of the reform of school education.

In the area Japanese would label "student guidance," there have also been difficult trends. In the occurrence of acts of violence in schools, the total number of cases was 30,022 in 2004, including 23,110 in lower secondary schools, almost the same as the average of the most recent five years. In the area of bullying, the total number of cases was 21,671 in 2004, including 13,915 in lower secondary schools, almost the same as the average of the most recent three years. In number of cases of non-attendance (students who refuse to attend school), the total number was 123,358, with an exceptional number of 100,040 in lower secondary school, almost the same as the average of the last three years (MEXT 2007).

All of these figures suggest that Japanese education has shown no improvement, especially in lower secondary education. As a consequence, in 2007, a new Fundamental Law of Education was legislated, and other key education laws were altered. The national curriculum standards were revised in 2008, to take effect in 2011.

Recent Reform and Current Issues

Japan is now in the midst of a so-called age of educational reform. Since 2000, Japan has moved to a decentralized process of reform. During the last 10 years, the Japanese government has enacted a new set of important educational laws, including the new Fundamental Law of Education, alongside decentralization of the administration of public education, particularly compulsory education. There are those who have continued to criticize public education in terms of the central government's strong control, its decreasing governmental subsidies, and the increasing anxiety of many Japanese parents over their own children's education. In 2007, the enactment of the new Fundamental Law of Education inaugurated a new era in educational history of Japan (MEXT 2006).

Contemporary Japanese thinking on education currently includes attention to the upper grades (fifth and sixth) of elementary school and the three grades (seventh through ninth) of junior high school. As for the middle-level education, in terms of the "deregulation" of administration, local governments have been able to change the school-grade sequence from 6–3 to 4–3-2 or 5–4 or 4–2-3. Almost 10 years ago, several conservative politicians said that six years in elementary school might be too long and that a 5–4 school system would be preferable. Japanese junior high schools enrolling students ages 12–15 are being connected with elementary schools more closely and being given the flexibility to develop their curriculum differently from each other (Abiko 2006)

In 2007, the Japanese government instituted new national tests for sixth and ninth graders. These tests are designed to provide accountability. Scores show students' growth in various academic fields. From the test results, last year we found a strong correlation between scores of basic knowledge and skills and scores of thinking ability. This means we must work to strengthen both abilities simultaneously.

Reform of the Public School System

As acknowledged above, there has been an "age of educational reform" for more than 10 years now, taking on the dimensions of a third great national educational reform. The first reform was in 1872 when Japan had a new modern school system; the second reform was in 1945 when Japan introduced an American educational system; and this third reform consists of these last two decades.

In my opinion, the first reform was mainly related to the historically dramatic political opening of Japan to the West. The second reform was strongly related to a period of great postwar economic development, and the third period of reform seems to be related to what might be called a cultural opening, with the consequent controversy that cultural change implies. Some conservative politicians, however, those who might be called nationalists, do not want Japan to be opened to the global world. They want Japan to be more nationalistic and isolated, as in the past.

The educational reforms now underway, mainly the reform of public elementary and secondary schools, exhibit two closely related themes that express interest in post-nationalism. They represent recommendations and proposals made by central governmental councils, such as the Central Council for Education, the Council of Administrative Reform, and the Council of the Promotion of Decentralization. From these recommendations for administrative reform, the movement for decentralization has become an important overall policy agenda in Japanese society.

The second outcome of reform recommendations is related to the increasing public dissatisfaction with, or anxiety about, public elementary and secondary schools. Many Japanese appear to have been losing their trust in the public education system due to high profile phenomena like bullying and the refusal to attend school, phenomena that may have persisted due to excessive control of schools by the central government or the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) (Shiraishi 2005).

In this policy of decentralization, after the 2005 report entitled "Redesigning Compulsory Education for a New Era" issued by the Central Council for Education, a number of local governments were given permission to reorganize their public school systems from a 6–3 grade organization to a 4–3-2 form. Recently, the number of such experimenta1 schools has reached 162; the number of pilot schools by local government was 67 in 2007. At this moment, the total number of non 6–3 schools approaches 300 and appears to be increasing year after year. Japanese junior high schools have, in this way, been changed.

In the later part of 2006, the new Fundamental Law of Education came into effect. In June 2007, three other important laws in education were amended. Those laws suggest that educators should consider the first nine grades (1–9) as a unit, rather than separating the first six elementary years from the three lower secondary (junior high school) of public schools. The traditional Japanese 6–3 school system is now open to experimentation and reconfiguration in response to local government policy preferences and different perceptions by the public of children's development. It is interesting that U.S. middle school, with its 5–3-4 grade organization, has been recently discussed as possibly adaptable to Japan (George 2005). I think Japan can learn from this American idea (Okamura 2003).

Curriculum Revision

At present, Japan is on its way to implementing the newest national curriculum standards. They are to come into effect in 2011. Several issues have been at the center of the debate surrounding these new standards. For the last three years, we have had to revise the National Course of Study, and last March, in 2008, we faced the newest national course of study, as the Central Council for Education recommended that seven issues should be improved in the new National Curriculum:

(1) Sharing the Ideal of Enriching Education to Create a "Zest for Living": Focusing on "Zest for Living in Real and Actual Life." This recommendation derives from reflection on public concerns that parents, teachers, and educational administrators must improve upon their understanding and enactment of this educational ideal.

(2) Mastering Basic and Principal Knowledge and Skills for Thinking Abilities: Creating a Balance between Subject Knowledge and Problem-Solving Abilities. This point was originally proposed in 2003, and its importance was confirmed by last year's national PISA scores and Finland's revision of national curriculum standards. Knowledge and skills are different from thinking abilities, and as such, the methods for teaching knowledge and skills must be different from the methods for teaching thinking abilities.

(3) Nurturing Thinking, Judging, and Presenting Abilities: Introducing the Application of Knowledge and Skills "Activities" as a Sort of "Preparatory Experience" for Inquiry in "Integrated Studies." In order to improve this aspect, we must try to connect the knowledge and skills in subjects with inquiry activities in integrated studies through application activities of such knowledge and skills.

(4) Increasing the Number of Periods of Instruction for Promoting Academic Abilities: Promoting Thinking Abilities through Increasing the Number of Periods from 28 to 30 per Week. This point had been a source of controversy as the government had insisted that there is no correlation between academic achievement and time spent on academic subjects. However, most Japanese criticized the decrease in the number of academic subject hours per week; they wanted an increase instead. In addition, some of the members of the Central Council for Education insisted that more hours might well be needed if we want our students to think more. Finally, the government conceded this point.

(5) Enhancing Learning Motives and Establishing Learning Habits: Placing Stress on Learning Habits through Homework. In particular, we are concerned that students' motivation in learning mathematics and science is weak. Despite weak motivation and poverty, it is very important for all students to acquire good learning habits in childhood. (Shimizu 2005)

(6) Intensifying Moral Education and Physical Education: Emphasizing Moral Education Connected with Subject Learning: Increasing the Number of Periods for Physical Education. Most Japanese people complain about students' misbehavior; they want to intensify moral education in schools. Therefore, the teaching materials for moral education are to be improved, and greater connection with subject learning and other activities is to be emphasized. As for physical education, the number of hours is to be increased in each grade.

(7) Important Tasks through a Cross-Curricular Approach. (a) ICT Education: How to Use Mobile Phones Appropriately. So far, Japanese students have been taught how to use PCs, but currently, they have to learn how to use mobile phones appropriately, in efforts to combat cyber-bullying and other inappropriate behaviors. (b) Environmental Education: "Education for Sustainable Development" (ESD). This point originated with former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, and the United Nations took up this idea and began a decade-long program starting in 2005. The Japanese government hopes to lead this movement in public education. (c) Invention in Industry: Fine Arts, Science and Technology and Home Economics Expected by Industry. Invention has long been of great concern among many Japanese due to the nation's limited natural resources. Invention by students who demonstrate mastery in fine arts, science, technology, and home economics are very much desired by Japanese industries. (d) Career Education: Industry Expects Children's Positive Awareness of Career Implications. This is demanded by the industrial world because of the recent increase in numbers of FREETERs (people between the age of 15 and 34 who lack full time employment or are unemployed, excluding homemakers and students) and NEETs (16–18 year-olds not in education, employment, or training) in Japan. We want our children to have a proper attitude toward work and labor to ensure a good life. (e) Food Education: Obesity and Health Awareness in Daily Life. This is an important topic in recent years. Both Japanese parents and Japanese food companies are strongly interested in children's food and their food habits. We must educate our children to have a better awareness of food in our lives. (f) Safety Education: Security of Children's Life Inside and Outside of School. This is another important topic at present. Although children's security remains primarily their parents' concern, Japanese people do want public school teachers to take responsibility for children's security even outside of school. (g) Deep Understanding of AIDS: HIV Prevention among Japanese

Youth. The spread of HIV among Japanese youth continues even while the number of patients in many other countries has been decreasing year after year. This initiative seeks to redress the trend in Japan.

Main Curriculum Characteristics of Public Schools Since 2011

As evident from the above, the new national curriculum aims at improving the thinking abilities of students in actual life. To do so, the curriculum of each public school should demonstrate these characteristics:

(1) Enriching Language Activities across the Whole Curriculum: Emphasis on Language Activities such as Recording, Explaining, Stating, and Debating. Each school must emphasize language activities in every academic subject; they are the foundation of intelligent activities, communication activities, and moral behavior.

(2) Intensifying Science and Mathematics Education: Motivating Student's Inquiry Activities with Interesting Daily Experiences among Students. Since the Meiji era, many Japanese have considered mathematics and science to be the most important subjects for promoting modernization in every field. This characteristic was included because recently many fear that young Japanese students do not like these subjects as the subjects seem to have no connection with their daily experiences.

(3) Promoting Japanese Traditional Culture Education across the Curriculum: Increasing Japanese Traditional Culture in Music, Literature, Industrial Arts, Classical Martial Arts, etc. Conservatives in Japan continue to work to make our public education more nationalistic. They want to stress our traditional and classical culture in education. Their opinions have been reflected within the limits of the New Fundamental Law to respect our national culture as well as international cultures.

(4) Intensifying Moral Education across the Curriculum: Clarifying the Need for Moral Education through Subject Learning. Moral education in Japanese schools has always been a controversial issue. Until now, moral education has been implicit in all subjects taught as well as explicit in one "Period for Moral Education" per week. However, the new national curriculum states that moral education must now be explicit and clear. In addition, emphasis is placed on the participation of members of the community and industry in the teaching of the "Period for Moral Education" as well as parents since they must provide a model for morality.

(5) Enriching Experiential Activities across the Curriculum: Increasing Experiential Activities in Science Education, Career Education, etc. In recent years, Japanese children have lost opportunities to have experiential activities in natural and social circumstances. In every area of school learning, we must ensure children have more chances for hands-on learning.

(6) Introducing "Foreign Language Activities" into the Elementary Curriculum: One Period of Foreign Language Activities per Week from the 5th Grade in Elementary School to Promote International Understanding. Most Japanese people want elementary schools to have a foreign language program (mostly English), and most elementary schools until now have provided a foreign language program in "Periods for Integrated Studies." The revised national curriculum now introduces "Foreign Language Activities" as a preparatory program for foreign language learning in junior high schools. However, the main focus of the program is not on language education but rather on promoting international understanding.

Big Issues

Among the curriculum issues mentioned above, I would like to discuss some main issues and to articulate my proposals for the future.

(1) Relaxation of pressure for constantly increasing academic achievement: After long years of discussion about the stringent requirements of Japanese education, the nation began to move toward a relaxation of standards. Consequently, the national curriculum standards were revised in 1998. It was an extensive change accompanied by the considerable alteration of the former standards. The new standards reduced both the total number of annual school hours and subject content required to be learned, and tested, in each subject. With this reduction of subject content and lowering of national curriculum standards, it was hoped that the new curriculum standards would be more flexible and that schools could devise teaching programs at their own discretion.

But after Japan found the Japanese students' test scores of OECD/PISA 2003 were not as high as those of Finland and went downwards slightly, most Japanese people worried about children's schoolwork. Therefore, in 2003, when the national standards were partly revised, the number of the school hours that was allowed became only a *recommended minimum* for each school. Each school could set more than the standard hours if its philosophy or conditions recommended it. And the new program allowed schools to raise the subject requirements for students who might want to study more. In 2008, when the national curriculum standards were again revised entirely, the number of the school hours per week was increased from 28 hours to 30 hours for Japanese junior high schools. This increase is *intended* to focus on learning that permits the enhancement of thinking abilities and that moves away from Japan's traditional emphasis on memorization and test preparation.

(2) Integrated Studies: In addition, an entirely new area, that of a "Period for Integrated Studies" was introduced in 1998 to the new curriculum standards. All students, from the third grade of elementary school to the 12th grade of senior high school were to experience the opportunity for work in an integrated curriculum. This new area was intended to encourage every school to design their programs based on their own students' interests and concerns. The ultimate aim of this focus on curriculum integration was to raise the natural interest of students toward learning and simultaneously develop the individuality of students. Focusing on the individual development of students became a new and important goal for Japanese education.

Sadly, though the purpose of the renewal was proper, Japanese junior high school teachers have proved unwilling to cooperate. More than half of them have complained, offering reasons for their rejection of an integrated curriculum. The first reason many cite is that "integration" is very difficult for junior high school teachers because they are "subject teachers," not "classroom teachers." The second objection is that it is difficult to make this period of the day different from elective subjects already in the junior high school curriculum. The third concern is that this Integrated Studies program is ineffective and unfruitful if the other, traditional, subjects in the school day have no close relation with these "integrated" studies. In light of these spirited objections from teachers, in 2003, the national standards were again partly revised to connect Integrated Studies more closely to the learning of traditional subject area content.

Reflecting a real, but not often articulated concern about testing and national comparisons, the total number of teaching periods or hours in the national curriculum standards now has to be interpreted as "minimum" not "maximum" in order to raise the academic achievement in general subject areas as well as in critical thinking or problem solving ability. In 2008, the entire revision of the national standards by MEXT decreased the number of periods of "Integrated Studies" from three hours to two hours per week and now aimed at making a better connection to the traditional subjects in the junior high school curriculum.

(3) Elective subjects: In 1998, MEXT stressed the role of "elective subjects" for junior high school students. Therefore, it was expected that elective subjects would be much more visible in the school day of junior high school students, for all three years; the aim was to develop students' individual traits and personalities (MoE 2001). However, once again, most junior high school teachers complained that those electives made the junior high school curriculum more complicated, took time away from the basics, and were not any different from Integrated Studies and the enriched programs that were introduced in the 2003 revision. Bowing to the pressure from teachers' unions, in the 2008 revision, MEXT decided to eliminate elective subjects completely from formal curriculum components in junior high schools. However, there are still many who think elective subjects are necessary, even in compulsory and junior high school curriculum because young adolescents should have some experiences according their own choice if they are to become more independent and individualistic. That must be the reason why electives have a vital place in middle-level and compulsory school curriculum in almost all Western countries.

In my assessment of the curriculum of middle-level education, I begin by pointing out that Japanese secondary education was not originally divided into lower and upper levels. The secondary curriculum was planned originally to include a focus on "personality or individuality" and "independence in life." If Japanese secondary education is divided into a lower curriculum and upper curriculum, then the role or objectives of each curriculum must be different, otherwise there is no point in dividing them into two parts of lower and upper. My own recommendation is as follows (Abiko 1997 and 2002a):

The objectives of lower secondary (junior high school) should include "seeking for" their own personality and laying the "base" for becoming independent. The objectives of upper secondary (high school) should focus on developing students' personalities and making direct and vocational "preparation" for their becoming independent. Elective subjects should also be different at the two school levels. Electives in junior high school should be aimed at helping students "find or search for" students' individuality.

Those electives should be wide in range, shallow in specialty, many in number, short in term, and light in responsibility. At the upper secondary level, electives should aim to develop students' individuality. They should be narrow in range, deep in specialty, few in number, long in term, and heavy in responsibility. However, MEXT has not adopted this concept related to principles of elective subjects for Japanese junior high schools, so there have been very few schools whose electives are structured this way. Instead, the government continues to press for the compulsory school curricula common to all students. I hope the government will realize the importance of balance among the core subjects and electives—even in compulsory schools—because the few schools that have implemented the newer style of electives report that students have been enjoying their experiences with the electives.

(4) Reforming process of 6–3 school system and curriculum: Recently, Japanese schools, in particular most junior high schools, have been required to deal with "school-refusal" or non-attendance and bullying (MoE 2000). However, the number of students involved in non-attendance and bullying is low below the fourth grade (age of 10) but clearly increases starting in the fifth grade in elementary school. After the first year of junior high school, the incidence of these problems shows a drastic increase until the end of ninth grade. Since around 2000, in an attempt to deal with these problems, the central government and MEXT became eager to introduce a 4–3-2 or 5–4 school system instead of the 6–3 grade organization. Currently, the number of experimental schools that have tried to configure the grades of school system has been increasing. This total number, 229 in 2007, might be about a half of the number expected by MEXT.

The reasons for continuing to experiment with grade organization are varied. One reason to explore alternatives to the 6–3 grade organization is to permit a smooth transition from elementary to secondary education. Also, there have been many students who have failed to make sufficient progress in mathematics and science. Prevention of bullying and non-attendance is important since those numbers increase drastically between the sixth grade in elementary school and the first year (grade 7) of junior high school.

A final motive for experimenting with grade organization is the need to keep students' feelings of self esteem or self respect positive because Japanese students tend to become negative around the age of 10 when puberty or adolescence begins. Before the age of 10, most children here have a positive or high self-esteem, but the self-esteem of many Japanese children after the age of 10 becomes very low. Therefore, there is a lag between school articulation and students' ages in Japan. About 50 years ago in Japan, puberty began around age 12, but now it begins around age 10. So it might be a more developmentally appropriate for Japanese students to have education from the elementary level to the secondary level continuously, meaning they don't have a 6–3 system of education but rather have a whole 9-year system of education. The growing number of experimental schools shows that some Japanese parents want their children to experience a 9-year compulsory education that is smooth and continuous, not broken into sharply demarcated elementary and secondary education (Abiko 2002b).

(5) Junior high school's contradiction: In 1999, MEXT introduced a model for a six-year secondary school (grades 6–12) and provided for three types of grade organization. One possible model is the traditional three-year upper division and three-year lower division of "secondary" school. A second possibility is a three-year junior high school and three-year high school in a "combined" school—different school buildings but on the same site. A third possibility is a three-year junior high school and three-year high school that are linked together as "coordinated" schools but are different schools at different sites. In 2007, the total number of these 6–12 secondary schools was 257, more than half of the 500 schools that are expected by MEXT. However, during the recent reform (since 2000) the central government and MEXT have been eager to remake our compulsory education (as acknowledged earlier). This reform emphasizes an elementary school and junior high school model that makes a more smooth transition between the two since many parents criticize the increasing numbers of non-attendance and bullying occurring during this transition. The traditional Japanese junior high school now finds itself in a difficult position, with contradictory demands from parents, teachers, the central government, and reform-minded educators.

Focusing on the developmental needs of young adolescents, reformers advocate for a flexible, student-centered experience. But most Japanese people continue to believe that compulsory education must have a strongly common curriculum, without so much emphasis on an integrated curriculum or electives related to students' individuality or personality. In the 2008 reform, therefore, Japanese junior high schools will not be permitted to offer electives in their curriculum after 2011. To date, MEXT has not been willing to take steps to resolve the basic problems and contradictions related to junior high schools, though the mission of the Japanese junior high schools has now been lost and is now facing critical demands.

Conclusion

Recently, the Japanese government has had a very challenging time attempting to reform and redesign what many regard as an excellent school system. There is no clear consensus on the proper role of junior high school education, despite the New Fundamental Law of Education. Most Japanese people understand that education is one of the basic functions of any society, like politics and economics, but they no longer seem to realize the important educational roles that must be played by the family, the neighborhood, at school, at any workplace such as a company, etc. In particular, since 1945, the Japanese people have wanted their schools to assume much more of the responsibility for every kind of education, replacing even the family. As a result, Japanese schooling at present is perceived by many Japanese people as showing a level of critical dysfunction.

The problems are, interestingly enough, almost all at the upper grades of elementary school and junior high school, whose students are ages 10–15. Non-attendance, bullying, and delinquency have occurred mostly in upper fifth and sixth grades of elementary school and at junior high schools in Japan. Many become more dissatisfied year after year as these problems continue unsolved. Trust between the public and the teaching profession has been weakened.

However, the Central Council for Education still has not intensively discussed the problems of the Japanese junior high school. As one of the regular members of the Central Council for Education, I have been disappointed with MEXT's administrative policy so far. Though it is important that the 6–3 school system be at least partly changed due to the acceleration of children's development, many, including teachers, remain reluctant to think of a continuous 9-year school experience. They don't see the problems at this school level as critical for society. The reason why junior high school in Japan has not received the attention it needs is that these schools are perceived as still serving as a transitional process from elementary level to secondary level. Few educators or parents, as yet, appreciate the fact that Japanese students at that level are actually at a crossroads in their lives. Many students are struggling with this difficult situation in junior high schools, but their parents and society are not adequately aware of their children's anxiety and agony. I hope we can reform our junior high school, including the fifth and sixth grades of elementary school, as soon as possible to give better education for young adolescents from 10–15.

Finally, though these problems still remain, Japan has implemented a sort of competency-based education since 2011 under the influence from the OECD/PISA, which was referenced in the report of the Central Council for Education in 2008. Most Japanese people, particularly people in the industrial world, welcomed this educational policy, expecting that their students would show both higher academic achievements in basic knowledge and skills as well as better creativity in application of those basic abilities needed for the real world.

Interestingly enough, even though the blueprint of the governmental policy of education looks good, it is possible that it will be ineffective when that is put into a social context. This is a lesson from our historical experience. In the case of Japan, the entrance examination for universities and colleges has influenced the school system so heavily that the school education has always been changed according to simply the preparation for the entrance examination to those universities and colleges instead according to the healthy growth and development of students. Moreover, because Japan experienced tragedies and disaster from huge earthquakes and tsunamis in the northern part of the mainland in 2011, the people need to think about formal education more deeply and continue to remake the total educational implementation.

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Japanese Educational Reform for the Twenty-First Century

The Impact of New Course Studies Towards the Postmodern Era in Japan

SHIGERU ASANUMA

Japanese education became publicized broadly among American educational researchers particularly in 1980s. As Gerald K. LeTendre (1999) has pointed out, it is well known that Japan coincidentally became interested in the political agenda of American educational policies.[1] As the Sputnik shock demonstrated, the topic of education has been used for rationalizing politics and budget allocation. In 1980s and 1990s, a number of publications and broadcast news concerning Japan's education has been distributed to the public as a case of the politicized interest in the United States.

A number of publications have reported that the strict discipline and the consequent pressure to excel in entrance examinations have pressured Japanese children to achieve well above the average scores of school achievement around the world. However, the fact is not well known that a very flexible and progressive curriculum policy began to be administered in Japan starting in April of 2000. Among the global issues of curriculum in Japan, only the descriptions of the history of wars and racial discrimination in social studies textbooks are likely to be discussed internationally. The Japanese have been condemned for avoiding its historical duty to teach its bloody modern history, including the Nanking massacre and the crime of "comfort" women from Korea.

Japan has been interested in American education for longer than a century as a public discourse. The Japanese have used American education for reflecting on and changing Japanese educational policies since 1872.[2] On the other hand, American public discourse has been concerned with Japanese education for formulating educational policies in the United States. Japan's education was once used as a tool for changing American educational policy without the scrutiny of actual educational practices. America changed in the 1990s after the Japan's economic "miracle" ended in the late 1980s. A number of American educators began to observe Japan's schools without economic motivation. As a result, American researchers' stereotyped views of Japan's education have been gradually corrected due an increasing number of publications depicting education in Japan. In particular, ethnographic studies of Japan's teachers' classroom teaching has contributed to the changing view of Japan's education. The videotaping of classes helped to correct stereotyped views of education in Japan. LeTendre (1999, p. 43) pointed out: "American teachers interviewed often spoke of the strict discipline of Japanese schools" and "cleaning schools." What American teachers saw was that cleaning schools actually created an enjoyable environment and cooperative atmosphere for Japanese children.

Studies like LeTendre's have contributed to changing stereotyped images of Japan's education that has been prevalent in the United States. However, there is always a critical problem in those behavioral comparative studies of schools. For in-depth curriculum studies, it is indispensable for a researcher to grasp and illuminate the internal state of the individual learner: what she/he thinks and how the world is interpreted within the individual's mind. Some studies do not elucidate the children's curriculum experiences because the language always hinders the in-depth mutual understanding of the quality of children's curriculum experiences. Language difference is one reason why a number of comparative studies between the United States and Japan have focused on the observable, e.g., children's test scores or social behavior such as fashion. LeTendre (1999, p. 4) rightly pointed out: "Because many of the social changes experienced by Japan are common to nations making the transition to a 'post industrial' economy, this area of research offers significant potential for researchers and educators interested in the impact of social change on cultural values and education." It is necessary to supplement this statement. Japan is confronted not only with a postindustrial economy but also with the "postmodern" world in curriculum. A simple economic explanation does not clarify the direction the new generation is heading in the twenty-first century.

Three major concepts (Living Power, Relax, and Education for Mind) informed the curriculum reforms in the 1990s. Those concepts represent a continuum of the educational reform of the 1980s. Emphasizing unique individual development (*Koseika*) and globalization (*Kokusaika*) accented educational reform in the 1980s. That reform was determined to deconstruct more traditional conceptions of curriculum and instruction emphasizing rote learning and factual knowledge.

Postmodern perspectives are also necessary to understand the contemporary shifts in Japanese curriculum policies. The "symbolic exchange" (Baudrillard, 1981) brought about curriculum discourse in Japan.[3] The "Back to Basics" way of thinking has been dominant since the new course of studies started in 2011 although the course of studies holds the progressive and liberal values of curriculum. As a result, the progressive curriculum has turned out to be regressive in the new course of study. It is a drastic but inconsistent transition of the curriculum. There is no rationality in this transition. It is to be characterized as a conservative education movement. The prevailing concern over the "lesson study" is a part of this movement since it has been a mere tradition of teachers' collaboration on job training in Japan.

The New Course of Studies in Japan

At the close of the twentieth century, the Ministry of Education announced the New Course of Studies (NCS) for elementary and secondary schools. It is not "new" anymore since it was extensively changed in the 2011 reform. But the essence of the 2002 reform still exists in the contemporary curriculum. NCS emphasized the phrase Ikiru Chikara (Living Power, Passion for Life) as the most important goal of education for the future in Japan. The Central Council of Education consists of the experts appointed by the Ministry of Education and is in charge of steering Japan's most important educational policies. This Council constructed the main pillars of educational reform for the first decade of the twenty-first century. First is *Ikiru Chikara*.

The Central Council of Education asserted that the most critical issue facing contemporary Japanese children was the crisis of living everyday life. The Council members assumed that demographic and economic changes have influenced the children's capacity to live. The most shocking fact they faced was the increase in the number of children committing to suicide. The number of children committing to suicide increased in the 1980s for many reasons, among them a case in which a middle-school student—a boy—was bullied. In that case, three classmates forced him to steal money from home and elsewhere. The victimized student was bullied in various ways, like being submerged a river whenever he failed to steal a specified number of times. In another instance, three junior high school girl students jumped out of the top of a tall building because they lost the meaning of life by abusing drugs. They hated schools and lost the motivation to survive in this world.

While rare, these cases were symbolically used to rationalize the goals of Japanese educational reform. As a matter of fact, older generations knew that the way of life of their children and grandchildren had changed dramatically from their own. Older generations used their common sense to understand that the children's behavioral changes did not represent merely a "generation gap" but rather a deterioration in the conditions of life. The degradation of daily life damaged the natural development of children's biological and social existence. The Council took inspiration from this crisis to form the national goals of curriculum in Japan. There is no country in this world advocating "living power" as a national goal of education except Japan. How do we interpret this kind of educational goal? Living a life is a natural instinct for human beings as well as biological beings. This slogan has still remained after the reform of 2012 and is the top goal of national education policy.

What happened to the other two major goals of education? One of these was *Yutori* (Relaxation or Slowing Down). The Council found that the lack of children's "living power" stemmed from the overloaded national curriculum content based on traditional subject matter. So the Central Council of Education proposed trimming the number of school hours and minimum essentials of curriculum content for all children. *Yutori* means relaxation, reducing the overloaded curriculum and the competition in education. But this slogan was canceled in the course of study reform of 2011. The bashing in the mass media was so intensive and extensive against this goal that the Council had to delete it from the national goals of education in the reform of 2011.

The most prominent point in the slogan of *Yutori* was the prescription of practicing the project method of learning at all grade school levels for two or three school hours a week on the basis of school initiative. At the middle school level, each school could allow students to choose certain subjects for two or three school hours a week. Theoretically, ninth-graders could decide what they wanted to learn for one third of their school hours—up to one-hundred hours of project type learning for a year. Japanese schools were legally granted flexibility in making curriculum on a school-by-school basis.

In the aftermath of the 2002 curriculum reform, the mass media started a campaign against the idea of the freedom of choosing learning activities. Reducing the number of school hours for the traditional subject matters would lead, it was alleged, to the lowering of Japanese children's school achievements. In 1999, they started asserting distorted facts: e.g., a decrease of children's home study hours; college students who cannot multiply or divide numbers; and college students who could not recall the years of the rise and fall of the Kamkura government. The controversy over the new national curriculum is hyperbolic rather than factual. There was no solid evidence demonstrating that reducing the curriculum standard courses led to the lowering of students' school achievement. Even International Educational Achievement test scores did not show the lowering students' school achievements despite the insistence of conservatives that Japanese students' mathematics scores had declined. In this controversy over educational reform, it was possible to observe the character of Japanese national hysteria, intensified by the sensationalism of the mass media. The 2011 curriculum reform was so drastic that many schoolteachers could not follow its radical changes.

Another major goal of education was *Kokoro no Kyoiku* (Education for Mind, Psychological Treatment). The key phrase of *Kokoro no Kyoiku* was added at the last stage of the Council in 1998. Many were sacrificed before the formation of this pillar. One of the crucial incidents was that a middle school teacher was knifed by a student overwhelmed by stress. This murder shocked all of Japan. Controversy over students carrying knives became the sensational topic in education in 1998. The Council concluded that the traditional curriculum had damaged children's normal psychological development. But this pillar was destroyed in the 2011 reform of NCS.

Curriculum Reform for Democratic Citizenship

How can we interpret Japan's curriculum reform?It is not adequate to interpret this reform in terms of traditional frameworks such as discipline-centered curriculum versus child-centered curriculum. We have to take into account the fundamental changes in the economic, social, and cultural environments in Japan.

Japan entered the postindustrial era in the 1980s. Even conservative political leaders had predicted the coming economic crisis. The neoconservatives started fighting not only with the socialists but also with the old conservatives who used to benefit from the socialist pseudo-egalitarian bureaucracy. The farmers and the working class such as the National Railroad Corporation used to enjoy monopolistic benefits from the Japanese socialist economic system. Changing the socialist egalitarian economic system became an imperative for the conservative government for sustaining an economy dominated by corporate industries. Curriculum reform has been accompanied by the destruction of the traditional corporate economic system because Japan has had to face various crises in the postindustrial era.

Postindustrialism is not equal to postmodernism, but the cultural milieu surrounding schools has also changed since the 1980s. Most Japanese were not aware of that they were living in a postmodern era. Educational reform became the most important task for the government in the 1990s. At first, the government began to formulate new educational policies slowly. Their first target was the traditional curriculum, emphasizing "the basics." Even conservative political leaders conceded the lack of the individual ego development in Japanese citizenship education. Even conservatives allowed that the lack of the development of ego identity hindered the development of the individual's ability to make judgments when faced with dilemmas or social conflicts.

The cultural problem of the individuals' excessive dependency has been publicized and disclosed by a number of psychiatrists and psychoanalysts in Japan. Phrases such as "Amae" (sweat dependency) or "Moratorium" (holding the decision of the ego identity) are popular, although many have not tried to reconstruct their own subjectivity because they think the problem is not theirs but others. Western philosophers like Hegel and Weber pointed out the underdevelopment of the individual ego and identity in East Asian countries. They assumed that Confucian ethics had permeated into the individuals' mentality, leaving them liable to obey community leaders and even volunteer for slave labor. Thus, there is no democratic process based on the individual ego or identity in Confucian ethics.

For the Japanese, the curriculum reform represents a kind of cultural revolution laced with pain and antagonism from the traditionalists to socialist educators. No matter how hard school teachers teach children the knowledge of social justice or human rights in the classroom, its substantial value cannot be efficiently transmitted or realized due to the pressure of entrance examinations. Students do not have to remember factual knowledge after they attain university diplomas. They assume that the value of knowledge is not in the knowledge itself but in the entrance examinations. Even if they pass the examinations that test factual knowledge for good citizenship, there is no guarantee they will become good citizens. For many Japanese, knowledge is separated from their practical lives. This gap between theory and practice has always existed in the history of the Japanese school curriculum. Education for good citizenship typifies this gap in the Japanese curriculum. The critical problem in the field of curriculum study in Japan is that there are not many educators who take this problem seriously.

Theory and Practice of Good Citizenship Beyond the Knowledge-Based Curriculum

In 2002, the Ministry of Education introduced a new sphere of curriculum called "*Sougouteki Gakushu no Jikan*" (Time for Comprehensive Learning). Japanese schools had already taught the new subject matter, called "*Seikatsuka*" (The Study of Life), for the first and second grades at elementary schools in the mid-1990s, thereby integrating science and social studies. The Ministry of Education introduced the new curriculum, which was similar to *Seikatsuka,* into all other school grades: 3–12. *Sougouteki Gakushu* aims at implementing the project method that had been developed in the United States in the era of the progressive education movement of the 1920s and 1930s. The Council assumed that *Ikiru Chikara* would be attained through the process of "problem solving" in this type of learning. It was also expected to provide programs for good citizenship through creating a community-based curriculum.

NCS prescribed that *Sougouteki Gakushu no Jikan* should include activities for international understanding, environmental study, IT, welfare and health, and others. These were to be taught in social studies, the sciences, and home economics. But the Ministry of Education found it necessary to clearly set the school hours for those areas of study separate from the hours of traditional subject matter because they assumed that it would be difficult to include such learning activities within traditional subject matters. Among various subjects, social studies kept its central status for educating citizenship. However, many social studies teachers have failed to prepare children for good citizenship.

Because many educators are frustrated with the failure of traditional subject matters, *Sougouteki Gakushu no Jikan* (the project method type learning) was introduced. Students would create their own projects through which they would learn good citizenship. Instead of memorizing factual knowledge, they were required to explore topics relying on their own judgment. Children were encouraged to take responsibility for their own planning and activities. Children's interests and needs were respected because motivation is the most important factor for successful learning. For successful learning, it was essential for the children to listen to their internal voice in their individual minds. Beyond the surface of the factual textbook knowledge, the curriculum asked educators and children to think critically about the ethics they can practice in their everyday lives. A number of outstanding practices and cases developing those activities were reported before Japanese schools officially started the integrated curriculum. It is important to know how the educators developed their own theories and practices.

A Typical Model of Integrated Curriculum in the 1980s

Many of the practices of curriculum integration have been attempted at all levels of school. For instance, Ogawa Elementary School (*Aichi-Ken*) organized a program of creating friendships with the elderly, the handicapped, between Koreans and Japanese, with people from other countries, with the staff of international organizations, and with people in the community. Most of their practices have shown good results in terms of the students' scholastic achievement, passion, and self-discipline in their everyday lives. However, we need a clear-cut analytical framework for interpreting those practices and results if they are to influence the direction and future of educational reforms. Thus, I would assume that an explanation is necessary to identify the reason why curriculum integration is mandatory in Japan.[4] Here, I phrased the transition of Japan's school curriculum from modernism to postmodernism. The first pillar of the modern Japanese curriculum consists in its orientation of self-discipline, punctuality, regularity, autonomy, structural consistency, standardized forms, individuality, and utilitarian value orientation. The school itself is a microcosm of the virtual reality of modern society.

Ogawa Elementary School is well known as a progressive school in Japan. There is a large amount of freedom in managing school life. The children have the freedom to lead their own meetings in the morning, freedom in planning their own lessons, freedom to control their own time, and the freedom of "open time." The freedom to make one's own decisions requires self-responsibility. The freedom of time-management means that the children are obliged to obey their own time-rules once they decide. The freedom of choice of what they explore means that they have to have responsibility to pursue their own goals. Therefore, the freedom of decision making means taking responsibility for one's own judgment. The freedom leads to self-discipline. Self-regulation comes from one's internal voice. Nobody can reach the individual self except through subjectivity. This internalized voice voluntarily springs from the clue of the ego identity.

Even in school baseball games, students are expected to run and take regulated forms in their team formation. As physical education demonstrates, power comes from the bottom up rather than top down. As Foucault describes, the modernism of education is based not on power relations of the human body but on the psychological structuring of human relationships. The internalization of authority made it possible to regulate one's own self. External physical punishment is not necessary for society to control individuals. Individuals are motivated psychologically to punish themselves.

Japan's modernization of curriculum implies the liberation of the individual from the outer control of the human body and soul. If the freedom of the individual's spirit is the ultimate goal of modernism, then the curriculum reform movement aims at the consistent spontaneity of self-control. Modernization demonstrates an optimistic faith in the future. The future is the "promised land" for those who have developed a work ethic in their self-disciplined day-to-day labor. They can enjoy their lives as long as they work hard to increase production. As far as they follow standardized procedures, they are satisfied with the realization of their utilitarian values.

Japan's curriculum reform movement has a postmodernist value in its practice. Traits of postmodernism are typically characterized as its reciprocity, mutuality, dialogue, flexibility, a situation dependency, virtual reality, style, marginality, chaos, and exchanging value orientation. Most curriculum reforms are defined in terms of those traits.

For instance, the "touching" (*Fureai*) program in various schools means that children have contact with the elderly, with city people, and with foreigners. Children demonstrate curiosity and interest in someone different and unfamiliar to them. Difference inspires creative motivation. The discrepancy between the day-to-day life and the unfamiliar produces the inspiration to change. Deviation from the taken-for-granted world provides the opportunity to question and to the wonder about otherness. Children are encouraged be adventurous toward the "real world," which is intangible in their everyday lives in school.

The Symbolic Exchange of Curriculum Discourse in 2011

Modernism and postmodernism are mixed in the teachers' everyday lives and their curriculum practices. It is conceivable that the Japan's schools are transitioning from a modern curriculum towards a postmodern one. There is no distinctive boundary in this transition. It is chaotic but creative. It is not the activity of creating order but of deconstructing the traditional structures of the curriculum.

The pendulum of public curriculum discourse, however, has swung the opposite direction since the new curriculum was issued in 2011. Much of the mass media hysterically attacked the new curriculum due to Japanese students' mediocrity in the achievement scores of international testing, in particular, the PISA test. There is no hard evidence that this so-called mediocrity was caused by the new curriculum. The mass media have been so intensive and extensive in its public discourse that its views have prevailed, true or not.

The decade of curriculum reform after 2002 saw the return of the traditional curriculum framework, emphasizing basic skills. The 2011 curriculum increased time to teach the basic skills, extending the annual hours from approximately 945 to 980 in the upper grades of elementary schools. Progressives lost political support from the public in Japan. The entire ethos of curriculum discourse has moved toward "Back to Basics." It has been predominantly occupying the masses' image of curriculum since the new curriculum was embodied. There is no progress in curriculum thought since this idea has taken control in the curriculum field.

Theories ought to be drivers for exploring the new world. New theories of curriculum will be generated from this chaotic but creative atmosphere. In the past, critical theories and phenomenological curriculum theories were born in such uncertainty. Now is the time to start thinking of the masses and their power and the pseudoconsciousness of curriculum. There is no rationality in the contemporary Japanese curriculum discourse. Reflecting on themselves and their situation, Japanese curriculum researchers must generate their own curriculum theories and develop the power to transform this uncertainty.

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Political Change and Development of Centralized Curriculum Policy in South Korea

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The Introduction of Modern Schools and the Development of Central Control

Until the Korean peninsula was colonized by Japan, Korea had had its own unique educational system for thousands of years. Traditionally, Koreans prized the humanities and regarded the technical subjects as vulgar. The nobility studied Confucian ethics and philosophy in primary community schools, and the practical subjects were for "the common people" and thus not taught in regular schools. All primary schools and some secondary schools were established and managed privately, and the rest of the secondary schools were run by central or provincial governments. The central government was responsible for higher education. Generally speaking, curricula prepared students for the state examination, which was virtually the only means to become a government official for centuries.

Westerners have depicted Korea as "the land of morning-calm" (Gregor 1990) and "the hermit nation" (Griffis 1905) until the feudal dynasty was forced to open the country to foreign intercourse in the mid-nineteenth century. Accordingly, the Western missionaries—Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist, in turn—invaded this apparently serene country, carrying their belief not only in God but also in the superiority of their own culture. They opened, with a small group of children, informal Western style (primary) schools as a part of their missionary work and taught the students arithmetic, reading, writing of the Korean language, and English, as well as the Word of God. The dynasty showed a great interest in the new educational institutions, invited teachers (H.V. Allen, H.B. Gilmore, and B.A. Bunker) from the United States, and established schools in the Western style. They began to teach foreign languages and practical technologies such as medicine in 1886. Those schools were the first modern schools in Korea (Underwood 1926, pp. 11–16).

The government soon provided laws and ordinances for the new modern education along with other policies to reform the whole society. Local educationists began to found new private schools for the children of their own community. These private schools were not under government control, and they could choose teachers and curricular contents as they wanted. In these private schools, some teachers who recognized the peril their country faced from the imperialist powers tried to inculcate s nationalistic spirit in their students and especially to bring to them an awareness of Japan's designs to colonize Korea.

Due to the geopolitical nature of the country, Korea became a target of the powers' competition from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. After winning the Russo-Japan war, Japan forced Korea to conclude a protectorate treaty in 1905, after which Japan intervened in almost all public and political spheres in Korea. The Japanese supervisor started to implant the Japanese educational system and curricula into Korea and oppressed especially the nationalistic private schools.

Even before the 1910 annexation, almost half of the officers of the central Ministry of Education were Japanese. Japanese teachers came into the country and were hired in national and public schools. Class time allocated to Japanese language education was the same as or more than that allocated to the Korean language (Ham 1976, pp. 28–29, 33–34). If a private school did not educate according to the curriculum, it could not be legitimatized as a regular school. Textbooks that had not been published or approved by the Ministry were banned in all schools; this doctrine was aimed at those books used in private schools that promoted patriotism and the spirit of independence. Even after a century, this central control over the administrative process and curricular content of public and private schools, which some call "statist educational policy" (Kim 2004, 2005), remains almost intact and causes various kinds of friction in attempts to localize and diversify education.

Dissatisfied even with this protectorate treaty, Japan in 1910 replaced it with an annexation treaty, making the

Korean peninsula its colony; thus, all the efforts of the Korean government and people to modernize voluntarily the education of this country ended in vain.

Establishment of Central Control: The Colonial Period

The colonial government tried to oppress expansion of resistance against the colonial rule among especially private schools by establishing a strong central control over education. The general aims of education in Korea during the colonial period (1910–1945) were known as "Japanization and mobocracy." The policy of Japanization, or adaptation, was officially stated as "educating the Korean subjects to be loyal to the Japanese Emperor" and mobocracy, or differential education policy, as that "schools should educate pupils aiming at making human workers suitable to their own conditions and standards" (Ham 1976, pp. 65–67). The Japanese colonial officers called their islands "inner continent," and "integration of Korea into inner continent," which were the official slogans that undergirded all the colonial policies. In actuality, the educational policy of colonial Japan was to differentiate Koreans from the Japanese and make Koreans "suitable workers to their own conditions and standards." Underwood (1926), who had been himself a missionary and educator in Korea since the late eighteenth century, summarizes the policy as follows:

> The policy of the government . . . meant to all Koreans three things . . . against all three of which they mentally rebelled. First, separate and different education for Koreans in Korea and Japanese in Korea. Second, the frank and rather bald statement that the chief object of the education offered was the making of loyal citizens of Japan; third, that education in Chosen (Korea) was to be adapted to the backward conditions and low mentality of the people. (p. 192)

Korea was regarded as an object of exploitation, not of investment. Korean students were to learn Japanese as their mother tongue and vocational training was enforced. Those who wanted post-secondary education had to go to Japan because schools for higher education in Korea were not approved. The humanities classes were reduced to the minimum amount in the school curriculum, and neither history nor geography was taught in primary schools. The Japanese controlled, and then closed, private schools, the number of which were more than that of national and public schools. Concerning the private schools, the Proconsul admonished the local governors as follows:

> Among private schools, many are established and managed by foreign missionaries though there are some established by Koreans. Each governor must watch if the schools observe the laws and regulations, if the teachers perform their duties, if they are using textbooks published or approved by the Ministry of Education, and if they inspire useless patriotism and the spirit of independence by teaching some strange songs and others. Especially, mission schools have not been intervened by the Ministry because of diplomatic immunity. From now on, discipline them by emphasizing separation of religion and education, but be cautious not to offend their feelings. (Lee 1948, pp. 180–181).

The policies were particularly noticeable during the first decade of the colonial period. To control private schools, the Japanese not only revised the general educational laws and regulations but also enacted the Private School Law so that the private schools were put in double fetters (Ham 1976, pp. 72–74; Underwood 1926, pp. 195–208). It became more complicated and difficult to establish especially missionary private schools, and teaching of the Bible was legally banned in all schools. Whenever private schools wished to replace their principals or teachers, approval was required from the local Governor. Not merely a certificate but strong command of Japanese was needed to be a school teacher because Japanese was the official medium of instruction. Male teachers had to wear uniforms and sabers while on duty. Even in the traditional informal community schools, which numbered almost 25,000 in the nation, the authorities of education forced the teaching of Japanese and the use of textbooks published or approved by the Ministry (Underwood 1926, p. 179). As a result, the number of the community schools and enrolments had continuously decreased until 1917 after the annexation (pp. 175–178). Great was the resentment not only toward the founders and teachers of the schools but of the general people at this harsh policy over education, and protests soon came into bud.

In January 1918, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson delivered his "14 points address" in a joint session as a major program for world peace, and a year later his proposal was accepted in the Paris Peace Conference after the end of World War I. President Wilson's proposal was based on "the principle of self-determination of peoples" and thus promised restoration of the territories occupied by the imperialist powers in Europe. This proposal inspired Korean students in Japan, and they finally declared independence of their own country on February 8, 1919. Koreans in Korea also heard the declaration and a nationwide independence movement started on March 1, 1919. Missionaries played important roles in the protest, assisting communications between the leaders of the independence movement in Korea and those in exile in Shanghai, China.

Although the movement ended after six months with numerous deaths and arrests, the Japanese government changed its colonial policy, at least outwardly, from a military to a cultural one. The ruling system of the Military Police was abolished, and teachers no longer had to wear sabers in class. The number of years in the school system for Koreans was extended to match the school years for Japanese, and higher education was opened to Koreans.

The principle of "vocational education for the Korean" was partly abrogated, and the humanities reappeared in school subjects along with foreign languages. The government loosened the strict qualifications for private school teachers and tried to appease the foreign missionary educators by relaxing the principle of separation of education from religion.

This change of policy was more illusion than reality. The colonial government organized the Committee of Education to examine the educational demands of the Korean people after the 1919 independence movement. But only three Koreans were appointed to the committee of 28 members. Although the Korean language appeared as a subject in the primary and secondary school curricula, class hours allocated to it were far fewer than those for Japanese. The textbooks of all other subjects were written in Japanese. Korean students still had to learn the Japanese language and Japanese history and geography as if those were their own (Oh 1964, pp. 284–286). In 1922, the new education laws were enacted according to the new policy, but the foremost function of primary and secondary schools remained "cultivating educated workers loyal to the National (Japanese) spirit" (Ham 1976, pp. 120–125). The new education laws exerted highly centralized control over education; even the subjects to be taught in each grade of primary and secondary schools and their class hours per week were regulated by the central government.

Japan declared war on China in 1937, and education in Korea was mobilized towards the war effort. The colonial government assured Koreans that they would be treated equally with the Japanese. The names of the schools for Koreans were changed to match the schools in Japan in an attempt to eliminate opposition among Koreans, but the Korean language became an elective, not required, subject. Korean students were prohibited from speaking Korean in school, and all Koreans were forced to change their names to Japanese names. Students were urged to report friends who spoke Korean.

After the 1941 air raid on Pearl Harbor in the United States, the school years for colleges were shortened so that the colonial government could draft as many young Koreans as possible into the armed services. The humanities in the curriculum were replaced with science and technology, and in 1943, "colleges" were renamed "training centers" that were mobilized for the war. Many students went to the battlefront; others collected materials and food for the war or constructed runways and trenches.

The highly centralized educational administration during the colonial period was one of several authoritarian bureaucracies the Japanese built to control and colonize Korea. Cumings (1995) summarizes:

> The Japanese unquestionably strengthened central bureaucratic power in Korea, demolishing the old balance and tension with the landed aristocracy. Operating from the top down, they effectively penetrated below the county level and into the villages for the first time, and in some ways neither post-colonial Korean state has ever gotten over it: Korea is still a country with remarkably little local autonomy. (pp. 17–18)

Missing an Opportunity to Democratize and Decentralize Curriculum Policy

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese Emperor Hirohito broadcasted unconditional surrender to allied forces, and Korea was liberated. While freed from Japan, Korea was not free, as south of the 38th parallel it was to be ruled under the trusteeship of the United States. As Cumings analyzes (1995, pp. 24–25), there was no historical justification for Korea's division. There was no internal pretext for it either: the 38th parallel was a line never noticed by the Korean people. Regardless of the Korean people's will, the destiny of Korea was determined according to the interests of powerful countries in the same way as it had been under Japan.

The U.S. military appointed to the post of Administrator of Education Captain E. L. Lockard, who had been an English professor at the City College of Chicago. Lockard organized the Korean Committee on Education, composed of 10 boards that were all chaired by Koreans. The Committee undertook the task of replacing Japanese officials, provincial superintendents, principals, and teachers with Koreans. At that time, over 40 percent of primary school teachers were Japanese, and the proportions at the secondary and higher levels were even greater (Sohn 1992, p. 248; Underwood 1951, p. 19). The Committee soon reorganized the Ministry of Education, which was then rearranged and expanded to become an Educational Council. Now it had about 100 members, many of whom had studied in the United States and could communicate with the U.S. military officials. A few were from the American military.

In the new government, Americans employed mostly Koreans who had had worked in the colonial regime; they thought they had no other choice after 36 years of discriminated education: dissident intellectuals had been jailed or deported. According to Truman Doctrine, Americans wanted to make Japan the outpost against the expansion of communism in East Asia after the war. They thought that the prompt stabilization of the political situation in Korea was more important to the reconstruction of Japan than was a thorough reform of colonial legacy (Cumings 1995, pp. 26–33). This de facto policy did little to democratize and decentralize the authoritarian educational policy. As Kim (2004) points out:

> South Korea's education system was built on the foundation left by the Japanese. After their departure, policy makers persistently borrowed from them not only policy ideas but the policy-making procedures permitting bureaucratic manipulation. (p. 522)

The new Ministry of Education adopted almost without modification the decisions made by the council, but the fact that the authorities appointed mainly "experienced" individuals laid the ground for a series of anti-American movements some decades later. Although they were mostly right-wing intellectuals and thus supported the interests of the United States, e.g., obstructing the expansion of communism, they refused to relinquish their own vested interests by a thorough reform of the Japanese colonial legacy. The U.S. military's self-identification as an "occupation force" in contrast to the Soviet military's self-identification in the North as a "liberation army" did not help the American image. The U.S. occupation commander, General John R. Hodge, and his staff have been criticized not only by Koreans (e.g., Sohn 1992) but also by American scholars (e.g., Cumings 1981, 1983) for their ignorance of Korean history and culture.

The Ministry of Education reopened all schools and prepared temporary courses of study for these schools. The use of textbooks written in Japanese was prohibited, and Korean became the instructional language. Great efforts were made to teach Korean, to train teachers, and to publish textbooks in Korean. The government was also concerned about adult education, through which it tried to teach the new social order and eradicate illiteracy. A 6–3-3–4 system, which was the dominant school system in the United States, was adopted as the basic structure of education. Japanese language classes were replaced with Korean ones, and English became a compulsory subject in the secondary school curriculum.

Although textbooks of Korean language and Korean history were promptly published by a few Independent Movement groups that had operated underground during the colonial period, other classes had to depend mainly upon blackboards and materials mimeographed by teachers. Not only the content and method of education but the structures of educational administration did not change much. Although Koreans had their lost identity back, they did not have the opportunity to reform the colonial legacy on their own.

In 1946, the American Military Government arranged a visit to the United States for six Korean educationists according to the Program of Educational Aid from America. This group, named the Korean Educational Commission, was composed of those who had studied in the States and stayed in Washington and met officials of Department of State and Office of Education. The next year, the American government sent the Educational and Informational Survey Mission to Korea in return. Later, this Mission was renamed American Educational Mission to Korea, and it visited Korea 10 times from 1952 to 1961. A Teacher Training Center, school districts, and board of education were established according to the recommendations of the Mission. Korean officials and educators who had studied in the States and American advisors introduced such Deweyan concepts as "experience," "education as life," "integrated subject," "learning by doing," etc., and the integrated subject "Social Studies" was placed in the primary school curriculum. A New Education Movement, mainly based on the theory of progressive education in the United States, expanded throughout the nation, but only in slogan because few teachers and educationists fully understood, appreciated, or practiced the Deweyan educational theory based on democracy. Most teachers had been trained through authoritarian Japanese militarism and the physical, cultural, and political conditions of the day were not supported for the establishment of a "new education."

Student activists argued later that American-led educational policy in this three-year period of American trusteeship was the origin of serious problems. It is true that the American military initiated reconstruction of the Korean education system, and thus some aspects of education (such as the contents of textbooks) were pro-American and pro-Western. But problems of "uniformity, rigidity, and exclusiveness"—which have been described as the major problems of the Korean school curriculum (Ministry of Education 1992)—are in fact vestiges of Japanese colonial rather than postwar American policy. Secondary school students had to wear military-style school uniforms until the 1980s, and the concept of "Nation School," a translation of "*Volksschule*" of the Nazi era, persisted in Korea until 1995. National Curriculum, teacher-centered instruction, and rigid state policy over education cannot be attributed to the "American style" education but to the Japanese colonial legacy.

The New Republic, Civil War, and Inherited Central Control

On August 15, 1948, the three-year American trusteeship ended, and South Korea started its new life as a Republic. The Ministry of Education proclaimed an Education Law in the next year to administer the educational system, which had still been plagued with shortages of teachers, facilities, equipment, and textbooks. Primary education for six years was legislated as compulsory, and school years; contents of education; use of textbooks; and teaching material, technical education, and teacher education were accorded legal status. However, the Law regulated every aspect of education as strictly and uniformly as the colonial government had. Regarding, for example, the content of education, the Law declared that "subjects of schools except for colleges, teachers' colleges, and informal schools shall be prescribed by a Presidential decree, and the courses of study and class hours shall be regulated by the Ministry of Education." The Ministry declared that the government would publish all textbooks for primary schools, and also key textbooks for secondary schools, including those for Korean language and literature, Korean history, civil ethics, and social life. The Ministry required all other textbooks to be approved by the government.

The government's effort to take more specific steps to provide a national curriculum and textbooks was to be delayed due to the war between South and North Korea, which broke out in 1950. The three years of full-scale war made normal schooling almost impossible, and the government promulgated Special Measures for Education during wartime in 1951. These institutionalized a state-level entrance examination for secondary schools, which continued to exist until mid-1970s. The entrance examination for secondary schools, along with college entrance examination system, would later be blamed as one of the major causes of noncritical and "cramming" lessons in the South Korean schools.

The ideological war caused the government to scrutinize the school curriculum and strengthen its ideological content. Anticommunism permeated all humanities, and the word communism became an antonym of the word democracy. This anticommunist ideology and the central control system exerted great influence on the contents and methods of education, and consequently on teachers' autonomy thereafter.

After the war ended—technically it was suspended rather than terminated by the armistice agreement between the United Nations and North Korea—the government set out the first national curriculum for primary and secondary schools, based upon the *Curriculum Handbook for the Schools of Korea* and published by the third American Educational Mission to Korea (Sohn 1992, pp. 446–449). Korean curriculum scholars characterize this curriculum as "subject-centered curriculum" because it was defined officially as the "organization of subjects and other educational activities of schools." The government decided what, when, and how to teach. Courses of study, including detailed chapters and contents, were prepared even for the subjects in which textbooks were not published by the government.

In 1960, the authoritative President Syng-Man Lee, who had been in power from 1948, resigned and took refuge in Hawaii after a series of student protests against rigged elections. The new government tried to delegate some of the central government's decision-making powers to the local governing bodies. As the first step in decentralizing control, local legislators, administrators, members of local Boards of Education, and superintendents were democratically elected. However, even before various democratic measures of the new government were implemented, the new democratic government was overthrown in 1961 by a military coup d'état. Not only central government officials but governors, mayors, and police chiefs were replaced by military officers, and the educational autonomy system was abolished. The military government declared anticommunism to be "its first cause" in order to secure political support from the U.S. government, which had at first been suspicious about the ideological background of Chung-Hee Park, the coup leader. The new regime also pledged to achieve economic development in order to gain the support of the Korean people.

In 1963, the national curriculum was revised and contents justifying the coup were included in the humanities textbooks. "Anti-communism" appeared as a distinct and compulsory subject in the primary school curriculum. At this time, the Deweyan theory of education as experience was officially adopted, and curriculum was defined as "all learning activities which students experience under the guide of the school" (Research Committee of Curriculum and Textbooks 1990, p. 11). Thus, this second national curriculum was later characterized as "experience-centered curriculum" by Korean curricular scholars. William Kilpatrick's Project Method was introduced to teachers, and a peer group problem-solving approach was encouraged. However, peer group problem-solving was often mistakenly taken to mean searching a prescribed answer to the same problem in the same class by group. All curricular decisions were still made by the central government, and teachers were regarded as technicians who should sincerely transmit preselected and organized educational contents to students.

The government's devotion to economic growth brought another impact on school curricula. Efficiency emerged as an important virtue in Korean society and was used as a major excuse to amend the Constitution and hence to perpetuate the authoritarian rule. Variety, differences, and discussions were rejected as inefficient. The Ministry of Education even requested American systems-approach specialists and behavioral psychologists, including Gagné, to analyze the cost-efficiency of the Korean educational system (Morgan and Chadwick 1971). The government instituted and forced students and teachers to memorize the National Charter of Education (1968), which stated that efficiency and practicality "were to be respected." Some educators were fired because they criticized the totalitarian nature of the Charter, which they said was no different from the Japanese Emperor's Edict on Education in the colonial period. In this political and social situation, education was almost indoctrination and Deweyan theory had no place in curriculum practice.

Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (1956, translated into Korean in 1966) and Mager's concept of behavioral objectives (1961, translated into Korean in 1976) were introduced along with behavioral psychology. They enjoyed general popularity among teachers and educators because of their efficiency focus. McClelland's Achievement Motive Theory was used to justify education for economic development, and Chung's definition (1970, p. 15) of education was taught in colleges as the one and only definition: "Education is deliberate change of human behavior." Education was regarded as the means to an end extrinsically imposed, whether it was the country's economic growth or students' success in entrance examinations. Nobody raised serious questions about this aim.

Thus, despite the official definition, the actual curriculum managed by classroom teachers was not unlike traditional subject-centered teaching. Because the state not only had controlled primary and secondary school curriculum but had published or approved their textbooks since the colonial period, textbooks had represented the state authority regarding curricular knowledge. Curriculum was still identified with state published textbooks, and good teaching meant efficient transmission of textbook knowledge to passive students. Continuing vestiges of Japanese imperialism and the powerful hierarchical Confucian tradition could not be excluded from the various factors influencing the centralistic and authoritarian nature of Korean education and curriculum management. There were other reasons why experience-centered curriculum was an empty slogan: the generally low quality of teachers, poor school facilities, and pressures from parents who wanted their children to pass entrance examinations to junior and senior high schools and colleges. Entrance examinations to junior and senior high schools were later abolished for the "normal management of school curriculum" in 1968 and 1974, respectively.

Solidification of Long-Term Dictatorship and Tightening Control Over Education

In 1972, President Chung-Hee Park, who had already been in power for a decade, declared a state of emergency amidst incessant student protests against his tyranny, suspended the Constitution, and dissolved the National Assembly. Presidential term limits were eliminated and a third of the National Assembly members were designated by the President in the new Constitution. Immediately after this second and pro-government coup d'état, the national curriculum was revised again. Contents justifying the new coup were incorporated in subjects like National Ethics, Korean History, Social Life, and even Korean Language. At this time, curriculum was defined officially as the structures of the disciplines (Research Committee of Curriculum and Textbooks 1990, pp. 19–20). Bruner's theory of the structure of knowledge (1959) was fully accepted, and all school subjects were expected to have spiral curricula.

These theories were combined effectively with the already well known Tyler-Bloom-Mager rationale that curriculum should have certain steps. First, aims or objectives should be predetermined. Overall aims should have already been set by the government, usually in the form of a law. Objectives in each subject, each unit, and even in each class were decided by specialists in those subjects under the central control, and these were included in the national curriculum and government-published curriculum guides for teachers. Second, the scope of the contents of each subject was defined to achieve those aims and objectives efficiently. Students of the same age were expected to learn the same contents. Third, the contents were organized in a spiral form by subject specialists. Teachers had to be well acquainted with teaching methods specified in the curriculum guides. Fourth, students' achievement was measured rather than evaluated according to the prespecified aims and objectives and was ranked in a hierarchical order.

Teaching itself could not have great significance because the objectives, contents, teaching method, and evaluation method of each subject were selected and organized by the government. So long as teachers did not raise serious questions about the contents they were teaching nor deny the official teaching method, they were safe. Good teachers were those who transmitted faithfully government-published textbook knowledge. They did not have to research anything because the textbook represented the official knowledge that they were supposed to teach. There were teachers expelled from their schools for teaching "outside the textbooks."

The government was so autocratic in this period that various controls over the contents of classroom teaching, as well as over the press, were complete. Military training had already been a required subject in senior high schools and colleges since the late 1960s, even in girls' high schools. School picnics were officially renamed "military marches." Efficiency for the economic development and national security against the bellicose communists of North Korea were always cited as the excuses for oppression, but were actually means by which the ex-military officers ensured that they stayed in power.

The Korean curricular field in the 1970s was obviously swayed by theories of the structure of the discipline. Peters (1966) and Hirst (1965) contributed not only to justifying Bruner's theory of the structure of the discipline but also to reconsidering what had been taken for granted so far. Peters and Hirst showed, like Dewey, that the current concept of education, and therefore curriculum as a means to an end, was wrong. They denounced the theory of extrinsic values in education that had undergirded the Tyler-Bloom-Mager rationale and aroused advocacy, mainly among professors in colleges and departments of education, for education as an end in itself.

At the same time, dissident teachers who had been expelled from schools formed an important anti-government group. They studied political, especially Marxist, theories of education, including those of Paulo Freire, Martin Carnoy, Louis Althusser, Madan Sarup, and Kevin Harris. Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) had long been banned in South Korea but was now read widely among radical teachers and scholars. Freire's concept of "conscientization" became a common word describing "teaching something anti-governmental or anti-capitalist and therefore communist."

Military Rule and the Resistance

In power for almost two decades, Park's autocratic government collapsed when the chief of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency assassinated the President on October 26, 1979. Despite the Korean people's demands for a freer society and for a civilian democracy, a group of generals who were afraid of losing their power carried out another military coup d'état, killing hundreds of innocent civilians in May 1980.

The national curriculum was revised once again in the year after the new government took power. This time, humanistic theories in education, such as Kelly's, Maslow's, and Rogers's psychology and theory of latent curriculum, were reflected in the new national curriculum. School hours were reduced by one or two hours per week, and the difficulty level of school subjects was lowered. Extracurricular activities were emphasized in order to relieve students of the excessive burden of preparation for college entrance examinations. In addition, integrated subjects were introduced into the primary schools. However, students, especially at the upper secondary level, had to stay at school almost until midnight under the name of "self-study classes" or "compensatory classes," and extracurricular activities were rarely conducted for the students. At the same time, the government banned private tutoring, which had long been a social problem because of its high cost and hence its availability only to the rich. The risk increased the cost, and secret tutoring became a lucrative job. As a result, the overall expenditure by households on private tutoring became greater than that of the government on public education (Kong and Chun 1990). In order to prevent students from focusing only on major subjects such as English and mathematics for college entrance examination, the government ordered colleges to determine admission not only by applicants' performance on college entrance examinations but also their high school grades.

The subsequent iron-fisted rule made the dissident groups even more violent, radical, and sometimes pro-Marxist. After this coup, students began to openly criticize that the United States had preferred autocracy over "instability" in the Korean peninsula. Anti-government riots erupted more frequently than ever. *Time* magazine described protestors as "rebels without a pause" (Greenwald 1987). Young scholars and professors no longer concealed their interest in radical social theories such as the third world theory and dependency theory. Some criticized Korean society as a "neo-colonial monopoly capitalism" (Park and Cho 1989).

The New Sociology of Education from England and Conflict Theory from the United States were introduced to Korea. The New Sociology challenged Korean educators' taken-for-granted view of curriculum, and Anyon's (1979) study of American History textbooks was often quoted in studies that tried to reveal distorted ideologies in Korean school textbooks. Some practitioners and theorists raised fundamental questions about the usefulness and validity of the centralized policy over education, and of the Tyler-Bloom-Mager rationale in the national curriculum (Lee 1982).

The government could not suppress the demand for democracy any more. It had to loosen restrictions on civil rights and freedom. Inspired by the Korean people's desire for freedom, teachers tried to secure more autonomy in their daily teaching practice by organizing a union. Their theoretical support was mainly provided by the teachers who had been expelled from schools. The government did not permit the union, and many teachers who had joined it were fired. Although some of the activists were excessively biased toward Marxist theories of education, their experience enabled them to carry out much practical research, and they began to publish a series of important critiques of the contents of state-published textbooks and classroom knowledge (Union of Subject Teachers 1989; Teachers' Association for Korean Language and Literature Education 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990; Teachers' Association for Moral and Ethics Education 1989; Teachers' Association for History Education 1989; English Teachers' Association 1991; Subject Department in Teachers' Union of Korea 1990; Association of Korean Language & Literature Teachers in Chung-Nam Province 1988). Open education, which had been introduced to Korea with Neill's Summerhill School (Neill 1962), was also revitalized as another possible alternative to the uniform national curriculum.

Civilian Governments and Efforts to Democratize Curriculum Policy

In 1993, the first civilian President was elected after the long military regime, and various steps were embarked upon toward a more democratic and free society. Although the new government did not permit teachers' unions yet, in 1994, most of the teachers who had been fired during the autocratic rule because of what they had taught and of their attempt to organize a union returned to their schools, giving up the union but not its ideals. Teachers' unions were finally legalized in 1999. Military training as a required class, which had been a symbol of both authoritative policy of education and the partitioned state of the country, was eliminated from the high school curriculum in 1995. Content justifying government power was removed from so-called policy subjects.

Since the early 1990s, discussions and actions were carried out to decentralize administrative power in education. Various laws were enacted to separate educational administration from general administration and local education management from central administrative control. The civilian government also organized a Presidential Commission on Education Reform to liberalize and decentralize the educational system in 1994, and since then, this Presidential Commission has been operated under different names. However, the system of local education self-governance currently practiced in South Korea hardly guarantees autonomy and professionalism in educational management because local administrations' financial revenue depends on the central government funds, and the central government applies unnecessarily specific standards and regulations to local education offices (Kim 2002).

Kim (2004, 2005, pp. 13–14) points out South Korea's long-standing "statist culture" as the more fundamental cause of the failure of the education reform. The governments of the civilian leaders, according to him, were not literally "civilian" by the nature of their power basis, and the civilian leaders could not help associating with other power groups such as the military elites and a huge body of bureaucrats. The heterogeneous constituencies within the power groups practically forbade reforms that were injurious to the interests vested in the status quo. Particularly, the bureaucrats manipulated the policy-making process in order to filter reform ideas to policies suitable for their own interest by maintaining or further enhancing state control and management. In the process, the themes of education reform debate were shifted from liberalization, decentralization, and on so on to a reform that would enhance educational performances—in particular, "quality, excellence and the nation's competitiveness."

Thus, until now, bureaucrats tend to be sure that centralized state control over education could ensure individual student's high performance, hence the nation's competitiveness. The civilian governments of South Korea since the 1990s have tried to decentralize the educational policy and reform the uniformity and rigidity of the decision-making process in educational administration on the one hand; the governments' bureaucrats have tried not to lose their control power on the pretext of enhancing educational performances on the other. The centralized control is even reinforced when, as occasioned by the presidential election of 2007, a more conservative political party takes power. Since 2008, all schools in the country have been forced to carry out an annual standardized test on the same day and the test results are compared between schools. Teachers and principals who rejected the national standardized test were punished while the civilian government had claimed "diversification" and "autonomy" of school curriculum as its prime educational policies. Ordinal numbers are no longer designated officially to the national curriculum after the 7th, but it still regulates subjects to be taught in each grade and specifies content, time allotment, teaching method, and evaluation method of each school subject.

South Korean students' academic performances have almost always been ranked in the top five in all areas, for example, among 65 countries on PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2009 by OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) and among 50 countries on TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) 2007 (KICE 2011). Although it is very controversial that primary and secondary students' high performance signifies the nation's competitiveness, it is undeniable that rigid central control over daily teaching practices by the specified national curriculum has contributed the students' high performance. Even a state-run television network (EBS, Educational Broadcasting System) provides students daily with choosing-a-right-answer lessons for subjects in the national curriculum. Thus, an OECD study analysed already that the formal teaching methods prevalent in Korean education emphasized mainly the memorization of fragmentary information rather than creative and critical thinking (OECD 1988).

On a 1989 standardized math test given to 13-year-olds in six countries, Korean students did the best and American students did the worst. On the same test, there was a question, "I am good at mathematics." American students were number one worldwide in answering in the affirmative, with 68 percent. Korean students came in last in this category, only 23 percent answering yes. An analyst of *Time* magazine (Krauthammer 1990) explained that a reason behind American students' "doing bad and feeling good" was because "American students may not know their math, but they have evidently absorbed the lessons of the newly fashionable self-esteem curriculum wherein kids are taught to feel good about themselves." On the other hand, American educators in Korea also pointed out Korean students' low self-esteem, or "doing well and feeling bad" (Ellinger and Carlson 1990, pp. 17–18) —as follows— which showed the negative aspects of highly centralized, rigid, and uniform national curriculum of Korea:

> We emphasize creative problem-solving in mathematics, for instance, while Korean educational system stresses rote memorization, which pays off when students take the typical standardized test. Also, the urgency to succeed and the almost relentless family and societal pressure are not without their toll on Korean students, as evidenced by the high suicide rate.

Summary and Review

One of the most noticeable features in the twentieth century history of curricular reform in Korea was that major political transitions were always followed by reforms of national curricula. Those who seized the political power always needed the reforms in order to add content legitimizing the new governments. New curricula needed to be adapted to new educational and curricular theories, too. Every national curriculum since 1945 was the result of the subtle, sometimes very odd, combination of these two purposes. Hence, official educational policy could not help being authoritarian, and control of the central government over planning and managing the curriculum was almost inevitable. There was, and still is, little room for teachers, students, parents, and even curricular theorists.

Accordingly, the Korean national curriculum has been most vulnerable to Marxist criticism, such as Harris' (1982) view that curriculum in any capitalist society is a major means to present a distorted view of the world and to offer a misrepresentation of reality. This sort of political critique about education and curriculum was so prevalent in some academic circles during the mid-1980s that few in those circles dared to point out its weakness, afraid of being branded conservative. While these political theories identified problems, they failed to offer solutions to the problems.

Another distinctive feature of the Korean history of curriculum is its constant influence by external forces and foreign theories. Centralized control over education began with the Japanese occupation, and American and other Western influences have had big impacts on education and school curriculum since 1945. The lack of indigenous and idiosyncratic theories and practices of curriculum has been pointed out as a major problem in Korean education.

As a possible reaction to this, some radicals sought a way of liberating the Korean curriculum from Western, particularly American influences. In the mid-1980s, North Korean President Il-Sung Kim's version of nationalism, "Idea of Self-Reliance," was introduced to young radicals underground. This movement, however, showed very chauvinistic tendencies and raised another important question of whether it was possible to have an indigenous orientation to education and curriculum without being nationalistic or chauvinistic.

Although civilian governments have taken various measures to decentralize and liberalize Korean education since the 1990s, governments have not yet delegated the right to decide what, how, and when to teach in schools. Whether the reason has to do with administrative procedure or with struggles between power groups, as indicated in the last chapter, a highly specified national curriculum symbolizes rigidity and uniformity of the Korean educational system as a whole. The same level achieved by the same contents taught by the same methods could help students score high on international standardized tests at the cost of the students' self-esteem, creativity, and critical thinking, and of the teachers' autonomy and professionalism.

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25

Curriculum Studies as Reconceptualization Discourse

A Tale of South Korea

Young Chun Kim, Dong Sung Lee, and Jae Hong Joo

> A student: Professor Kim, we took the National Employment Test for Korean Teachers yesterday. And one of test questions was about William Pinar's theory of *currere.* Since we learned it from your course, I earned one point. Thanks.
>
> Professor Kim:
>
> Really, Wow. You got the answer correct. Congratulations. Also, I did not expect to see the Pinar's *currere* appear as a question in the National Test for Korean Teachers.

Introduction

The above dialogue happened seven years ago in Professor Kim's office. The dialogue is unforgettable even today because questions on Pinar's *currere* were unexpected in the National Test for Korean Teachers at the time.[1] He had been teaching it to the undergraduate and graduate students for more than 10 years but suspected that other scholars in South Korea did not value the concept. He was wrong. Things began to change in the early 2000s, and the selection of the question clearly has shown that our South Korean curriculum field has already experienced a paradigm shift. William Pinar's *currere* and other North American curriculum research was now appreciated (Pinar et al. 1995). We welcomed the new age.

Today we are living in the age in which Reconceptualization Discourse (RD) has become the leading discourse in the Korean field of curriculum. Many RD works have been translated into Korean, and many books about RD have been written by Korean researchers over the last 20 years. More importantly, its influence goes beyond the curriculum studies field to fields such as physical education, early child education, and educational technology. Important figures such as William Pinar, Michael Apple, and Jean Clandinin have visited South Korea.

Since RD has been the most powerful/influential stimulus to radically transform the historical tradition of Korean curriculum studies, it is necessary to outline its history here, asking: "When did RD start and how has it grown as a competing discourse in the country?" More specific questions occur, differing according to the readers' ethnic, national, and academic backgrounds. For example, if you are a scholar from the West, you may pose questions such as "What was the popular discourse before RD appeared?", "Whose names and works of the West were introduced?", "Were their interpretations precise and clear?", or "How different was their research compared to the Western approach?" If you are a scholar from a non-Western country, you may pose questions such as "What's going on in curriculum studies in my country?" or "Is my country similar to South Korea?" By answering these questions, one develops comparative and cultural knowledge on the status of RD as an international phenomenon. We presume that our story on RD in South Korea will not limit its importance to South Korea itself.

We have been researching this area since 1995. We have witnessed the changing process as insiders. We make the story more authentic by using not only formal documents but also informal data such as memories, personal experiences, and interactions. Also, triangulation of multiple data will make our presentation of Korean RD more accessible, since sometimes the single use of formal documents may not include the context and background knowledge. We will focus on: 1) the historical development of RD, 2) three major research trends, and 3) three future topics.

History of RD in South Korean Curriculum Studies

Korean curriculum studies began in the early 1950s, after Korea was emancipated from Japanese colonization (S. Hur, 2002). In the published accounts of education before the emancipation, historians focus mainly on the philosophy of education in different periods, the development of school subjects, and school activities (H. Jeong, 2005; D. Soh, 2009). They tended not to examine questions of curriculum.

Curriculum studies were established as a discipline of education after 1945 because Korean scholars, who had studied the field of curriculum in the United States after emancipation, began to disseminate curriculum inquiry in South Korea as a new field in educational research. Thus, since then, South Korean curriculum studies have been influenced principally by U.S. curriculum studies. The first Korean curriculum scholar was Bummo Jung. A former advisee of Ralph Tyler at the University of Chicago, Jung (1956) wrote *Curriculum,* a book based on Tyler's (1969) *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.* Jung's students and followers became university professors and established an academic group that promoted Tyler's rationale for South Korean curriculum studies in the 1960s and 1970s.

The 1970s, S. Hur (2002) explains, was the "age of [the] shaping of Korean curriculum studies" (p. 7). During this period, many North American ideas and theories of curriculum were circulated in Korea, prominent among them Jerome Bruner's (1977) *The Process of Education* and Hilda Taba's (1962) *Curriculum Development,* both of which were translated into Korean. Other imported concepts included mastery learning (based on Benjamin Bloom's 1973 theorization). It became very popular. Given the increasing emphasis on curriculum studies, the Korean Department of Education allowed universities to offer graduate programs in curriculum studies, and the first volume of the *Korean Journal of Curriculum Studies* appeared in 1974.

In the 1980s, Korean curriculum studies emphasized three areas: 1) school curriculum, 2) instructional design theories, and 3) non-Tylerian discourses. The first two areas were prominent in traditionalist curriculum studies; the third area was a new domain. Korean scholars who returned from North America and Europe dispersed the sociology of school curriculum. Other reconceptualist ideas would be imported in the late 1980s. The apparently gracious acceptance of these ideas is not surprising given South Korean curriculum studies' history of being influenced by North American curriculum studies (Y.H. Lee, 2002a).

A number of curriculum scholars in Korea began energetically working to apply Pinar et al.'s (1995) definition of reconceptualization as "a shift in the field's fundamental mission from curriculum development to understanding curriculum" (pp. 186–187). Indeed, reconceptualist discourses were taught and researched as a way of understanding Korean curriculum. Korean researchers believed that curriculum could be improved by analyzing school culture, the hidden curriculum, and the ideologies of textbooks. As a result, nowadays Koreans appreciate that traditionalist curriculum perspectives are not the only discourse in curriculum studies (Y.C. Kim, 2010).

The appearance of RD in South Korea led Koreans to question curriculum "development" as the single best system (Tyack, 1974). Today, Koreans are surrounded by more complex approaches to curriculum (e.g., reproduction, lived experience, emancipation, and deconstruction) including the shift to counter-hegemonic practices akin to Lather's (1986) postmodern conception of "research as praxis."

Despite these important shifts, the major theme of curriculum studies in South Korea remains "curriculum development." It has been the main undertaking of curriculum research in South Korea since the 1950s, and many researchers still think that curriculum involves only developing curriculum. Scholars who are also curriculum developers influence most of the decisions made by the Association of Korean Studies for Curriculum Studies (KSCS), including annual conference themes and research initiatives undertaken with the government Department of Education. In the next sections, we focus on 1) the transplantation age of Western RD, 2) the creative formation age of Korean RD, and 3) the scholarly expansion age of Korean RD.

The Transplantation of RD Korean curriculum studies is no home-grown field; it was adopted. The appearance of RD in South Korea began in the 1980s with translations of Western texts.[2] This importation was consistent with earlier formulations of Korean curriculum studies, themselves borrowed from conceptions devised in the West (Y.C. Kim, 2005a). As noted, Korean curriculum studies after 1945 has been influenced by North America. In a relatively few years, RD became a "trendy" topic among some Korean curriculum scholars. The first wave of translators generally included scholars in the sociology of education or curriculum studies who had trained in the West (especially in the Unites States, Canada, and England). Thanks to these early translations in the 1980s, a considerable number of books first written in English have since been republished in Korean. These translated texts have been assigned to students of education and curriculum studies as required reading for graduate studies and teacher education. For some Korean faculty and students, RD became "the sign of the times."

The texts translated were quite varied, ranging from the early reproduction theory of Bowles and Gintis to the later work of hooks and Peters and Burbules. These translated texts are still read today; they will probably be read in the future. For instance, Apple's (1990) *Ideology and Curriculum* and Giroux, Penna, and Pinar's (1981) *Curriculum and Instruction* have been used since the 1990s as textbooks in many universities, such as Hanyang University, Yonsei University, and Seoul National University. These translated texts shaped the formation of a new generation of researchers. RD scholars participated earlier in various translation projects that spread reconceptualist ideas; their academic careers became associated with the fate of RD in South Korea. Incumbent upon these scholars was the explanation of these texts and the adaptation of the ideas to the specificities of Korean education. Through the explanation of Western curriculum concepts, even mimicry functioned as a productive cultural act in the creation of the new Korean curriculum studies.

The Creative Reformulation of Korean RD The transplantation of Western reconceptualist ideas through translated texts also allowed Korean scholars (B. Kim, 2007; K. Lee, 2006; Y. H. Lee, 2007; M. Park, 2005) to theorize RD from their own perspectives and publish books and articles based on their study of these texts. This creative formation of Korean RD began in the late 1980s and continues to the present day. For example, Kiseok Kim's historic and sociological approach to cultural reproduction and schooling was published in 1987; Young Chun Kim's extensive qualitative research on Korean elementary schools was published in 1997. In addition, Young Chun Kim (2006) edited the book *After Tyler: Curriculum Theorizing 1970–2000.* The book's contributors introduced Western ideas, e.g., Deliberation, Symbolic Interactionism, Ethnomethodology, Phenomenology, Educational Criticism, Narrative Inquiry, Life History, Action Research, Neo-Critical Theory, Feminism, Postmodernism, Orientalism, and Post-colonialism. And they elaborated their significance to the Korean curriculum field.

South Korean scholars revised reconceptualist ideas by using their own knowledge and selecting local examples for Korean readers. Young Chun Kim would argue that such creative "reconceptualization" advanced RD in Korea by introducing new themes and background knowledge. In effect, theorizing RD in South Korean contributed to the reconceptualization of Korean curriculum studies, now linked explicitly to Korean contexts and experiences. South Korean authors revised Western theories of reconceptualization so they could be more easily read by a Korean audience.

This shift in Korean writing from "transplantation" to "creative reformulation" was stimulated by two developments. First, using multiple imported resources not only augmented Korean knowledge of Western ideas, but also enabled Korean scholars to shift from a receptive and passive position to a more active and productive position. They were not simple imitators of Western RD texts anymore, but intellectually independent scholars who, like Western scholars, rewrote RD based on their own creative ideas. Second, this radical change in RD in South Korea quickly led to the composition of a second wave of texts focused less on translated works and more attuned to the expectations of South Korean students of education. Korean students had difficulties comprehending certain concepts, sometimes because they were too complicated, but sometimes because the translation was inadequate. Additionally, Western texts referenced Western examples, leaving some Korean readers feeling alienated by the context.

Confronting these difficulties, South Korean scholars wrote according to their perception of the situatedness of Korean readers. As native speakers, they were able to explain reconceptualist ideas in local terminologies. They labored to make the texts more interesting to Korean readers through the juxtaposition of Western theories and Korean cases. Simple inclusion of Western theories without reference to Korean educational life rendered Western theories too difficult and too foreign. With copious reference to the Korean situation, this second wave of texts addressed Korean readers directly by engaging their everyday life and rendering RD accessible.

Each text emphasizes different elements of reconceptualization while providing a range of specifically Korean references recognizable to Korean readers. Their topics vary from critiques of Tyler's approach (M. Kim, 1991) to the promotion of postmodernism (M. Park, 2005). Notably, most of the texts were written as "general" texts providing introductions to RD and related knowledge. The main topics included definitions of RD and elaborations of the purposes of reconceptualization. Since theoretical knowledge has long been respected in Korean pedagogy, South Korean scholars seriously studied the theories cited as supportive of reconceptualization, writing books on phenomenology, hermeneutics, and feminist theories. Kiseok Kim's (1987, 1994) research is noteworthy as his two-volume work elaborated the concept and role of "cultural capital" in relation to modern schooling.

The Scholarly Expansion of Korean RD Importing reconceptualist ideas not only stimulated academic production and the intellectual advancement of Korean curriculum studies, it also inspired South Korean scholars to expand the potential impact of these concepts on Korean school curriculum practices. The interest in RD moved from translation to recontextualization to pedagogical adaptation to the Korean school curriculum. Concepts such as the hidden curriculum, school culture, and gender discrimination enabled Korean teachers and practitioners to critique in new terms their own schools, curriculum, and teaching.

Prior to RD, school curriculum practices had not often been studied as sites of curriculum inquiry. In this new perspective, the direction of curriculum studies in South Korea slowly moved from "curriculum development" to "understanding curriculum" in classroom contexts and alternative practices. Drawing especially on the perspectives of interpretative and critical approaches, South Korean scholars attempted to redefine and reinterpret the features and roles of Korean schools. Among these features were school culture (J. Lee and Y. Choi, 2007a; Y. S. Lee, W. Jung, and K. Park, 1988; N. Park, 2002), curriculum implementation (M. A. Kim, 2007; S. Kim, 2008; Y. C. Kim, and H. Kang, 2007; M. Sohn), textbooks (J. Joo, 2006; Y. Yoo, 2004), classroom teaching (C. Hur, 2006a; S. J. Kim, 2006; Y. C. Kim, 1997), and teachers' lives (Y. C. Kim, 2005a; KNUE, 2005; J. W. Lee, 2008; N. Park, J. Park, and J. Moon, 2008).

The analysis of the Korean school curriculum advanced the Korean field by expanding local knowledge, encouraging curriculum scholars to glimpse what had not been systematically studied before. Through thick description, sophisticated analysis, and profound interpretation, the familiar world of South Korean schooling became unfamiliar. Using post-positivist curriculum methods, South Korean scholars began to reinterpret Korean schools and curriculum, and engage in a wide range of research on curriculum practices toward a genuine understanding of curriculum-as-planned and curriculum-as-lived (Aoki, 2005 [1985/1991], pp. 231–232). New understandings of South Korea school curriculum emerged from site-based studies. To illustrate, we review three major research trends in South Korea from the 1990s to the 2000s: understanding curriculum variously as 1) ethnographic, 2) neo-critical, and 3) focused on teachers' lives.

Major Research Trends in South Korea

Trend 1: Curriculum Studies as Ethnographic Text As the title implies, this research employs ethnographic methods to understand school curriculum and includes concepts such as thick description, everyday life, and school culture. Because the "inner life" of Korean schooling had never been a prominent research concern in the past, ethnographic portrayals of Korean schooling and curriculum provided opportunities to learn about the experience of teachers and students inside school and classrooms (Y.C. Kim, 1997; Y.H. Lee, 2002b). "Mundane" knowledge of classroom settings and school life now merits academic attention, providing important resources for critically examining the everyday issues of Korean education. An important example of research conducted in this field can be found in *Qualitative Research in Education: Methods and Applications* (Y.S. Lee, and Y.C. Kim, 1998).

The major contribution of ethnographic text was a new understanding of the everyday life and routine in school curriculum, teaching-learning, and stakeholders' educational activities. For the first time, Korean curriculum scholars appreciated how students learn inside classrooms and how teachers teach in actual situations (Y. Cho, 2001; Y.S. Lee, 1991). Also, they were able to discern the significance of the physical, sociocultural structures of Korean schools for students' learning and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1970). Representative ethnographic research themes include: 1) hidden curriculum in the classroom and school, 2) teachers' strategies in classifying students, 3) teachers' professional culture, and 4) parents' and citizens' educational involvement. These ethnographic studies interlinked micro activity strategies of agents with macro contexts.

First, the elaboration of the "hidden curriculum" in Korean schools helped educators to recognize that students learn values in addition to school subjects, especially competition, compliance, and passive ways of thinking. The research findings (C.H. Kim, 2001; M. Kim, 1986; Y.S. Lee, 1990, 1992) required Korean educators to be more attentive to school life and culture, thereby extending their inquiry beyond the formal curriculum. For example, Y.S. Lee's (1992) study of Korean elementary schools was the first to recognize the influences of the hidden curriculum on classroom teaching and student learning in South Korean schools, identifying questions concerning uniformity, authority, obedience, outcome-based evaluation, a culture of corporal punishment, and a culture of competitive learning.

In another research case, H. Lee (2006) revealed how the 7th curriculum is being practiced in schools and the strategies students use to cope with it. This paper discovered that the 7th curriculum in South Korea is being practiced according to cultural principles of "milieu adjustment," "teacher-centered," and "entrance exam-oriented." Milieu adjustment minimizes the student' movements between classes and limits students' choice when it comes to selecting classes. To cope with such curriculum management, the students learn important coping strategies. One such strategy divides the subjects into "exam subject" and "non-exam subjects." Students selectively participated in lessons according to the degree of importance. Another strategy is for the students to regard the upper-level and middle-level classes as teaching the same materials. The hidden curriculum is carried out in close accordance with the entrance-exam system.

Second, ethnographic curriculum studies allowed Korean educators to identify classroom teachers' strategies in classifying students (J.W. Kim, 1999; D.S. Lee, 2009). For instance, J.W. Kim (1999) illuminated the meanings of classification in classroom teaching through a participant-observer study in an elementary school. Kim found that the classification of children in class ("good children," "average children," "poor children"/ "pretty children," and "distracted children") follows from teachers' dealing with the subject and controlling the children. The children who are able to understand the teachers' explanations and complete assigned tasks are classified into "good children." The difference in the school learning opportunity based on performing school work becomes wider as children move up to higher grades (J.W. Kim, 1999).

Thirdly, research on professional culture stressed vivid voices and social realities in the real-life world of schoolteachers. D.H. Lee (2004) described the professional teaching culture of a rural middle-school teacher who, he discovered, experienced conflicts between idealistic and realistic views of teaching as a profession. Teachers emphasized guidance rather than instruction. Relationships between teachers and students, and teachers and parents, were more friendly and informal in rural middle school than in the urban middle schools (D. H. Lee, 2004).

Finally, research on parents' and citizen's educational involvement depicted education stakeholders' participation in schooling. For instance, H. Lee (2005) discovered that parents' activities are divided into two domains: one is "organizational activity" and inspires a feeling of integration; the other is "educational activity" shaping critical consciousness through lecture. Playing an active role as educational citizens enables parents and citizens to attain the identity of *Yeoulin* (H. Lee, 2005). Ethnographic curriculum studies such as these revealed that curriculum, teaching, and learning are not context-free activities and products, but sociocultural products, which are similar to Russian wooden dolls (*Matryoshka*). In other words, everyday life and routine in the school and classroom is deeply related to the macro contexts, including the political, economic, social, cultural, and historical.

Trend 2: Curriculum Studies as Neo-Critical Theory Texts School-based studies using a neo-critical approach made clear the extent to which Korean schools were engaged in social reproduction (Institute of Elementary Schooling Culture, 2003, 2005; M. Kim, 1986; I. Lee, 1991). Guided by the question, "Whose knowledge is surreptitiously reproduced and reinforced as dominant and normal?" South Korean scholars analyzed classroom discourses. As in the West, various aspects of the Korean curriculum—student experience, textbooks, teaching practices, and classroom activities—were critically examined and reinterpreted through critical theories (K. Kim, 1994; H. Koh, 1990). These studies tell us that Korean schooling also plays an important role in reproducing the extant social order (gender, class, political regime, etc.) through explicit and implicit curriculum practices.

Firstly, this research indicated that political ideologies associated with Korean governments during specific periods were strengthened through forms of indoctrination in the content of the school curriculum (Y. Jang, 2005; C. Park, 2007). For instance, Korean nationalism was strongly emphasized in many textbooks in many subject areas during the 1960–1980s. To indoctrinate loyalty to the government, students studied "Military Practicum." Respecting the military government was a major theme of several school subjects. In extracurricular classes, students were asked to sing the national anthem before the first class began; students had to bow to the national flag at the beginning of every lesson. Indeed, since 1945, the national curriculum reform has been driven by the ideological commitments of each new government. These demands were included in newly developed school curricula, especially in new textbooks and curriculum guides. As in the United States (see T. Yu, 2003), "moral education" was devised to inculcate group solidarity and anticommunism among South Korean students (J. Yang, 2008, p. 9). Nationalism was extensively emphasized as the primary virtue of South Korean citizenship.

Second, gender-related issues were also studied through analyses of textbook content, subject matter construction, and classroom management. Major findings found that the daily lives and educational development of women are considered less important than those of men (K. Choo, 1985; C. Hur, 2006b; J. J. Kim, 1985; M. Min, 2002; H. Yoo, 2004). Female students are indoctrinated to be passive and docile by internalizing and representing desirable behaviors such as obedience, patience, and respect for their husbands. Such discriminatory and oppressive practices still exist, even in the first year of Korean elementary schooling (Y. C. Kim, 1997). Using Thorne's (1993) approach to gender analysis, C. Hur (2006b) documented Korean women's experiences of gender stereotyping in secondary schools.

These issues have been recognized since the 1990s by the Korean government. One of the major projects administered by the Department of Women and Welfare was to critically assess the discriminatory content and practices in Korean schools and replace them with a more "gender-fair curriculum" (J. Kim and S. Wang, 1999). However, even though the formal curriculum emphasizes gender equity, the deep-rooted preference for males remains embedded in Korean schools. Interestingly, Korean Confucianism (which considers boys superior to girls) is still reproduced through the not-so-always-hidden curriculum. The emancipatory voices and actions for women's rights have become, however, one of the leading discourses in Korean society in the twenty-first century.

Third, studies of social class were conducted not only by curriculum scholars but by sociologists of education in South Korea. These were inspired by Western reproduction theories, such as economic reproduction theory (S. Bowles and H. Gintis, 1997) or correspondence theory, cultural reproduction theory (P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron, 1977), and resistance theory (H. Giroux, 1983; P. Willis, 1981). Rooted in the Frankfurt School (e.g., Horkheimer, Adorno, Benjamin, Marcuse, and Fromm), these studies criticized the structural functionalism associated with mainstream sociology and curriculum development. According to neo-critical theory, educational expansion is no march of progress toward ever greater equality of opportunity, but a tale of betrayals and false promises. Schools have served and continue to serve as "channeling colonies"—channeling the poor into careers appropriate to their inability as defined by officially sanctioned testing (C. Hurn, 1993).

Western reproduction theories suggested critical insights and implications to Korean academic scholars two decades ago. However, contemporary Korean neo-critical curriculum studies differ from Western versions. Historically, Korean society does not have definite class categories (upper classes, middle classes, the lower classes, and the proletariat) like European countries. As a consequence, Korean curriculum scholars and sociologists of education prefer the Weberian concept of stratification rather than the concept of class of Marx. Recently, research is moving from a normative and macro to an interpretative and micro approach. Among the critical research themes are: 1) the policy of assigning students, 2) *Hakbeolism* as status attainment, and 3) the high school diversification policy. These themes are related to reproduction of educational inequality in Korea.

Korean scholars have studied the policy of assigning students in terms of social class. For example, C.G. Kim (2005) studied whether the policy of assigning students to high schools according to their place of residence is problematic in terms of educational inequality, given patterns of urban segregation. He focused on Seoul, where there is stratification by students' achievement and family income. Kim concluded that low-income students are not disadvantaged due to the neighborhood school policy. Another interesting topic in this area is *Hakbeolism* as a product of status attainment struggles. In Korea society, *Hakbeol* has been criticized as being responsible for ranking universities, instrumentalizing education, obsessing over exams, and contributing to education fever (J. K. Lee, 2003; K. M. Lee, 2007). To evaluate such criticism, K. M. Lee (2007) examined the history of *Hakbeol* formation and discussed relevant issues, construing *Hakbeol* as capital: human, social, and cultural. He concluded that *Hakbeol* is not inherent in education, but a product of status attainment struggles among competing groups. Also, he claimed that *Hakbeol* is perpetuated by academic cronyism. *Hakbeol* has justified the meritocratic idea that inequality is due to fair process. Thus *Hakbeol* serves as a mechanism for establishing and reproducing inequality (K. M. Lee, 2007).

The final emergent research theme concerns the high school diversification policy as an unequal competition system. The high school system in South Korea has undergone significant transformation thanks to the Lee M-B conservative government's diversification policy, which embodies aspects of the classed competition system (J. Son, 2010). In this context, J. Son (2010) analyzed the social characteristics and limits of the Korean high school diversification 300 project (the high school diversification policy) carried out by the Lee M-B government. In particular, he focused on the horizontal stratification of high school as a class practice of the middle class, which tries to obtain academic capital with high status value useful for entrance into top universities. Because horizontal stratification of schools reflects social stratification, lower class and low-achievement students are socially stigmatized and self-excluded. In the university entrance system, the diversification policy has the unintended role of strengthening the university ranking system.

Despite improvements in Korean society, critical curriculum studies remain a high-impact research trend. Social class related research will become a more prominent issue owing to the dominance of neoliberalism in South Korea. In this context, it is reasonable that research on inequality issues, such as the policy of assigning students, *Hakbeolism,* and the diversification policy of high schools, can contribute to social justice and equality.

Trend 3: Curriculum Studies of Teachers' Lives As the phrase *teachers' lives* implies, the purpose of this research is to study Korean teachers' lives from postpositivist perspectives. These perspectives differ dramatically from "process-product" research paradigms (Floden, 2001). The process-product approach to classroom teaching behaviors had been prevalent in Korean quantitative research, educational administration, and teaching effectiveness research. It remains one of the most dominant topics in Korean curriculum research.

This trend is not concerned with the "effectiveness" of teaching behavior but rather with understanding teachers' lives and the worlds they inhabit. Researchers believe that classroom teachers' attitudes about what and how to teach are seriously influenced by their everyday school life. For example, Y. C. Kim's (2005a, 2005b) books *Starry Night: Korean Teachers' Lives and Their World I* and *Starry Night: Korean Teachers' Lives and Their World II* report that teachers with high expectations abandoned their educational philosophy due to peer pressure and the hierarchical school administration. Korean researchers have come to recognize the significance to teaching of teacher's lives, in large part due to reading Western scholars such as Ayers (1993), Bullough (1989), Goodson (1992), and Sykes (2001). Reading the work of these scholars enabled Korean academics to recognize that teachers themselves can be understood as "curriculum makers" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988). Furthermore, studying teachers' lives and learning about their professional expertise is considered significant in understanding the classroom dynamics of school curriculum and, therefore, in utilizing "understanding" for curriculum improvement. Finally, curriculum scholars recognized that the classroom teacher is not simply a passive implementer of curriculum but a key decision maker in the enactment of school curriculum.

Without knowing about teachers' personal, social, and cultural lives, it is not possible to formulate suggestions that might lead to curriculum improvement. Since 2000, Korean researchers have paid sustained attention to studying teachers' lives and their teaching profession (D. H. Kim and K. Park, 2003; S. J. Kim, 2006; Y. C. Kim, 2005a, 2005b; Y. C. Kim, J. Jung, and Y. Lee, 2006; D. S. Lee, 2007; J. Lee and Y. Choi, 2007a, 2007b). The areas studied include: 1) Korean school culture, 2) teachers' responses to the pressures of national educational reform, 3) teaching for university entrance examination, 4) teachers' lives in isolated regions, 5) marginalized teachers' stories, 6) successful teachers' stories, 7) first-year teachers, and 8) Korean teachers' personal practical knowledge (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988). In addition, Kwangju National University of Education (2005) established a Center for the Culture of Elementary Schooling that has produced considerable research on classroom teachers' lives (J. Lee and Y. Choi, 2007a). Teacher development has been heavily researched in curriculum studies, teacher education, and educational administration through life history approaches (Y. C. Kim, J. Jung, and Y. Lee, 2006; H. K. Lee, 2005; J. Lee and Y. Choi, 2007b; J. W. Lee, 2008).

As a consequence of these research initiatives, many teachers have been encouraged to share their classroom stories, students' stories, and school stories based on their autobiographical experiences (W. Jang, 2009; S. J. Kim, 2006; C. Lee, 1998). These tales are often critical of working conditions in schools. The most representative tale in this genre is *The Death of a Baby Bird* by Chiseok Lee (1998). Lee candidly reported teachers' practices of categorizing students and the prevalence of misunderstandings, even conflict, among many teachers. As the subtitle *A Shameful Diary of Teaching by a Classroom Teacher* foretells, the book reveals various negative cultures of Korean schooling: principals' apparently omnipotent power, sexism, and the inappropriate use of school budgets. This book reminded readers of Western texts such as Alex Kotlowitz's (1991) *There Are No Children Here* and Jonathan Kozol's (1967) *Death at an Early Age.*

Inquiry into teachers' lives seems destined to become even more popular in South Korea as many classroom teachers cite such studies as contributing to their professional development. Indeed, research on teachers' lives has received considerable attention from classroom teachers as well as from scholars of education. Classroom teachers have used qualitative research to study their schools and classrooms and have reported on ideas for improvement in master's theses, doctoral dissertations, and professional books (O. Kim, 2010; S. Kim, 2008; D.S. Lee, 2009; N. Park, J. Park, and Moon, 2008).

The use of qualitative methods such as ethnography, action research, narrative inquiry, autobiography, and participant observation indicate the extent to which reconceptualist ideas have been incorporated into South Korean curriculum studies and creatively recontextualized. Combined with critical inquiries into curriculum as a means of social production and reproduction, these methodologies have helped Korean curriculum scholars and teachers to uncover local practices of school knowledge and determine new focuses of research.

Future Topics for Indigenous Curriculum Studies

In continuing the dialogue of the RD in South Korea, we will suggest three future topics of RD. These include: 1) multiculturalism and diversity, 2) postcolonial discourses, and 3) teachers' participatory research as praxis. We think of these three future topics of reconceptualization represent the "Koreanization" of RD. The "Koreanization" of RD denotes the development of an indigenous or context-specific agenda for Korean curricular practices alongside the ideas of Western RD. "Koreanization" represents as well the search for new language, concepts, and terminologies to help Koreans understand Korean practices distinctively and thus differently from the perspective of Western RD (which some regard as a metanarrative implying totality, universality, and absolute knowledge). The "Koreanization" of RD is the development of regional-local curriculum discourses and methodologies that more precisely understand Korean practices.

Multiculturalism and Diversity The topics of multiculturalism and diversity will become more important because Koreans are experiencing social and educational problems related to their multicultural and multiethnic society. Owing to the increasing number of multicultural families, multiculturalism and diversity are now becoming practical issues in South Korean society. The increase of multicultural families in South Korea is induced by demographic changes such as immigrant workers, international marriages, and North Korean defectors.

South Korea is, then, no exception to transnational flows economically, politically, and culturally. The long-standing belief that Korea is an ethnically, linguistically, and culturally "homogeneous" society has been challenged by recent migrant workers, families, and ethnically diverse student populations from different countries (S. Moon, 2010, p. 2). According to the statistical data from the Ministry of Administration and Security (2010) of South Korea, the number of foreigners who dwell in South Korea is about 2.2% (1,106,884) of total residents registered (49,593,665). Foreigners in South Korea are composed of foreigners workers (575,657; 52%), marriage immigrants (125,673; 11.4%), foreign students (77,322; 7%), overseas Koreans (43,703; 4%), other foreigners (103,115; 9.3%), naturalized foreigners by marriage (41,417; 3.7%), naturalized foreigners by other causes (32,308; 2.9%), and children (107,689; 9.7%).

TABLE 25.1
International marriage ratio (%)

Year	Total case	International marriage	Foreign wives	Foreign husbands
2006	330,634	38,759 (11.7)	29,665 (8.9)	9,094 (2.8)
2007	343,559	37,560 (10.9)	28,580 (8.3)	8,980 (2.6)
2008	327,715	36,204 (11.0)	28,163 (8.5)	8,041 (2.5)
2009	309,759	33,300 (10.8)	25,142 (8.1)	8,158 (2.6)

*Resource: Statistics Korea (2010)

TABLE 25.2
The present situation of parents of multicultural families from various nations (January 4, 2008)

	Nations of parents of multicultural families in South Korea													
	Japan	China	USA	Philippines	Vietnam	Thailand	Russia	Mongolia	Indonesia	SouthAsia	Middle Asia	Europe	Other	Total
Children of international marriages	8,601	4,594	216	3,009	864	311	204	216	126	188	124	125	508	11,345
Foreign workers' children	308	284	40	111	30	10	34	368	8	43	39	13	93	1,402
Total	8,909	4,878	256	3,120	894	321	238	584	134	231	163	138	601	20,467
Composition	43.5	23.8	1.3	15.2	4.4	1.6	1.1	2.9	0.7	1.1	0.8	0.7	2.9	100.0

*Resource: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2008)

TABLE 25.3
The number of children of multicultural families (%)

Year	Total	Elementary school	Middle school	High school
2005	7,702	6,334	935	433
2006	9,389	7910	1139	340
2007	14,645	12,190	1,979	476
2008	20,180	16,786	2,527	867
Composition ratio	100.0	84.0	12.9	4.1

*Resource: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2009. 7)

These demographic changes require educators and curriculum scholars to appreciate multiculturalism and diversity as the most pressing issue for South Korean schooling and society. In this context, critical issues such as race, ethnicity, culture, and equality are being intensively researched in South Korean curriculum studies. Western multicultural research is well known (Banks, 2007; Bennett, 2010; Sleeter and Grant, 2009) and has been translated into Korean (O. Kim, J. Kim, and I. Shin, 2009; K. Mo, C. Choi, and M. Kim, 2008; S. Moon, Y.C. Kim, and J. Jung, 2009). Also, many academic and administrative activities have been undertaken. For example, the Korean Association for Multicultural Education's (KAME) 2010 international conference—"Multicultural Education in the Asia-Pacific Region"—was held at Hanyang University in Seoul. James Banks and William Pinar were among the keynote speakers. KAME's 2011 international conference—"Beyond the Nation State: Remodeling of Citizenship Education in a Global Age"—was held at Woosuk University. Among the keynote speakers at the 2012 conference were Christine Sleeter, Carl Grant, and Nicholas Ng-A-Fook. A number of international conferences on multicultural education and globalization were held in 2009: The Ansan Multicultural Education Forum; The Conference of the Department of Education of Kyungnam Province; and The First Annual International Conference of the Korean Association for Multicultural Education. Starting in 2010, a new course called "Understanding Multicultural Education" will be a required class for all elementary schoolteacher candidates at the eleven National Universities of Education.

Research themes on multicultural education include: 1) direction and trends, 2) multicultural families, and 3) teacher education. To begin with, Korean research on the direction of multicultural education suggested philosophical, sociohistorical, and practical implications for creating an indigenous multicultural education (Y. Jo, 2011; C.D. Kang, 2010; S. Kim., and J. Han, 2010). Recently, the concept of nation has faded under the growing influence of multiculturalism under globalization (C.D. Kang, 2010). The racially homogeneous nation view of history and multiculturalism represent two extreme value systems contradicting each other. To harmonize this contradiction, Kang (2010) suggested a "Hongikingan" ideology that broadly benefits all the people, rather than Dangun (the originator of Korean's) ideology of blood descendant. Y. Jo (2011) also reconsidered multicultural education from anthropology and ontology. Because South Korea had been a single-race nation historically, S. Kim and J. Han (2010) pointed out that South Koreans usually think of multicultural education as being only for those who are immigrants (S. Kim and J. Han, 2010). They suggested that the new direction of multicultural education in South Korea should address not only minorities but also majority populations.

Other curriculum scholars also analyzed research trends (I. Chang, 2012; I. Chang and K. Cha, 2012; H.Y. Chun et al., 2008; K. Lee, 2011). For instance, K. Lee (2011) critically analyzed the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology's "Support Plan for Children from Multicultural Families" (2006–2010). There is confusion concerning the meaning of culture as well as misconceptions and prejudices. Also, government and educational policies are focused on matters associated with female immigrants by marriage and their multicultural families (K. Lee, 2011). This research indicates it is time to establish a clear concept, one which goes beyond the notion of assimilation (I. Chang, 2012).

Several curriculum studies explore the life and education of children of multicultural families (E. Bae, 2006; S. Choi, 2011; H.Y. Jo, D.H. Soe, and S.H. Kwon, 2008; Y.C. Kim, D.S. Lee, and Hwang, 2010; D.S. Lee et al., 2010; D.S. Lee, Y.C. Kim, and Hwang, 2012; M.K. Lee, and K.K. Kim, 2009; S.B. Oh, 2006; W.Y. Shim, 2009). This research revealed that multicultural education in Korea stressed assimilation and adaptation for children and parents of multicultural families rather than coexistence and mutual understanding in Korean society. Also, these studies demonstrated that children of multicultural families are disadvantaged in school.

Lastly, researchers have explored teacher education (S. Choi, 2011; S. Kim et al., 2010; Y.C. Kim, D.S. Lee, and C.H. Hwang, 2010; D.S. Lee et al., 2010; D.S. Lee, Y.C. Kim, and Hwang, 2012; K. Mo, 2009; J.H. Na, 2011; Y.K. Park, 2011). For instance, K. Mo (2009) examined current practices of multicultural teacher education and suggested that more courses in multicultural education be offered both in primary and secondary teacher education programs. S. Kim et al. (2010) constructed a conceptual framework for teacher education programs in Korea.

Postcolonial Discourse in Curriculum Studies The second future topic is postcolonial discourse, one of the pressing issues for contemporary and next-generation curriculum scholars, increasingly crucial due to the academic and social desire to restore Korean identity through critical reflection on the past and the present. Scholars have posed questions concerning identity, curriculum, and education that are influenced by Eurocentric and U.S.-centric ideology (H.J. Choi, 2008; J. Joo and J. Cho, 2005; D.H. Kim et al., 2012; D.H. Lee, 1982; J.K. Lee, 1993; G.Y. Min, 2010). They complained that Korean curriculum studies are replicating Eurocentric knowledge (H.J. Choi, 2008; J. Joo, 2006; J. Joo and J. Cho, 2005; D.H. Kim et al., 2012; D.H. Lee, 1982; J.K. Lee, 1993; G.Y. Min, 2010). Several scholars have applied postcolonial theory to curriculum assessment and textbook analysis (J. Joo, 2008, 2009; J. Joo and Y.C. Kim, 2010; A.Y. Kim, 2010; B.Y. Kim, 2004; S.K. Kim, 1997; Y.C. Kim, S.H. Moon and J. Joo, 2012; B.E. Kor, 2005; J.K. Lee, 1993).

J.K. Lee (1993, p. 13) is a sociologist of education who argues that knowledge is transferred from the United States to Korea without critically challenging U.S.-centric discourse: "Korean educational studies are replicating Eurocentric epistemology in their understanding of knowledge, learning and teaching. They are not independent because this reproduction of Eurocentric knowledge is not generated from Korea's context." J.K. Lee (1993) considered Korean educational studies as a "virgin forest." D.H. Lee (1982), who is a philosopher of education, argued that South Korea's educational philosophy is also highly influenced by the United States and that our educational discourses are neither creative nor independent.

Postcolonial scholars include Y.C. Kim (2005c)—author of "Post-colonialism and the Reconceptualization of Korean Curriculum Studies"—and Y.C. Kim, S. Moon, and J. Joo (2012), authors of "Elusive Images of the Other: A Postcolonial Analysis of South Korean World History Textbooks." Y.C. Kim (2005c) has attempted to delineate the possible boundaries and content for postcolonial curriculum inquiry: "How can curriculum studies in Korea be re-territorialized or reconceptualized in order to increase decentered consciousness and decolonized minds?" He summarized the colonized features of Korean scholarship into three categories: curriculum of translation, curriculum of abstract theories, and curriculum of domestication. He proposed six thematic areas: 1) analyzing school curriculum, 2) developing postcolonial curriculum, 3) centering decentered Korean phenomena, 4) demystifying validities of curriculum theories, 5) developing new curriculum metaphors, and 6) self-reflexivity (Y.C. Kim, 2005c, pp. 8–23).

The first research agenda item is to analyze the school curriculum in Korea with postcolonial perspectives. This means to critically analyze how the school curriculum presents and reproduces certain images of America and the West in the Korean curriculum (particularly through textbooks, subject offerings, and extra curriculum) toward ideological control. The second item is to develop a "postcolonial curriculum." This means to select and design a school curriculum enabling Korean students to decolonize consciousness. This approach is considered as an active strategy to enable students to recognize their arrested subjectivities and to develop resistant perspectives and actions against colonial ideologies and practices through classroom instruction. The fourth item is to center what are now decentered Korean phenomena in Korean curriculum studies. The fifth item is the formulation of a new curriculum language. The sixth item on the new Korean research agenda is the representation of our personal and professional activities through self-reflexivity. This means that *our* Korean curriculum scholars will continue to survey our colonized subjectivities vis-à-vis our professional activities. That is, we need to examine continually and self-reflexively how our thinking and study are caught in a cultural web of colonized knowledge (Y.C. Kim, 2005c).

Y.C. Kim, S. Moon, and J. Joo (2012) explored how South Korean history textbooks silence and marginalize historical events and people, and ultimately reproduce Eurocentric ideology. Guided by postcolonial theories, they analyzed how three mainstream high school World History textbooks represent and reproduce various localities as objects subordinated and controlled for centuries by the West. First of all, they conceptualized the criteria to analyze the textbooks from a postcolonial perspective (Fanon, 1967, 1990; Said, 1979; Spivak, 1990). To explicate the ways in which Korean textbooks describe East and West, they used four criteria: 1) constructions of subject/other, 2) discourses of inclusion/exclusion, 3) silencing of voices, and 4) narratives of re-colonization.

The first criterion provides a lens for analyzing how history textbooks construct subjectivity and other contributions of specific nation-states to historical events. The second criterion examines what parts of the histories of specific nation-states are included and excluded in the textbooks. The third refers to whose voices are silenced. Using this criterion, they analyzed whether or not the victims' agony and struggles due to colonization and colonial ideology are discussed in the history textbooks. The final analyzes how colonial ideology is reproduced in textbooks and thus re-colonizes the consciousness of students. The aim was to assess how the textbooks express stereotypes about the East and the West and hierarchical relations.

Kim, Moon, and Joo suggested that educators analyze textbooks in other subject areas as well to see the extent to which colonial ideology is perpetuated. Educators and researchers should also pay more attention to the important role of teachers in helping students become aware of decolonizing perspectives. They asserted that teachers should go beyond the conventional approach in the education of teaching students to "accumulate" object knowledge and a universal value system. Since no knowledge is neutral or objective, teachers need to help students to be independent and critical learners. Furthermore, this study implied that educators and researchers should closely examine neocolonial discourses that are recurring through discursive practices in school textbooks, media, and other communication in a global context. Although their study focused on South Korea's world history textbooks, they hope it opens possibilities for widening critical perspectives (Y.C. Kim, S. Moon, and J. Joo, 2012).

In relation to postcolonial discourse in South Korea, George Orwell's (1949, p. 35) famous warning—"who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past"—reminds us of the relationship between knowledge and power. According to the premises of Orwell

(1949) and Foucault (1980), legitimate knowledge and curriculum are determined by present power-relationships of respective nations. Curriculum is not only a product of the past, but also of the dominant discourse of the present. Postcolonial discourse in Korean curriculum studies demonstrates that the curriculum is not an apolitical and ahistorical product. It empowers scholars and educators to emancipate themselves from dominant and sometimes invisible Western discourse. In our opinion, postcolonial discourse in Korea will become a theoretical catalyst to deconstruct an implicit cartel of knowledge and power derived from Western discourses.

Teachers' Participatory Research: Action Research and (Auto)Biographical Research Teachers' participatory research represents a third future topic for indigenous curriculum studies in Korea. The works of teachers' participatory research can be divided into two branches. On one hand, there is the action research of teachers in schools, and on the other hand, there is the (auto)biographical research of teachers. Teachers' participatory research is focused on praxis in everyday school life, self-reflection in curriculum and instruction, and reflexivity of the teacher-as-researcher. Teachers' participatory research enables them to critically reflect and improve their everyday life and practices in school. The theoretical premise and methodological intimacy empowers them to close the gap between educational theory and educational practice. Action research and (auto)biographical research enables the schoolteacher who is a teacher-researcher to become a subject and agent.

Action research can be divided into two subtopics: 1) teacher professional development and 2) collaborative action research. In this section, we will present several representative examples of Korean action research according to the above subtopics. Along with action research, (auto) biographical research is regarded as a teachers' participatory research for creating indigenous curriculum studies. We will present (auto)biographical studies through two subtopics: 1) identity and perspectives of teachers and 2) teaching experience. Meanwhile, we will regard similar qualitative methodologies such as biography, autobiography, life history, and auto-ethnography as (auto)biographic method, as an inclusive methodological concept.

There has been a long tradition of teacher-research, but most of it has been quantitative (H.K. Lee, 2002). Teachers had struggled to find methodologies that represented their subjective, local, and existential experience. Teachers were conceived of as consumers who applied others' theoretical knowledge to their practice. However, action research is arising as an alternative paradigm. Action research now enables schoolteachers to become subjects of research through inquiring into their own practice (J. Kang and K. So, 2011; H.K. Lee, 2002).

Action research has explored teachers' professional development. For instance, Y.J. Shon, W.K. Son, and H.Y. Jung (2008) studied teacher's expectations concerning action research, including fear. While many teachers expected the improvement of teaching practice using action research, many teachers also worried about their ability to accomplish action research and the fear of making public their teaching practice (Shon, Son, and Jung, 2008). S.H. Kim (2009) investigated teachers' reflective practice in classroom instruction, suggesting that action research accorded teachers the basic conditions for reflective practice in classroom instruction. H. Im and S. Kim (2009) regarded action research as a method to improve practice and to close the gap between researchers and practitioners. Y. Lee (2010) investigated the effects of action research on elementary schoolteachers. This research revealed that action research gave teachers chances to reflect on their classroom process, to better understand their students and their learning process, and to deepen the teaching theories in the field by exploiting the applicability of the theories they had learned. This article also showed that teachers' teaching theories were internalized through action during the action research period. J.S. Kim (2011) explored teachers' perceptions of reflective teaching in terms of subject matter knowledge, instructional design, class material, teachers' practice, and their assessment in the classroom. Instead of short-term studies of teachers' reflective teaching, there needs to be, she suggested, long-term studies of teacher reflective processes and teacher knowledge.

Second, action research explored the theme of collaboration in teacher study groups. H.S. Cho and M.J. Kim (2011) analyzed the meaning of the professional learning community for a primary education teacher who is an action researcher in science education. They found that teachers came to enjoy science and science teaching through collaborative action research. Teachers also enhanced their science teaching competency and treated children with respect as collaborators. B.M. Lee (2010) also explored cooperation among child-care teachers as they participated in action research. Lee found that teachers had strategies to overcome the uncertainties in the research process, such as the ability to make self-inquiring questions, debates with colleagues, and engaging in moral discussions over ethical dilemmas. Through collaborative action research, teachers shared the meaning of collaborative growth in community.

(Auto)Biographical research is regarded as an emerging paradigm for indigenous curriculum studies. The (auto) biographical research emphasizes the cultural, social, economic, political, and historical situatedness of teachers. The (auto)biographical turn in curriculum studies represents methodological intimacy in procedures such as data gathering, data analysis and interpretation, and writing (Y.C. Kim and D.S. Lee, 2011; D.S. Lee, 2012). (Auto) Biographical research focuses especially on 1) the identity and perspective of teachers and 2) the teaching experience.

Korean curriculum scholars (Y.C. Kim, 2006) have reconceptualized the (auto)biographical studies through five criteria (or research themes): 1) teachers' lives (Britzmann, 1989; Bullough, 1989; Bullough and Knowles, 1990; Goodson, 1995; James, 2002; Neumann, 1998; Schubert and Ayers, 1992), 2) the process of teaching and learning (Doerr, 2004; Fernandez, 2003; Frank, 2000; Murray, 1995; Neumann and Peterson, 1997), 3) teachers' practical knowledge (Beattie, 1995; Ben-Peretz, 1995; Clark and Yinger, 1997; Connelly and Clandinin, 1994; Elbaz, 1983), 4) students' lives (Kohl, 1967; Kotlowitz, 1991; Kozol, 1992), and administrators' lives (Bloom and Munro, 1995; Danzig, 1997; Smulyan, 2000; Wolcott, 1973).

(Auto)Biographical studies are illuminating the identity and perspective of the schoolteacher. D. S. Lee (2011a) described his research journey from a schoolteacher to an education researcher through three metaphoric concepts: the "parallel," the "confluence," and the "intersecting point." Lee (2011a) pointed out that improvement of the practical teaching skills of a school teacher was rooted in personal and local theorizing in the pedagogical practices of everyday life. He asserted that a teacher-researcher should be a local theorist who tries to theorize his/her practice. Lee (2011b) also described the identity and perspective of a teacher educator in colleges and graduate schools of education through auto-ethnographic writing. He narrated that the pedagogical content of a teacher educator was not objective and value-free knowledge but a product of academic discourse. And the best way of teaching was not lecturing or student-centeredness, but the shared pursuit for new horizons of knowing and living by mutual understanding of academic knowledge.

(Auto)Biographical studies are also exploring the teaching experience of school teachers. D. S. Lee (2011d) discussed school athlete clubs through auto-ethnographical writing about his teaching experiences in elementary schools. In addition, Lee (2010) studied individual experiences in teaching of underachievers through auto-ethnographical writing. Also, Lee (2011e) scrutinized an alternative perspective to understand and improve physical education (PE) through his scholarly personal narrative. He asserted that the PE specialist was not a technician to transmit exercising skills and to improve students' physical strength, but an educational facilitator who is devoted to education for the whole of person through his (her) knowledge, identity, and consciousness.

The (auto)biographical turn ended estrangement between theory and practice for school teachers (D. S. Lee, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d, 2011e). It proved a teacher-friendly, even therapeutic method for reflecting teachers' everyday lives. Most of all, the (auto) biographical approach enabled school teachers to reflect on their own practices through experimental writing and participant research (D. S. Lee, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d, 2011e). In our opinion, the (auto)biographical turn in curriculum studies in Korea will become a prominent topic and methodology. *Currere* can become an indigenous RD about teacher development, teaching culture, curriculum development, and the reconceptualization of curriculum.

Promise: Reinterpretation and New Meaning of RD in South Korea

To portray the history of RD in South Korea, we identified three key periods: 1) the transplantation of Western RD, 2) its creative reformulation, and 3) its expansion. We discussed three research trends: 1) ethnographic studies 2) neo-critical theory and 3) teachers' lives. Finally, we concluded our tale with the explication of three future topics: multiculturalism and diversity, postcolonial discourse, and teachers' participatory research. These are gaining in popularity, and their academic position will become more important in the future.

We hope our work has enabled the reader to reflect on issues concerning "the implantation of RD in another country," "scholarly comparison in between Korea and my country," or "evaluation of usefulness and relevance of RD in my country." Also, we hope our story is educational and emancipatory in the South Korean curriculum field where the traditional approach to curriculum studies has been more dominant. We have presented the case that RD is researched as an important of a discourse as the traditionalist paradigm is. This disciplinary history complements the history of curriculum reform in South Korea (Y. Lee, 2003). Reporting the RD contributes to the changing political geography of curriculum discourse by making RD more salient and legitimate. To do so is a social political act to breach the historical nexus of knowledge (curriculum studies) and power (traditionalists) as Foucault (1980) has theorized. It will expedite the day when RD is discussed as a legitimate and credible theme in South Korea. In time, curriculum knowledge will be a nomadic practice to theorize or redefine curriculum studies with multiple ideas, methodologies, and perspectives of various disciplines.

The more profound purpose of this chapter is to formally invite and encourage curriculum scholars to seriously consider and discuss this topic as a significant part of the future of international curriculum studies. Even though this story of non-Western narratives of curriculum reconceptualization represents local discourses, in so doing, it advances the field of curriculum internationally by reminding us of the importance of the worldwide discussion. It implores curriculum scholars of RD to begin to address the application of RD in their respective countries. International cooperation and communication through the examination, reflection, and critique of the RD of the West will herald the era of post-Western curriculum studies, where scholars from non-Western countries are valued as contributors as much as Western scholars. Finally, it helps to transgress the fixed boundaries between mainstream (Western) and marginalized (Eastern discourses) groups. As Pinar (Trueit et al., 2003, p. 5) explained, a "worldwide" field of curriculum studies is not uniform nor is it a copy of the American field. The discussion of RD will be international since it is not only a U.S. discourse any more, but a worldwide phenomenon.

Under these conditions, RD is not a colonizing practice to oppress the potential power to create new/nomad/idiosyncratic curriculum discourse of a particular country or another dominant discourse as a colonizing process. Smith's (1999)'s exposition on the role of research as decolonization is needed. We will be more curious about posing questions and creating ideas than in finding answers about RD since reconceptualization asks for redefinition of the tradition (Pinar, 2003; Pinar et al., 1995). Such a new period can be called the "post-reconceptualization" (Cary, 2007), "Reconceptualization of Reconceptualization," or even "De-Reconceptualization," inspired by critiques of Orientalism (Fanon, 1967, 1990; Said, 1979), postcolonialism (Fanon, 1990; Gough, 2004; Hutcheon, 1995; Kanu, 2003), and decolonization (Asher, 2010; Coloma, 2009).

As a concluding remark, we dream that in the near future, more books and publications on the local stories of RD will be available. And the title of the book may be as follows: "Curriculum Studies in South Korea" or "Curriculum Studies in India." Publication and research on RD will be conducted under the general boundary of "International Studies of RD" or "RD and Internationalization of Curriculum Studies." From that perspective, Pinar's series (2003, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) on non-Western curriculum studies is frontier work and has become a practical reference that we have considered as a model. The certain difference and expectation is that we will have more scholars like William Pinar in Africa, Asia, and non-Western countries.

Notes

1. Based on Kim's prior experience as a test-maker in the National Employment Test, the selection was based on the explicit rule that first, the question was drawn from major textbooks that are used for pre-service courses around Korea, and second, all test makers should be unanimous in selecting a particular question. In considering the social and political nature of item selection in the test, we can imagine that the test makers (who are selected from college of education professors) recognized the importance and value of the question through unanimous agreement, and also that there were many textbooks and reference materials available for test makers to depend on and were provided as reasonable sources such as: in which textbooks the concept was introduced, how, by whom it was explained, and why it is important.
2. The transplantation age of RD in Korean curriculum studies began with translations of Western texts. The Western texts translated were quite varied, ranging from the reproduction theory in sociology of education to the works in curriculum studies. The representative Western texts translated in South Korea are as follows.

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26

Tomorrow Never Dies

A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Luxembourgish Curriculum

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Introduction

In 2006, over 80 percent of the Luxembourgish population believed that young people's interest in science is essential for the future prosperity of the Grand Duchy, yet only nine percent were actually satisfied with the quality of science teaching (Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle 2007a, p. 82). This result reflects a European (if not a worldwide) trend: In 2005, over 80 percent of the European adult population agreed that science classes are a major promoter of economic growth in the European Union, but only 15 percent felt comfortable with the quality of science classes in schools (European Commission 2006).

These surveys demonstrate that there is an extremely high public concern for curriculum issues today, a fact ultimately highlighted by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which was launched for the first time in 1997 by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Both PISA and the OECD stress the need for an increased literacy within student populations around the world. Literacy in this context not refers only to the ability to understand the meanings of (nonliterary) texts but also to the ability to use prior (scientific) knowledge and abstract problem-solving competencies to decode and understand every possible issue at stake in every possible future context. Because PISA links literacy skills to economic growth and advocates international comparison, its testing results in the "key subjects" of reading, mathematics, and sciences stirred up heated public debates about the respective national education systems in general and about the curricula in particular.

In the PISA surveys of the years 2000, 2003, 2006, and 2009, Luxembourg achieved results significantly below the OECD average (http://www.men.public.lu). The government used the results to legitimize far-reaching reforms, which led to the introduction of a monitoring system (*Ministerium für Erziehung und Berufsausbildung* 2007) of pilot projects in teaching sciences and mathematics in 2003 *(Ministère de l'éducation nationale et de la Formation professionnelle* 2010, p. 38.) and of education standards in 2008 (*Ministère de l'éducation nationale et de la Formation professionnelle* 2008). The first (primary) school law since 1912 passed parliament in 2009, introducing cycles of learning, competence-oriented forms of learning and teaching, and a new evaluation system assessing students' goal achievements during and at the end of every cycle (Loi du 2009). Explicitly, these reforms were meant to ensure the competitiveness of the Grand Duchy as well as the European Union's capability to sustain economic growth in the context of its Lisbon Strategy (*Ministerium für Erziehung und Berufsausbildung* 2007), the goal of which was to "make Europe the most competitive and the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" (Lisbon European Council 2000).

These developments affected the traditional Luxembourgish curricula in two major respects: In the aftermath of PISA, Luxembourg witnessed attempts to rationalize and centralize curricular discussions with the help of (international) experts, and saw the "scientification" of curriculum research and curriculum content. At first sight, both developments seemed to indicate a rather radical break with the past: Over the past two centuries, curriculum research in Luxembourg was almost exclusively initiated from within the schools, and a scientific or academic tradition of curriculum research did not exist. Up until 2003, Luxembourg did not even have a university, a fact that had a profound impact on any kind of research in Luxembourg, which was mainly undertaken by private initiatives and learned societies until well into the 1980s (Rohstock 2012, p. 3; Meyer 2009). Since the late 1950s, Luxembourg admittedly has developed approaches that can be described as empirical educational research "from below," for example, the *Institut Supérieur d'Etudes et de Recherches Pédagogiques*

(ISERP) and the MAGRIP-Studies, two research initiatives that were supported by international policy agents and that drew on internationally promoted reform projects. Yet, all these groups only came to be publicly institutionalized and supported in the 1980s (Rohstock 2013). Due to the absence of institutionalized educational sciences, it was the Luxembourgish educational elite that dominated curricular discussions, first and foremost the teachers of secondary education. Via teachers' journals, educational theses, national commissions, and extensive negotiations with the ministries, it was mainly practitioners that set the tone of curricular discussions in Luxembourg.

These long-lasting and localized bottom-up processes in the making of the Luxembourgish curriculum can be considered outstanding in Europe. As a result of these close links between local curricular debates and national and international policies, it is necessary to introduce a broader notion of curriculum than the one used in the majority of scientific analyses in European and especially in the German-speaking countries (cf. the chapters of Tröhler and Horlacher/Vincenti, this volume). By taking a rather discursive approach to curriculum (e.g., including an analysis of parliamentary debates, teachers' journals, reports from teachers' conferences, and two newspaper journals with different political backgrounds), we will analyze the complex social negotiations underneath the official and highly normative curricular laws and orders. This approach enables us to

- focus on individual interests and the social processes that link these interests and integrate them into the syllabi (or not),
- put emphasis on the role of schooling as socializing environment, and
- both respond to and include curriculum research and "resistance theories" criticizing the lack of analysis of the "hidden curriculum" and of the practice of schooling itself[2] and its focus on the normative frame of curriculum. (cf. Giroux 2001).

Our emphasis is on the expectations and aims of different agents with regard to how to use knowledge in the construction of the curriculum, be it to reproduce the educational elite, to establish social differentiation or national homogeneity, to challenge or confirm the influences of the strong Roman Catholic Church in Luxembourg, or to address different social and political problems.

Our thesis is a twofold one: We will argue that while Luxembourg (especially since the 1950s) has tried to keep track with the "scientification" and rationalization of the curriculum as promoted by supranational policy agents, this attempt to follow international reform patterns was contradicted by national and local traditions inscribed into the curriculum and classroom practices prevalent at least since the founding of the Luxembourgish nation-state in the early nineteenth century. As our historical account will show, there is no such thing as an objective and politically neutral "expert" knowledge, which national and international policy agents commonly refer to in the attempt to legitimize controversial education reforms.

We will proceed in four steps: First, we will briefly present key facts about the Luxembourgish school system and the curricular decision processes, and secondly, analyze the historical construction of the curriculum during the last two centuries. Thirdly, we will trace back the curricular debates that took place during the Cold War and the reforms in mathematics and science education following the Sputnik crisis of the late 1950s. Here we will show that even during the Cold War era, which put the education system under heavy pressure, curricular traditions and notions of *Bildung* proved extremely persistent. Fourthly, we will think about what these results probably mean for the construction of the curriculum in the twenty-first century.

The Luxembourgish School System and Curricular Decision Processes

In school year 2010/11, Luxembourg had a total of 94,401 students, 81,733 of whom were enrolled in public schools (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2012, p. 12). The public education system[3] consists of *école fondamentale,* or primary school, followed by *enseignement postprimaire,* or secondary school.[4] *L'éducation différenciée,* or differentiated education, is offered for students with special learning needs or disabilities.

Luxembourg has a unique demographic make-up with 43.2 percent of its 511,800 inhabitants having a foreign nationality, and its schools reflect the diversity of the population (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2011, p. 104). Students of a foreign nationality made up 41.7 percent of the student population in school year 2010/11, with Portuguese students representing the largest foreign nationality at 23.1 percent of all students (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2011, p. 15, 16). School year 2008/09 marked the first year in which a majority of students in *école fondamentale* spoke a language other than Luxembourgish as their first language at home. As the 1984 language law established Luxembourgish, French, and German as officially recognized languages, the Luxembourgish school system incorporates all three of these languages. Luxembourgish is the medium of communication for cycle one (the first two years) of *école fondamentale.* The focus shifts to German for cycles 2 to 4 of *école fondamentale,* with French being introduced in the fifth trimester of cycle 2. Learning languages is given high priority in the schools, which is reflected by the number of lessons per week dedicated to languages in *école fondamentale.*[5] Students also add a fourth language, English, during their secondary education.

The *école fondamentale* consists of nine years of study divided into four *cycles d'apprentissage,* or cycles of learning (Loi du 2009). Secondary education in Luxembourg consists of a *lycée* system, and students either attend an *école secondaire* (*lycée général*) or an *école secondaire technique (lycée technique*).

The *école secondaire* lasts seven years, provides general studies in humanities, literature, math, and natural sciences, and is designed to prepare students for university studies. The inferior classes focus on transitioning students from *école fondamentale,* and the main language of instruction is German, with the exception of the subjects of French and math, which is taught in French. In contrast, the superior classes are taught in French, with the exception being the subjects of German and English. In the fifth year of study at the *école secondaire,* students must choose to study in one of seven sections. At the end of the seventh year of study, students take their *examen de fin d'études secondaires,* a final exam that, if passed, allows them to receive their diploma and gain access to higher education.

The *école secondaire technique* prepares students for professional life, although it is also possible to access university studies after graduating from a technical school. The *école secondaire technique* lasts between six to eight years, depending on the student's course of study and degree of specialization.

The curricular documents from the National Archives and the National Library (altogether over 12,000 curricular sources) allow for a detailed depiction of curricular processes in Luxembourg and show the variety of agents involved in their construction: While the major school laws—the basis for the curriculum—are passed by Parliament (*Chambre des Députés*) after having heard the counselors of the government (*Conseiller de Gouverenement*) and either the Commission of Instruction (which is responsible for the control of primary education) or the teachers' conferences and the school headmasters of each secondary school (for secondary education), they leave various possibilities negotiating the curriculum flexibly. For primary education, many responsibilities to change and adapt the curriculum have been left to the local councils, which only have to submit an annual report to the inspectors (again passing a report to the ministry). Secondary Education is even more based on face-to-face negotiations between the ministry and the different schools. These complex processes can be seen in the triple structure of the ministerial correspondence, which not only exists between the ministry and the headmasters and teachers' conferences, but also between the conferences and headmasters of the different schools, and between the conferences and the special commissions of secondary teachers, which are only constituted if special problems are to be solved.[6]

The Making of the Luxembourgish Curriculum. Science, Roman Catholic Morals, and Social Differentiation in the Wake of the Nation-State

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Luxembourgish newspapers and teachers' journals as well as celebratory speeches emphasized the increased societal importance of knowledge, yet stretching its meaning to varying content. While stressing the significance of knowledge for the society of the Grand Duchy in general, the influential daily paper *Luxemburger Wort,* for instance, linked knowledge merely with *Volksbildung* (popular education), a concept that was intended for the education of the lower classes only. The notion of "knowledge" as used in the Luxembourgish society at the beginning of the twentieth century was closely connected to the needs of practical, national, and moral education:

> We are a people keen on education. The urge for knowledge and the joy of learning have gained ground; the rising social classes are as anxious about acquiring every kind of knowledge as never before. . . . Therefore we have to let in everything worth knowing about the Modern Age in our elementary school, as far as convenient with the aims and tasks of mass education, everything that is necessary and useful, the pleasant and comfortable; fine words and entertaining stories don't serve the interest of the new generation anymore; already at an early age it wants to achieve knowledge about the real world, to study the progress of understanding and make use of it.[7](Meyers [Luxemburger Wort] 1911)

By contrast, in secondary education, especially in the *lycée classique,* the concept of knowledge was almost unknown. Here it was *scientia* that dominated the discussions, a term that many Luxembourgers equated with the German concept of *Allgemeinbildung* (general education) or *humanistischer Bildung* (humanist education) (Anonymous 1906). Other than knowledge, *Bildung* was understood as an end in itself, an ideal of a societal elite not in need of practical usability.

This distinction between "realistic" and pragmatic *Volksbildung* and "humanistic" *Bildung* found entrance in the Luxembourgish curriculum and has ever since structured the curricular debates. Closely connected to the construction of the nation-state, it was inherent in schooling and everyday practice and, over the centuries, became an unquestioned and idiosyncratic feature of the Luxembourgish school system. Therefore, while striving for national unity, the political authorities from the beginning have fostered differentiation: social and regional, in language teaching and in moral and science education.

Social and Regional Differentiation Compulsory school attendance is one of the measures most often considered as strengthening national unity (Gellner 1995, p. 91). But while surely the aim of the Luxembourgish authorities was to unify the young nation, the very same law introducing compulsory attendance of primary schools in Luxembourg in 1881 also codified the possibility of regional differentiation, saying that "if local conditions indicate it, the local council can change the syllabus" (School law 1881, p. 374). With this, a very specific "localism" was worked into the Luxembourgish school system and the construction of the curricula that proved to be indestructible for the following century.

The authorities merely designed a model-syllabus that was modified and adjusted by each of the eleven cantons in Luxembourg (Seyler, [Kanton Wiltz] 1864). During the following century, the right of the local councils to adapt the syllabus to their needs remained strong, as can be seen in the syllabus of 1989. It prescribes in bold letters that the local council can add subjects to and remove them from the timetable, and that the local circumstances have to be taken into account. In addition to that, it schedules a specific timeslot *Objets et sujet divers* that can be filled differently by each school (Syllabus of 1989, p. 1).

The regional differentiation in the syllabi was also a tool for social differentiation: For example, the students in the suburban schools had, in contrast to the students in the city, special lessons in different school subjects, such as history and geography, at the expense of French, the language spoken by the urban elite (*Lehrplan für die Primärschulen der Stadt Luxemburg* 1901, pp. 26–27). New subjects found their way into the curriculum, that per se allowed for local differentiation, such as local studies, (*Milieu local, Heimatkunde*), and object lessons (*Anschauungsunterricht*), which both were permanent parts of the curriculum at least until 1989. Both subjects were based on the study of the "direct environment of the children," dealing especially with local economy and administration. This was enforced by reforms at the end of the nineteenth century pleading for the primary school to become a "work school" (*Arbeitsschule*), which as a consequence led to an even stronger regionalization (e.g., Anonymous 1908) as demanded by the primary school teachers: "With vehemence, the local conditions have to have determining influence on the syllabus, as we were unmistakably taught by the past of our rural postprimary education [*Fortbildungsschule*][8] (Pharus 1911, p. 269).

While in 1916 the upper primary teachers did not want their schools to become regional schools with predominant economy lessons in 1916, from 1936 onwards, they asked for an even stronger regionalization of the upper primary schools (Wagner 1936, p. 40). The suggestions for courses included agricultural or commercial accounting, chemistry, theoretical and practical horticulture and agriculture, mechanics, electricity, technology, mining, as well as courses for floor men, shop assistants, and construction workers. The new syllabus for upper primary schools of 1939 (the last before World War II) codified different contents of the natural sciences for different schools and classes, designing special agricultural, viticultural, artisanal, and mine worker courses for different regions (Syllabus of 1939, p. 151ff.). The textbooks used in the upper primary schools and *Fortbildungsschulen* also included different exercises according to the different regional circumstances (e.g., Luxemburger Lehrerverband 1925). This regionalization mainly took place in the lower school branches, but not in higher secondary education, as classical *Bildung* was regarded as something universal.

The Luxembourgish school system is a highly stratified one. Not only the structure of the school system (including an elaborate tracking system) but also the curriculum includes a strong social differentiation. Although Luxembourg, under the heading of a socially inclusive policy, started to expand access to education beyond primary education at the end of the nineteenth century, the school law introduced separate school types for the lower classes somewhere in between primary and secondary education. This led to a dualism in secondary education—a dualism that found its linguistic representation in the terms of postprimary education (including the schools beyond primary school which were not secondary school) versus secondary education. The lower branches included in postprimary education, as well as the so-called industrial schools,[9] put greater emphasis on the actual needs of their students and the usability of knowledge. This was due to the increasing industrialization of the Grand Duchy. Social differentiation, which started in primary school (cf. Schreiber 2012) continued in higher education: at the end of the nineteenth century, only three percent of Luxembourg's students attended secondary schools, while postprimary schools taught up to about 20 percent (*Statistiques historiques* 1990). Secondary education prepared its students for studying at a university abroad, but postprimary education was homebound. Postprimary education reflected curricular patterns of the primary school, understanding education as a medium to prepare the students for practicing social and Christian virtues (School law of 1881, p. 374), whereas secondary schools followed German theories seeing *Bildung* as an end in itself that did not need any orientation to practical life. This influenced secondary education throughout the subject table, where history first and foremost meant ancient history, natural sciences contained cosmography and geology seemingly capable of sharpening the students' aesthetic capabilities, and drawing included artistic drawing instead of technical drawing. Ancient languages occupied a huge part of the syllabus.[10] That they were generally taught in the first hours of every day is a telling constructing principle of the Luxembourgish curriculum (e.g., *Progymnase d'Echternach* 1889).

Language Education Language education dominated the curricular discussions in Luxembourg at least until the 1960s and has stayed an important element of schooling in Luxembourg until today. Not only was the Luxembourgish trilingualism (Luxembourgish, German, and French) perceived as an important part of the Luxembourgish national identity and was thus made an essential part of all school curricula in Luxembourg, but foreign language education was also used as a matter of social differentiation: Secondary schools put the ancient languages at the core of their schooling activities. The dominance of Latin was not seriously contested at least until the 1960s. The students' libraries in the secondary school were filled with collections of ancient authors, while the postprimary schools more and more integrated English and French as essential parts in their curriculum. Moreover, the law prescribed an equilibrium between the two teaching languages, namely

German and French (School law 1861, p. 80). Science education played only a marginal role.

Practical Knowledge The emergence of specific subjects dealing with "realities" (natural history, history, and geography) in the late nineteenth century was tailored to the education of students in the lower school branches. The objective of the authorities was that the education of these students had to be linked with practical experiences made in their immediate environment. On the one hand, this was to guarantee optimal job preparation; on the other hand, the authorities were aiming at the social and moral education of the future workers fearing for the autarchy and competitiveness of the small Luxembourgish state:

> From day to day, there are new inventions made in industry. . . . If our people are not prepared to utilize them, foreigners will come . . . and take away the most rewarding jobs. A state can only exist as long as its sources of income make up for everybody's aliment. It has to do its utmost to increase the production to its maximum. . . . This task will be facilitated if the state has an army of workers at its disposal, willing and able to work and produce and at once able to put inventions and improvements into practice.[11] (*Autorenkollektiv* 1916)

In 1902, the Luxembourgish Primary School Teachers' Conference passed Twenty Clauses on Scientific and Economic Education in Primary School. They pleaded to put scientific and economic education into the primary curriculum, "rightly appreciating the task of the elementary school [*Volksschule*] . . . which besides general education must have the aim of equipping youth with practical knowledge that they need for their later progress whenever possible"[12] (Schmit 1902, pp. 348–350).

Math education was thoroughly adjusted to national economic calculations, just as *histoire naturelle* (natural history)—the engagement with the entire flora and fauna (still a focal point in 1914)—was reduced to topics like "the field," acquainting the students with the basics of agriculture, or "in the soil" mediating essential knowledge for the steel industry (iron and steel and the origin and extraction of coal). In the upper primary school, we can find very similar developments, heading for the modernization of curricula: Initiated by the *Memorandum zur Reform der Oberprimärschulen* in 1916 the "traits of the modern upper primary school [should] be 1st In favor of the technologies of our modern time, 2nd With the technologies of our modern time 3rd Beyond school 4th Into life"[13] (Memorandum for reform of the upper primary schools 1916). The reform of 1939 aimed at orienting school closer to cultural, local, and economic needs, realizing demands for English lessons and for applied mathematics instead of "pure" mathematics.

Occurring within the discussions about useful education, first demands for an explicit civic education came up in mid-nineteenth century, again focused on the lower school branches. This civic education was by no means meant to replace religious education—the declared aim was the formation of the Christian cosmopolitan instead (Anonymous 1848, p. 3). Citizenship education very clearly concentrated on aspects relating to Luxembourg's autarchy: its constitution, administration and justice, military, police, state security, and industry and commerce, but also on the improvement of primary education and the necessity of state taxes (Programm der permanenten Normalschule 1847, pp. 276f.). It was not until the twentieth century that civics found its curricular place as a specific subject: Luxembourg's important school law of 1912 and the following syllabi introduced the *instruction civique* as obligatory subject in primary and postprimary education, while secondary schools introduced lessons in "public laws." While the latter was concerned with Luxembourgish laws only, the former included much broader knowledge in "history, geography, economy, legislation and . . . industrial and commercial life of our country" (School law 1912, pp. 1072f.). Beside the topics of family, township and state, and laws and justice, the lessons were focused especially on state finances and economy. Teacher training also increasingly included civics as an examination subject (order of 14.03.1913), and even the school headmasters, the professors of the Normal School, and the primary school inspectors had to take an examination in civics (order of 09.01.1914).

Science Linked to Morals The content of civics already shows an emphasis not only on knowledge but on moral education and character formation. Especially in the twentieth century, it focused more closely on combating social and moral problems by dealing with topics such as housing; hygiene/ health and nutrition (e.g., Bürgerstein 1914); alcoholism; industrial accidents; and moral and economic values of the industrial works, such as thriftiness, work enthusiasm, and cases of illness (e.g., *Autorenkollektiv* 1916). And again, the Luxembourgish school system differentiated between which kind of moral and social education was needed for which part of the population: discussions about girls' education, for example, considered female schools to be much more mindful of moral and religious education (cf. Schreiber 2012), and most of the above-mentioned topics like hygiene, alcoholism, and thriftiness were nearly exclusively addressed in mandatory education. It was the educational elite, that—within the curricular discussions—apparently reacted to a perceived moral deficit in the lower social classes.

In Roman Catholic Luxembourg, the concept of usable knowledge mediated in school was apparently not limited to what the Church referred to as "materialist education" in this world, but also to prepare students for the next world, since, as the headmaster of the Normal School put it in 1878, the aim should not be a pure materialistic education for Cosmopolitan Citizenry and Humanity, and should not only aim at life on Earth, and prepare children for their later professions, but also prepare them for the after-life (Müller 1879, p. 247).

Curricular Developments in the Cold War Era, 1950–1990

The Sputnik Crisis and its Perception in Luxembourg The so-called Sputnik shock (1957) initiated a heated debate on schooling and curriculum reform in the Western world, and Luxembourg was no exception. Sputnik symbolized a threat to the security of the Western world and a challenge to the belief in the superiority of science and technology in the United States and Western Europe. And it played a very important role in the educational reform movement, as many argued that the perceived "technology gap" between the Soviet Union and the "free world" could only be bridged with the help of better educated students and especially with the help of better mathematics and science curricula.

While in the United States the educational debates of the 1950s and 1960s were already under way when Sputnik was launched by the Soviet Union, the technological challenge coming from a communist country hit Western Europe largely unprepared. In the United States, far-reaching educational reforms were undertaken by educators, scientists, and mathematicians with the public supporting their efforts, but the reactions in Western Europe were much more restrained. Nevertheless, the Soviet satellite did fuel the movement for curriculum reform in Europe and posed a challenge for the mostly conservative teachers and teachers' unions in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. While many in the United States and also in Western Europe tried to use Sputnik as an event touching off a curriculum revision and putting mathematics, technology, etc. on the educational agenda, conservative and more cautious educators in Luxembourg believed the Sputnik debate would endanger their predominantly humanistic educational ideal.

The most important daily newspaper in Luxembourg, the conservative Roman Catholic *Luxemburger Wort,* saw the Sputnik satellite as a technologically superior product of a politically and ethically inferior system. Sputnik was the frightening symbol of the feat a totalitarian country like the Soviet Union could accomplish, simply because they were able to devote large resources to one aim only while the "free western world" was squandering its possibilities, not exactly knowing where to go. The conclusion for the *Luxemburger Wort* was clear: Western Europe had to find ways of working together more closely: "The signals from space have no other meaning for the free countries of Europe than: Unify, unify, unify!" (LW October 16, 1957, p. 3).

This process of cooperation was to strengthen the technological and scientific powers of the free European countries. It was to be complemented by a new era of education in Luxembourg, enabling the small Grand Duchy to make its contribution. School reform and curriculum reform in particular were considered a means of "intellectual self-defense" against the threats of Soviet "slavery" (LW November 19, 1957, p. 3). This "intellectual self-defense" did not mean that everybody should profit from educational reform, but that mainly the higher branches of secondary education needed a complete overhaul. While the American educational discussion quickly concentrated on the importance of new mathematics and science curricula, the Luxembourg debate was broader, less focused, and trying to find a compromise between the notions of classical education (*Bildung*) and the need for new curricular concepts. On the one hand, the Luxembourg Socialists (and their party the "LSAP") stressed the importance of mathematics and science education supporting curricular reforms similar to those in the United States (Tageblatt December 11, 1957, p. 8); the Conservatives, on the other hand, demanded the teaching of ethics in schools fearing that the ideal of humanist education was threatened by the "cult of technology" (LW February 10, 1958, p. 3). For the culturally and politically dominant Conservatives, it was clear that technological and scientific progress in general posed new questions in the field of education making a reform necessary, but they did not want to go the "American" way. Instead, they stressed the dangers of new technologies and the importance of educating the future generation so that they could handle these technologies in a responsible way. The Minister of Education, Pierre Frieden (CSV), particularly stressed the importance of ethical and religious education enabling the young to cope with the challenges of the new times (LW February 10, 1958, p. 3). And at a 1965 OECD colloquium held in Luxembourg, the CSV Minister of Science Pierre Grégoire, a national literary figure, refused to fully indulge in the scientific hyperbole proffered by Alexander King, the OECD Director for Scientific Affairs and Grégoire's comrade-in-arms on the conference's international podium. Under no circumstances, Grégoire told the more than 80 delegates gathered from all over the world, should scientific research pursue a purely rationalistic understanding of science, but instead, it must always include "humanistic, philosophical, and ethical dimensions" (Grégoire 1965). But the Conservatives also made clear, that science education had to become more important in Luxembourg. In 1958 Pierre Frieden proclaimed: "Those, who have the best scientists will win the Cold War. Those, who have the best scientists will win the economic war!" (LW February 27, 1958, p. 3).

Science for the Elite: Curricular Reforms in Secondary Schools, 1950–1970 Taking this "call to arms" literally, Luxembourg participated in international curricular activities fostered by supranational organizations like OECD and UNESCO since the late 1950s. These activities in general followed a new scientification paradigm that was on the rise at least since the turn of the century, but in the threatening atmosphere of the Cold War era, gathered speed. Together with cognitive psychologists—the rising stars in education science since the 1960s—former military experts like the Swede Torsten Husén or the Americans Jerome S. Bruner and Jerrold Zacharias engaged in curricular debates and tried to rationalize and systematize schooling along the lines of military and weapon systems, which they had helped to develop in WW II (Rudolph 2002). The alliance of operation research, which was used by the Allied Forces in World War II, and cognitive psychology had significant effects on curricula debates all around the world. Whether it was physics, mathematics, geography, or biology, the numerous study groups for the reform of curricula—which in the 1960s sprang up overnight and were headed by leading scientists (Pinar 2008)—fostered abstract problem solving skills, logical operations, and general understanding of subject matter rather than the learning of facts. In the future, just as it had taken place in scientific research during and after World War II, teaching would be oriented to mandatory target goals. Structure was the new magic word, and schools had to subordinate themselves to this principle. The teacher had to furnish the student with knowledge structures, a process that psychologist Jerome Bruner called "scaffolding." Scaffolding, as David Olson, a student of Bruner, remembered, "was the application of an engineering model to pedagogical practice. The teacher constructed a scaffold that could be used to support the efforts of the learner to construct his or her own understandings. Once complete, the scaffold could be removed and the learner's own mental structures would sustain understanding and enquiry" (Olson 2007, p. 45). According to this perspective, the function of the school was to transform the human mind into a decoding system that could break down every imaginable code that might arise in a future environment (Brunner 2006). In this way, universally applicable and future-directed ways of thinking found their way into curricular discussions, and in that place, they suppressed traditional present-oriented, spatially, historically, and culturally contextualized subject matter (Rohstock and Tröhler 2012).

In the case of mathematics, a new curricular movement called New Math evolved in the 1960s and rapidly spread in the Western hemisphere. With its highly formal and abstract language, it attracted scientists and mathematicians from all over the world: addition, subtraction, and multiplication became "commutative, associative, and distributive axioms," a sum was a "union of sets" and a subtraction an "additive inverse," while a triangle had to be defined as "the union of three noncollinear points and the line segments joining them" (Sommer 1984, p. 32). As was the hope of many protagonists of the movement, this abstract coding of mathematical language would foster scientific thinking within the student population. The students should become scientists and student-researchers with an active capability for scientific literacy, a term that today is widely used in the context of PISA but came up as early as 1958 (Millar 2008, p. 43). In 1965, Tom Lehrer, a well-known American mathematician and artist, wrote a satirical song that made fun of the general manner in which mathematics from now on should be taught in schools: "In the new approach," Lehrer sang winking, "the important thing is to understand what you're doing rather than to get the right answer."[14]

Luxembourg was one of the first nations to participate in these international curricular activities. In 1949, a standing National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO was founded in Luxembourg. The Commission not only worked closely with high-level delegates, experts, and other national representatives of UNESCO who made regular visits to the Grand Duchy, but it was also called upon to actively cooperate with other international bodies, specifically the OECD and the Council of Europe. The first president of this commission was a well-known Luxembourgish economist and historian, Albert Calmes. Many of its subsequent presidents also functioned as political advisers in their home countries. As a UNESCO member, Luxembourg even went on to launch significant activities of its own: in 1965, 1969, and 1973, the Grand Duchy organized colloquia in Echternach (a town in the east of the country), together with the International Commission of Mathematics Education, which—very much in keeping with the "New Math" movement—dealt with reforms in school mathematics curricula. Luxembourg also convened conferences among the Benelux states, which served as a venue for experts active in UNESCO to take steps for revising old textbooks and, under the aegis of the international organization, organized teacher training seminars, especially in the fields of mathematics and geography (Rohstock and Lenz 2012).

Luxembourg was also involved in international curricular developments by virtue of its membership in the OEEC/OECD. In 1959, delegates from Luxembourg, namely the mathematics teachers Lucien Kieffer and Marcel Michels, took part in the famous seminar on "New Thinking in School Mathematics" in Royaumont organized by the OEEC and chaired by the renowned American mathematician Marshall Stone (OEEC 1961, p. 215). With the help of numerous other delegates from the United States (among them were popular scientists such as Albert W. Tucker, Robert E. K. Rourke, Howard F. Fehr, and the founder of the New Math Movement in the United States, Edward G. Begle) the conference was regarded as the breakthrough moment for the "New Math" movement in Europe and had a significant impact on mathematics curricula, even in nations that did not send their own delegates (Sriraman 2008, p. 202).

The conference in Royamont was followed by two other conferences in Dubrovnik (1960) and Athens (1963), both organized by American scholars. All these meetings saw the distribution of books and curricular materials designed for the implementation of New Math in schools all over Europe that even gave examples of how to utilize the new approach for the teaching of physics (Gispert and Schubring 2011). In the years following, New Math, as negotiated in Royaumont, became part of the curricula in many Western countries (Moon 1986).

Not only as delegates of international organizations were teachers of secondary schools in Luxembourg engaged in international curricular reform debates. Being so close to France, a hot spot of the New Math movement in the 1960s, there also was a lively exchange especially between mathematicians of the two neighboring countries (Willems and Thill 1953). In 1968, the French government appointed a commission chaired by the famous French mathematical physicist André Lichnérowicz. This commission had to "elaborate official programs for the whole curriculum, which were gradually implemented in the classrooms from 1969 to 1971" and were very similar to the reform measures proposed by OECD (Gispert and Schubring 2011).

Luxembourg adopted at least parts of this reform, above all by introducing new French textbooks and instruction materials in secondary schools all over the country (Dupong 1970). Tellingly, the last high schools with the least reform efforts and only modest concessions to the New Math movement were the higher secondary schools for girls (*Réforme de l'enseignement des mathématiques,* n.d.). With international support, reform-oriented teachers of secondary education hoped to put an end to the supremacy of language education in the classical divisions of higher secondary education. At the end of the 1960s, the commission of instruction for mathematics urged the ministry to upgrade mathematics and to extend classes in the schedule especially of the *lycée classique.* With the help of biology, physics, and geography teachers, these pedagogues also called for an early beginning of science and mathematics education in the lower classes of secondary education and asked for a modernization that would leave no room for the memorizing of facts but would foster intelligent thinking and abstract problem solving capabilities (Schaack 1969). From the beginning, the teachers engaged in the reform movement were quite sure that they would have to face resistance from within secondary school. They therefore tried to convince their colleagues that it was inevitable for every secondary teacher to get involved with New Math as the new approach would pave the way for Luxembourg to become a modern country at eye level with the USSR (President of the mathematics commission 1970).

The reform efforts indeed met great resistance from within secondary education. The new textbooks from France seemed "suspect"[15] (Dieschbourg 1969) to many teachers. They found it also difficult to mediate the highly abstract language in mathematics classes. The time needed to explain what students should do apparently exceeded the scheduled lesson (*Requête des titulaires des cours de mathématiques,* 1968). In the end, modest adjustment in mathematics and science curricula were made in secondary education, but no radical reform took place. As our quantitative analysis shows, Luxembourg merely witnessed minor changes in the number and distribution of mathematics and science classes in the syllabi of secondary education until the 1990s. Biology and geography teachers, for instance, continuously complained about further reductions of classes in favor of language instruction (President of the biology commission 1972). Also, the reforms merely affected secondary education. Still, in the 1980s, primary schools did not have special classes for natural sciences (Courrier de l'Education Nationale, 1964; President of the biology commission 1972). For a long time, biology education was a privilege for students of secondary schools only.

Another highly regarded and typical reform effort of the 1960s and 1970s suffered the same fate: the efforts to introduce teaching and learning technologies into the Luxembourgish classrooms. As a first analysis has shown, schools in Luxembourg indeed got the equipment needed for the new instruction methods, but secondary schools were preferred. Not only did lower school branches have fewer facilities for the new teaching technologies, but also schools in the country were left with fewer resources than Luxembourg City. Moreover, many secondary school teachers were suspicious of the new techniques and never warmed to modern teaching methods. In the end, the reform was never fully implemented (IP 3132; IP 2571; IP 2728; IP 3189; IP 2308; IP 1940).

"Science" for the Masses: Curricular Reforms in Primary and Postprimary Education, 1950–1990 While in secondary schools modest reforms in science education and mathematics took place in the 1960s and 1970s, in 1986, still, the Commission of instruction underlined the special moral mission of education in primary schools. According to the wishes of the commission, health education, hygiene, and civic information (*informations civiques*) had to gain more importance. Questions of "modern life," such as sex education, traffic education, and security education were deemed as crucial as was the teaching of "human and moral values"[16] (Anonymous [*Commission d'Instruction*] 1986).

Mathematics according to the New Math movement or science education as propagated by international organizations were not included in the syllabi for primary schools in Luxembourg. Until the 1980s, the syllabi did not know special classes for natural sciences like biology, physics, or chemistry. The subject matter had to be covered by classes in German, object lessons (*Anschauungsunterricht*), or local studies (*Heimatkunde, milieu local*).

In 1989, the newly created subject *Eveil aux sciences* (scientific awareness) was introduced in primary school. The lessons were clearly shaped by moral standards. The explicitly established general aim was to bring about a principal and positive attitude[17] as well as a "value-oriented active analysis of the children's natural, social environment and the one which has been created"[18] (Syllabus of 1989, Chapter Eveil aux Sciences, p. 2). Therefore it is not astonishing that most of the topics covered in ethics (*moral laique*) can also be found in the much more detailed program of *Eveil aux Sciences.*[19] With this new subject, both science education and moral education were newly legitimized.

Catholic Moral and Sex Education In the syllabus of 1979, sex education was prescribed as mandatory for the first time ever in Luxembourg (syllabus of 1979); however, the classes existed only on paper. As the *Lëtzebuerger Land* still complained in 1986,[20] teachers were not urged to give lessons in sex education, and if they sometimes acted according to the syllabus, the lessons were characterized by the Catholic moral concepts that were widely spread in Luxembourg (Lëtzebuerger Land June 27, 1986, p. 3).

In 1976, the commission of instruction (*commission d'instruction*) declared that the aim of sex education was not to teach anatomical and physiological knowledge, but that sex education should necessarily contribute to "develop human values" instead ("*à développer des valeurs humaines*") (*Commission d'Instruction* 1976). The first sex education brochure that was published in 1979 by the socialist-led Ministry for Family Affairs was not further distributed after the appointment of a new conservative minister in the same year. Instead, in 1983, it was replaced by the sex education pamphlet "*Partnerschaft und Liebe*" (partnership and love) (Goerens et. al 1984), which was catholic in character. Its primary objective was "to encourage young people to settle down to a harmonic family life."[21]

The attempt of the Luxembourg teacher union to create new factual guidelines for teachers in 1985 failed due to massive criticism from the ministry and the commission of instruction, but also from Catholic associations like the *Centre de Pastorale Familiale.* Major contentious issues were the representation of marriage and family life, the approach to traditional role allocations, as well as the relationship of sexuality to love and to the Christian and societal context. The commission of instruction criticized in a strictly confidential statement that the guidelines avoided any value judgment and that the reader, therefore, could mistake love for sexual pleasure. Moreover, marriage and family were hardly highlighted so that living together as an unmarried couple could be thought of as an alternative or even as an equivalent to marriage (*Commission d'Instruction* 1985).

The criticism of the *Centre de pastorale familiale* was very similar: they criticized that the chapter about nudeness could violate the boundaries of intimacy and shame; sexuality and lust were put on a level with love: "the wish to be respectful and tolerant—as so often—results in the avoidance of questions of norms and values"[22] (*Centre de Pastorale Familiale* 1985). The *Pastorale familiale* further criticized the missing "context of mutual help, acceptance, devotion, giving oneself to each other" and the ignorance of religious topics like "the consciousness of creation or orientation to the God of Love"[23] (Ibid.). Although the paper was written by scientific experts (psychologists and sexologists), who at the same time held responsible positions (e.g., as counselor of the government), their criticism is clearly inspired by catholic values.

Autarchy, Practice, and the Capacity to Act Regarding Everyday Life The syllabus of 1989 for the instruction in *Eveil aux Sciences* put practical skills (*Lebensbezogenen Handlungskompetenzen*) on a level with "scientific basic knowledge" (*wissenschaftliches Grundwissen*) (Syllabus of 1989, Chapter Eveil aux Sciences, p. 2). By prioritizing the "principal of visual perception" and the "direct encounter with the environment," it continues the tradition of "realities" of the late nineteenth century. In fact, the principal of visual perception was the same in the late nineteenth and the late twentieth centuries. This becomes clear when comparing the arrangement of *Eveil aux sciences* in six so called "concrete fields of experience" to former syllabi (e.g., programs of the upper primary schools 1878–1896, Syllabus of 1939). The first field of experience, "Plants and Animals," picks up established aspects of the primary school syllabus in the area of botany and zoology. Hence, it draws on the former subjects "Natural History" (*Naturgeschichte*) or "Origins of the Natural Sciences" (*Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaften*).

The second field, "Man and Nature," adopts the topics of health education and hygiene, which had become more and more prominent since the 1920s. It also deals with questions of environmental protection, nutrition, and prevention of dependence (on alcohol and drugs). Most of the "trendy" issues like television and leisure, consumption and advertisement, as well as sex education became part of the third field, the "social field of experience." The adaptation to national economic conditions is another important focus there. The syllabus refers to "Social Experiences," "Sex Education," and "Public" as well as "Media and Consumer Education." These parts mainly include topics that had formerly been part of subjects like history, geography, and civic instruction. They also cover specific Luxembourgian issues like "children of foreigners in our country" (Syllabus of 1989, Chapter *Eveil aux Sciences*).

The topics of the third and sixth field of experience also demonstrate the importance of the Luxembourgian economy, which since Industrialization had become important part of the national identity (cf. Schreiber 2013). The most locally oriented fields are the fourth and fifth ones, focusing on "space" and "time." Issues like "participating in traffic," "our village," "our quarter," or semiannual core themes like "our commune" arrange the analysis of local circumstances in an interdisciplinary perspective (Syllabus of 1989, Chapter *Eveil aux Sciences*). Landscape and environment are addressed as well as their historical development, administrative procedures, and the community as an institution. As science in the syllabus of 1989 is equated with practical skills and the capacity to act regarding everyday life, it clearly differs from science education and abstract problem-solving competencies as propagated by international organizations.

Social Differentiation: "Science" and "Technology" This practical relevance of science education in the primary school and the complementary classes defines a social differentiation that is rather typical of Luxembourg (cf. dualism between secondary and postprimary education). The *Initiation technologique,* as prescribed by a guideline of the *Commission d'Instruction* of 1984 in the complementary classes,[24] was explicitly not supposed to be scientific, but technical:

> "School is supposed to make sense of the world and to mediate to the students all the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed. World for the student means first and foremost his surrounding world, that is not structured by scientific disciplines, but by spheres of life: Family, playing activities, school, job, traffic, weather, housing etc. . . . . The surrounding world familiar to the students . . . provides the best conditions for an instruction, in which inventing, planning and constructing are the preferred working methods."[25] (*Instruction ministerielle* August 6, 1984, appendix)

This terminology follows the German distinction between science and technology (Ropohl ca. 1986) and draws a clear line between technical education in the complementary classes and scientific education in secondary schools:

> "The sciences primarily result from the thirst for knowledge, they ask for causal relations. Technics serve to satisfy human needs, they are final, they are oriented towards final aims. Typical working methods of the sciences are exploration, analysis and experiments, working methods of technics are invention, planning and constructing."[26] (Ropohl ca. 1986, appendix to the Luxembourgish draft)

In sharp contrast, scientific education in secondary schools was of a scientific rigor that directly linked subject matters to the respective academic disciplines. Essays of secondary teachers, for example, dealt with the introduction of gel chromatography in secondary education (Anonymous 1972), spheric trigonometry (ANLux IP 2159 [1971]), the introduction of atomic and nuclear physics (ANLux IP 3293 [1960]; IP 2683 [1961]), and relativity theory (ANLux IP-2512, [1973]). Even the adaptation of highly specified scientific models and processes, such as the chains of Markov and special atomic models, are covered by these theses. The moral contents so typical for primary education and the complementary classes are not to be found in secondary education.

PISA—the new Sputnik? Curriculum Debates in Luxembourg in the Twenty-First century or Why Tomorrow Never Dies

The PISA results of the year 2000 were publicly regarded as a second shock to the educational system in many Western European countries, with Luxembourg, once again, being no exception. The output-oriented studies seemed to show that the Luxembourgish school system produced mediocre results at best (especially in the field of mathematics) and that the language-oriented curriculum was a severe challenge for the large migrant population. With a high number of foreign residents and its trilingual tradition (Luxembourgish, German, and French), Luxembourg's educational system was (and is) facing huge challenges. Following the PISA results, integrating immigrant children into the trilingual education seems to be the biggest one. This problem has, of course, been known for years. But it needed the PISA shock—where Luxembourg found itself ranked worse than all of its fellow Europeans—to get a major discussion going.

Despite this discussion and unimpressed by OECD pressure and recommendations, the Luxembourgish Parliament rejected the OECD-driven idea of a school system with a stronger differentiation between German and French. The government feared that a two-track system would endanger the nation's unity in the medium term (Geyer 2009, p. 9). But this was not the only OECD-driven idea to be rejected by the Luxembourgish authorities: They were also reluctant to the hyperbolic debates about a better science and mathematics education so typical for the twenty-first century. As our quantitative analysis shows, in fact fine arts have gained ground in the Luxembourgish curriculum since 2000/2002, and philosophy was introduced as mandatory subject in secondary education in 2002.

The Luxembourgish government nevertheless used the PISA debate to initiate several reforms that probably otherwise would not have been realizable. The rapporteur of the *Commission de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionelle* affirmed this assumption quite frankly in his report for the parliament: "I won't hesitate to claim that the international comparisons paved the way for the reform of the school law from 1912" (LW January 20, 2009, p. 275). The education minister commented the bad PISA results of 2009 by stressing the importance of these reforms that were already on their way: "These results provide confirmation that we must consistently implement the reforms" (LW December 7, 2010). PISA results initiated a heated debate about the country's schools and educational system, which in 2009 led to the first reform of the (primary) school laws since 1912. It introduced the *école fondamentale,* superseding the old *école préscolaire.* It consists of nine years of study divided into four cycles of learning (Loi du February 6, 2009). The first cycle consists of one year of optional education followed by two obligatory years, and the other three cycles last two years each. To pass from one cycle to the next, students must master the *compétences,* or skills, required by that particular cycle. These skills are designed to move students beyond the rote memorization of facts, thus enabling them to apply knowledge "in the real world."

While the primary schools were reformed in 2009, the reform of secondary education is still on its way. The Luxembourg *lycée* system is likely to undergo a major reform within the next few years. The current system is largely based on the 1968 law, which reformed secondary education (Loi du May 10, 1968). Reasons underlying the will to reform include meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse and heterogeneous population, and responding to the results of the 2000 PISA tests. The main components of the proposed reform include introducing a tutorial in years seven and six of *école secondaire* to help students' transition from *école fondamentale,* offering more specialization in the *classes supérieures,* and reorganizing both general and technical l*ycées* into two big domains. In *école secondaire,* the two domains are *lettres, arts et sciences humaines* and *sciences économiques et sciences naturelles.* In *école secondaire technique,* the two domains are commerce and communication and sciences and technologies. Finally, in the second-to-last year of both regular and technical *lycées,* students undertake a *travail personnel* meant to show that they have developed the necessary skills to succeed at the university level. The introduction of the proposed reforms into the legislative process is expected to occur in April 2013. The reform most likely will not change much regarding the science curriculum though. Science teachers still see their subject as standing in the "shadow" of the language and arts dominated curriculum (LW May 4, 2009, p. 10; also see quantitative analysis in the appendix).

While the Sputnik debate was used by the powerful conservative representatives of the Luxembourgish educational system to promote a rhetoric of moral reformation in an uncertain age of technology and did not really change much within the curriculum of the country, it is yet uncertain how the PISA studies will affect the Luxembourgish curricula and the school system as a whole. The initiated reforms tackle some of the problems with the immigrant population and offer weaker students more help. But the Luxembourgish curriculum still stays language dominant, is a display of a highly stratified school system, and apparently is able to resist international attempts to strengthen the natural sciences in school curricula (see quantitative analysis in the appendix). Expert knowledge, as produced by the PISA studies, seems to be highly effective on a discursive and policy level only. The future vision of global scientific literacy, which was promoted in the context of Sputnik as well as in the context of PISA, seems to be immensely attractive for national and international policy actors. Tomorrow never dies. But also, to say it with language from the Beatles, tomorrow never knows.

Abbreviations

ANLUX = National Archives of Luxembourg
IP = Instruction Publique
SAUL = School Archive of the University of Luxembourg

Notes

1. We would like to thank Caroline Galiatsos and Chakayek Nadimi for their help with the text and with the archival research.
2. Different typologies try to take care of that, as we can see from the distinction between the planned and the received curriculum, between the formal and informal curriculum, and the hidden curriculum theories (cf. Kelly 2004).
3. Public education is funded by the government and free to all students in Luxembourg.
4. Historically, the term of postprimary education was used for all educational tracks following primary school (i.e., at least two years of mandatory education in the *Fortbildungsschulen,* which later became the *classes complémentaires*) or the upper primary schools and—for a short time in history—the middle schools), whereas the term of secondary education was reserved for the high schools qualifying for academia (the *Athenäum,* the *[pro-]gymnases* and the *lycées*). After the industrial tracks, the *ecoles professionelles,* and the upper primary schools had been transferred into a new type of secondary school (the socalled *lycées techniques*, formally equal to secondary education) this distinction between secondary and postprimary education disappeared.
5. In cycle 2 of école fondamentale, 10 out of 28 weekly lessons are dedicated to alphabétisation, langue allemande, langue française et ouverture aux langues, with one lesson per week on the Luxembourgish language. In cycles 3 and 4, the number of lessons in German, French, and ouverture aux langues increases to 12 per week with Luxembourgish still being taught once a week. In comparison, math is taught five times a week in cycles 3 and 4. (See Règlement grand-ducal du 26.8.2009).
6. An overview over the variety of sources can be found at www.anlux.lu. Search for the portfolios of the Ministère de l'Education nationale (MEN) and the Instruction Publique (IP).
7. Orig. quote: "Wir sind ein Volk von Bildungshungrigen. Wissenstrieb und Lernlust haben nach allen Seiten ausgegriffen; nie waren auch die aufsteigenden sozialen Schichten auf Erwerbung von Kenntnissen aller Art so bedacht wie heutigen Tages. . . . Herein darum in unsere Volksschule mit allem Wissenswerten der Neuzeit, soweit es den Zielen und Aufgaben der Volksbildung entspricht. Herein mit dem Nötigen und Nützlichen, herein mit dem Bequemen und Angenehmen; mit schönen Worten und unterhaltenden Erzählungen ist dem neuen Geschlechte nicht mehr gedient; früh schon will es die Welt des Wirklichen erkennen, die Fortschritte der Erkenntnis studieren und sich dieselben dienstbar machen."
8. Orig. quote: "Die örtlichen Verhältnisse müssen in ihrer ganzen Wucht maßgebend für den Aufbau des Lehrplanes sein, das lehrt uns unverkennbar die Vergangenheit der ländlichen Fortbildungsschule."
9. French Ecoles industrielles, former industrial sections of the secondary schools, that were originally sections of the secondary schools and became separate schools at the end of the nineteenth century.
10. i.e., eight hours per week, except for the preparatory class, which had six hours per week; together with Greek lessons in the fiver upper classes, the education in classic languages sums up to 12 lessons per week out of a total sum of weekly lessons ranging between 27 and 30 (according to the *plans d'heures* of 1896).
11. Orig. quote: "In der Industrie werden täglich neue Erfindungen gemacht. . . . Sind nun unsere Leute auf die Verwertung nicht vorbereitet, so kommen die Ausländer . . . und schnappen die einträglichsten Stellen den eigenen Landeskindern weg. . . . . Ein Staat wird nur solange fortbestehen können, als seine Erwerbsquellen für den Unterhalt aller ausreichen. Er muß alles dran setzen, die Produktion auf ein Höchstmaß zu steigern. . . . Diese Aufgabe wird ihm wesentlich erleichtert dadurch, daß er ein Heer von Schaffern und Arbeitern hat, die schaffen können, schaffen wollen und befähigt sind, Neuerungen und Verbesserungen gleich in die Praxis zu übersetzen."
12. Orig. quote: "In richtiger Würdigung der Aufgabe der Volksschule . . . die neben der allgemeinen Bildung auch bezwecken muß, die Jugend mit den zu ihrem späteren Fortkommen notwendigen praktischen Kenntnissen nach Möglichkeit auszurüsten."
13. Orig. Quote: "Die Charakteristik der modernen Oberprimärschulen wird sein 1. für die Technik der neuen Zeit, 2. Mit der Technik der neuen Zeit, 3. Jenseits der Schulmauern (hinaus), 4. Das Leben herein."
14. For an animated video on YouTube, go to: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIKGV2cTgqA

15. Orig. quote: “suspecte”
16. Orig. quote: “lui communique des valeurs humanitaires et morales”
17. Orig. quote: “grundlegende, positive Werthaltung”
18. Orig. quote: “wertbezogene und aktive Auseinandersetzung mit der natürlichen, sozialen und gebauten Umwelt”
19. = Familie, Schule, Straßenverkehr, Freundschaft, Mitmensch, Sexualität Umwelt, Freizeit, Gesundheit, Ernährung, Massenmedien, Geld, Krieg und Frieden, menschliche Gesellschaft, Gesetze. Drogen, Jugendkriminalität, Armut, Religionen, Aktualität, Plan d’etudes 1989, Kap. Morale laique.
20. The *Luxemburger Wort* also complains that only 10–20% of the schools really deal with sex education (Frust statt Lust. Unterrichtsminister Boden zensiert Aufklärungsmaterial, in: Luxemburger Wort , Nr. 146, 27. Juni 1986, Stater Säit)
21. Orig. quote: “die jungen Leute anzuregen, eine harmonische Familie zu gründen.”
22. Orig. quote: “Wie so oft führt der Wunsch respektvoll und tolerant zu sein dazu, der Frage nach Normen und Werten auszuweichen.”
23. Orig. quote: “die fehlende “Hineinstellung der Sexualität in den Kontext gegenseitiger Hilfe, Annahme, Hingabe, des sich einander Schenkens” und bedauert die Ausklammerung religiöser Themen wie “Schöpfungsbewusstsein, Lebensausrichtung am Gott der Liebe.”
24. Which replaced the former postprimary education in the 1960s.
25. Orig. quote: “Die Schule soll dem Schüler die Welt erklären und ihm die für sein Leben in dieser Welt notwendigen Kenntnisse, Fähigkeiten und Einstellungen vermitteln. Welt ist für den Schüler zunächst seine Umwelt, die nicht in Wissenschaftsdisziplinen, sondern in Lebensbereiche aufgegliedert ist: Familie, Spiel, Schule, Beruf, Verkehr, Wetter, Wohnung usw. . . . . Die den Schülern vertraute Gegenstandswelt . . . liefert eine optimale Voraussetzung für einen Unterricht, in dem Erfinden, Planen und Konstruieren vorderrangig als Arbeitsmethoden angewandt werden.”
26. Orig. quote: “Die Naturwissenschaften resultieren primär aus dem Erkenntnisdrang des Menschen: sie sind kausal orientiert. Die Technik dient der Befriedigung humaner Bedrürfnisse, sie ist final orientiert. Typische Arbeitsmethoden der Naturwissenschaften sind das Entdecken, Analysieren und Experimentieren, die der Technik das Erfinden, Planen und Konstruieren.”

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27

Curriculum Research in Mexico

Frida Díaz Barriga

Introduction

This chapter offers an analysis of the main phases and trends of curriculum production in Mexico during the last four decades, from the sixties until now. The author explores not only the trends in research, but also the development field in the light of a series of significant milestones and moments or phases. Following Kumar's ideas (2011), it is possible to identify three phases in the evolution of the studies about curriculum in Mexico. The first one starts in the seventies with the broad spreading of Tyler's theories about curriculum and the vision of American authors about the technologic-behaviorist approach. The second phase takes place during the eighties and is due to the strengthening and institutionalization of the curriculum studies in four communities who formulate theories and proposals about curriculum: critical pedagogy, constructivism, the interpretative school, and the studies about professional training and practice. According to the above mentioned author, the third phase starts in the nineties and is characterized by the globalization processes of curriculum reforms and models, and also by the neoliberal notions of innovation and accreditation, whereas at the same time the discourse of postmodern and post-structuralist curriculum theories is gaining ground. This last phase seems to have reached a stage of internationalization with important strains among the global, national, and local spheres.

It is also necessary to take into account that there are significant categories in order to understand this evolution, such as the categories presented by García-Garduño (2011), who talks about the *acculturation* and *satellization* processes of the curriculum field because sometimes Mexico undergoes some subordination and assimilation to the way of thinking and ideology about education in other countries. There are also *hybridization* processes, since structures and practices that stem from diverse origins can combine in order to create new entities in a kind of crossbreeding process that is never free from contradictions and exclusions. At the same time, this author introduces the category of *cosmopolitanism* that refers to the defense of emerging spaces, of new cultural and social configurations and, within the field of curriculum, can be related to multicultural perspectives, the openness to diversity, and the balance between local and universal values.

In order to give some structure to this chapter and to give some continuity to the version published almost 10 years ago (F. Díaz Barriga, 2003), the next sections will talk about the main trends I have been able to identify in the field of curriculum and the curricular intervention in my country during the four last decades. I have called those trends *technologic-systemic; critical-reconceptualist; the training and social practices of professionals; psycho-pedagogical constructivist;* and *interpretative-postmodern.* Those trends are, in my opinion, representative of the most significant and productive national production about research, theorizing, and intervention in the field of curriculum. It is, however, important to notice that they cannot be considered paradigms or curriculum research programs in the way of Thomas Kuhn or Lee Shulman's interpretation of those concepts (see Hernández, 1998), rather only trends or investigation lines about a wide range of subjects linked to curricular matters in which it is possible to distinguish an explicit conception of what can be understood as curriculum, its objects of study and specific theoretical assumptions, and methodologies of their own for the construction of studies or the educational intervention that derive from those approaches. In the case we analyze here, the above-mentioned trends were demarcated according to their importance and their presence in the research field, the theoretical reflection they propose, and their intervention in the Mexican educational institution, at the primary, secondary, and higher education levels. Those trends are defined starting from the notion of curriculum that underlies them and the specific issues they deal with; it is therefore possible to identify amongst them the predominance of several disciplines and theoretical approaches, among them behaviorist psychology, constructivism, critical theory, the new sociology of education, and the postmodern theories, amongst others). It seems very important to me to point out that, in all cases, those trends have been subject to the acculturation and hybridization processes described above and that, in some cases, what can be observed is some kind of a cosmopolitan look to the subject, as underlined by García-Garduño (2011), and more particularly in the case of the postmodern curriculum studies. Even if their emergence and importance or greatest impact can be placed chronologically in specific decades, in all cases the trends present a certain degree of topicality, although they have experienced significant modifications within the communities of thinking or practice from which they stem.

The purpose of this chapter is not to be an exhaustive inventory of the production generated in the country, nor a state of affairs that would exceed its own limits. Basically, it aims to discuss the polysemy and the diversity of conceptions that coexist currently with regard to the literature about curriculum produced in Mexico, emphasizing the contribution of the most acknowledged Mexican researchers. The chapter also intends to underline the connections between these scholars and several contemporary international approaches and authors who study curriculum and have had some impact in Mexico. To a great extent, this study is based on the analysis carried out with the support of the Mexican Council for Educational Research (*Consejo Mexicano de Investigación Educativa* or COMIE) that takes into account the situation in the eighties and nineties (Díaz Barriga, Barrón, Carlos, Díaz Barriga, Torres, Spitzer, and Ysunza, 1995; Díaz Barriga and Lugo, 2003), and several of the author's previous papers (F. Díaz Barriga, 2003, 2005, 2010, and 2011).

Curriculum: A Polysemic and Controversial Field of Study

It is difficult to fix the limits of what can be considered as studies about curriculum with regard to the other areas of the educational and psychological research. This problem is tightly linked to the polysemy and the characteristic dispersion of the concept of curriculum itself, linked with a diversity of paradigms for its study and with the sphere of problems belonging to the country's social and educational reality it deals with. It is unquestionable that there are many ways to understand the field of curriculum, and this generates some kind of superposition with other research themes.

In the field of curriculum in Mexico, it is impossible to find a unique or comprehensive approach that could include each and all of the subjects of study, problems, or situations that pertain to the field. Depending on the way curriculum is conceived, the idea of curriculum research and its method will be determined, and so will be fixed, at the level of intervention and the conceptual and technical character of its design and evaluation. The term's polysemy has been obvious for at least three decades. A. Díaz Barriga et al. (1995, p. 31), in their analysis of the research that was generated between 1982 and 1992, discern the following meanings for the word "curriculum": a) study plans and programs as products and formal curriculum structures; b) learning and teaching processes; c) hidden curriculum and daily life in the classroom; d) training of professionals and social function of the teachers; e) social and educational practice; f) problems generated by the selection, organization, and distribution of curriculum contents; and g) subjective interpretation of the subjects implicated in curriculum. This conceptual diversity has contributed not only to the term's polysemy, but also has blurred the limits of the curriculum research with regard to other areas of educational research, like the study of the learning-teaching processes, the specific didactics, the sociological studies about professions, the intersubjectivity, educational interaction processes, and even multicultural and gender studies, to name only a few. In this sense, we cannot talk about "the" Mexican way to look at curriculum; on the contrary, we have to consider that there are many ways to study it in Mexico, and, obviously, not a standard method for its analysis. Therefore, it is important to mention W. Pinar's statement that curriculum is a complicated conversation that must lead us to an interdisciplinary, international, and cosmopolitan study of the educational experience itself (Pinar, 2004).

In any case, we consider that the knowledge that is generated in the field of research is not the cumulative result of specific research projects, but a complex work of conceptual construction performed by groups of experts about the subject, who form communities of thinking and practice where they share perspectives, working styles, and values and interests—and their stances necessarily imply slants and exclusions. That's why in Mexico we can find stances about curriculum that are not only divergent and opposite, but at the same time dynamic, in continuous evolution. But a constant feature has been that of the academic and research circles when people talk about educational institutions and the processes they undertake in order to reform curriculum; this concept used to be reduced to the set of courses and subjects that make up a study program and to the elements required in order to implement it.

It is necessary to admit that the study objects and the aims pursued by the groups who belong to the diverse groups, who belong to the different traditions or trends of the studies about curriculum, are intimately linked to a series of social problems and demands inherent to the country, the Latin American region, and, currently, to the global environment. Some of the main purposes and commitments taken on by the specialists in curriculum research during the former decades have to do with problems such as the massification of teaching; the obsoleteness and stiffness of the study plans and teaching models; the inequality of teaching quality and course offerings; the educational institutions' incapacity to give a positive answer to the demands of the labor world; the serious deficiencies in the education of primary and secondary school students; or the ignorance of the educational practices that occur in the Mexican classrooms. In this millennium, the engine of a large extent of the curriculum studies and of the significant reforms of curriculum seems to be more related to a series of policies and agreements that meet the guidelines established by international agencies for educational processes in order to achieve the standardization and equivalence of the programs based on models developed in employers' organizations and introducing a dynamic of accountability and external standardized assessment.

Main Trends

The Technologic-Systemic Vision Studies concerning curriculum and intervention proposals that we can associate with this trend are based on the so-called classical or "traditional" scholars (those epithets seem to me unsuitable, above all the second one) of the field of curriculum theory and of the so-called systematization of teaching, which have been very successful since the seventies. Those scholars and their most widespread works in Spanish are Ralph Tyler (*Principios básicos del currículo*), Hilda Taba (*La elaboración del currículo*), Mauritz Johnson (*Curriculum y educación*), Robert Mager (*Confección de objetivos*), and Benjamín Bloom (with his widely known taxonomy of cognitive objectives). In my opinion, to a greater or lesser extent, the logic that underlies those authors and their Mexican followers is Tyler's way of thinking and a technical rationality perspective (i.e., the *how* of curriculum). This vision focuses on the drawing up and validation of the components and products that result from a formal process of educational planning and design of study plans and programs. Their interest consists in the resolution of the four basic questions raised by Tyler: Which are the educational objectives to achieve? Which educational experiences allow us to achieve them? How can we efficiently organize those experiences? and How can we assess the attainment of those objectives? The scholars who share this approach are in keeping with a technical rationality since their actual interest has to do with the formal structures and the programmatic constituents, and their mission is to make the educational processes more efficient by means of the implementation of "scientific" techniques often extrapolated from planning models that belong to the industry. As noted, Kumar (2011) identifies this trend with a first phase in the evolution of curriculum studies in Mexico, characterized, according to García-Garduño (2011), by a significant acculturation process due to the attempts to assimilate the American way of thinking inclined to the systematization of teaching and behaviorist educational technology.

We also can observe a hybridization process with the appearance in Mexico of local versions inspired by the "classical" proposals of study program design by objectives. According to De Alba (2011), the genesis of curriculum studies in Mexico is marked by the publication of Glazman and Ibarrola's *Diseño de planes de estudio* (1976), a book that recovers Benjamin Bloom's ideas and is nevertheless, according to García-Garduño (2011), the perfect example of a nonorthodox adaptation of Tyler and Taba's ideas, with an empiric and conceptual perspective that makes it a hybrid approach.

Other texts that had some impact during the seventies and the eighties as a part of the educational technology based on the behaviorist paradigm were texts related to teaching systematization models (Gago, 1978), the elaboration of descriptive charters (Gago, 1982), and techniques for the analysis of curriculum contents (Huerta, 1981) and programmed teaching *(Comisión de Nuevos Métodos de Enseñanza,* 1976). All those texts contain grounds for the drawing up of study plans and programs based on the logic of technical rationality.

In the proposal formulated by Arredondo (1981) for the development of curriculum, the influence of the systemical approach shows up with a perfect definition (see Stufflebeam, 1971), and this approach directed the processes of educational planning and curriculum design according to the context-input-process-product diagram during the eighties. The National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institution (*Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior* or ANUIES) and the extinct Commission for New Teaching Methods (*Comisión de Nuevos Métodos de Enseñanza* or CNME) are the two authorities that assemble the authors who follow this trend and that foster resolutely the dissemination of its proposals by means of publications and training courses for teachers and educational planners.

In spite of the wide diffusion of this trend and notwithstanding until now the Mexican institutions that keep working on the design of their educational projects according to the technical rationality logic that underlies this kind of proposals, the criticisms of this opinion arose almost from the beginning. Ángel Díaz Barriga (1984) synthesizes them like this: their approach to curriculum problems is too reduced, rigid, and acontextualized; it instigates the carrying out of pretended diagnoses that conceal the real problem of the social exercise of professions; it leads to the fragmentation and trivialization of learning by behavioral objectives; the treatment of contents turns out to be superficial and fragmented; it lacks a historical and social handling and disregards the local aspect; and it emphasizes administrative control and technical handling before the academic processes.

Although this way of thinking and the instrumental approach present an apparent hegemony during the seventies, the curriculum field in Mexico starts to diversify in the eighties and becomes more complex, particularly in the university academic circles. Proof of this includes the diverse trends that enter in force regarding curriculum, in many cases in contrast to the technological-behaviorist vision. Nevertheless,, we can assert that during the nineties and until now this perspective has experienced a kind of upturn or revival taking the shape of some development proposals of curriculum based on competence according to managerial models of quality and accountability. In Glazman's opinion (2011), this is due to the influence of neoliberalism and the return of neobehaviorist stances promoted by important governmental and educational agencies that place in front the link between education and productivity.

Many of the current curriculum reforms that pretend to be shaped according to the changes caused by entry into the information society adopt the approach of competency-based education and, although they call themselves constructivist, they are, when it comes down to it, reloaded versions of the former managerial projects.

The Critical-Reconceptualist Movement In the context of the social movements of the sixties and seventies, important criticisms of the social system and of education arose in several countries; they had an important repercussion in Mexico and made possible the appearance of a new generation of authors considered to be the "critics" of curriculum. Actually, in this trend we can identify diverse schools of thought, such as the English new sociology of education headed by Michael Young; the American reconceptualization movement represented by Basil Bernstein, William Pinar, Henry Giroux, Michael Apple, and Peter McLaren; and the neomarxist analysis and the reproduction and resistance theory of the French theorists L. Althusser, P. Bordieu, C. Bauldelot, and R. Establet. In the Latin American context, Paulo Freire's pedagogy of liberation and his censure of the "banking education" constituted a significant influence for this trend. According to De Alba (1991), more than the unidirectional influence of the Anglo-Saxon authors on Mexican thought, what we can observe is the arising of two parallel movements that coincide in their theoretical referents and in the search for emancipating educational experiences. In any case, it would be impossible to explain the emergence of this trend without understanding the impact of the student movements that arose at the end of the sixties, the severe economic crisis that marked the eighties, and the critical stances against the prevailing social system taken in the academic circles.

From this point of view, the academic institution became highly questionable, and the main criticism is that the real function of school is to perpetuate social inequalities and injustices and to validate the hegemonic ways of knowledge and culture of the domineering ranks of society. But in the case of Mexican scholars, other domains of criticism arose, focused on the cultural and ideological hegemony of the imperialist countries upon Latin America and the phenomenon of scientific and technological dependence. Another plane for analysis is the distance that can be observed between the formal or proposed curriculum and the real curriculum such as it is experienced in the daily life of the educational institutions.

Leaving out the behaviorist psychological perspective and the technical conception of curriculum, and actually rebelling openly against both of them and taking as reference different social theories (mainly Marxism, hermeneutics, or the Frankfurt School), Mexico generated during more than two decades significant critical essays and alternative curriculum proposals. In those critiques, diverse theoretical and research approaches are manifested; however, for Da Silva (1999, p. 115), the critical theories about curriculum share what he calls "emancipating and liberating impetus" ("*impulsos emancipadores y liberadores,*" my translation).

We cannot perform here an exhaustive inventory of works (who is interested in it should take a look at the state of affairs in Díaz Barriga et al., published in 1995), but we shall attempt to mention the most representative authors who at their time were called "critical pedagogists." In the first place, in the conceptual plane, we must recognize the importance of authors such as Ángel Díaz Barriga, Alfredo Furlán, Eduardo Remedi, Margarita Pansza, María de Ibarrola, Alicia de Alba, Roberto Follari, and Porfirio Morán—all of them university researchers of Mexican origin or settled in Mexico. We also have to observe that the Mexican theoreticians had, during this decade, a very productive academic exchange with authors such as M. Apple, H. Giroux, P. McLaren, and T. Popkewitz, and in the Latin American domain, with A. Rodríguez, A. Puiggrós, and E. Litwin, amongst others.

In the second place, another significant contribution of this trend is the drawing up of several curriculum models and methodological proposals that arise from a critical discussion about the social and political function of education, in which the authors openly reject technical rationality. The most illustrative example of those models is the curriculum project carried out at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Xochimilco, which encourages an innovative epistemological and pedagogical vision by means of the creation of what can be called a "modular system." In our opinion, this is the most important and original contribution to curriculum theory from a perspective that is centered on historical and sociopolitical dimensions. Particularly interesting is the notion of module (contrary to the organization by subjects), which is based on the analysis of a series of social problems that are significant for a given profession, the so-called transformation objects. Against the then prevailing vision, the modular model presented a situational and contextualized curriculum design, multidisciplinary, centered on the problem of social exercise of the profession and not on the discipline, that sought to link theory to practice and that openly claimed a social commitment. This proposal functioned as a pattern to other curriculum projects in the main Mexican public institutions of secondary and higher education and also provoked important debates in the field of university curriculum development. At the same time, during the seventies and eighties many universities were created overall the country, with curriculum projects that showed a strong socialist and popular education position. According to García-Garduño (2011), another important milestone of that decade that can be situated in the critical trend is the publication of Ángel Díaz Barriga's works *Ensayos sobre la problemática curricular* and *Didáctica y currículum* (1984a, 1984b).

According to Furlán (1996, p. 59), since it is possible to observe a significant breakdown between the projection level and the actual achievement, not only talking about innovating curriculum experiences, but also about traditional experiences, a new field of reflection and research can be created. This field consists in the analysis of thought-out curriculum in opposition to lived curriculum, meaning the study of "the relations between the rationality of planning and the dynamics acting subjects establish in their practices" ("*las relaciones entre la racionalidad de la planificación y las dinámicas que los sujetos actores establecían en sus prácticas,*" my translation). The works of J. Eggleston (*Sociología del currículo escolar*), P. Jackson (*La vida en las aulas*), and L. Stenhouse (*Investigación y desarrollo del currículo*) are important antecedents of various local studies about the social construction of curriculum, the problem of power, and the dynamics of social relationships within the classroom. Another important characteristic of this trend is the change in the methodological approach to curriculum studies: quantitative studies decrease or are left aside to make space for ethnographical and naturalistic studies about the educational reality and the curriculum within practice. That is why since those studies it is difficult to fix the limits within other areas of educational research.

At this point, it is important to mention that the use and appropriation in our country of the concept of hidden curriculum ("*currículo oculto,*" as several authors call it) is not univocal either. For some scholars, it represents the transmission mechanisms of the domineering ideology in the classroom; for others, it consists in the study of the school reality or the daily life in the classroom, and we also can find this notion to refer to the domain of interpersonal relations between teachers and students, to the psychological affective processes, or to any kind of incidental learning that has not been foreseen in the formal curriculum.

We also must emphasize that the study of curriculum as the study of reality within the classroom usually focuses on educational processes and practices, not on products or formal structures. So when they enter the classroom, they are increasingly more interested in the daily school experiences, and this leads to the study of behaviors, beliefs, values, feelings, etc. of the main actors of the educational act. Many of these works can be situated in this critical trend since they consider curriculum as a space for social reproduction and analyze it from a basically social perspective, but several authors perform their studies by appealing to other theoretical referents.

On the other hand, Ruiz (1992, p. 40) considers that the national authors' most important works refer to theoretical analyses about the dual character of curriculum, real and formal, and that the main challenge is "to achieve theoretical significance for the pedagogical actions carried out within the classroom" ("*otorgar significancia teórica a las acciones pedagógicas que se realizan en el salón de clases,*" my translation).

Paradoxically, despite their interest in the analysis of what happens within the classroom, an important problem of this kind of research is the difficulty for educators who are not knowledgeable enough about curriculum theory to understand it and therefore to carry out some practical implementation in the field of school curriculum development. De Alba (1991) asserts that a large part of the teachers, students, and educational authorities lack the necessary basic training elements to understand the critical trend's complex discourse about curriculum, and therefore at the end of the eighties, this trend became a "myth" for the people who were uninformed about the subject. According to de Alba, this situation generated a communication gap between the producers of discourse and the actors of the problem.

For her part, Alice Casimiro Lopes, in a personal conversation comparing the curriculum studies in Brazil with those of Mexico asserts that what is happening is that the critical theories, being consistent with their epistemological and social point of view, used to be opposed to the prescriptive approaches, and since its approach is understanding, what really interests us here is to foster a greater understanding of curriculum practice and to contribute to research about this matter.

In our opinion, this situation explains, at least partially, why the practice of curriculum design in educational institutions keeps supporting on the above-mentioned approaches and models based on technical rationality, or that what used to be drawn up are what Ángel Díaz Barriga et al. (1995) call "hybrid" curriculum projects, whose grounds are in the critical discourse but that make operational the design of plans and programs by means of a technological rationality based approach. In short, we can notice the expansion of the critical discourse but not the crystallization of the practical alternatives formulated from the inside of this trend.

The Training and Social Practices of Professionals It is very important to situate within the field of curriculum research a series of works focused on the training and social practices of professionals. Although there is not really a theoretical or methodological orientation that unifies them, they can be assembled according to the subject of research (what happens with the training and/or the social practice of professionals in Mexico?) and to their interests in educational intervention (which models can be proposed for the development and assessment of curriculum in higher education?).

The original interest of most of those studies, at least in the seventies and the eighties, was not centered on the theorization about curriculum questions, but it resided openly in the analysis of curriculum projects in vogue, in matters related to university training, and in the performances of graduated studies in the labor world. Generally, we find plenty of descriptive studies with demographical and statistic character that were performed by means of surveys without a clear relation to one or another curriculum theory, although they were occasionally linked with the systemic approach in order to assess the university curriculum by following its graduated students. In other cases, the main reference of those works is the analysis of the discipline or disciplines that underlie the study plan. This kind of study has been widely fostered by the ANUIES (*Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior*) and is, in the case of many universities, an indispensable requirement when curriculum change is planned.

In spite of these shortcomings, the curriculum diagnoses and the attempts to follow the trajectory of graduated students present the important merit to allow an approach to the reality of the social practice of professionals in Mexico and to help to demarcate the real profile of the graduated students at the universities and higher education institutions. They also led to a discussion about the encyclopedic study plans that focus on the discipline structure and that are organized by subject with few or no curriculum flexibility. Finally, those studies oriented a reflection on the inside of professional associations about the training that higher education institutions are giving and the chasm that exists between this training and the ruling social and working needs.

Nevertheless, the development of university curriculum during the last twenty years has progressively ceased meeting the ideal of "the satisfaction of social needs," which characterized the training of professionals in the public universities during the seventies and part of the eighties. Barrón (1997) considers that the training of Mexican professionals at the end of the twentieth century responds to the governmental project of industrial reconversion, which seeks to adapt the national productive apparatus to the technological innovations. So, in an uncertain international context, "subject to the accelerated rhythm of evolution" ("*sujeto al vértigo del cambio,*" my translation), the tendency resides in the modernization of university curricula to adjust them to the needs of the firms, not only at national level, but also for transnational companies. This fertilizes the ground for the entrance of curriculum models based on the delimitation of international professional standards (the EBC or education based on the competence norms), the certification and assessment of professional quality or the homogenization with study plans of other countries, especially Canada and the United States. The curriculum discourse of those models gives priority to the concepts of efficiency, quality, and excellence of a high competitive human capital.

Together with these studies, new alternative proposals were developed for the design of curriculum and study programs at higher levels (high school, university, and technological higher studies), proposals that attempted to transcend the technical vision of curriculum. The nuclear interest of these proposals was to offer theoretical and methodological means to design and assess curriculum or to analyze the professions and monitor the graduated students. Among them, we can mention De Ibarrola's proposal (1992) that starts from the notion of curriculum structure and can be put into practice for technological and high school education. Other alternative proposals also emerged for curriculum assessment based on integrating social perspectives (Ruiz, 1998).

As the nineties passed, the study of professional training and practice started to take on a greater theoretical consistency and to receive a definition as a sociological study field about the professions (see Díaz Barriga and Pacheco, 1990; Marín, 1993). Other perspectives that were incorporated into this trend were Donald Schön's studies of reflective professionals (1992) and the proposal for the training of university students by means of service to community (Pacheco, Tullen, and Seijo, 2003).

Barrón (2011) asserts that since the beginning of the present century, and due to the pressure exerted upon higher education, that this could meet practical purposes and connect itself to the needs of the organizations and the labor field; organizations such as the OECD, the International Labor Organization, the World Bank, and UNESCO have set up an agenda in order to intervene in the educational processes and in curriculum. This trend has culminated in a series of policies, educational models, and assessment processes that derive from the managerial discourse of quality, efficiency, and accountability. Currently, the curriculum models in higher education respond to this logic, and it is usual to expect that the graduated students of higher education have learned how to constantly update their knowledge, and even how to generate employment chances in view of a variable and uncertain market. A constant strain can be found in the question of whether the standardized models of professional training or the proposal of apprenticeship relationships are more appropriated. Likewise, according to Barrón, during the last decade, the field of curriculum and university professional training has produced studies about the tutorial, service learning; problem-based learning; reflective practice and transdisciplinary learning models. Nevertheless, in this trend an important part of the attention has been paid to competency-based education, its design, and implementation in higher education.

The Psycho-pedagogical Approach to Curriculum This trend arises and consolidates around the concern to implement new forms of knowledge and teaching organizations that allow teachers to overcome the learning difficulties experienced by the students, especially at the primary and secondary school levels. This trend in curriculum research is closely related to the psychology of learning and development, and also to the thought of the new European school of pedagogy and the so-called American progressive education.

According to Posner (1998), new forms of curriculum organization emerged when the educational psychologists made important criticisms of the study plans, since those reflected only the structure of the discipline and were organized deductively (e.g. the curriculum by subject), but they are unaware of the psychological structure of knowledge and of the complex human learning processes. For Ángel Díaz Barriga (2003), this is one of the two main traditions of curriculum studies, whose origin can be found at the beginning of this century in John Dewey's book called *The Child and the Curriculum* (originally published in 1902). From its beginning, this trend is connected to the analysis of contents and learning experiences; the premise is that curriculum must reflect the way in which people learn. It is important to observe that, in this perspective, the point is to link curriculum development to instruction theory and design.

Although there was in Mexico for a period an important influence of behaviorist psychology in the conformation of school curriculum (e.g., Robert Gagné and his proposal to organize knowledge by means of a "task analysis" and a progressive ordering of atomized abilities that go from simple to complex), the most important developments of this trend during the previous decades must be situated in the contributions of cognitive psychology and of the constructivist psychogenetic approach. Since the seventies, but more particularly in the eighties, we can observe the proliferation of research works and the development of significant curricular projects, some of them public and national, cognitively oriented and inspired above all by Jean Piaget and his followers; however, the influence of important cognitive psychologists such as Jerome Bruner and David Ausubel must not be neglected. During the nineties, we also assist to an amplification of the postulates of constructivism under the influence of important Anglo-Saxon and Spanish authors. Amongst the latter, we can highlight the work of César Coll (1987; 1990) and the group of authors whose mission it was to perform the Spanish curriculum reform in primary and secondary education. Particularly, Coll's *Psicología y Currículo* and his works about constructivism within the classroom have been very important for the development processes of curriculum at the basic level in several Spanish-speaking countries. This influence is especially important in Mexico, Chile, Brazil, and Argentina.

In our country, the main achievements of the psycho-pedagogical vision of curriculum cognitively directed are to be found in the development of long-haul curriculum projects, some of them at the national level. The most famous of those projects were those for nursery, special, and primary education (the Initial Education curriculum, 1979–1991; the Nursery Education Program, 1981–1992; the CONAFE-DIE Community Education Program, 1980; the Cognitive Orientation Program, SEP-UNAM, 1982; and the Program of Integrated Groups of Special Education, operative until the middle of the nineties, amongst others). Subsequently, we can notice the dissemination of this trend at the secondary and higher education levels, with a special emphasis on natural sciences and mathematics. However, we must say that, because of its purpose and study subject, this kind of research generally should be situated in the field of specific didactics or research in the teaching-learning processes, not in studies about curriculum.

The planning and setting in operation of those curriculum projects in basic education was accompanied by diverse efforts of educational research, not only belonging to the curriculum type, but also linked to the cognitive development and learning processes—and their quality, diffusion, and impact was variable. There are two main obstacles that such curriculum proposals inspired by constructivism have been facing: on one hand, the clash between the organized culture of the Mexican higher education institutions and the management processes they require, based on the philosophy and operational requirements of an approach such as the constructivist one; and on the other hand, the shortcomings in the teachers' training. The eternal absence of curriculum intervention experiences in the domain of national public basic education allows the possibility to create really flexible and situational curricula and to rely on the participation and acceptation of the educational staff for its drawing up and implementation. After several decades introducing the constructivist approaches in school curriculum, the main obstacles have been the inability to transform the classrooms into enriching educational stages and to dissolve a traditionally centralized, transmissional, and authoritarian education.

Since the nineties, together with the emergence of innovation discourse, curriculum reforms tend towards the adoption of the "innovating models"; amongst them, we can emphasize competency-based education, flexible curriculum, curriculum based on the student's learning, and the incorporation of transverse contents and of information and communication technologies. The major model of the longed-for changes is competency-based education, which suffers from a strong pedagogical gap since it is supported by no educational nor curriculum theory and its origin, in our country, can be found within the field of managerial organizations. This is why in the planes of curriculum and instruction, cognitive or sociocultural versions of competences can be drawn up, since the tendency has been to transfer it to education and classrooms based on some of those theoretical perspectives. The scopes and limits of the competency-based approach and its relationship with the psycho-pedagogical theories have been already analyzed by Coll (2006).

The constructivist perspectives will still be during the nineties and the first decade of the twenty-first century the main psycho-pedagogical theoretical reference, but an important shift can be observed. During the previous decades, the main interest used to reside in endogenous or psychological constructivism, whereas since the nineties, the main reference will be the social or exogenous constructivism, which offers a better potential to account for the processes of educational influence in school contexts and tackles them as interpsychological discursive and cultural realities. This means that it defines the educational processes at school as processes of joint construction of knowledge and curriculum contents as cultural knowledge or constructions with specific dynamics. As a consequence, the didactic approaches that are prescribed in the curriculum reforms carried out during the two last decades do recover the experiential and active proposals, such as the project method, problem-based and case learning, the service learning approach and, in general terms, the possibility to learn based on authentic or "real life" tasks. The tutorials also received a strong boost.

The former approaches produce tensions within the logic of subject-based curriculum, where disciplines prevail and are institutionalized at all the educational levels. The identity and structure of the teaching communities usually answers to the logic of subject-based curriculum, not to an inter- or multidisciplinary vision; the same happens with the authorities who are in charge of drawing up the textbooks and didactic materials and with teachers' training. This disciplinary structure is not easy to dismantle since it is the prevailing logic. It even has brought about that curriculum, instead of overcoming the encyclopedic vision that specialists wanted to change, has led to the design of programs overloaded with factual contents while competences need to be taught.

Although research products about the advantages of the above-mentioned innovative models and the examples of good practice do actually exist, the general trend is that teachers experience difficulties when trying to implement them in the classroom. There is still a strong lack of vision of systemic changes in the curriculum reforms, and neither participation nor teachers' training is taken into account, as asserted by authors such as M. Fullan or H. Hargreaves (F. Díaz Barriga, 2010).

Interpretative and Postmodern Studies Interpretative studies about curriculum, which constitute a research line that starts in the nineties, focus on the study of the meanings experienced by the actors before the pedagogical and curricular experiences. In this case, the main interest is to analyze the subjective and intersubjective meanings informed by the leading roles of the educational acts and, in this sense, they are studies that try to get to the bottom of the interpretation that people have about their own experience related to curriculum. In several cases, they are works that can be related to the critical trend and to naturalistic studies within the classroom; as a matter of fact, some of the authors who are considered as part of the critical pedagogy are currently working on subjects such as intersubjectivity, policies, representations, and curriculum. In the case of several interpretative studies, curriculum is studied, taking as analytic units the "texts" and discourses generated by the actors (teachers, students, and authorities), and therefore the interest is to observe how the identity construction process takes place in them.

This is why we consider that, more than a trend unified by its theoretical models, we find here a great diversity of perspectives that coincide in the aspects mentioned above. We can find in those works that investigate the meanings built up by the actors about curriculum a wide range of interpretations, from phenomenological and Freudian influences to hermeneutic visions, passing through works that study implicit representations and theorizations of subjects based on the reflections of Moscovici or the studies about social construction of reality inspired by authors like Berger and Luckman or Schutz. The most used methodological resources are the in-depth interview or the clinical examination, the life stories and autobiographical story or the discourse analysis. Some of the works that illustrate this trend are Remedi's (1992), Jiménez' (2002), Quiroz' (2003), Covarrubias' (2009), and Rautenberg's (2009) studies. It is important to highlight in these studies the fact that the researchers' interest is not in curriculum itself, but in the actors' analysis by means of curriculum. Once again we can observe how these studies are intertwined with other research areas, and this makes us question again whether these works are strictly speaking studies about curriculum, and if this notion is able to span the whole of meanings and identities built by the subjects of education.

For his part, García-Garduño (2011) identifies the emergence of the post-structuralist and postmodern discourse at the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties in Brazil with Tomaz Tadeus Da Silva and in Mexico with the works of Alicia de Alba and Bertha Orozco and their work team called "*Currículo y Siglo XXI*" (Curriculum and the Twenty-first Century). García-Garduño considers that this underlines once and again the hybridization between the postmodern theories and the political aspects of the critical theories. However, they do not represent a unified tendency. The emphasis of the authors who belong to the critical trend is put, in our opinion, on the role performed by the economic structures, the social institutions, the educational policies, etc. and their relation with intersubjectivity and the identities or the subjects' social practices with regard to curriculum. Da Silva (1999), for his part, considers that this new trend reflects a post-structuralist and post-critical conception of curriculum. For the Brazilian author, this research line draws together significant multiculturalist works that underline the role of the minorities or vulnerable social groups in curriculum, other ones study gender relations or feminist pedagogy, or interpret curriculum as an ethnic and racial narrative. Theorists such as E. Laclau, M. Foucault, J. F. Lyotard, J. Derrida, or W. Pinar are important references for the postmodern curriculum authors, as in the case of De Alba (2007) and Orozco (2009).

Apart from anything else, it is obvious that this trend is detached from any pragmatic interest, at least in regards to the making and implementation of concrete policies and curriculum projects or for the transformation of educational practices within the classroom. Nevertheless, its greatest contribution is that it offers the possibility to widen our understanding of curriculum, its practice, and actors from the diversity of situations and the contexts they are facing. These works also have set out significant criticisms to the educational policies and to the hegemonic discourse of the knowledge society and, more particularly, to the curriculum standardization projects or to the long-haul assessment that aspires to universality.

Conclusion

In México, curriculum studies carried out during the seventies were directed at the design of study plans and programs and showed a predominance of the technical rationality approach. Since then, many scholars have emerged who have been voicing significant criticisms and alternative proposals to this approach, especially from critical theory and cognitive psychology. It is during the eighties that we observe a substantial increase in this research field, with the emergence of a wide range of conceptual and methodological approaches that tackle curriculum questions. It is also in the eighties when the studies about curriculum become "institutionalized," e.g., many educational institutions at the basic, secondary, and university levels create departments or working groups focused on the study of curriculum and on curricular development. The eighties also see the proliferation of courses about curriculum theory and methodology (e.g., subjects, training workshops, certification programs, and postgraduate studies) directed at the training of teachers, educational planners, psychologists, and even employees and decision makers of educational institutions.

Since the nineties, research and intervention in this field has been strongly influenced by the globalization processes. This is why curriculum reforms during the last decades have been marked by hegemonic discourses (e.g., the "knowledge society") and by the incorporation of the managerial neoliberal models that advance the rhetoric of quality guarantee, competency-based curriculum design, accountability, and regulation by means of standardized assessments that are then associated with funding. From this point of view, it seems that the educational policies concerning curriculum are derived from interests to homogenize the school curriculum in order to make of it some kind of "international curriculum" by means of redefining it in terms of competency standards. This represents a major problem if we take into account the great cultural diversity of our country and also the obvious socioeconomic inequality. At the same time, and in a contradictory way, curriculum reforms claim innovation, in search for pedagogical renewal that *pretends* to recover proposals that emerged in the movement of the active school and of the progressive and experiential education. Similar contradictions can be found in the sphere of the assessment with regard to the school curriculum, since whereas curriculum prescribes authentic assessment within the classroom, the standardized far-reaching tests (PISA, Enlace) are more influential in terms of public opinion and governmental policies.

We can observe an important strain within the field of curriculum development between the research and educational intervention activities. In the first case, and since research as a task of knowledge construction finds itself in the hands of theoreticians and curriculum experts, it is where we can see the most important growth and conceptual diversification within the field, showing a great opening-up to psychological, anthropological, sociological, etc. approaches. Curriculum theoreticians' discourse in Mexico is consonant with other countries' trends of conceptual development of the field, and there have been acculturation and hybridization processes (García-Garduño, 2011). However, those developments have not been extended enough to the field of educational intervention in terms of the dissemination and consolidation of the real practice of experiences and innovating curriculum projects suitable for the approaches and discoveries about curriculum that have been achieved. Diverse researchers assert that the link between curriculum and study plan design is still the basic model with the most important presence in Mexico in terms of the educational reforms and policies, but the practice of curriculum design in schools and universities is not always congruent with the theoretical or methodological approaches that have been generated during the last decades. Unlike in other countries, in Mexico, the research concerning curriculum falls back at the university level, and its impact on basic education is less important.

The generation of long-term curriculum projects, such as projects fostered by the national reforms in basic and higher secondary education, is still in the line with technical rationality, since it favors the drawing up of formal documents with an emphasis on the planning phase without reaching its articulation with the work within the classroom or with the training of teachers. In this sense, reforms have been unable to change authoritarian educational practices. Although during the two last decades the focus on students' learning has been emphasized, it has not yet led to a new organization and structuring of curriculum content able to overcome the disciplinary logic, in keeping with the students' needs and characteristics. In the case of higher education, there has been a great opening-up for the training to include practice in real stages and to improve the connections of the social exercise of professions with the demand of the labor world, but in neither case are the results what they could be. Mexico has not yet approached curriculum processes from a systemic or ecological and social perspective that would entail the understanding of institutions and their dynamics, including its actors. Contemporary studies of globalization may prove promising in this regard, supported by the interpretative and postmodern approaches. Nowadays, at least in the academic circles, we can observe a real interest in analyzing the identity conformation and vision of the citizenship that promotes the school curriculum and its practice, including, of course, the realization and resistance that this can cause in the actors facing the homogenizing strains of the current reform. Despite the acknowledged polysemy of the term "curriculum," the term is still the intellectual and organizational focus of educational processes in teaching institutions, the ground where goals, contents, and processes are defined and discussed and is, after all, the space where groups and actors compete for the power.

Finally, the trends in curriculum research that we documented in this chapter do not represent an inflexible classification of the national production in this field, but one among other options. In any case, we can observe that they all coexist, that they all are in force to a greater or lesser extent, and that they experience significant influences from international debates concerning the subject. Nevertheless we also believe that curriculum research is nationally distinctive, that it reflects the characteristics and problems inherent in education in Mexico, even if it still hasn't achieved adequate influence in the transformation of educational practices and in curriculum development processes.

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28

Curriculum Research in the Netherlands

Willem Wardekker, Monique Volman, and Jan Terwel

Introduction: Conditions in the Netherlands

Although the Netherlands are wedged between the spheres of influence, both in a political and in a philosophical sense, of the Continental (both German and French) and Anglo-Saxon worlds, a space for some specific developments in and interpretations of education that are unique to the Netherlands has existed most of the time. The history and present state of its school system, the curriculum, and curriculum theory and research are all closely connected to the waxing and waning of these spheres as they came to dominance, but they cannot be understood if we do not take into account some specific characteristics of the Dutch "mind set" and the solutions and structures to which it gave rise.

As in most European countries, the school system in the Netherlands developed to meet the needs of a shifting social order. This could be described as a process of "massification" of education: more and more people gained admission to formal education, until compulsory enrolment for all was reached as late as 1920. It may be interesting to note right away that the dependence of the country on foreign trade has lead to an important amount of curriculum time being devoted to foreign languages, while nationalist tendencies both in the curriculum and in the general way of thinking are rather less marked than in most other countries. It is unclear whether the fact that the Netherlands cannot boast of many "great names" in philosophy or the humanities (Nauta 2000) should be seen as a consequence or a cause of this situation. Dutch thinkers seem to have engaged mainly in connecting and "trading" in ideas developed elsewhere. This commercial background may also be a reason why conflicts of interest tend to be solved by pragmatic compromise rather than by open conflict, a tendency which has also left its traces in the school system and in educational theory. Such conflicts have existed between social classes or strata, but also, more markedly than in other countries, between religious groups. A description in terms of massification of education tends to hide such conflicts of interest and their solutions.

As to social conflict, each time a new social group emancipated itself and demanded admission to the structure, a new school type in secondary education was added instead of changing the curriculum of the existing schools. Ostensibly, the purpose of this was to be able to cater to the specific needs of such groups. Thus, for instance, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the HBS ("Higher Citizens' School") was formed next to the Gymnasium, addressing itself to the children of the higher middle class and providing a curriculum inspired mainly by the needs of commerce. But the idea of creating special schools for special needs may also be viewed as an ideology that hides the purpose of maintaining the class structure of society against the dangers that this emancipation process presented. The net result has been a rather rigid structure with many types of schools in secondary education, the boundaries between which are difficult to pass for pupils. And even though Dutch society is much less class-oriented than, for example, the British, it is still true that enrolment in these school types is class related. The most important feature of this system was until very recently a strict separation in secondary education between schools for general education and schools for industry-oriented vocational training. This separation grew historically from the development of different education systems and is thus class-related, but was (and still is) "legitimized" by an ideology of separate student abilities: some students are supposedly better with their heads, others with their hands.

These nineteenth-century developments have also left their mark on the curriculum. According to Lenders (1988, 1992), the orientation toward commerce and industry coupled with a dominant liberalism translated itself into an empiricist and even positivist curriculum, in which knowledge and abilities were valued more than personality development, the latter being seen as an area belonging to the family and the church rather than the school. This empiricist curriculum became the factual norm both in primary and in secondary education. The position of the neo-humanist Gymnasium, for instance, became quickly marginalized once the more empiricist HBS curriculum (and others like it) was established.

The history of the Dutch school system and its curriculum is at least as much one of religious conflicts and the emancipation of religious groups as it is one of class conflicts and emancipation. This element has had important consequences in the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century.

Protestants and Catholics each comprise about one third of the Dutch population, and each group traditionally has created its own organizations for just about every aspect of public life: the struggle for emancipation and power of each group resulted in a sort of voluntary religious apartheid system (Sturm et al. 1998) that has only begun to break down with the growing secularization in the second half of the twentieth century. Of course, each group claimed the right to decide the content of the curriculum of its children; after a prolonged conflict, the issue was settled by creating the statutory right for any group to found its own schools, which are fully state-financed as long as they conform to certain criteria of quality and number of pupils. Most of these schools (now about 60% of all schools) are of an either Catholic or Protestant signature; the state itself provides schools only in those cases where this system does not suffice, and these "public" schools form the third "pillar" in this system of what is commonly called "pillarization," (also known as the silo effect), recruit their students from social democrats and conservatives alike. (One of the unforeseen consequences of this system has been that it is now being used, for example, to found state-financed Islamic or Hindu schools.)

The consequences of this model have been different from what one might expect. Apart from obvious differences in religious education as a subject, the impact on the actual curriculum is very limited. The dominance of an empiricist tradition has largely prevented thinking in other terms than those of the transmission of objective knowledge. Neither group has succeeded in creating a curriculum that is inherently Catholic or Protestant in nature. In fact, the curricula (both formal and informal) in all three "denominational streams" are largely the same—the more so as schools that have a religious background admit pupils, and often teachers as well, who do not have the same background, and the importance attached to religion as a dominating aspect of life is diminishing anyway. This is now leading to a situation where parents, irrespective of their religious background, choose the "best" school for their children, a practice which tends to emphasize class and ethnic differences. But from the point of view of curriculum theory, the most important consequence of the so-called "freedom of education" is that the state cannot prescribe detailed curricula or textbooks, as this is quickly interpreted as state interference in private matters. Schools are largely autonomous in their choice of source books, marketed by independent commercial publishers (originally catering each to their own 'pillar') or even created by the teachers themselves. There is a state institute for curriculum development (SLO), but its influence is limited to creating "example curricula" with no binding power. Although in recent years SLO has gained influence by coordinating and directing the processes of deliberation concerning the national curriculum within and between the various interest groups, the educational publishing houses have not lost their position of power.

Because of the relative autonomy of schools, the margin for curriculum changes imposed by the state is relatively small. Based on the fact, however, that schools in all three "pillars" are fully financed by the state, the right to assess the quality of education is claimed by the state, and it exercises this right by imposing central examinations in secondary education and an inspection system at all levels. Some major changes in the curriculum have been imposed by changing the content of the examinations. In addition, the national curricula and goals are evaluated by the National Institute for Educational Testing (CITO). Both CITO and SLO are instrumental in an educational policy towards accountability. Still, the space for curriculum change initiated in the schools themselves is much greater than in countries with a more centralized curriculum; given the uncoordinated nature of such efforts, coupled with the rather conservative policies of publishers, this may have resulted in a rather slow rate of change.

The relative autonomy of schools and the relative ease of founding state-financed schools, even if they are not religious in character, have also created the possibility for the success of several strands of the Progressive Education movement in the Netherlands. In the beginning of the twentieth century, these began as isolated initiatives, sometimes inspired by internationally recognized practical efforts like those of Montessori (who lived in the Netherlands for some time), Petersen, Freinet, Steiner, and Helen Parkhurst, and sometimes founded by more nationally known educators like Boeke and Ligthart. Such initiatives were often dependent on one person's special charisma; but the "freedom of education" made it relatively easy to continue these efforts. Even now, the number of Montessori, Jenaplan, and Waldorf schools is still growing, and "progressive" ideas have had a distinct impact on the pedagogy of "normal" schools. The actual influence on the pupils' curriculum of these movements is much greater than that of the religious affiliation of schools.

It would seem that at the moment, the position of the state relative to that of the schools is shifting. This shift may be partly caused by the growing disinterest in a religion-based school system; partly also, the rising costs of education have resulted in drastic budget reductions (to the point where the Netherlands is now spending a smaller portion of its national income on education than most other Western countries) accompanied by the requirement of the schools to present themselves in an open market and be accountable for their results; and partly, finally, by the problems created by the relatively large influx of non-Dutch-speaking pupils, which is seen as a threat to quality. On the one hand, schools are nominally being given even more (financial) freedom to realize a distinct "mission"; on the other hand, the state is exerting more control than ever by taking measures to "ensure the quality of education." These take the form of imposing regulations that have a direct impact on the aims and content of the curriculum. One example of this tendency is the formulation of mandatory curriculum aims for primary and lower secondary education; although at the moment these are little more than a collection of rather loosely formulated and incoherent descriptions of subject areas to be covered, it is a clear break with the tradition of non-intervention in the curriculum. Another example is the compulsory introduction of a pedagogy based on principles of self-regulated learning in the second phase of secondary education at the end of the 1990s. Here too, the basic principles were rather loosely formulated and schools could implement these in very diverse forms of actual curriculum; at the same time, such an intervention would probably have met with insurmountable resistance twenty years ago.

And this is what happened after all. Both self-regulated learning and the role the state had played in introducing a particular pedagogy came under heavy critique, among others from a Parliament inquiry committee. This coincided with and was partly inspired by concern about the declining quality of Dutch education, which was assumed to be obvious when the position of the Netherlands in the PISA ratings dropped. The wish to play an important part in a worldwide knowledge economy was then (erroneously in our view, cf. Guile 2010) translated into an almost exclusive emphasis on learning Dutch, English, and math. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, spurred by the economic crisis, this led to an ever increasing emphasis on a narrowly conceived form of accountability, enforced by the inspectorate and backed by politics. Beginning in general secondary education, this tendency is now also very visible in primary education.

The Struggle for a Common Curriculum in Secondary Education The history of Dutch education in the second half of the twentieth century was marked by a struggle to get rid of the more problematic aspects of the school system as it had developed in the past, exactly because the state had limited power over the curriculum. The aim was to abolish the institutionalized form of curriculum tracking and to create a more meritocratic form of education. Students in the Netherlands were (and still are) selected at the age of 12 years for separate curriculum tracks and schools. Most attempts to change this concentrated on changing the structure of the system, diffusing or eliminating the boundaries between school types. None of these attempts has fully succeeded, partly because of the resistance of conservative political forces and partly because of the inherent resilience of the system, which, in the Netherlands, may be greater than in some other countries because of the limited power of the state over the curriculum. The latest example was the creation of a common curriculum in the first two or three years of secondary education in 1993, which was abandoned again in 2004, and which we now go into in more detail.

Both developments in society and notions of social justice and equality of opportunity in education were important motives for curriculum innovation in the first stage of secondary education. In the Netherlands, it was Leon van Gelder, professor of education at Groningen University from 1964 to 1981, who was one of the proponents of a radical innovation of the first stage of secondary schooling in the Netherlands. In the sixties and seventies, he proposed a new curriculum for all 12 to 16-year-olds. The resulting concept of a comprehensive school (Middle School) was inspired by similar innovations in Sweden, England, and Germany. Some of the European scholars who inspired this innovation were Bernstein and Klafki. In the seventies, when the social democrats became a coalition partner in the Dutch government, plans were launched and experiments were initiated to design and implement the Middle School. One of the main issues was to overcome the traditional division between general education and vocational education and the accompanying system of curriculum tracking between and within schools.

The curricular innovations in the Middle School experiments were supported by the National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO). However, the main burden of the development of new curriculum materials was on the teachers. This included integrating subjects into broader curriculum domains; connecting teaching and learning to real-life situations; integrating the cognitive, affective, and psycho-motor dimensions of learning; and students of different abilities working together in heterogeneous classes and small groups.

As soon as a new conservative minister of education was in charge, the experiments gradually lost their political legitimation and support and were finally abandoned. It was to take more than 15 years before a political consensus could be found for a new secondary curriculum. At the start of the school year 1993–1994, a major innovation was introduced for the first stage of Dutch secondary education. All students were to participate in a national core curriculum called "*basisvorming*" ("basic education"). The new curriculum contained common objectives for 15 subjects, to be covered in three years with some differentiation in time for high and low achieving students in the various streams but without any changes to the existing structure, with its heavy emphasis on external differentiation. In the core curriculum new subjects, aims, and classroom procedures were formulated. Some of the elements of the new curriculum were also part of the Middle School curriculum, like learning in real-life situations and integrating the cognitive, affective, and psycho-motor dimensions. More or less new were the accentuation of skills and cognitive strategies and a new role of the teacher in guiding students in the process of re-invention instead of whole-class teaching from a transmission perspective. The development of learning strategies and of self-regulated learning was a central goal, seen as a longitudinal process to be fostered both in the junior level and the senior level of secondary education.

The new curriculum marked a change in outlook from the Middle School ideas: there, a way of thinking inspired by Progressive educators was plainly visible; here, the perceived demands of a market economy lead to a greater emphasis on qualification, whereas the Progressive element was visible only in some of the arguments for self-regulated learning. And even those elements soon disappeared, after self-regulated learning came under critique, as was shown in the previous section. Also, the idea of common objectives for lower secondary education was abandoned after 10 years, and the necessity to tailor the curriculum to the needs of students of different achievement levels was emphasized again. However, a curriculum based on hands-on learning in authentic situations has taken root in secondary vocational education, where it has led to quite extensive reconstruction of the actual curriculum.

The peculiarities of the Dutch system (of which the foregoing was only one example) will have to be kept in mind when, in the next sections, we will go into a description of the history and present situation of curriculum theory, research, and development in the Netherlands.

The First Wave of Curriculum Theory: Empiricism and Theology In the nineteenth century, curriculum theory in the Netherlands was not established in the universities. Rather, those concerned with the curriculum were school inspectors, school leaders, and teachers (Lenders 1992). It was they who wrote instruction books for teacher training, materials for (mostly primary) education, and articles in education journals. As we noted in the first section, their dominant outlook, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, was empirist, or even empiricist. This led them to value direct experience and inquiry, which was a marked improvement on the book knowledge-oriented curriculum that was dominant until then. According to Lenders, they had a lot of direct influence on the actual curriculum. At the end of the nineteenth century, their position culminated in adopting the psychological and didactical ideas of the Neo-Herbartians based on association psychology. This resulted in a quite formal and uniform outlook on the curriculum, in which the three "stages of learning" need to be exactly passed through, and direct experience was replaced by carefully restructured and re-presented curriculum contents. It was this formal and methodical type of teaching/learning process which around 1900 became dominant at the same time that it was criticized by the proponents of Progressive education. However, as noted before, the influence of the latter was initially limited to isolated schools, and the majority of schools continued in the "old" way.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, thinking about education obtained a stronghold in the universities. This was not a direct continuation of the work of the school inspectors and leaders noted above; rather, their work was largely disregarded. Instead, it took the form of "normative pedagogy," a form of philosophy that concentrated on developing aims for education from a strictly normative (mostly Protestant Christian) perspective. Its proponents, like Gunning, Waterink, Casimir, Perquin, and Hoogveld, who had a background in theology or philosophy, saw schools above all as a specialized extension of family education, where character education in obedience to God's laws was the ultimate goal. Thus, their actual work was in creating an apology for the religion-based divisions in the school system, not primarily making a contribution to greater effectiveness or more relevant content of the curriculum, as was the tendency in Northern American curriculum thinking in the same period. Consequently, their influence on the curriculum was limited, and in this period, the actual curriculum in the schools was still mainly inspired by neo-Herbartian psychology.

The Heyday of Idealism The focus of curriculum theory changed around 1940, partly because of the pressure for "objectivity" exerted on the newly founded academic discipline, helped later by a growing secularization in society. Thus, from about 1940 to 1970, curriculum theory in the universities was dominated by a Dutch adaptation of the religiously more neutral, neo-humanist, and idealist German philosophy of the *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik,* a term chosen to denote that its methods were inspired by those of the humanities rather than by natural science. It was based in part on the philosophical ideas of Hegel, and thus shares some of its sources with the theories of John Dewey and of Lev Vygotsky (although at the time, Dewey was viewed mainly negatively in the Netherlands, and Vygotsky was virtually unknown outside the Soviet Union). Its main category is the concept of Bildung, which is most aptly described as a transformation (as opposed to transmission) model of learning (Jackson 1986). Learning, to this theory, is not a purely cognitive process. Rather, by being submerged (via the curriculum contents) in the wealth of culture (seen by Hegel as the manifestation of the unfolding Geist of humanity), the pupil's whole personality is transformed and "civilized." Curriculum subjects were supposed to have a particular motivating and civilizing power (*Bildungsgehalt*); a great deal of the efforts of this paradigm's curriculum theory was directed at finding the best possible ways of identifying, selecting, and representing elements of the academic disciplines (with an emphasis on the humanities) that have a strong *Bildungsgehalt* (cf. Westbury et al. 2000).[1]

In the same period, the more practice-oriented work of the progressive education movement (known here under its German-oriented name of Reformpedagogiek) did have a lot of impact. No wonder, then, that the most important educational theorist of the time, Langeveld, tried to integrate the "child centered approach" of these educators with the more "content-centered approach" of the *Bildung* theory. This approach led him to conceive of the school as the child's way (curriculum) through educational experiences, as expressed in the title of one of his works, originally written in German: "*Die Schule als Weg des Kindes*" (*The School as the Way of the Child,* 1960).

Langeveld's work resonated with some of the other education professors, especially in the Catholic "pillar" (Perquin), who went from a normative view to a more humanist and ecumenical view, in which responsibility, conscience, and inner resilience were seen as more important goals of education than willingness to observe traditional values or acquiring knowledge and skills (Bos 2011). This may have created a breeding ground for the later popularity of self-regulated learning, to which we will return shortly. The direct practical impact of this work on education, however, was rather small, due partly to its high level of abstraction and partly to the strong influence that the transmission-oriented theories of the neo-Herbartians still had. Thinking in terms of transformation did not fit well into the ways of thinking about education that had become common sense.

Langeveld's work became well known, as it was obligatory material in teacher education till well into the eighties. However, it failed to change the curriculum; its impact was largely limited to creating an awareness of the need to pay attention to the personality development of children. But, quite contrary to Langeveld's intentions, in common educational thinking this has been translated into the idea of a dual task of the school: both an instructional task and a developmental ("pedagogical") task need to be fulfilled, with possible conflicts between the two normally "solved" in favor of the instructional task. One reason for this unintended interpretation was the influence of the empirically oriented "new" curriculum theory, to be treated below, in which questions of norms and personality are viewed as bordering on the unscientific; another may be that Langeveld had little to offer in terms of the selection of curriculum content or of the management of teaching-learning situations. For him, as for a number of his contemporaries like Stellwag and for later defenders of this position like Lea Dasberg, the supposedly universal qualities of culture as represented in the material of curriculum subjects remain the source of transformation to be effected in the pupils. Dasberg (1996), for instance, relates a number of curriculum subjects directly to five "essences of being human" (collective memory, morality, language, critical power, and creativity), so that these subjects should never be removed from the curriculum, while other subjects, related more to the "current needs of society," are seen as less important and more subject to change. To many, such a position seems to lead toward a singularly detached curriculum that has difficulties in meeting the concrete needs of contemporary society.

A remedy for this was proposed in 1969 by Jacob Bijl, a student and colleague of Langeveld. He suggested founding the curriculum in an analysis of life tasks, such as being a member of a religious community, of a family, of a society, and of a profession. This was a clear break with the idea of a curriculum based on academic subjects. Superficially, his proposal may look like that of the American educationist Bobbitt (1918); but where Bobbitt's intention was to analyze the exact cognitive qualities necessary to fulfill exact tasks, Bijl was thinking in terms of the personality transformations necessary to be a member of such communities.

The Turn Toward an Empirical and Constructive View

Although elements of his concept were adopted in some social studies curriculum projects, Bijl's proposal had little impact. For, by this time, the tide had turned. After World War II, the power of education to produce civilized personalities became questionable. In Germany, where educationists had to find a way of living with their own past, Critical Pedagogy was developed in the sixties and seventies as a variant of *Bildung* theory that is more aware of its societal position (Miedema and Wardekker 1997). In the Netherlands, however, the impact of this theory was limited. Rather, a beginning cultural hegemony of the United States had already led to the "discovery" and adoption of American curriculum theory, which was based on an approach adapted from the natural sciences. To some extent, it had a precursor in the person of Philip A. Kohnstamm. It is important to note that Kohnstamm was a close friend of Langeveld. Both educational theorists were strongly against experimental methods in the human sciences. Kohnstamm, a natural scientist by training, but also theologian, banker, politician, and educationist, had considerable influence in the thirties and even after the war, especially by publications and his relation with Langeveld. In his theoretical outlook, he was a representative of the "first wave" of theology-inspired philosophers, but due to his training as a scientist, he had a strong interest in promoting the use of empirical research to improve educational practice. Thus, he was one of the first educationists to understand the value of empirical research, even though he emphasized that research in the human sciences needed different (interpretative) methods—a warning that had little impact as long as Langeveld's phenomenology was the dominant methodology (Bos 2011).

The "new" curriculum theory was just about everything Bildung theory was not: it was empirical, down-to-earth, transmission-oriented, rather more sensitive to the "needs of contemporary society," and maybe most importantly, closer to the "common sense" about education, which was still dominated by the empiricist view inherited from the nineteenth century; or maybe we should say that this empiricism had finally found an academic legitimation. Moreover, it concentrated on the curriculum as a planning document and its construction, not on education as a whole. In one important respect, however, it resembled the "old" theory: its idea of curriculum structure was also predominantly based on academic subjects. However, even here there are two important differences. Formerly, the subjects were seen as capable of inducing personality formation by means of their *Bildungsgehalt;* now, the subjects were valued because of the specific knowledge and skills they contain, which must be transmitted to the pupils. Also, while in the old paradigm the emphasis was on the legitimization of curriculum content, this was now seen as an area for politics rather than human science, and researchers concentrated on theories of teaching and learning—on the "how" rather than on the "what."

This changing outlook on the proper subject of academic curriculum theory is demonstrated by the CURVO project, carried out by Langeveld's successors in Utrecht University. The CURVO project took place in the department of education, chaired by professor Jelle Sixma, who was one of Langeveld's PhD students and assistant professors (Bos 2011). The aim of this project was to devise an empirically founded procedure for the development of curriculum documents. The CURVO strategy has been implemented and evaluated in schools for primary and secondary education (De Kok-Damave 1980; Terwel 1984). Inspired by American curriculum theorists like Tyler, Schwab, and Walker, the CURVO group held the view that curricula cannot be prescribed (as to concepts, aims, content, and criteria) by scientists. In their view, curriculum development was a matter of deliberation and choice in a group in which teachers, curriculum specialists, experts in learning and instruction, and evaluation experts work together. This line of curriculum thinking, development, and research is still vivid in the Netherlands and became interwoven with computer-supported approaches for designing educational programs (Nieveen1997). It is typical not only of scientific caution in making value-laden decisions, but also of the penchant for compromise in a situation where no official body has final authority over the curriculum. However, nowadays the National Institute for Curriculum Development does not restrict itself to formal strategies and computer programs for curriculum development. The institute also takes the lead in the national educational discussion on the concepts, aims, and content of the curriculum of the future, for example, in mathematics (Boswinkel and Schram, 2011).

For a while, attempts were made, for instance, by Langeveld's student Leon Van Gelder, to integrate the "old" and "new" points of view; but these attempts were doomed to fail, on the one hand because of the totally different views of the task, scope, and methods of scientific work related to education, and on the other hand because of the sheer number of researchers working within the new "empirical" paradigm: for while the old paradigm had been the nearly exclusive domain of educationists, the new one was introduced by, and attracted mainly, research-oriented psychologists (like De Groot and Meuwese) concentrating on learning theory, and sociologists (e.g., Van Heek, Vervoort, Meijnen, and Jungbluth) whose main topic was inequality of access and results. De Groot, basing himself on earlier work of test psychologist Luning Prak, intended to create a science in which testing and assessment rather than the "subjective" judgments of teachers would provide objective grounds for social justice. In the universities, this led to the establishment of a new "interdisciplinary" field of educational studies, in which the position of those educationists that tried to maintain a more philosophical and anthropological point of view quickly became marginalized, and the emphasis was on the instrumental side of education.

It was mainly from this position that in the seventies, under a social democrat government intent on eradicating class differences in education, a number of large curriculum projects were launched. The common goal of these projects was to create a curriculum that would raise the achievements of low-SES children to the level of other children. Most of these projects did show some effects in the expected direction. However, the retention of the results of learning over a long time was disappointing. In the most prestigious one, based on rather strict prescriptions for teachers, no long-term effects could be found (Slavenburg 1989). A side effect was that such large-scale projects came to be considered as too big a risk, both financially and in terms of their results, and were discontinued—a development which also tied in with a diminishing political will to regulate such things "from above" and the ascendance of the idea that schools themselves should be made accountable for their results.

The mainstream of research and theory in the Netherlands since that time has followed international developments, and at this moment is not very different from that in the United States, with an emphasis on cognitivist-constructivist models of learning and teaching. Curriculum theory and research in the mainstream may be said to be "internationalized." In an important product of this work, the *Handboek Curriculum* by Nijhof et al. (1993), curriculum theory is explicitly said to be based on the American example. This form of "internationalization" is also evidenced by the fact that universities now require educational researchers to publish in international (read: English language) journals rather than in Dutch ones. Another sign of this internationalization may be found in the political decision, mentioned earlier, to base the pedagogical structure of the last years of secondary education on the model of self-regulated learning, which by itself is certainly not a Dutch invention.

An interesting aspect of this last development is that in the concept of self-regulated learning, although it may be seen to result from the development of the cognitive tradition in psychology, a theme returned that was central in the first period: that of the development of personality. It is certainly no accident that the theme of personality or personal identity is now rather popular in educational theories. The condition of late modernity implies that individuals need to make many more life choices than before, and making and entertaining such commitments has become a major life task. This situation points to the necessity and the problems of personality formation. However, while in the Bildung paradigm this was seen as a primarily moral development made possible by the civilizing influence of culture (as represented by the subject matter), in the cognitivist paradigm it reduces to the more technical version of self-monitoring of motivation and emotions in the service of the ongoing acquisition of knowledge and skills (cf. Prawat 1998). The moral side of personality development has here become a separate issue, an issue that was much discussed for a time following an initiative of the Minister of Education to pay more attention to the task of the schools in moral development—an initiative that may have been primarily inspired by the influx of people from other cultures, which was seen as a threat. This discussion, however, although it led to some interesting curriculum innovations like obligatory school-based community participation, nowadays also tends to transform itself into a more technical emphasis on what are called "twenty-first century skills" like flexibility, creativity, and communicative and cooperative skills (Boswinkel and Schram 2011). While this forms a distinct improvement on the stance of those who want to restrict education to "basic" knowledge-based skills and content, it also tends to sideline the discussion on the moral side (the "for what") of citizenship education.

Although, then, for a time it looked like theoretical developments in educational psychology that depart significantly from the traditional views on teaching and learning would be implemented, this movement turned out to be not well backed by politics or even by most teachers and schools. Also, it is an open question why self-regulated learning was introduced; it may well be that the (for bureaucrats) most alluring factor was the promise of higher effectivity at equal or lower costs. Generalizing somewhat, this leads us to a remark on the position of educational researchers.

The "freedom of education" we spoke about earlier has consequences for the position of curriculum theorists, researchers, and developers. In most cases, they do not feel that they are working either for or against the state; rather, they are working in the space opened up by the principle of relative noninterference, helping to create better conditions for the schools to fulfill their mission. (It should be noted here, however, that teacher education takes place in separate institutions, mostly outside the universities; researchers do not have a teacher education task.) This has been especially true in the seventies, when the state was (ostensibly?) engaging in a proactive policy for creating equal educational opportunities for all. Much of educational research in the Netherlands is state funded, but that does not imply that it has to be in line with current government policies—even though it is frequently perceived to be so by practitioners. However, the mainstream models of educational theory and research, with their emphasis on exactness and predictability, on outcomes rather than on processes, lend themselves more easily to bureaucratic use and control than other models of teaching and learning; so that it can be said that since this model became dominant, researchers work, if not for or against specific political or departmental policies, then often in the service of the educational bureaucracy. This may be one more form the Dutch tendency toward compromise takes.

At this moment there is, as in other countries, a contrast between two tendencies in research. One, backed by the government, emphasizes evidence-based practices where "evidence" is considered strongest if obtained in a randomized control group design; the other looks for "practice-based evidence" in design-based research (Van den Akker, et al., 2006).

We want to end this section by noting that a "reconceptualization" of curriculum thinking, as advocated in the United States by Pinar, has not found many adherents in the Netherlands, probably because it is perceived in a way as too reminiscent of the "outmoded" paradigm of *Bildungstheorie.* However, there are areas of overlap with the social constructivist paradigm, a way of thinking that does have proponents, as will become clear in the next sections.

Curriculum and Content: The Case of Mathematics In order to do justice to the whole picture of curriculum theory and practice in the Netherlands, the role of subject matter and subject matter specialists needs to be mentioned (Freudenthal 1973, 1991; Gravemeijer 1994; Van der Sanden, Terwel, and Vosniadou 2000; La Bastide-van Gemert 2006; Boswinkel and Schram, 2011). The most important theorist of mathematics education in the twentieth century was Hans Freudenthal (1905–1990). His theory of "mathematics as a human activity" integrates ideas from "reformpedagiek," the level-theory of Pierre van Hiele and mathematical content. Freudenthal was a professor of mathematics at Utrecht University and the founder of what is now called the Freudenthal Institute. Although Hans Freudenthal rarely, if ever, referred to his sources of inspiration, it is obvious that he was strongly influenced by the educational philosophy of John Dewey and by the educational theorist Martinus Langeveld (Langeveld 1960; Bos 2011). Freudenthal's point of departure was "mathematics as a human activity": a humanistic conception of man in which the freedom of students and teachers is crucial. In his vision, all students should get the opportunity to really understand mathematics at their own level. He pleaded for learning in small, cooperative groups of mixed ability. His main question was how mathematics originates under the guidance of a good teacher. He saw "originating" as contrary to "imposing" mathematics as a ready-made system. The latter he called the "antididactic inversion" (Freudenthal, 1973, pp. 102–103). His unique contribution lies in the integration of these general ideas with his vision of mathematics as an educational task. Freudenthal's more practical-oriented publications clearly reflect the ideas of the progressive education movement (Reformpedagogiek). His ideas were dominant not only in mathematics education but more general in the exact sciences. Freudenthal's role in the reform of mathematics education had gained almost mythical proportions (La Bastide-van Gemert 2006). However, nowadays Freudenthal's legacy is under heavy fire, and this is to some extent exemplary for educational reform in the Netherlands to which we will turn in the last part of this section.

In various university departments (mathematics, languages, history, etc.) in the Netherlands, subject matter specialists play an important role in theorizing and developing curricula. These groups often have direct working relationships with teachers, teacher educators, and curriculum developers. As a consequence, their curriculum work is content-oriented and practical. And there is often some tension between these groups and the general curriculum theorists in the departments of education. However, some groups maintain strong relationships with both the practice of teaching and the theory of curriculum, learning, and instruction. Curriculum thinking and development in mathematics in the Netherlands is a successful example.

In the recent history of curriculum concepts in mathematics, as in most other disciplinary subjects, three "long waves" may generally be discerned as "answers" to the traditional approach: the "structure of the curriculum" approach, "mathematics in real-life contexts," and a constructivist approach in mathematics education. Already in the nineteen-sixties Dutch teachers of mathematics were aware of the failures of traditional mathematics education, with its emphasis on the transmission of knowledge and the process of explanation by the teacher, as well as its accent on "basics": algebraic equations, calculations, and drills (cf. De Miranda 1966). At that time, a new curriculum movement, called "New Math," swept across Western countries. This movement may be considered an example of the "structure of the discipline approach." In the context of the New Math movement, however, the "structure of the discipline approach" never became very popular in the Netherlands.

Instead, the traditional approach of the nineteen-fifties gradually changed into a curriculum wave that can be characterized by its basic concepts "guided reinvention" and "mathematics in real-life contexts." At that time, it was popularized under the banner "mathematics for all and everyone," of which Hans Freudenthal was the principal proponent in the Netherlands. Freudenthal defended his vision of "mathematics as a human activity," against advocates of the "structure of the discipline approach" and was strongly opposed to the New Math movement, with its introduction of sets, relations, and logic; a position similar to that of Wagenschein in Germany. For Freudenthal, New Math was "transmission of mathematics as a system," divorced from its context. He highly valued the process of mathematization rather than the results of the process. He and his coworkers in the Freudenthal Institute consequently embraced the idea of mathematics in real-life contexts (Terwel 1990; Terwel, Herfs, Mertens, and Perrenet 1994; La Bastide-van Gemert 2006). These ideas were later brought together under the new acronym RME (Realistic Mathematics Education).

More and more, RME has become related to constructivism. Consequently, in the eighties a new wave in the innovation of the Dutch mathematics curriculum emerged: mathematics education from a constructivist perspective. This was, in a sense, a remarkable development because Freudenthal himself was strongly opposed to constructivism (and any other form of educational "ism") and considered it an empty philosophy and poor developmental psychology (Freudenthal 1991). The main problem for him was the lack of clarity, or the lack of consensus on what constructivism is. He reacted to this lack of clarity by introducing his own terms: (re-)construction, (re-) creation, and (re-)invention. However, Freudenthal was inspired by traditional European conceptions of education and learning as expressed by, for example, Decroly, Wagenschein, Langeveld, Selz, Kohnstamm, Vygotsky, and Piaget. Phenomenology, European versions of cognitivism, and Progressive Education (reformpedagogiek) were important sources for Freudenthal's conception of the mathematics curriculum. The same holds true for his central concept of "guided re-invention" in which the "re" refers to the history of mankind (Freudenthal 1973). This clearly echoes Dewey, who not only mentioned that "reinvention" should be oriented at the history of mankind, but also stressed that reinvention has to be guided by the expert. Although he rarely referred to these sources explicitly, Freudenthal may be considered in a sense a constructivist *avant la lettre.* This connection with European curriculum traditions is the main reason why it was comparatively easy for Freudenthals coworkers and, more in general, Dutch mathematics educators to relate to the constructivist movement. Gravemeijer, at that time one of the leading researchers in the Freudenthal Institute, expressed the relation between realistic mathematics education and constructivism as follows: "The central principle of constructivism is that each person constructs his or her own knowledge, and that direct transfer of knowledge is not possible. This idea of independent construction of knowledge supports the central realistic principle" (Gravemeijer 1994; Gravemeijer and Terwel 2000).

Sometimes there was opposition from inside mathematics and the mathematics-education communities to the basic idea that students should proceed from the real world to the mathematical world. The main criticism of the RME approach is that it is often impossible to proceed from everyday-life situations to "mathematics." Re-invention, in this view, is a waste of time (Verstappen 1994, Keune 1998). The group around Gravemeijer, however, has gone more and more in the direction of social constructivism, in which every theory about the world is considered one of many possible theories that will equally well describe a certain state of the world. The choice between such theories is considered to be a social choice, made for reasons of efficiency in actions, or in some instances for reasons of power. This way of thinking, for which in mathematics education Cobb and his colleagues (Cobb and Bowers 1999) may be considered the leaders, implies that students should be made aware of the fact that there are multiple solutions for a given problem, that they are able to think of some solution themselves, and only then be shown why and in what cases the "canonical" solution of mathematics might be the best one. There is a clear connection here to the sociocultural approach to curriculum, which will be considered in the next section.

At the level of the formal curriculum, innovation in mathematics education may be said to have been successful. There are new examination programs and curricula for the full range of the general streams in secondary education in the Netherlands. The principles of Realistic Mathematics Education (RME) have to some extent been integrated into all published mathematics methods. With regard to the operational curriculum, mathematics education is at a transitional stage. Many of those involved have noticed a lack of systematic evaluation and support for the way teachers have translated innovation into concrete actions. Except for some well-conducted experimental studies into curriculum implementation and effects (The Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences KNAW 2009), it is still unknown how lessons in real school practices are being modeled according to the new ideas. It therefore remains partly an open question whether Stoller's description and prediction will come true when he said that Wagenschein and Freudenthal are laughed at because of their idealism and because they don't fit in with any bureaucratic model and are forgotten when it comes to real classroom practices (Stoller 1978).

Since 2012, there has been a strong movement in the Netherlands against progressive education, RME, constructivism, and what is called "New Learning" (Goetheer and Van der Vlugt 2008; Van de Craats and Verhoef 2009). Proponents of this critical movement can be found in political parties, among educational policy makers, in educational administration, in institutes for teacher education, and in universities. Their main argument is that both in primary and secondary education, mathematical achievement is declining as a consequence of realistic math education. Proponents of RME fight back by saying: Forty years of working on better math education thrown on the scrapheap? No way!

In order to bring clarity to this discussion, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences KNAW (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of high quality empirical studies into the effects of RME. The outcome of this analysis was clear: there is no evidence from empirical research that this approach is less effective than more traditional strategies with standard procedures and algorithms. However, the critique on RME is part of the more general critique of education in the Netherlands (Goetheer and van der Vlugt 2008). And in a recent policy letter from the Cultural Planning Bureau (CPB) it was stated that the scores of Dutch students, especially the top students, are declining as compared to their counterparts in other countries. The CPB recommends the following measures: "back to the basics," improvements in teacher education, accountability, and early selection of students (Van der Steeg, Vermeer, and Lanser 2011). Looking back over a period of 50 years, it must be said that all attempts to overcome the traditional division between the general and the vocational curriculum have failed. Van Gelder's quest for the middle school and Freudenthal's credo of "mathematics for all" seem forgotten by the policy makers and curriculum designers of today.

The Reception of Vygotsky's Legacy As may have become clear from the mathematics example in the last paragraph, the field of curriculum studies in the Netherlands is currently not of one mind. Next to the neo-humanist and empirical-scientific strands of theory, a third form has developed, more humanist in its principles than the "new" empiricist paradigm, but more oriented towards research and the development of educational practice than the "old" *Geisteswissenschaftliche* way of thinking, deriving its basic ideas from Vygotsky and (lately) Dewey. In a sense, the work of the above-mentioned Kohnstamm may also have provided some leads for this movement. For although he was in favor of empirical research, he opposed various elements of the empirical educational psychology of his day, especially the idea that intelligence was one capacity of which the magnitude was fixed genetically. Taking the German *Denkpsychologie* as a point of departure, he showed that IQ could be boosted by adequate education. This led him to promote forms of education in which understanding, not memorizing, was central. Understanding could be reached by giving students the opportunity to relate curriculum content to a context of practices in daily life. This principle was expressed in a rather influential method for reading in which understanding of the text was central. Training what would now be called problem-solving strategies in reading was essential to his method. But for Kohnstamm, understanding was not the ultimate aim: he saw all education as ultimately contributing to the personal development of all students, as opposed to the mere intellectualism that he discerned in the stance of other educationalists of his time.

Elements of Kohnstamm's thinking are visible in the work of several later educationists and prepared the ground for an arrival of Vygotskian theory that was rather earlier than in most other countries outside the Soviet Union. Vygotsky's work was made known in the sixties through the efforts of Van Parreren (who studied with Kohnstamm) and Carpay, who translated and adapted parts of his work and especially that of his follower Galperin for use in teacher education. Their initial emphasis was on the conditions for transfer (cf. Van Oers 2000). This work was widely used in the education of primary school teachers and thus formed the beginning of a number of developments. One of these can be discerned in primary education, where "developmental teaching" (also known, if related to the first stage of primary education, as "basic development") along Vygotskian lines is now a well-known approach that about 200 schools for primary education use, at least for the earlier years, and which is being constantly developed by the school consultancy center *De Activiteit* (cf. Van Oers 2012). An emphasis in this work is on bridging the gap between "playing" and "learning" (cf. Van Oers 1999). It has to be noted, however, that in the present political climate, these schools, like many progressive schools, are under constant pressure to conform to standard procedures of testing and curriculum delivery.

A second development is taking place in educational sciences, where theory development and research have realized a connection to the international community of cultural-historical research in education (ISCAR) and where now also the similarities between this theory and the ideas of John Dewey are being explored, although the number of adherents to this paradigm remains small, and cognitive constructivism remains the dominant paradigm into which some of Vygotsky's ideas become integrated. Whereas Van Parreren's interpretation stayed close to the cognitivist paradigm, with a strong emphasis on problem-solving strategies, recent developments have gone in the direction of a theory in which many of the themes of Bildung theory are revived but also transformed. This is perhaps to be expected given the common roots of both paradigms in late nineteenth century European philosophy. Thus, the contribution of education in personality development (cf. Wardekker 1998) is a research theme, as well as the differences and similarities between the home and the school as contexts for learning and the importance of engaging the pupils' motivation. An important difference, however, is that motivation is no longer sought in a mysterious force, *Bildungsgehalt,* that is in the subject matter itself; instead, motivation is related to the pupils being able to connect subject matter to their own participation in societal practices (cf. Van Oers 2000). In this connection it is interesting to note that Bijl's idea of an analysis of life tasks as the foundation for the curriculum was echoed recently in a proposal to connect the curriculum to "life areas" instead of academic subjects (Meijers and Wijers 1997). Also, Freudenthal foresaw an essential, practical role for mathematics in everyone's life (La Bastide-van Gemert 2006). Elements of this way of thinking can be found in recent work in the mathematics curriculum by the Freudenthal Institute, as we noted above. This paradigm, among other things, thus gives an impetus to re-opening the discussion on curriculum content and its function, as the "reconceptualization" did for the curriculum field in the United States.

Internationalization of the Curriculum? We have noted that curriculum theory and research in the Netherlands have always been internationally oriented, although the international research communities that it was connected to have differed according to the paradigm that was selected. An interesting question, which we cannot go into here, would be why it is that in the last century, French thought on curriculum issues has had virtually no impact in the Netherlands, even though some important documents were translated?

In a sense, the same international orientation can be found in the curriculum itself, at least in its explicit part. Foreign languages have always been seen as important, for instance. Still, present conditions require a much more intrinsic form of questioning the national identity that is also undoubtedly part of the curriculum background.

These conditions, part of the changes occurring in late modernity, can be summarized as constituting processes of simultaneous globalization (resulting in forms of greater unity) and localization (resulting in diversity and plurality). These processes most visibly express themselves in, on the one hand, the tendency towards a unified Europe and the freer movement of persons across it, and on the other hand, in the confrontation of cultures and values resulting from this tendency and from the influx of immigrants. Another such process is the secularization of society, which in the Netherlands, with a social organization based on religious differences, has especially far-reaching consequences.

At the moment, those aspects of these processes that are seen as threatening to the social order receive most attention. A fear of degeneration of values has inspired the government to ask schools to give more attention to their task in moral and citizenship education (Wardekker 2001). The coming of children from other cultural communities is seen as a problem rather than as an opportunity. Discussion concentrates on the problem that most of them do not know the Dutch language, which is then countered by the demand that schools become more effective in teaching them. The number of those who see the educational value of plurality of views and values is still small, and multiculturality in this sense is not much of an issue in educational thinking. The concept of a "European identity," although promoted by the European organizations, does not yet seem to be a significant part of the curriculum either.

This situation has a broader background. Questions of internationality and multiculturality, along with all other questions of curriculum content, are viewed by the dominant empiricist paradigm as belonging in the realm of politics, not of academic inquiry. Academic educationists mostly concentrate on issues of effectivity and of learning theory. However, there is no national debate (or anything like it) on the contents of curriculum either. This seems to be one area in which a revival of continental European thinking, either in the form of *Bildungstheorie* or of the newer and more promising approach of sociocultural theory, could be beneficial. If that happens, the pendulum might swing back from an emphasis on document construction to understanding the curriculum as a contribution to the pupils' life course—while not abandoning, of course, the attention to teaching practice and to the problem of inequality in education, for which we have the empirical paradigm to thank.

Acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank Ronald Keijzer for his helpful comments.

Notes

1. Didaktik, originally as opposed to Methodik, the theory of handling classroom situations, although Klafki later abolished this distinction; confusingly, what Klafki called Methodik is often called didaktiek in Dutch.

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29

Curriculum Studies in Nigeria

Rosita Okekenwa Igwe

This chapter examines the curriculum field in Nigeria, its intellectual history, and its present circumstances. In Nigeria, we have not embraced the curriculum field in terms of understanding the curriculum nor have we delved into the sphere of curriculum theorizing as a field of study. To most educators (in Nigeria), the curriculum field exists only at the level of school subjects and pedagogy. They believe that the totality of all that is to be studied in the field derives from Tyler, Wheeler, and Bobbitt. This has given rise to misconceptions of curriculum theorizing. It has brought about a myopic view of the rationale behind educational practices in the country. This chapter begins with a consideration of the curriculum (education) in the precolonial era. This will lead us to the arrival of the missionary or colonial era, the birth of Western education from which the intellectual history of the field will be deciphered.

The second part will convey the present circumstances of the curriculum: the present stage of curriculum in Nigeria; the major event that led to the modification of the colonial education; and the state of the field in our schools and how it is being affected by government policies, national and global politics, and local conditions in school. Our concept of the curriculum must emerge from its narrow confines for it to be reconceptualized.

Precolonial Era (to 1841)

That education which serves the development of both the individual child and the society is not new. Every society, irrespective of time, people, or place has established one educational system or another. Before the introduction of Islamic and Western education in Nigeria, there had been a traditional system of education. This education remains relevant in the society today.

Philosophy of education varies from one place, time, and people to another. It is not static. Indigenous Nigerians had a philosophy or even education before the infiltration of foreign culture. There is enough concrete evidence to prove that there existed well-organized ancient city states across the various parts of what is today known as Nigeria. For instance, there were the Nok people with their unique culture in the present Plateau area of Northern Nigeria, the Old city states of the Oyo, Benin, and Kanuri empires; the Bonny and Itsekiri kingdoms, and the Nupes and Egbas, among others—all in what is today known as Nigeria. Each of these unique societies had their outlook on life, and their various environments influenced the foundations of their education (Amaele, 2003).

These peoples also had their systematic way of imparting knowledge, skills, and character from generation to generation. This is sometimes accomplished through orality: ceremonies, storytelling, poetry, observation, etc. Character training was also emphasized. Each family had its own peculiar character (Ocitti, 1973). According to Igwe (2000) the education received during this period had its purpose, aiming at meet the needs of the individual and society. It consisted of the practical subjects of farming, fishing, weaving, cookery, and knitting; and recreational subjects included wrestling, drumming, and acrobatic displays. This curriculum content varied between social responsibility, job orientation, and political participation, as well as spiritual and moral values. There was also a provision made for intellectual training through the study of local history, legends, and storytelling. Instruction was activity-based within the environment. There was learning by doing and direct contact with what had been thought; education was holistic, comprehensive, and offered an integrated experience (Abiri, 2005).

The aims of traditional education were to preserve the cultural heritage of the extended family, clan, and tribe, to adapt members of the new generation to their physical environment and teach them how to control and use it, explaining to them that their own future depends on understanding and perpetuating the institutions, laws, language, and values inherited from the past (Amaele, 2004: pp. 5–6). Fafunwa (1974) enlarged the aims of traditional education into seven cardinal points: to develop the child's latent skills; to develop the child's character; to inculcate respect for elders and those in authority; to develop intellectual skills; to acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labor; to develop a sense of belonging and participate actively in family and community affairs; and to understand, appreciate, and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large (Fafunwa 1974: p. 20).

Traditional education was a collective and social activity. Almost everybody was involved in the training of the child. It was multi-dimensional in character in terms of its goals and the means employed to achieve them. It was planned in gradual and progressive steps to coincide with the successive stages of physical, emotional, and mental development of the child. Relying on informal instruction, it has limited specialized training; traditional education depended on oral traditions. It was practical and directed towards specific situations and religion. These were interwoven and inseparable, taking place at any time and place (Amaele, 2005: pp. 6–7).

The content of traditional education centered on character building, including physical training through physical contests such as wrestling, perseverance activities, arts and crafts, carving, painting, modeling, artistic and creative pursuits, songs and dances, masquerades; and intellectual training, including singing and counting, games, arithmetic, and facts about the natural environments. A father would move about with his son, introducing him to the names of different objects, plants, animals, as well as providing historical knowledge including stories about the gods and traditions preserved in folklore and legends (Amaele, 2003).

Over time, communities and ethnic groups became known for certain skills and occupations. Their informal curriculum emphasized the development of occupational skills. Competence became identity. It was the form of education Nigerians knew before the arrival of the colonial missionaries; it was geared towards skills acquisition with a view to enhancing the economic wellbeing of the recipients (Ocitti, 1973).

Education was not, then, conducted within the four walls of classrooms. Initiates engaged in a nonformal, participatory education enacted through ceremonies, initiations, rituals, demonstration, and recitation. Instruction was not given by specific teachers but by everyone in the community. Individuals were prepared for self-support through apprenticeship training in the precolonial era. Such training was learned through one-on-one inculcation of appropriate skills, attitudes, and habits, and at the community level. Some skills and occupations were accessible to all community members; others were kept as family secrets. Age grades and secret societies, in some areas, as recorded by Ali (2000), dominated certain occupations and these became powerful and domineering (Alade, 2011).

The methods of teaching in this education system included indoctrination, modeling, initiation, and reward ceremonies as well as punishment, imitation, role play, oral literature, poetry, instruction, observation, intention, participation, and apprenticeship. Emphasis was laid on practical knowledge, skills, and character. There was continuous assessment that eventually culminated in a "passing out ceremony (freedom) or initiation into adulthood (Fafunwa, 1972).

Colonial Education (1841–1960)

The introduction of Western thought into Nigeria can be dated back to the 1840s when the Christian missions were first established in the southern areas bordering the Atlantic (Igwe, 2000). Christian missionaries from Sierra-Leone and Great Britain began their activities in Nigeria in 1842. The focus was evangelism, which necessitated the establishment of mission schools.

However, the 1842 Christian missionaries were not the first; as early as 1472, Portuguese merchants had visited Lagos and Benin. By 1485 they were trading with the people of Benin. By 1515 Catholic missionaries had established a primary school in the Oba's palace for the children of the Oba; his chiefs and all converted to Christianity. Catholic missionaries traveled to Brass, Akassa, and Warri, where churches and schools were established. But the Catholic influence was almost wiped out by the slave trade, which ravaged West Africa for nearly three hundred years (Fafunwa, 1974: pp. 74–75). The Portuguese were mainly interested in commerce, but they realized that if Africans were to be customers, they must have some rudiments of education and accept Christianity (Fafunwa, 1974: p. 74).

The Origin of Formal Education

The arrival of the Christian missions towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, that is, around September 1842, initiated the first formal curriculum development in Nigeria (Alade, 2011). Between 1842 and 1882, the Christian missions were in the total control of the early and formal school curriculum in Nigeria. Curriculum objectives, subject matter, methods of teaching, maintenance, supervision, and control of the school were all under their authority (Alade, 2011).

According to Osokoya (1995), the mission schools aimed at leading people to Christ through the training of indigenous manpower to extend the evangelical work to the various local communities. Igwe (2000) pointed out that education during the colonial period also provided an abundant supply of semiskilled labour.

The curriculum content of these schools included religion (Christian), arithmetic, reading, and writing (all in English). Other subjects included agriculture, nature study, and crafts. The first schools were opened in Badagry, Abeokuta, and Lagos. The mission of the missionaries was to train lay-readers and cooks who could do missionary work in English, their major assignment (Alade, 2011). The main curriculum content was the Holy Bible and other related commentaries. There was no separation between the church and the school. Schoolteachers were also the church personnel and their wives. The curriculum offered in the secondary schools was also controlled by the missionaries. The secondary subjects offered included: English grammar and composition, history, geography, book keeping, Latin and Greek grammar and composition, and Euclid's Elements and Plain Treatises on Natural philosophy. Hebrew and French were also taught from time to time. Other subjects included gymnastics, geometry, trigonometry, rhetoric, drawing, logic, moral philosophy, political economy, chemistry, physiology, mythology and antiquities, geology, and botany (Ajayi, 1963).

These subjects were selected from subjects taught in British Grammar schools. Although each Christian denomination had its own curriculum, Igwe (2000) reports that most schools attached great importance to moral instruction and character training, and the medium of instruction was English. Discipline included the use of corporal punishment (Amaele, 2003).

Many problems plagued these schools, among them the lack of central school laws leading to nonuniform standards for curriculum or teaching. Consequently, there were no trained teachers and no training colleges; there was lack of a common syllabus and no standard textbooks; the few that were available were not relevant to the local people; the school lacked adequate supervision as well as teaching and learning materials and necessary facilities; there was no regulated standard examination for all the schools; and the method of teaching was mainly by rote. These problems contributed to an educational imbalance between the northern and southern parts of Nigeria (Osokoya, 1985: p. 61).

Nevertheless, the mission schools laid the foundation for Western education in Nigeria; they introduced English, which became the nation's official language, and they helped in eradicating the slave trade and other practices such as human sacrifices, the killing of twins, and the Osu caste system (Amaele, 2003).

The Involvement of Colonial Government in Education

As noted, Western education system in Nigeria started in 1842 by the Christian missionaries. This early activity was concentrated within the Lagos area (Badagry and Abeokuta). When there was a dynasty problem in Lagos between Kosoko and Dosumu, the British Government used the opportunity and bombarded Lagos in 1851 and in 1861. Lagos became a colony under the British Government. Gradually, the British authorities began to take interest in the education. They did this initially through grants-in-aid and ordinances (Amaele, 2003). In 1872, the British Government provided the sum of £30 to each of the three active missionary societies in Lagos: the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist, and the Catholic. The grant was increased in 1877 to £200 to each of these missions. Gradually, the colonial administration decided to intervene through what they called education ordinance (Amaele, 2003).

Colonial education in Nigeria was purely elitist, utilitarian, and conservative. It differed from that of the missionaries. Their aim was to produce low-level manpower that could be hired cheaply as interpreters, messengers, artisans, and clerks; to produce workers who could help rural farmers in planting, harvesting, and processing cash crops to be exported to Europe as raw materials for their industries. In sum, then, the British educated indigenous people to become semi-literate citizens who supported British colonialism (Nduka, 1975). These aims served as a guide in the development of the curriculum.

One turning point was the Phelps-Stokes commission that was aimed at enhancing religion and education. The commission was established in 1920 to inquire into the educational needs of the people, with special reference to the religious, social, hygienic, and economic conditions (Fafunwa, 1974: p. 120). The major finding was that the education given to the people was not adapted to the people's needs and that the education was too literal and classical to be useful to the people (Fafunwa, 1974; Amaelem 2003: pp. 35–36). Based on these findings, the following recommendations were made: Design instructional programmes for health and leisure, religious life, character development, and family life; increase government participation in education through financing, control, and supervision of educational activities; and evolve common principles and objectives to guide educational practice in the various territories and provide for the development of agricultural and industrial skills (Abiri, 2005).

These recommendations had long-lasting impacts on Nigerian education. Reacting to the 1922 report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, the British Secretary of State for the colonies established in November 1923 a Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. The Committee was charged to advise on educational matters and to assist in advancing the progress of education in the area (Taiwo, 1980: p. 70).

The 1925 Memorandum on Education in British Colonial Territories directed the government to accept and show readiness to encourage voluntary educational efforts that could conform to the general policy while directing educational policy and supervising all educational institutions either by inspection or in some other way; adaptating education to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples; attaching the greatest importance to religious teaching and moral instruction related to the conditions and daily experience of the pupils; making the acquisition of their knowledge of English and arithmetic essential before the start of apprenticeship for skilled artisans (Taiwo, 1980: pp. 70–71; Ikejiani, 1964: pp. 5–6; Abiri, 2005: pp. 41–43).

The elementary school during the colonial period provided a programme of study that normally required 12 years to complete, infant departments, sub-standards and primary departments, and standard 1–6. The main objective at the infant level was to develop body and mind through the formation of habits and obedience and attention. Subjects included reading (vernacular and English), writing, arithmetic, nature study, physical exercise, and at times musical drill. There were both obligatory and optional subjects, and they include colonial English, nature study, reading with translation into the vernacular and study of the meanings of orals and simple grammar, writing, dictation, composition, hygiene, sanitation, etc. Optional subjects were singing, history, geography, typewriting and shorthand, agricultural training, cookery, embroidery, etc. (Igwe, 2000).

The first high schools offered both core and specialized elective subjects. Choices could be made between classic and modern language, philosophy, Roman and Greek histories, mythology, and antiquities. The school depended on Cambridge for their local examinations. There were also trade and vocational schools to produce carpenters, clerks, and so on. There were experiments of diversified curriculum, leading to questions of individual versus community needs and urban versus rural. Schools were grossly inadequate, both in extent and in adaptation to the needs of the people (Igwe, 2000).

The content of the subjects was essentially foreign, written in English. Even during the independence era in 1960 when the curriculum was heavily criticised, the schools were biased towards literary and academic subjects, mainly British in outlook and irrelevant to the needs of individuals and the society at large. Commissions were established, and there was a curriculum conference held in 1969 that was indeed a major landmark in the history of education in Africa (Igwe, 2000).

Present Circumstances

At the 1969 curriculum conference, the existing goals of Nigerian education were critiqued and new goals were articulated (Igwe, 2000). Guidelines were to be produced attentive to the needs of youth and adult individuals as well as the aspirations and development of Nigerian society (Adaralegbe, 1972: p. 8). Colonial-era education had been alienated from the people's culture. Tai Solarin was one of the educationists who was critical of this issue. He criticized those he called the Europeanised Africans who were insensitive to the local needs and aspirations. "The best student we can produce with our present system," he declared, "is one who is Nigeria in blood but English in opinion, in morals and intellect; such animals are fit for export" (quoted in Ukeje, 1979: p. 81). The conference document was later reviewed by the federal government to what is today known as the National Policy on Education.

The National Conference on Education formulated national objectives, among them permanent literacy and numeracy, as well as effective communication. It addressed religious and moral instruction, mathematics, and science, as well as skills preparatory to trade and craft education. The medium of instruction would be the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community, and, at a later stage, English. The government was to make special efforts to promote the education of girls and to provide the facilities and supervision for ensuring quality in education (Alade, 2011). Its main significance lay in the fact that it was the first time Nigerians would be involved in deliberation on the future of education in Nigeria. *But its recommendations could not be effectively implemented because, despite its beautiful ideas, it did not stem from any sound philosophy.* This is a recurring issue in policy formulation; we lack a solid foundation for effective delivery of instruction in education practices and any other area.

Igwe (2009) has pointed out that the word theory originated from the Greek word "theoria" in the fifth century, which refers to "vision." That is to say, conceptually, curriculum theory could be regarded as providing vision to educational endeavor. Beauchamp (1981) defined it as a set of related statements that give meaning to the school curriculum by specifying the relationships amongst its elements and by directing its development, use, and evaluation. For Adegoke (2003), curriculum theory is a mixture of practical and theoretical thinking; it is the foundation for effective instructional patterns. Hirst (1980) defined curriculum theory as the formulation of general principles for practice, e.g., rational and defensible statements of what we ought to do and what we actually do.

There is a shift from the development of the curriculum to understanding the curriculum. The field is interested in the relationships between school subjects as well as issues within individual school subjects themselves, and with the relationship between the school curriculum and the world. In this era of understanding curriculum, scholars are no longer satisfied with carrying out the policies of others, emphasizing only practice and institutionalization. The works of Tyler and Wheeler are no longer the focus of curriculum today. There is now the need to understand curriculum and not just the technicalities of "how to" in era of development; this is now gone with the past, and the field has been reconceptualized (Pinar et al., 1995). Now the curriculum is viewed from various discourses, revealing its relationship with issues like politics, races, gender, phenomenology, aesthetics, postmodernism, and international matters. This shift has helped experts to proffer solutions inherent with the demographical, autobiographical, and phenomenological development of man and his society, especially in this twenty-first century (Igwe and Ihemebirim, 2009).

The curriculum field has not been reconceptualized in Nigeria as it has in other countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Nigerian scholars have yet to begin, starting from scratch. The curriculum is still narrowly conceived in Nigeria, associated with design, planning, implementation, and evaluation. According to Pinar

(1995), the era of developing the curriculum has passed; this is the era of understanding the curriculum.

In a survey carried out in the University of Lagos, Nigeria, on rethinking the curriculum, findings revealed that curriculum theory is perceived to be the syllabus of a subject, the history of the curriculum, the works of Ralph Tyler, e.g., curriculum development (Okoduwa, 2011). Furthermore, having been educated in school with the notion or idea of a variety of subjects, we have become so subject inclined that every study must be tied to a subject. When one says his/her course of study is curriculum, the next question one asks is what is your subject area? Many are unaware that curriculum theory is a specialisation of its own. Jackson (1992) distinguished the role of a curriculum specialist from those of administrators, teachers, and other school personnel.

We have seen the dangers in developing the curriculum rather than understanding the curriculum. The 1977 National Policy on Education failed because there was no sound philosophy. Our schools, secondary and tertiary, follow the prescribed curriculum without proper understanding. The school places priority upon knowledge and skills; an adequate theoretical base must be established to guide activities. Teaching methods are adopted without realizing the rationale behind them. Igwe (2000) pointed out that each discipline has its own methodology; in geography, for example, the emphasis has shifted from names of geographical features to the interactions between man and his physical environment and the socio-economic implications of such interaction. Policies are being formulated without a defined principles or foundation. Theory demands clear thought, specificity, formulates rationales and provides justification for and clarity of educational practices. The majority of Nigerian primary and secondary school teachers are largely curriculum illiterates (Kosemani, 1984; Mkpa, 2005). This condition, in itself, is capable of undermining whatever curriculum innovation efforts are being initiated in the country. There are too many untrained and under-qualified teachers who are ill-prepared "to function as curriculum implementers, evaluators and innovators" (Kosemani, 1984). Universities do not even have curriculum theory as a course in their curriculum. This is our present circumstance.

Government Policies Curriculum conception, formulation, review, and implementation take place within a polity. The ultimate aspiration of curriculum is the production of citizens desired by the society (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004; Kahne and Middaugh, 2008). The curriculum process is vulnerable to manipulation by political actors. As succinctly summed up by Doll (1978: p. 105):

> The curriculum leader must realize that he (or she) is deep in politics. His (Hers) is not the politics of the ward-heeling variety but of strategic planning that requires balancing of pressures and cooperative making of policy. Educators should probably stop talking about the "administrator's community relations" and talk instead about his .03.(0or her) ability as a competent and constructive politician. The curriculum leader is inevitably concerned with pressure groups and with allocations of public funds. These two areas of his (or her) responsibility alone thrust him (her) into the realm of politics.

According to Ogunyemi (2010), Doll is saying that curriculum builders and leaders are, consciously or otherwise, entangled in political relations. The earlier they come to terms with this realization, the better for their activities as educators. This is particularly so in postcolonial African countries, including Nigeria, where concrete structures for curriculum decisions and development are not fully established (Ivowi, 1998). Consequently, there is a confused state of affairs that tends to reverse gains in strategic curriculum areas rather than advancing the course of transforming their citizens and societies.

Sachs (2001) identifies three major implications of such development for curriculum change and control. First, curriculum policy is a site of struggle; there is the professional versus bureaucratic agenda, political interests versus educational processes and outcomes, social versus political needs, and so on. The second political issue is that of the content and processes of curriculum, and curriculum development are products of the policy of the nation. Thirdly, curriculum documents are open to multiple readings, despite attempts by bureaucracies to impose a preferred reading on the curriculum text. Teachers, in the privacy of their own classrooms, interpret and implement these documents according to their own experience, discipline base, beliefs, and philosophy of teaching and education. These facts are critical to understanding curriculum in Nigeria.

The existence of curriculum politics is an inescapable fact. Adedipe (1985) remarks that those who wish to make education nonpolitical are either failing to understand that the purposes and procedures of education reflect what people want, or they are trying, perhaps unconsciously, to restrict the rights of fellow citizens to participate in decisions of deep and abiding importance to them. Either way, politics does more harm than good to the content and process of education if not well handled. Unless national interests are placed above individual or sectional interests, the ultimate goal of promoting the greatest good for the greatest number, which must necessarily underline every enduring political decision, is lost. It is imperative that national interests should be placed above individual political interest.

We have seen the influence of the government during the postcolonial era. In unwavering rejection of the inherited colonial education in the 1950s and 1960s, curriculum politics was on display with copious references to patriotic sentiments among Nigerian leaders of that era (Woolman, 2001). The expressed desire to build a strong, united, and dynamic nation informed the early experimental projects like the Basic Science (1962) and Social Studies (1963).

An assessment of these projects revealed that they gave directions for the initial change needed for meaningful education in Nigeria (Ivowi, 1984).

There were strong politics in the curriculum, according to Awokoya (1981) and Ogunyemi (1998), during the 1980s and 1990s when we witnessed the introduction of several policies that many Nigerians regarded as too political. For instance, the government proposed to equalize educational opportunities by emphasizing education of the gifted, education of women, and nomadic education. However, the desperation with which these policies were introduced and the passion with which they were resisted in some parts of the country underscored how much certain segments of the Nigerian public were prepared to sacrifice national interests for personal or sectional interests. Here, as Sach would argue, we saw an extensive instance of conflicting interests: professionals versus bureaucratic agendas, political interests versus educational processes and outcomes, and social versus political needs (Sach, 2001).

The formulation of the National Policy on Education in 1977 was seen by many as a step in the right direction. The policy was tailored towards reconstructing the curriculum "to reflect indigenous traditions, social change, and empowerment [which] was advocated by African critical theorists from the late 19th century" (Woolman, 2001: p. 27). The National policy on Education was a formal document produced by the Federal Republic of Nigeria as a guide to all the levels of education in the country. It was a direct result of the National Curriculum Conference held September 8–12, 1969. It has since then undergone several reviews: in 1981, 1989, 1998, and 2004.

The policy provided a comprehensive structure of the nation's education from pre-primary, primary, secondary, technical, grammar, commercial, and teacher education to post-secondary education. The National Policy on Education aims at creating enough learning opportunities for all children, irrespective of gender, age, ability, and class, and it makes education in Nigeria a full government enterprise. As such, the government took centralised control of education. It introduced a new system of education called the 6–3-3–4 system, which aimed at realizing a self-reliant and self-sufficient nation. The system divided the secondary school into two tiers of junior and senior secondary school, with general emphasis on the acquisition of practical skills (Nwangwu, 2007). Specifically, the first three years concentrated on prevocational subjects in addition to academic subjects. These included introductory technology. The senior secondary school emphasized academic subjects and vocational electives. But the policy was nothing more than national aims; it lacked sound philosophy. This fact dictated the direction and commitment of the nation to education as well as that of education to the nation (Amaele, 2003). Education turned into a theatre of ideological combat. The case in point was the "quality versus quantity" education debate among political party leaders of Nigeria's second republic (1979–1983). Few realized that quantitative and qualitative education must not remain an idle dream, a vain election promise to collect votes and determination to rule, as became evident (Awokoya, 1981).

Government policies have not attained a state of stability, and this affects the curriculum in schools. For instance, in the latest edition of the policy document (2007), Social Studies has lost its place within the Senior Secondary School curriculum and has been replaced by a new programme of Civic Education. The new addition, Civic Education, coexists with social studies at the primary and junior secondary school levels (NERDC, 2007). A wave of confusion characterizes curriculum development in Nigeria; it is clearly palpable at the federal government level, which is the highest level of governance in the country. Obebe (2007: p. 2) reported that "even at one of the workshops we were confronted with the stark reality that one of these must go: (i) social studies, (ii) civic education, [and] (iii) citizenship education."

This development, according to Ogunyemi (2010), represents a curricular setback for a nation that, from the 1960s, adopted an integrated approach to social studies education. Obebe's reports, given at the 8th National Conference of the Social Studies Association of Nigeria (SOSAN) in 2007, attest to the magnitude of the threat facing Nigerian social studies education. It seems unimaginable that the same federal government that invested so much in the training of experts and curriculum development at various educational levels could then turn on—and threaten to decimate—the same school subject. Critics have raised questions concerning policy inconsistencies with respect to the adoption of the integrated approach to social studies, among them the relationship of social studies to older school subjects (geography, economics, history, government, etc.), and the need to borrow from best practices in other African countries sharing similar colonial histories.

The goal of producing honest, committed, knowledgeable, patriotic, and diligent citizens—the ground for introducing an innovative and value-oriented Social Studies in the 1960s and 1970s—is now a forlorn hope, if not wishful thinking. The bright spots in social studies education in Nigeria seem to have been blotted out by contemporary revisionism and reductionism driven more by curriculum politics than patriotic vision. The imperatives for civic education, voter education, and other such elements of integrated social studies are urgent in a Nigerian environment reputed for electoral violence and prolonged military dictatorship. However, these emergent curriculum areas need not threaten the survival of social studies on the school time table; rather, they should serve to enrich the content and pedagogies of the subject in Nigerian schools where the intents are devoid of a curriculum warfare (Ogunyemi, 2010).

The politics of the school curriculum, Lawton (1980) suggested, refers to the degree of government involvement in curricular issues like what to teach, whom to teach, and who teaches what in the schools. Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, Igwe and Ihemebirim (2009) suggest that policies concerning education have been politicised, including the appointment of ministers, commissioners, and other education officers. Unfortunately, these appointees have not been knowledgeable curricularists, let alone theorists. Nation building has been driven by political considerations (Woolman, 2001; Musa, 2005; Ho and Alviar-Martin, 2010) that, as Weber (1971) explains, strive to influence the distribution of power among nation-states as well as among groups within a state.

Whether by peaceful or violent means, those who control the machineries of the state or polity assume authority to allocate resources and make decisions that shape the lives of others under their rule. Through policy formulations and legislative procedures, they determine what happens in all areas of social life, including the substance of their education and the curriculum. Curriculum theorists have therefore consistently made direct and indirect references to *curriculum politics* (Ogunyemi, 2009). According to Igwe and Osayame (2009), various governments, through their ministries of education, have been directly concerned with curriculum policy, planning, content, implementation, and evaluation. Apart from policy making, they introduce new programmes or improve on the existing ones; they organise conferences, workshops, and curriculum seminars thereby reflecting or integrating educational activities throughout the federation.

Radical changes have been made in curriculum content. The content of the subjects studied at primary, secondary and tertiary institutions levels have been realigned toward achieving the national objectives. The core curriculum (required subjects) and an optional curriculum (elective subjects) are said to guarantee an all-round education for all students, and to bring some degree of diversity into curriculum development (Alade, 2011). But national politics have not allowed teacher participation in curriculum planning and decision making (Onyeachu 2009). This fact undermines the implementation of curriculum content. When teachers, who are the key implementers of curriculum, are not involved in decision making and curriculum planning, effective implementation of the content and learning experiences will be very difficult.

Global Politics Globalization is the great economic event of our era, Ukpai (2005: p. 2) emphasizes making us, the people of the earth, one large family. As a new epoch, globalisation offers new challenges in education in Nigeria. Globalisation threatens the standardization of curriculum content, implementation, methodology, and educational evaluation. According to UNESCO, standardisation enables every person to have common opportunities and to compete equally (UNESCO, 1985).

Nigeria is a signatory of World Declarations of Education for all and in line with the Millenium Development Goals. Igwe (2006) reminds us that the United Nations article 26 on the Universal Declarations of Human Rights states in part that everyone has a right to education, and this shall be free in elementary and primary stages. So both at the national and international levels, Nigeria is committed to the provision of basic education to all its citizens. Many attempts have been made in that direction, but the problem of implementation has become a perennial problem to the fulfillment of constitutional and social obligations to make access possible to all (Adepoju and Fabiyi, 2007).

The concept of basic education is not a completely new to the Nigerian Society, Yoloye (2004) observed, and within the last decade it has assumed a global significance and its meanings broadened. The expanded vision of the UBE asserts the universalising of access and promotion of equity, focusing on learning and enhancing the environment of learning and strengthening partnerships. This is reflected in the Universal Basic Education (UBE) Program, a nine-year basic educational program that was launched and executed by the government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to eradicate illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty as well as stimulate and accelerate national development, political consciousness, and national integration. The UBE Act of 2004 provides for basic education comprising of ECCE (Early Childhood Care and Education) and Primary and Junior Secondary Education. At the end of nine years of continuous education, every child should have acquired the appropriate and relevant skills and values and be employable in order to contribute his or her quota to national development (http://ubeconline.com/). Every child is expected to acquire the appropriate levels of literacy, as well as other skills, including numeracy, communication, and employability. Each graduate should be useful to himself and to society at large by possessing relevant ethical, moral, and civic values (Adepoju and Fabiyi, 2007). These expansive goals led to a modification in the school curriculum, the introduction of prevocational subjects like woodwork, home economics, electrical electronics, agricultural science, and introductory technology.

UNESCO (2003) states that computer literacy is one of the challenges that confronts education in Nigeria in the twenty-first century and has urged stakeholders to take swift action. It seems that the whole world has been clamoring for the teaching of science and technology, presumably an important step for economic and social development. It is asserted that all citizens should learn the technology and science connected with the main issues in their lives (Yager, 1993). According to Alade (2011) core modules focused on computer literacy and communication skills should be prominent in the curriculum. Technology has revolutionized communication during the past decades. Access to people and information practically anywhere in the world has become quicker, cheaper, and easier. The flow of technological devices into the country from the market will help Nigerians develop and improve on their technical know-how both individually and collectively. According to Tabotndip (2003: p. 4) many Nigerians are advancing their skills in computers, telephone (GSM or otherwise), the Internet, television, and micro-chips. There is a huge investment in science and technology, reflected in enrollments in tertiary institutions, where 60 percent are studying one of the sciences (Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, NPE, 2004).

There is also a curricular sensitivity to regional and international issues as well as to gender and disability, in part as response to globalisation (Alade, 2011). UNESCO (1970 and 1985) suggested a multidisciplinary program to combat social violence and ensure equal access to science and technology for girls. UNESCO has also supported the improvement of the status of women in every family and in society and the economy (Igwe and Ihemebirim, 2009). There is curricular attention as well to environmental issues, including the study of environmental legislation and policies, such as afforestation and land reclamation. Environmental sanitation exercises have been put in place, conferences have been organized, and environmental organizations such as the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA) and the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF) are now established.

There have been many environmental problems created in Nigeria, including bush burning, pollution, grazing, and careless use of technology over the years (Jekayinfa and Yusuf, 2004). In order to address the environmental crisis in the country, the federal government of Nigeria promulgated a policy on environment in 1996, the goal of which is to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria and among other things, secure for all Nigerians, a quality of environment adequate for health and well being (Akinjide, 1997).

Environment studies are not the only new addition to Nigerian curriculum. The demands of present day living, Igwe (2000) observed, have brought about many nonschool subjects into the schools. Government, developmental studies, environmental education, population education, computer education, etc. are now beginning to be featured in schools because it is believed that they are useful in preparing children for future adult roles. Whether demographic, economic, or psychological, development in the outside world affects the school curriculum and is intensified due to mass media (Igwe, 2000). Emphasis on broad-based education in countries like Britain and the United States has now been adopted by some African countries, including Nigeria.

Local Conditions The influence of local conditions cannot be overemphasised. Even school facilities, for instance, impact methods of teaching. More broadly, the culture of the people is seen in the nature of textbooks produced as well as the languages offered in the curriculum. Three major Nigerian languages are offered in the curriculum: Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba. Students are free to choose. Geographical features also influence the nature of academic work conducted in schools.

Nakpodia (2009) emphasizes the role of culture in curriculum development. Culture is maintained or modified through education by way of curriculum development. Cultural activities mold the character of students, including their personal development—activities like singing, theatre, and cultural activities (Ovwata, 2000) are especially influential. Cultural activities help students to realize their capacities for self direction, to become adjusted to their present situations, and to plan their futures. Culture is the substance of education. Any society whose curriculum is not based on culture is in danger of being unrooted and estranged by the social institution on which it should depend for survival, which is the school (Nakpodia, 2009).

Curriculum communicates culture, which can be seen especially in the history curriculum where the origins of ethnic groups are studied. Culture is also prominent in the social studies curriculum, where it is a major topic. In agricultural science, practices vary culturally from region to region. In the north, for instance, cattle rearing is prominent; in the south, plantations predominate. To underscore this point, Igwe (2000) pointed out that the location of schools is very crucial; schools located in remote villages cannot be expected to use the same materials and resources as urban schools.

Religion also illustrates the centrality of culture in Nigerian curriculum. Christianity and Islam are the most common ones and, as a result, they comprise the religious studies offered in the curriculum. In places where Hinduism and Judaism are common, they will be offered in the curriculum. No one can remove culture and religion from the educational system. Despite the diversity inherent in culture and religion, both uphold moral virtues (Igwe and Ihemebirim, 2009). Pupils are taught good morals—among them obedience, respect, patriotism. They are to exhibit characters worthy of emulation.

Such moral education seems especially important today, as crime—including kidnapping, armed robbery, and oil industry vandalism as well as that affecting the electric grid and telecommunications infrastructure—has taken centre stage in Nigerian society (Asuru, 2008). This has led the to introduction of current events in the social studies curriculum, so students may study corruption, tribalism, cultism, HIV/AIDS, examination malpractice, electoral fraud, and so on. Current events now comprise a major part of the syllabus in that subject (Alade, 2011).

Other concerns of the present are infused in the school curriculum. There has been, for instance, an infusion of indigenous knowledge and technologies into the curriculum from such diverse fields as arts and crafts, cosmetics, traditional food systems and medicine, knowledge of the environment, and African civilization. Another major innovation is the requirement for technical and vocational subjects. And, as mentioned, a range of new courses and issues like HIV-AIDS, moral philosophy and questions of gender are now prominent in the curricular content (Alade, 2011). Demographic changes, especially the increase in population and migration from rural areas to urban centres, impacts curriculum concerns, as Igwe (2000) has noted. Now topics like family life and overpopulation appear in the social studies curriculum.

School facilities—not only questions of equipment and the conditions of buildings but of classroom furniture such as tables and chairs—also affects the curriculum, especially in the area of implementation. To Ehiametalor (2001: p. 305) facilities are: "those factors which enable production workers to achieve the goals of an organization." Supporting Ehiametalor (2001), Olokor (2006) noted that the use of instructional facilities enhances learning experiences. The inadequacy of school facilities has made the curriculum less demanding due to the absence of sophisticated equipment. As a result, certain content cannot to be included in the curriculum.

Onyeachu (2009) asks to what extent are facilities being provided that enable effective implementation of secondary education curriculum? Facilities are not provided adequately. What is found in most secondary schools in Nigeria are dilapidated buildings, leaking roofs, and a lack of chairs and tables. These conditions affect students' performance. As a result, Nwachuku (2005) concludes that the public sector of education (primary and secondary levels) has witnessed stagnation and decay. Nwachuku (2005) further complains that most schools are a caricature of what schools should be in a modern state—collapsing buildings, leaking roofs, unkempt surroundings, houses with few or no public toilets, a disdain for aesthetics schools that are designed and run merely to maintain the *status quo,* that is, poor quality services for the majority of the populace. "School facilities are the operational inputs of every instructional program," Ehiametalor (2001: p. 305) reminds. "The school is like a manufacturing organization where plants and equipment must be in a top operational shape to produce result" (2001: p. 305). In line with the views of Ehiametalor (2001), Ivowi (2004) noted that to ensure that curriculum is effectively implemented, adequate infrastructural facilities, equipment, tools, and materials must be provided.

Also affecting the curriculum is our level of technical know-how, obvious, for instance, in the teachers' inability to apply ICT. Most secondary school teachers do not use computers while teaching their lessons. Not only the absence of computers it to blame, Onyeachu (2007) notes, so is the problem of electricity. Since ICT requires electricity, where there is power failure, users are stranded. Ijioma (2004:207) complained that:

> condition in most developing countries of the world, including Nigeria, has compelled the governments and institutions to show little concern for the application of ICT in education. Many institutions in these countries cannot afford to buy or have access to computers and even where computers are available or can be purchased, there is lack of the human and material resources to use ICT.

Another influence of local conditions on the curriculum is when entrepreneurial studies are introduced in areas where a high level of unemployment exists. Nigeria faces an employment crisis, which makes it one of the countries with the highest number of unemployed graduates (Asuru 2008). Putting it graphically, Nigeria's Minister of Labour and Productivity, Alhaji Hassan Lawal, stated that only 25% of the over 150,000 graduates produced by our universities yearly are employed (Nigerian Tide, 2008). This is partly due to the low level of growth of our national economy, which is not elastic enough to cope with the supply of graduates but cannot also be attributed to deeply ingrained traditions of classical and literary curriculum (Nwangwu 2007; Oyesiku 2008). Worried by the alarming rate of unemployment in the country, especially of graduates, the emphasis by most tertiary institutions in recent times has been on providing an entrepreneurial skills development scheme for its students as equipment for self employment and relevance in society (Oyesiku, 2008). In almost all tertiary institutions in Nigeria today, entrepreneurship education and related courses are taken as compulsory general studies courses.

In conclusion, our situation corresponds with that described by Pandey and Moorad (2003) who explain that, to create a condition for rethinking the curriculum, there is need to clear the ground. The narrowly conceived field of curriculum must give way to reconceptualized curriculum theories and ideas to forge a new education, including a vision of innovative curriculum, a project neglected until now, but one that must be undertaken in all immediacy if Nigeria is to be decolonised.

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Curriculum Theory and Research in Norway

Traditions, Trends, and Topics

Kirsten Sivesind and Berit Karseth

The modern history of the national curriculum for compulsory education in Norway dates back more than 150 years and reflects, in several ways, societal and political attempts by Norway to become a nation. It has been an important force for political reform and educational change in creating a social democratic welfare state associated with the Scandinavian model (Telhaug, Aasen, and Mediås 2004). This model combines local requests and developments with a strong and active state and has resulted in several national curricula during the twentieth century (Gundem 1993b; Sivesind 2008). Ideas of establishing a canonical cultural heritage through curriculum reform and schooling in Norway can also be seen as a result of political efforts in establishing nationwide reform, although this effort has been contested and adjusted along the way (Karseth and Sivesind 2010). Moreover, institutions for professionalizing teachers and supporting staff have influenced how the curriculum has been formulated, interpreted, and put into practice (Bachmann 2005; Skarpenes 2004).

During the last few decades, this tradition has been challenged by Europeanisation and globalisation, questioning both national curriculum reform and also the institutional design of teacher education, and with it, professional theories of teaching the so-called Didaktik/didaktikk, which also underlie the formal curriculum as part of national reform efforts. Recent curriculum revisions in Norway, embedded in models transmitted from abroad, emphasise research-based expert knowledge and data-informed policy and practice, as in several other countries (Sivesind, in press).

Researchers in the sociology of education report on how education should prepare the individual and the national state to become part of a world society (Meyer 2006; Rosenmund 2002; Rosenmund et al. 2008). Curriculum guidelines tend to shift from being content-oriented to being learning-oriented where individuals are seen as self-regulated in their approach to learning (Rosenmund 2008). When national curriculum reforms are launched, although embedded in local needs and traditions, the arguments for the necessity of curricular changes is increasingly linked to global cultural scripts and templates (Yates and Young 2010). International studies such as PISA play, when compared to other policy studies, a significant role in legitimating new educational policy in countries such as Norway (Elstad and Sivesind 2010). Such programs prescribe principles for the formation of formal purposes at the national level, as well as standards defined by models and methodologies for large-scale student assessment.

Increasing cooperation within a European research and policy space has renewed the interest in the standardisation of reform, where benchmarking and experts' notions of competences in and across disciplinary areas replace political and academic orientations towards the curriculum (Lest and Winch 2012; Mangez 2010; Scholl 2012; Sundberg and Wahlström 2012). Within this emerging global and regional model, new expectations associated with an outcome-oriented curriculum model have gained prominence in terms of how nations and their governments attempt to promote transparency regarding political priorities (M. Young 2010). Thus, new policy models for reforming education not only suggest novel ways of structuring programs and activities, but are used to bolster the legitimacy of the reform, which involves the public and the media in new ways compared with old models of national curriculum reform.

This chapter outlines the development of curriculum theory and research in Norway, in view of both the past and present models, thus examining the field in terms of the different perspectives and topics, which vary in their spatial and temporal focus. The chapter is a revision of an earlier chapter (Gundem, Karseth, and Sivesind 2003). This updated version aims to review curriculum research according to dominant approaches and will also demonstrate how theory and research are changing in line with the processes involved in Europeanisation and globalisation. This means that curriculum research and reform is not merely considered as a national-political pursuit of the Norwegian welfare state, but rather as a result of how researchers and expert knowledge is taken into account (Sivesind 2008).

In our first version of the chapter, we distinguished and discussed a variety of research approaches in order to explain how a diversity of topics has arisen and how these topics coexist without being conceptually connected. Currently, there seems 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 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 towards a postbureaucratic society (Maroy 2008). A further marked characteristic of contemporary work, as was the case in the early 2000s, involved the tendency to view curriculum issues as embedded in complex philosophical, sociological, and cultural spaces and challenges (Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin 2001). This may cause difficulties when we attempt to classify specific curriculum studies.

In the era of globalisation and Europeanisation, new conditions and expectations emerge to replace previous ones, with implications for curriculum research and theory (Lawn and Grek 2012; Lundahl, Arreman, Lundström, and Rönnberg 2010; Sivesind, Akker, and Rosenmund 2012). A clear-cut description does not therefore seem either possible or desirable. Instead, our focus will be on general topics, leaving, however, ample room for describing different underlying theoretical and methodological frames of reference.

The chapter gives an overview of various types of inquiry in the field of curriculum, which we see as relevant to our conceptualisations of curricular questions as well as to how material sources are part of curriculum studies. We hope that our presentation will give an up-to-date portrayal of Norwegian research efforts that will be of interest to curriculum researchers, both regionally and globally. Further, an attempt is made to grasp the dimensions of the conflicts and dilemmas embedded within the differing perspectives, which can be brought to bear on current challenges to curriculum theory and research. In the first part of the chapter, we outline traditions, while the second part focuses on trends and topics with a particular interest in curriculum reform and theory.

Curriculum Research Traditions

Curriculum theory and research has developed during the last few decades into a comprehensive research field in Norway, reflecting a multitude of perspectives and positions (Gundem et al. 2003; Karseth and Sivesind 2009). Some basic topics reflect a global influence, while others attach to regional and local traditions and areas of studies. In Scandinavia, the curriculum is, above all, associated with a formal document, authorised by the state, with the general purpose of regulating schooling on certain matters. Due to this long-standing tradition, both Scandinavian and continental curriculum studies refer to the curriculum as a public document (Engelsen 1990b, 2003, 2006; Gundem 1993a, 2000; Hopmann and Künzli 1998; Hopmann and Riquarts 2000).

Descriptive, Empirical-Conceptual, and Deliberative-Oriented Studies Within the tradition, one strand of curriculum research refers to historical-descriptive studies, which 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. A general topic of these studies has been educational legislation, wherein the formal curriculum is one document that is referred to. The specific research interest within studies on the formal curriculum may be the place and role of school subjects, together with their teaching/learning content, as well as teaching/learning materials, or teaching methods, or even teacher education. Sometimes these studies have been viewed in relation to both the history of educational movements and ideas and to the development of the overall school system. It is also the case that these kinds of studies have been dedicated to a historical-descriptive research methodology—avoiding, as it were, theoretical constructs or theoretical overtones—and have often combined historical-descriptive research with quantitative research methodology (Stensaasen 1958). Historical studies of the educational system provide important data and knowledge about curriculum reforms in Norway. The aim of these studies is to describe historical events rather than to develop theory (Dokka 1988; Harbo 1969, 1997; Telhaug and Aasen 1999). The history of educational and philosophical ideas related to the content of school subjects is another approach. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, curriculum researchers found the empiricist approach limited, and for this reason, many researchers delved into the relative connectedness between curriculum elements and areas. One such approach centred on curriculum content as an expression of subject matter.

In Norway, as in the rest of Scandinavia, curriculum studies have, from the 1960s and 1970s, preferred to hone in on curriculum content with a particular focus on subject matter (Gundem and Sivesind 1996). This growing interest has arisen due to a number of different causes. The societal importance of frequent efforts to reform the curriculum through plans for regulating what students know has highlighted the centrality of “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 (Gundem 1992). Not much of the available research can be classified as mainly descriptive-empirical research on general didactics, which, as has become apparent, does not lend itself easily to programs of research, though there has been a certain amount of theorising around didactical models and conceptions with references to empirical studies (Gundem 1980b). Some research projects that encompass a variety of approaches towards form and content, and also towards research methodology, may be, however—in the context of this chapter—categorised as general didactical research. A characteristic trait that they all share is a focus on curriculum development.

One classical study within the field in Norway is the Environmental Education Project (Miljølæreprosjektet, 1969–1976) (Bjørndal and Lieberg 1972; Bjørndal 1980). The intention was to integrate subject matter from a variety of school subjects in order to develop a course of study in ecology for basic schooling. The aim was to give students insight into the natural environment, to foster an attitude of caring for environmental values, and to develop teaching materials and qualify teachers in the use of them. A team of qualified scientists was in charge of the project, including university educators and teachers in basic schooling, who, together, were able to cover the necessary subject matter and pedagogy. The team decided on the content, developed approximately 80 teaching–learning units, and prepared a manual.

This project has traits that imply the use of science-orientated curriculum theory (Bjørndal 1969). The didactical ambitions were obvious (Bjørndal and Lieberg 1972, 1975, 1978). As far as curriculum development theory is concerned, the project's pedagogy may be placed somewhere between discipline-centred and student-centred in its approach. The development of the teaching materials had its roots in teaching theories aimed at problem solving. There were elements of aims-means thinking but without a stringent rationale to connect objectives to end results.

A model for didactical analysis, reflection, and planning was elaborated: the model for didactical relational deliberation, which has, in many ways, influenced curriculum research and development in Norway (Gundem 1995). This model has inspired and given rise to concepts and thinking different from that stemming from more traditional approaches within curriculum theorising and research. First of all, it represents a critique of the technocratic rationale for planning and teaching. Secondly, it focuses on that which is commonplace in practice, which is regarded as being of equal importance to theoretical conceptions.

Consequently, it emphasises the necessity of making relationships between these elements. The model has been used in a scientific way to analyse the ways in which teachers plan their courses, but is also promoted for its ability to contribute to the development of teacher thinking and to the advancement of their planning skills (Handal and Lauvås 1983; Hiim and Hippe 1989; Lillemyr and Søbstad 1993). Eventually, the model gained acceptance as part of the planning and curriculum development process in both policy and teacher-training practices, and especially in situations where the pedagogical–practical aspects were the main objects of attention (Bjørnsrud 1995).

To improve the analytical framework to capture how curriculum development links politics to practice, Goodlad et al.'s (1979a) research has been frequently referred to as a significant contribution. As a starting point, the conceptual framework offered by Goodlad et al. was used in order to distinguish between and explain the relationship between different levels of decision-making (Ibid.) Its substantive components were parallel to the didactical categories. This framework was also found useful for systematically analysing the connections between sociopolitical decisions on the one hand, and substantive conceptualisations on the other, constructed in different fields of curriculum practice such as, for example, development, textbook production, implementation, and evaluation (Monsen 1998; Monsen and Haug 2002; Solstad 1994). Curriculum development research could in this way link policy studies with a scientific orientation to didactics, not only in terms of academic theory, but in terms of empirical-conceptual studies and a deliberative approach.

The combination of frameworks of Goodlad et al. (1979) and the philosophy of Schwab (1978c; 1983) appears in Gundem's research during the 1990s. In addition, Reid's publications on the curriculum as an institution and practice have been a significant source of ideas for approaching curriculum research (1994, 1991, 1999). In addition, when, as is the case today, studies try to relate specific questions of curriculum reform to a wider societal, cultural, and educational frame of reference, curriculum theory, and especially curriculum theory linked to the social and political sciences, assumes particular importance. Therefore, the mingling of sociological and curriculum theory is a marked characteristic of recent Scandinavian studies on curriculum development.

Curriculum Reproduction Theory and Macro-Sociological Research The influence of the sociology of education and the sociology of knowledge brought about a shift from more traditional types of curriculum research; 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 analysing the antecedents of curriculum change appeared during the late 1980s. Of course, Norwegian curriculum research has developed along lines that can be observed in other Nordic countries, as well as in other parts of Europe. Englund (1990) argues that research on 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 the curriculum and to studies of curriculum history based upon it (Ibid.)

Three stages of influence or trends are apparent: The first is linked to the new sociology of education, where the focus of the influence that has been exerted seems to be on the nature of school knowledge, as related to the social class of students (M. F. D. Young 1971). A second and overlapping influence comes from French educational sociologists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1970). Callewaert, a Belgian Marxist and "défroqué," who lived in both Sweden and Denmark, was instrumental in bringing this influence to light. Through this, a move towards "reproduction theory" became noticeable, focusing on the function of school subjects and school knowledge in terms of both social and cultural reproduction (Berner, Callewaert, and Silberbrandt 1977).

The concept and phenomenon of "curriculum codes"—underlying curriculum principles—specifically coined and developed by Lundgren and his associates within the Research Group for Curriculum and Reproduction at the Stockholm Institute of Education, also became important (Lundgren 1972, 1979a, 1979b). Curriculum codes are seen as inherent in the development of school subjects, and are, consequently, acknowledged in many studies relating to the social history of school subjects, and may be viewed as a special Scandinavian contribution inspired by the new sociology of education, as well as by reproduction theorists. In 1983, some of these studies were collected in a volume edited by Lundgren and Bernstein entitled *Power, Control and Education* (Bernstein and Lundgren 1983).

One may or may not agree with Englund (1990) in emphasising the influence of the new sociology of education on the rapid expansion of research on curriculum history in the Nordic countries in the 1980s. One may also disagree on the role and influence attributed to Lundgren as the main mediator of curriculum history research based on the sociology of knowledge (Englund, 1990). There is, however, no doubt that Lundgren's research on curriculum theory, and especially his research on the so-called curriculum codes, has had a major impact on most Swedish and also on Norwegian and Finnish research on curriculum history. "Code" research is concerned with identifying and examining fundamental principles underlying the history of the school curriculum. Behind every syllabus, there are certain fundamental principles and a configuration of curriculum elements—a certain curriculum code–which direct the manner in which formal documents, teaching materials, and assessment processes are combined to make up the curriculum in societal and historical structures (Lundgren 1979). To some extent, we witnessed a sociological turn in educational theorising in the 1970s (Dale 1972; Hoem 1978; Monsen 1978). At that time, the concept of "social pedagogy" became important, and discourse on pedagogy in the complexity of mass education, modern media, gender, and youth cultures was an obvious frame of reference (Jarning 1998).

A third trend can be recognised, inspired to some degree by American revisionist historians (Franklin 1986; Kliebard 1986), but more especially by a specific United Kingdom tradition originating in but gradually becoming a critique of the new sociology of education/the sociology of knowledge. This new tradition, which particularly stresses the social constructs of school subjects, is linked to the work of Goodson, who can be seen as an initiator of this tradition and as a person who has contributed towards an understanding of the need for continuity in historical descriptions of curricular events, and of the description of the development of school subjects (I. Goodson 1983; I. F. Goodson 1988). The central role of the school subject as the written curriculum, and the interrelated impact of content and form embedded in most school subjects must, according to this tradition, be focused through historical research in order to grasp the realities and complexities of the context within which school subjects exist today.

A new, but growing influence from the United Kingdom may be found in studies by Gundem on the development of English as a school subject, as well as in the studies by Engelsen on the development of the literature component in the teaching of Norwegian (Engelsen 1988; Gundem 1989). Another example of a Scandinavian study drawing on the theoretical framework developed by Goodson is the work of Karseth on the development of new university subjects-courses of study at the University of Oslo (Karseth 1994). Following Goodson, these studies, to a certain extent, elucidate the symbolic drift of school knowledge towards the academic tradition, and raise central and basic questions about societal, sociological, and philosophical explanations concerning the evolution of school subjects. Thus, in contemporary curriculum reform, these studies stand out as a critique to the expert-orientation, which leaves little space for academic thinking and theory (Sivesind 2013).

Curriculum History Theory and Research Following the curriculum history research carried out in the United Kingdom, the Swedish "reproduction" and "curriculum code" research and the research undertaken on school subjects at the German Institute for Science Education (IPN), we may talk about the generation of a curriculum theory directly related to curriculum history as an academic discipline.

To give an example, Hopmann and Haft summarise the determining factors to be taken into consideration when trying to understand the introduction of new school subjects in a historical context: (1) the scientific, cultural, and perhaps economic limits and merits of a school subject; (2) the definition and transformation of those features into curricular concepts by experts, teachers, associations, and interest groups; (3) the pattern and stability of the overall framework, as well as of the different interests inside and outside schools, that is associated with their particular operational characteristics; (4) 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; and (5) the political, administrative, and educational resources available for the new subject's implementation (Haft and Hopmann 1990a, p. 3).

An example of a research project incorporating this approach is "Curriculum and School Subjects" (1989–1992). This was an umbrella project, embracing many different studies (Gundem and Karseth 1993e). The overall aim was to illuminate the phenomena of curriculum and school subjects in their broadest sense in order to acquire insight into the shaping of the content of schooling and education as a whole. This project became very important for network building, recruitment, and international cooperation. An international conference found a place at the University of Oslo in 1990—Curriculum Work and Curriculum Content: Theory and Practice. Contemporary and Historical Perspective (Gundem, Engelsen, and Karseth 1991c)—which was followed up by a meeting in Kiel on comparative approaches to curriculum research. As a result, researchers from the United States and Germany decided on the international dialogue project Didaktik and/or Curriculum, later resulting in reports and books on comparative perspectives of the curriculum and Didaktik (Gundem and Hopmann 1998b; Hopmann and Riquarts 1995c; Westbury, Hopmann, and Riquarts 2000). Curriculum history and the translation of language turned out to be central dimensions in the understanding of the national as well as transnational elements of curriculum as a research area during the 2000s.

Trends and Topics in Contemporary Curriculum Research

Research on Curriculum Reform and Evaluation As indicated in the introduction, the 1990s in Norway saw an upsurge of curriculum reform proposals and implementations beyond anything that had previously been experienced. During the 1990s, it was possible to describe the overall intention of the educational innovations that had been put in place as "systemic" and in line with similar trends in the United States (Smith and O'Day 1990). Indeed, they represented a curriculum-driven attempt at major systemic reform, though what was meant by systemic reform may have differed from country to country (e.g., "teacher-initiated," "standards-driven," or "curriculum-driven" systemic reform) (Gundem 1996b). In a Norwegian setting, it makes sense to characterise systemic reform as a reform that was (1) part of a wider reform of the educational and social system; (2) part of a comprehensive reform aimed at all levels of education; (3) reform positing coherence among school types within the school system; (4) reform striving for goal coherence; that is, based upon national overarching goals, which were translated into goals for all school subjects, and into curriculum programs at all levels; and (5) reform which was implemented through the incorporation into planning strategies of all relevant factors and constraints, including teacher education and assessment (Gundem 1996b, pp. 56–61).

However, during the 2000s, the political attempts at conducting systemic reform were rather limited in scope and were replaced by individualising accountability measures, which increased parallel to assessment and testing systems in Norway as in the United States and other European countries. These new trends in educational policy led to a reconstruction of theories and models to clarify how curriculum making and enactment interacted.

Three projects were launched in Norway to capture the new rationales and their implications in curriculum reform (Bachmann, Sivesind, Afsar, and Hopmann 2004; Langfeldt, Elstad, Hopmann, and Sivesind 2008; Sivesind and Hopmann 1997). The first, "From Curriculum Development to Syllabus Planning," aimed to investigate three fields of decision making, using empirical data collected through questionnaires and interviews with curriculum designers as well as through the analysis of official documents. The focus was not primarily on the historical construction of the multiple realities of the context and practice of the curriculum, but on contemporary perspectives developed through cross-national cooperation (Westbury 2007).

The project sought to develop models by which the researchers were trying to analyse how reform processes were structured with reference to boundaries and to processes of differentiation (Hopmann 1988), and from such a point of view, they stated that the curriculum serves several functions: a political function, legitimating the content of schooling; a programmatic function, producing appropriate devices through curriculum frameworks and guidelines; and a practical function, framing and supporting the planning of teaching and learning in classrooms. The levels of reform were correlated by virtue of the fact that they served these different functions and created their own meaning-spaces through communicating on curriculum matters.

Moreover, different programmatical institutions and governing tools served as linkages between the mediating fields and content. The second project attempted to develop new understandings about the relationships between politics, public administration, and actors working on a range of curriculum matters with curriculum design (Sivesind 2002a, 2002b), and reform making and implementation, as examined by Sivesind et al. (2008), Bachmann (2005), and Afsar et al. (Afsar, Bachmann, and Sivesind 2006; Afsar, Skedsmo, and Sivesind 2006). The third project focused on curriculum and accountability forms, which we will come back to in presenting curriculum governance as a new area of research during the 2000s.

The Evaluation of Curriculum Reform The educational reforms since the 1990s have all been followed up by evaluations. In 1994, the Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs asked the Research Council of Norway to organise an evaluation of the reform in the college sector. Three research institutions took part in the evaluation, which was finished in April 1999 (Kyvik 1999). The main focus was on changes in the management and policy-making structures, but the survey also included questions about teaching (Karseth and Kyvik 1999). Research on higher education in Norway thus far has seldom used approaches focusing on curriculum and curriculum theory.

This neglect of curriculum theory and research is also evident in the evaluation of the Quality Reform for Higher Education being launched, as adopted in the early 2000s. This program was evaluated with a focus on how quality assurance systems were integrated within higher education with a focus on learning, assessment, strategic leadership, and environmental factors (Michelsen and Aamodt 2007). Learning itself was considered as a means to reform higher education, rather than the content, as detailed through courses and programs.

During the 1990s, a large project was also initiated involving seven evaluation teams working closely under the supervision of the Ministry of Education to evaluate the reform of upper secondary education (Blichfeldt 1996; Kvalsund, Deichman-Sørensen, and Aamodt 1999). This evaluation was finished in the spring of 1999. One topic involved analysing the effect of curriculum changes. In performing this analysis, Monsen used Goodlad's concept of "curriculum worlds" to stress the difference between the curriculum as a written document and the curriculum as conceived and used by teachers. One of his conclusions was that most teachers had an interpretation of the curriculum that corresponded with the political intention behind the reform, but they nevertheless argued that they had reasons for not implementing the curriculum. One explanation for this was due to a contradiction between the aims in the establishment of new curricula (Monsen 1998).

Basing itself on the plans and intentions adopted for Reform 97 (The Royal Ministry of Education Research and Church Affairs 1999/1996), the Ministry stipulated an assessment exercise and then commissioned the Research Council of Norway to conduct it. In the autumn of 1998, the Research Council invited research bodies to submit proposals on how they would design and implement this assessment. The main question that it addressed was the extent to which Reform 97 was being implemented in accordance with its objectives and intentions. The assessment program consisted of three broad and comprehensive topics: (1) curriculum, subjects, and practical educational activities; (2) cooperation, supervision, child development, the learning environment, and learning results; and (3) the comprehensive school, equality, and cultural diversity (Programme Plan, 1999).

Curricular questions were central to the evaluation (Afsar 2006; Bachmann 2004; Rønnin 2004), as well as local governing (Finstad and Kvåle 2003; Homme 2003), the learning environment (Imsen 2004), and strategies and tools to improve classroom teaching (Klette 2004). The final report concluded that curriculum reform was not easily implemented (Haug 2003, 2004a, 2004b) and presumed that there were new models and tools for restructuring the school reform (Carlgren and Klette 2008). Research and evaluation in this way became legitimated as a tool for political control, which opened the way for the new reform "Knowledge Promotion" adopted in 2006, which aimed to strengthen the core aspects of learning rather than detailing curriculum content, a topic which recently has been an object for evaluation research (Aasen et al. 2012; Dale, Engelsen, and Karseth 2011; Hodgson, Rønning, and Tomlinson 2012). Overall, these reports highlight the critical aspects of how state and local administrations and schools develop their curriculum platforms.

There are some important similarities between the evaluation projects we have mentioned. They are all initiated by the Ministry, and the various evaluations have or will gather vast amounts of empirical data, both qualitative and quantitative. Yet there are also important differences between them. While the evaluation of the upper secondary education reform was commissioned directly by the Ministry in the 1990s, the evaluations of the college sector and of primary and lower secondary education were commissioned through the Research Council. During the 2000s, this model changed. Curriculum evaluation is currently governed by the Directorate of Education, parallel to other research programs, and is governed by the Research Council, such as the KUL-program (Knowledge, Education and Learning), Utdanning 2020, and PRAKUT (The Programme for Practice-based Educational Research). These programs emphasise the scientific value of research methodologies and findings, not only for academic purposes, but for improving interdisciplinary policies and practices. We should also mention how these research programs are framing the interdisciplinary focus at the cost of educational research. While so far most of the research milieus in education in Norway are involved, other research disciplines are also highly recognised. For this reason, not only educational matters and theories are prioritised, but so are cross- and transdisciplinary topics such as methodology and evidence.

An important challenge in undertaking evaluation and program research is to try to balance the emphasis between research questions raised by the political authorities and research questions posed by the researchers themselves (Haug 1998). In the field of curriculum research, this means that the community of researchers must create space to work in a way that is relatively autonomous in relation to political discourse. Although there are good reasons for being sceptical about the worth of evaluation research, it also brings one important advantage: the opportunity to gather large quantities of empirical data, which is difficult to do without the support of outside resources. In 2004, we claimed that the availability of these evaluation projects may lead to an increased interest in carrying out empirical research. This holds true in the 2000s.

The Governance of Curriculum Reform The governance of curriculum reform in Norway, as in other nations of the Western world, has seen a new operational style, where management by overall objectives and accountability measurements has been put in place (Hopmann 2007). Management by objectives became a key concept in the vocabulary of politicians and bureaucrats during the 1980s before networks and learning organisations paved the way for new policy governance during the 2000s (Hall and Øzerk 2010). The idea of management by objectives is that specific rules should be replaced by major political goals that set standards for the public sector, while avoiding restrictions on professionals being able to organise their work, for example, in terms of them selecting the content and methods employed. Moreover, system evaluation is regarded as a way of securing the quality, efficiency, and implementation of political decisions. This change in approach was announced for the educational sector early in the 1980s and was strongly emphasised when the new curriculum reform was initiated in 1991 (Report No. 37 to the Storting 1990/91) (Sivesind 1993).

The Norwegian curriculum reform in the 1990s identified some main goals for primary and lower secondary schools, but differed from the Swedish curriculum through a set of regulations that focused mainly on the content and the principles of the organisation. The Swedish reform defined goals to be further developed into classroom practices, addressing evaluation as a means for governance. Segerholm (2009) characterises the new modes of governance in Sweden, as a "steering from behind" strategy, where evaluations set the standards, rather than curricular purposes and aims. System-wide evaluations and correspondence with the ways in which schools and teachers evaluate their work was given much attention in the Swedish context during the 1990s. Ten years later, Norway followed the same path in terms of development (Skedsmo 2009).

In order to understand the desire for improvements and the problem of constructing a curriculum reform on the basis of management by objectives, the examination of the curriculum as a governing tool is required. Several doctoral theses have been delivered to better understand and examine the complexity of governance structures and processes in curriculum reform.

Bachmann's (2005) doctoral thesis, *Læreplanens differens,* has, as its starting point, the new compulsory educational reform, Reform 97, and the new national curriculum, L97, as its basic object for study. The thesis examines the direct and indirect implications of the new national curriculum through governing means on educational practices in schools. Indirect implications involve the role and function of the curriculum on teachers' planning. Direct implications involve how teachers participate in evaluating their own practices according to curricular goals. Bachmann (2005) shows how educational means are communicated in terms of matters and principles through textbooks, in-service training, and different evaluation tools and concludes that the function of the curriculum lies between a stable long-lasting tradition and a process of differentiation, where the practices of schooling are given the necessary space for movement in order to be able to adapt to local and individual needs. The empirical data were analysed through a reconstruction of the "categorial" principles of *Bildung* (Wolfgang Klafki) in a systems theory perspective, inspired by Luhmann (Klafki 1983; Luhmann 1995).

Bachmann (2005) was involved as a researcher alongside Sivesind in the Achieving School Accountability in Practice (ASAP) project, which dealt with the complexity of curriculum governance in between the legislative structures and assessment outcomes. This project addressed how the 2000s' reform required new forms of control across politics, policy, and practice as three governance spaces, where accountability measures turned out as a means for curriculum control (Hopmann 2003; Langfeldt, Elstad, and Hopmann 2008; Langfeldt, Elstad, Hopmann, et al. 2008). A main focus in this project was on how schools responded to new systems of policy and governing. In cooperation with Sivesind and Bergem, Bachmann examined the introduction of the new reform: Knowledge Promotion. They considered the consequences of new assessment practices in schooling (Bachmann, Sivesind, and Bergem 2008; Sivesind and Bachmann 2008).

While Bachmann (2005) analysed the development and implementation of curriculum reform, Sivesind (2008) reviewed three generations of curriculum reform in comprehensive schooling in Norway over the last 250 years. Both searched to combine a synchronic and diachronic approach. A particular focus in Sivesind's (2008) thesis was on how the government interrelates with research efforts and the professional semantics of administration and schooling. The main claim is that empirical research cannot replace curriculum reform as an institution or a practice. Therefore, all efforts to bring research into reform work necessitate deliberations that are programmatic in character. Through a comparative historical perspective, Sivesind (2008) forecasts contemporary changes in the traditional models of curriculum making in Scandinavia, addressing new modes of governing through standards and data, which has been explored in later articles and reports (Sivesind, in press); Sivesind et al. 2012).

Homme's (2008) thesis also reanalysed the data and findings from the evaluation of Reform 97, examining the reform within a historical perspective as she explores the formation and shaping of elementary compulsory schooling in Norway over a 250-year-long period, taking into account both national and local interests. An important aim for this project was to merge two different and separate research traditions; namely, research on education and research on local governance, in order to elaborate on how schooling in Norway has been shaped across time and space.

The thesis offers a historical institutional analysis of the development of the Norwegian school system. It is argued that both national and local actors have been essential in the development of the elementary school. The evolvement of elementary school is characterised by the interplay between the different dynamics of vertical and horizontal governing relations, implying the close interweaving of the national school sector and local governance at the municipal level. Additionally, Homme (2008) explores the horizontal governing relations through case studies in four municipalities. A central argument is that the municipality choices around organising public schools have an impact on local school policies, but do not determine the outcome. Specific educational issues are re-emerging on the local political agenda due to the institutional characteristics of the local school field, having the potential to affect and activate actors in the local communities. With this approach, the national–local dimension is actualised in the way the institution plays a role in governing relations between actors and levels.

Skedsmos's (2009) thesis investigates how governing structures and processes unfold and transform through the introduction of a national comprehensive evaluation system in Norwegian education. The evaluation tools included in this evaluation system are intended to provide information about the level of achievement of the students to improve learning for the individual, as well as on an aggregated level as a fundament for policymaking. Tools such as national tests and international comparative achievement studies seem to increase the focus on educational output and comparability. This analysis is based on a survey conducted among Norwegian principals in 2005 just after the national evaluation system was introduced. Structural equation modelling is used to analyse the data. Tools such as national tests represent national oversight mechanisms, but in policy documents, the discourse of learning for individual purposes seems to dominate.

The Curriculum of the School Subjects Recent decades have seen a growing interest in what is called the didactics of the school subject in Scandinavia and Continental Europe—that is, in everything related to the history, legitimisation, content, teaching, and learning of the subjects of the curriculum. This has been reflected in the establishment of chairs or professorships in school subject didactics in universities as part of teacher education in several disciplines (Gundem 1992). This has naturally stimulated and generated research, which, in Norway, has been directed to subjects within the areas of the mother tongue, science, social studies, and mathematics.

One dissertation on this topic is by Skarpenes (2004), who examines the construction and justification of educational knowledge in two reform efforts: Reform 74 and Reform 94 for upper secondary schooling. Skarpenes (2004) pays attention to arguments and justifications in the construction of the general curriculum framework and the formulation of three subject curricula. Based on documents and interview material, he analyses the legitimation of formulating curriculum documents using a theoretical approach developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (1999). The reform making might be seen as critical moments, "moments critiques" (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999, p. 359), where the actors involved in reforming the school are occupied by the activity of constructing knowledge and educational solutions, and where these constructions, formed by a public space, have to be justified according to a collective principle of the common good. As such, curriculum reform in Norway during the last decades is dependent for its development not only on the state apparatus and professional-bureaucratic institutions, but also on a public space, which creates expectations around subject-matter knowledge as well as outcomes.

An important research topic in the field of mother-tongue education is the art of writing, or proficiency in writing. The Norwegian research community has moved towards a theory of process-oriented writing, which has been influenced by American models, but it also has important traditions of its own linked to an emphasis on the individuality and creative imagination of students as an active and positive force in written language development.

In the field of research on the mother tongue, science, and mathematics education, there has been an important epistemological shift towards a constructivist perspective, which views knowledge as being actively built up by the individual (Ringnes 1993) as well as within the learning situations (Dyste 1987). Research projects in both language and science deal with competence and skills, which reflect an overall interest in assessing student learning on these matters. Research in mathematics, for instance, has been linked to the International School Effectiveness Research Project (ISERP). Initially, the underlying value perspectives of this research were severely questioned (Grøtterud and Nilsen 1998). It should also be noted that since 1991 Norway has participated in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) and is also taking part in the Program on Student Assessment Project (PISA), where language and learning are included as central aspects.

There is also an increased interest in research on school subjects related to the classroom as a community with its own culture and values. This interest has generated challenges to researchers from general didactics and from school subject didactics, which have resulted in the setting up of collaborative projects (Lie 2008). The interest in vocational education and curricular questions concerning the management of lifelong learning also present a challenging opportunity for cooperative research in adult education, which is still a rather limited research area in Norway.

Curriculum in the Classroom The field of classroom research was first established through the use of an ethnographic framework (Fuglestad 1992; Gudmundsdottir 1992; Klette 1994). A team of researchers under the leadership of Flem and Gudmundsdottir at the Department of Education at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim established a tradition of educational research that employed micro-ethnographic approaches to the study of teaching and learning processes in classrooms. The team has focused on the local meanings and documentation of classroom practice in all its diversity, in elementary as well as secondary schools, and has studied a variety of issues: pedagogical content knowledge among history teachers, the inclusion of children with special needs in ordinary classroom activities, and the structure of teaching and learning processes. Classroom research has also formed an important part of research efforts at the University of Oslo's Faculty of Education, such as the PISA+ study (Klette 2009), which has now developed into a field that integrates a multitude of methods and materials, such as video studies, documentary analysis, interview data, and qualitative surveys.

Additionally, the national evaluation program and the SMUL-project contribute new insights into the linkages between instruction and classroom learning (Hodgson et al. 2012). Through a longitudinal study, the researchers refer to standardised practices of teaching and learning in classrooms, which evolve into mixed and differentiated modes of schooling, referring to new tools and models for instruction.

There is a trend in educational research, and especially in classroom research, to place a stronger emphasis on learning processes. This trend reflects tendencies in educational policy making and is particularly noticeable in new education areas such as technology (Arnseth 2004). This move can be said to represent a reaction against the strong efforts at the beginning of the 1990s to define a canon of school knowledge; however, how far can the tendency to change from teaching to learning be stretched? Michael Young writes:

> The idea of the active learner who takes responsibility for her/his own learning is an attractive one and is a recognition of something which traditional content-dominated models of education have all too easily forgotten. However, in practice, there are some fundamental problems with the concept of learner centredness, which are magnified in a political context in which the government distrusts the expertise of teachers as a professional group.(Young 1998, p. 86)

On this basis, Young, together with More and Muller, demand "bringing knowledge back in" (Moore and Young 2001; M. Young 2010; M. F. D. Young 2008). As we claimed in 2004, we must acknowledge that curriculum research in Norway in the 1980s and early 1990s almost entirely neglected the learning perspective, and through this, the related issues of cognition, collaboration, and different kinds of ICT tools, which we see as potentially having a marked impact on the curriculum field. For this reason, new studies are required to see how different semantics merge through new media and technology, also visible through a renewed interest in evidence and standards in the curriculum field (Sivesind, in press). This merger also demands renewed attention to cultural studies, which search for different configurations of sociology and didactics in education.

Curriculum, Culture, and Equity The School as a Cultural Institution (Skole-KULT), a research program funded by the Norwegian Research Council, has initiated research projects in many fields, representing different aspects of culture. The projects that have examined the field of education have shared a common interest in the classical concept of *Bildung,* or the formation of the human individual with an emphasis on compassion and solidarity, though extending it beyond its original eighteenth-century identification with higher culture and the bourgeoisie. Today's challenges are of a different order, characterised by a virtual separation between spheres of life that are at the root of contemporary cultural conflicts. These philosophical ideas and conceptualisations concerning differences between history and actuality have proven to be fruitful, not only as a substantive topic for research, but also in order to construe new perspectives on the conduct of historical research directed to the study of educational and curricular questions (Løvlie 1997). Writing about the past is not dependent upon a unique method that claims to be capable of uncovering and objectifying the reality, but is itself a part of an educative discourse (Evenshaug 2000).

Similar perspectives on the epistemology of research are promoted in historical research on the public debate about religious and moral education in the compulsory school. In connection with the Norwegian curriculum reforms of the 1990s, a new common school subject for all students, Christian Knowledge and Religious and Ethical Education (Royal Ministry of Education Research and Church Affairs 1999, pp. 97–116), was introduced, replacing the former choice between Christian education and general religious and moral orientation. Wingård (2011) analyses this debate with regard to the school, the nation, and religion as discursive and historical constructs, which contribute to conceptualisations of collective identity and otherness in society. On this basis, Wingård (2011) concludes that historical constructs, culture, identity, and society can be discussed and modified. Another Norwegian project, not linked to the program we have been discussing but also centred on issues of culture conflict, analyses reform work from the perspectives of bilingual or bicultural minorities (Øzerk 2003, 2011). Its findings are based not only on experiences resulting from work with the new curriculum reform, but refer also to many studies on minorities, of their functional capacities, and of their roles in teaching and schooling. Are principles and problems concerning the experience of these groups of students taken into consideration in the design of the curriculum? This research is also conducted with reference to the past, sketching out the traditions and ways of understanding that have been applied to problems of this kind, which, though of contemporary concern, are certainly not novel. In doing so, it puts important questions on the agenda, not only affecting national policy making and substantial areas of curriculum decision making, but also challenging the research field itself.

Stray (2010) conducted a critical analysis of the Norwegian school reform, Knowledge Promotion, 2006, which she regards in the light of perspectives on citizenship and democracy. The concept of citizenship as it applies to this research is taken from international education discourse, where the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) emphasise the need for school reform by developing citizenship along with a common democratic culture across all levels of education. Thus, the focus moves from a national reform arena to Europeanisation processes, where the societal expectations play a decisive role.

Stray's (2010) thesis examines the Norwegian curriculum policy papers that provided the basis for the Knowledge Promotion reform. The analysis of the interviews with key policy actors and the comparison of the international and Norwegian policy papers indicate that the emphasis on democratic citizenship through education has diminished with the introduction of the new reforms, and that, for the sake of democracy, this needs to be strengthened through public and civic programs and activities.

Concluding Discussion

The curriculum field clearly faces a challenge in terms of producing comparative studies. For Norwegian curriculum studies, this challenge is complicated by a marked desire to find its own identity and, at the same time, to see its role as subsumed within internationalisation and the global society. A pertinent question to ask is whether Norwegian research on the curriculum should, in defining its tradition, take as its starting point the imperatives of the national context and policies. As our overview shows, curriculum studies have, to a high degree, been open to international influences. This gives rise to both advantages and drawbacks.

We have noted a tendency towards empirical orientations. This may, to a certain degree, be due to the fact that curriculum studies are drawn towards evaluations that aim at producing directly useful data. This poses a challenge because, from a research point of view, one may question and discuss all manner of preconceptions underlying such research projects. This has led to an interest in the use of theories that yield descriptions of processes that depict them as not being the result of intentional, normative choices. In this connection, we also have to take account of approaches stemming from a postmodern research orientation, but even more account needs to be taken of how global and international trends create new expectations for reform and research (Pinar 2008).

However, empirical research in Norway has not neglected the underlying normative preconceptions associated with legislative frames and purposes. Here, research has inherited a normative outlook stemming from the *Didaktik* tradition (Gundem and Hopmann 1998a; Gundem 2000; Westbury, Hopmann, and Riquarts 2000). This implies taking as a starting point philosophical-practical rationales for understanding and interpreting curriculum guidelines in view of societal aims, rights, and norms. However, empirical curriculum research has also aimed at illuminating the underlying decisions, choices, and values that shape curriculum work and curriculum development. Such an approach provides opportunities for further discussion of the preconceptions on which an understanding of *Bildung* and education are based in view of new approaches to learning.

Summing up, we may say that, in Norway, there seems to be a basis for curriculum studies to become aware of its own theoretical and methodological starting points. However, embedded in recent trends in curriculum research, there are certain challenges and tensions. In an international context, some are related to the concept of the curriculum itself. The Scandinavian and Continental European conception, which is linked to the idea of *Didaktik,* differs from Anglo-Saxon understandings (Gundem and Hopmann 1998b) and is not necessarily taken into account in international assessment systems that search for global models of reform.

Taking into consideration a variety of studies in curriculum research in Norway, it is possible to discern a line of development in terms of the relationship between the research interest and research object. There has been a development from an interest in why, and especially how, a school subject was introduced, in terms of general educational history, to an interest in elucidating the role and content of a school subject in terms of macro-societal perspectives. Additionally, the idea of knowledge and culture is dominating the field; however, this does not necessarily capture the dimensions of curriculum content that cover the cognitive, motoric, and emotional sides of *Bildung.* This restrictive function of assessment in education hinders the use of differentiated theoretical perspectives, which could illuminate a variety of approaches and units of analysis in curriculum research.

Thus, we still see the need for development and a shift in interest from analysing the structure of the school subject itself, not only according to its place and role as part of the overall school system, but according to spaces and time, which, during the last decade, with some level of concern, have meant the evolution of educational policy within a future perspective. However, as far as the content of subjects is concerned, it seems that the main interest continues to be focused on knowledge, while studies on the mediation of the ultimate sources of this knowledge have assumed a lesser role. This might be an effect of Europeanisation and globalisation processes, where standardising templates for reporting on knowledge, skills, and competencies are globally adopted (Karseth and Sivesind 2010; Karseth and Solbrekke 2010).

Keeping in mind the different traditions in curriculum research outlined above, it makes sense to say that, in certain ways, the umbrella project "Curriculum and School Subjects" incorporated all of them (Gundem and Karseth 1993). Possibly more important, however, is the impetus it gave to the establishment of curriculum research as a field of academic investigation in its own right, and not simply as a branch of educational research in general.

This presents a very concrete challenge, especially in international research projects that aim at interdisciplinary approaches to the curriculum and teaching. Another challenge is the relationship between macro and micro research approaches, which in today's research are convergent. Related to the tension between macro and micro approaches is the relationship between theory and practice. This dimension is also delimited in value in view of evidence-based approaches to policy and practise (Sivesind 2013, in press). Hence, the practical nature of curriculum problems is not necessarily focused, and the role of theory in understanding those problems is neglected. Moreover, a new evidence-based approach challenges the conception that the aim of curriculum research must be either the development of theory or the solving of practical problems. Rather, it creates expectations of universal principles that can be applied both in theory as well as in practice. For this reason, we question how new policies reduce the complexity that has characterised the curriculum for decades. For this reason, we question how much knowledge and learning can be standardised without losing meaning and purpose.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Professor Emeritus Dr. William A. Reid for his valuable comments and help with the language in preparing the first version of this manuscript, and to Professor Emerita Dr. Bjørg B. Gundem, who has been a coauthor in the first version of this chapter and the main contributor in developing the curriculum as an international research field in Norway.

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31

Theoretical Approaches Underlying Primary Education Curricula in Peru

Lileya Manrique, Diana Revilla, and Pilar Lamas

Since the 60s, education in Peru has undergone several curricular changes as a result of educational reforms and the passage of new legislation. In general, these changes have proceeded according to political and technical criteria with no satisfactory results. In this regard, there are studies describing these curricular changes, but they do not focus on the theoretical approaches that support official curricula.[1] This chapter is such a descriptive investigation; it analyzes the way the official curriculum is conceptualized, the curricular elements it comprises, and the supporting pedagogical grounds. Additionally, it recognizes the underlying approaches in the primary curricula in the period from the 70s to 2011. In this way, the theoretical approaches of curriculum (Academicist, Technological, Cognitive, Humanist, and Socio-Critical) are analyzed; the main elements of curriculum (purposes, contents, and evaluation) and the pedagogical grounds (the concept of curriculum, teaching, and learning) are described.

We undertook a qualitative analysis of documents, mainly primary sources such as: the General Acts of Education No. 19326, No. 23384, and No. 28044; the report on curricular diagnoses; reports on curricular policies; and the official curricula of primary education in the period studied. It is important to mention the difficulty in accessing all primary official curricula. In some periods, a representative group of them was analyzed. This chapter is organized in three sections. The first situates the official curricula in the different governmental periods and within the frameworks of the Education Acts. The second outlines the theoretical framework of analysis of the curricula. The third describes the official curricula and analyzes the underlying theoretical approaches.

The Official Curricula in Educational Reforms and Education Acts Between 1972 and 2011

Since the second half of the twentieth century, educational reform movements in Latin America wanted the educational system to support and consolidate economic modernization. In these educational reforms, a central axis is the official curriculum as it regulates what students learn to respond to the needs and demands of society. Ferrer points out that in Latin America, the changes introduced in national curricula, as well as in managerial mechanisms to implement them "respond to policy trends and legal provisions on the administration of the sector that occurred gradually since the 80s and 90s, but which became stronger and more formal in the reforms promoted in the past decades" (2004, p. 161). This suggests the need to understand curriculum within the framework of curricular reform proposals, e.g., the specific curricular policies and the Education Act.

In Peru, within the period from 1970 to 2011, three General Education Acts were enacted, two educational reforms (1972, 1993) were introduced and eight governments were elected.

Each one the Acts expresses the concept of education, defines the structure of the Peruvian educational system, and orients educational and curricular policies, among other aspects. See Table 31.2.

The characteristics of the social, economic, and political context conditioned the educational policy and the Acts generated in the country. During the Velasco military government, General Education Act No. 19326 was enacted. This act enshrined the 1972 Educational Reform and introduced several changes in the educational system based on a national educational diagnosis.

Act 19326 understood education as a comprehensive process for liberation, development, and affirmation of the nation, inspired by a humanist perspective and with a democratic call, as it does not discriminate among people according to their social and economic condition. This Act institutes basic education that replaces primary education and part of secondary education that existed before 1972. Basic education is general and mandatory and has two modalities: regular and labor education. The purpose of Regular Basic Education (RBE) was to ensure the

TABLE 31.1
Acts, Governments and Educational Reforms Between 1972 and 2011

General Education Act No. 19326 Enacted on March 21, 1972		General Education Act No. 23384 Enacted on May 18, 1982			General Education Act No. 28044 Enacted on July 28, 2003		
Juan Velasco Military Government Alvarado October 1968–1979	Francisco Morales Bermudez Military Government 1979–1980	Fernando Belaunde Terry Government 1980–1985	Alan Garcia Pérez Government 1985–1990	Alberto Fujimori Government 1990–1995 and 1995 to October 2000	Valentin Paniagua Transition Government November 2000 to July 2001	Alejandro Toledo Manrique Government 2001–2006	Alan Garcia Pérez Government 2006–2011
	1973 Educational Reform				1993 Educational Reform		

TABLE 31.2
General Education Acts in Peru from 1972 to 2011

General Education Act No. 19326	General Education Act No. 23384	General Education Act No. 28044
• Education is a comprehensive, awareness raising process; a process to liberate the learner. Its objective is the comprehensive education of the human person in the immanent and transcendent projections. The educational work of the society as a whole is acknowledged, not only school educates. • New humanist and democratic educational system; recognizes the dignity of all people. Relates education to work. • Three educational levels: early childhood education, basic education and higher education. • Basic education with two modalities: regular and labor. • Regular basic education (RBE) with three cycles and nine grades.	• Education is a permanent process for the full development of the personality. It is inspired in the principles of social democracy. It promotes the knowledge and practice of humanities, art, science, and technique. It considers ethical and civic education, as well as family education, as mandatory in the entire process. Besides, religious education is freely determined by the parents. • Educational system comprising four levels and five modalities.[1] • Primary education is the second level and develops in six grades. It comprises two modalities: minors and adults. It is offered in the classroom and out of the classroom modalities. • Primary Education is mandatory in all its modalities. It is designed for children six years old and older.	• Education is a process of learning and teaching that develops throughout life and contributes to a comprehensive formation. It is a basic right of the person and the society to receive a comprehensive and quality education for everyone. • Educational system that comprises two stages: basic education and higher education. Basic education with these modalities: Regular; Alternative, and Special. • Universalization of basic education. • Regular basic education with three levels. Primary is still the second level; it's organized in three cycles and lasts six years.

[1] The modalities of the system are ways of applying the second and third levels and to execute the respective educational actions. Children, adults, special, vocational, and distance modalities. (Art. 35 of the Act)

comprehensive development of the learner and train them for work, promoting their active participation in the process of social transformation (Act 19326, Art. 91). For this purpose, students were to be provided scientific, technical, and humanistic knowledge; a critical awareness was to be built; and a sense of family life and solidarity spirit was to be developed. RBE comprises three cycles and nine grades of study: first cycle (1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th grades), second cycle (5th and 6th grades) and third cycle (7th, 8th, and 9th grades) (Act 19326, Art. 95).

The 1972 educational reform occurred during the government of Francisco Morales in 1979. His government enabled democratic elections where Mr. Fernando Belaunde was elected president. Mr. Belaunde called his government "The five-year period of Education." He kept the 1972 educational reform in his first two years of government and then enacted Education Act No. 23384. Education was defined as a permanent process for the full development of personality; it affirmed the principles of social democracy through a comprehensive education. It proposed a four-level educational system: early childhood, primary, secondary, and higher education, setting aside the organization of the Regular Basic Education in the previous Act. In this way, primary education goes back to be considered the second level with six grades with two modalities: minors and adults, offered in the classroom and out of the classroom. Goals included: the command of basic learning; the development of cognitive, volitive, and physical faculties; and the promotion of habits, values, and vocational development. General Education Act No. 23384 remained during four governments and was in force until 2003 (see Table 31.1). However, the curriculum underwent continual amendments (Sánchez, Saco, Canales, and Lovera, 1993).

During the government of Mr. Alan Garcia (1985–1990), a diagnosis of Peruvian education was performed, identifying its major technical-pedagogical and administrative problems, which became the basis for the educational policy guidelines and for a *General Education Bill* that was never passed. Although the framework of this government was Act 23384, a new educational policy was proposed as an answer to the needs and challenges that characterized the end of the twentieth century. The fundamental purpose of education was "to shape the national historic conscience and the specific purposes were: to educate for democracy, educate for development and educate for culture" (Sánchez et al., 1993, p. 25). Additionally, the educational policy guidelines were aimed to develop a process of change in the fundamental elements of the Curricular Structure of all the levels and modalities. The Grounds for a New Curricular Concept are formulated, "an education to overcome the notion of human beings as mere storers of knowledge, and that acknowledges the creative capabilities of the human person as the genetic contributions from their parents and from culture" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1988, p. 6).

During Mr. Alberto Fujimori's government (1990–2000) Act 23384 remained in force, but the official curricula and objectives of educational levels were amended. In 1993, another Diagnosis of Peruvian Education was prepared, identifying the problems, deficiencies, and limitations of the current curricular structure. This study found that the curriculum did not respond to the demands of the country's modernization and development, nor to the needs and interests of the students and their parents (Galindo, 2002). From this point, the "1995–2010 Medium-and Long-Term Education Plan" was generated, asserting that education should be ethical, oriented towards human development, should prepare for work, reach everyone, and agree with our reality as a multicultural and multiethnic country. The fundamental goal of the primary education level is to "contribute with comprehensive education and the construction of a democratic society" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 6).

After Fujimori vacated the Presidency of the Republic, Mr. Alejandro Toledo (2001–2006) was elected. During his period, education in the country was part of an urgent search to go back to a democratic life and to respect to the rule of law. Toledo favored the change in education generating the new Act No. 28044 (see Tables 31.1 and 31.2). In this Act, the Peruvian education was understood as a process of learning and teaching that develops throughout the whole life and that contributes to the comprehensive formation of people; to the full development of their potential; to the creation of culture; and to the development of the family and the national, Latin American, and world community. As such, education takes place in schools and in different spheres of society. Education is acknowledged as a fundamental right of the person and the society. The State guarantees the right to a comprehensive and quality education for everyone and the universalization of basic education.

Education is affirmed by the following principles: ethics, equity, inclusion, quality, democracy, interculturality, environmental awareness, and creativity and innovation that promote the production of new knowledge in all the fields of knowledge, art, and culture (Art. 8). The Act points out the need for a basic curriculum, common to all the country, and articulated among the different levels.

The educational system is organized in several stages, modalities, cycles, and programs (Art. 28). Primary education constitutes the second level of Regular Basic Education and lasts six years; it is organized in three cycles (first to sixth grade). Its objective is the comprehensive education of boys and girls. It promotes communication in all areas: the operational management of knowledge; the personal, spiritual, physical, emotional, social, vocational, and artistic development; logical thinking; creativity; the acquisition of the necessary skills to display their potential; as well as an understanding of the facts near their natural and social environment.

During Garcia's second period (2006–2011), Act 28044 was still valid, the structure of the Peruvian Educational System and the objective of education remained the same: to cultivate the comprehensive development of the student: the display of their potential; and the development of their capabilities, knowledge, attitudes, and fundamental values a person needs to have to act adequately and efficiently in the several spheres of society. The articulation among these different educational levels of Regular Basic Education consolidates, generating seven cycles: first and second cycle correspond to early childhood education, third to fifth cycles to the primary education, and the sixth and seventh cycles to secondary education.

Theoretical References of Curricular Approaches

For this chapter, we are using the Roman and Diez (2003), Sánchez (2005), and Schiro (2008) proposal. They present a five-approach classification: academicist, technological, cognitive, humanist, and critical. To recognize the theoretical approaches underlying the official curricula which are object of this study, we present the concept of curriculum, its main characteristics, the processes of teaching and learning, and the curricular elements (purposes, contents, and evaluation) that characterize each approach.

Academicist Curricular Approach The curriculum is structured around the disciplines (mathematics, history, chemistry, etc.) and is transmitted according to the way knowledge is generated within them. It is conceived as a set of conceptual knowledge organized in disciplines that students need to know to adapt to their society. Curriculum is assigned an instrumental role to play as it contributes to the "student's adaptation" to society and ensures the "cultural transmission" of whatever is considered valuable and important for society (Schiro, 2008). Therefore, curriculum is equivalent to a study program or plan conceived under the logic of the discipline.

The curriculum does not intend to develop moral values; it emphasizes the power of the mind and the importance of what is rational (objective observation, logic, thoroughness, etc.) and does not appreciate learning practical skills. Two models are recognized in this approach: the academicist and New School approaches. In both, the contents are the main curricular elements. In the academicist approach, contents are the study program or plan by discipline; in progressive education, the contents are made by the experiences according to the students' interests and needs. The other elements, such as the purposes, the strategies, and the evaluation, are built around this element.

The objectives of teaching are generally cognitive, depending on the nature of the discipline. Teaching strategies and learning experiences are defined based on the structure and sequence of the contents, which are presented to the students in an organized and coherent way. The function of evaluation is to verify that the contents taught are mastered, favoring cognitive results. Therefore, teaching associated with the academicist model is understood as the presentation and explanation of the contents (Contreras, 1994, p. 188). The teacher, rather than generating the creation of new knowledge, must introduce the student into the core of the discipline, in its traditions, its ways of acquiring knowledge, and what can be learned and in what way. While in the progressive education model, teaching is the task through which the teacher provides ideas, experiences, and materials for the students to acquire the knowledge deemed as indispensable, through the induction method (Contreras, 1994, p. 189). The student must show the mastery of the discipline based on learning by reception, accumulation, and memorization. On the other hand, in the New School model, it is the "action" of the student over the materials, or the "experience" which will enable learning, that is, collect information and organize them to verify the knowledge planned by the teacher.

Technological Curricular Approach This approach is supported in the means-ends rationality in educational action, that is, what has been called "Education Technology." Therefore, curriculum is defined as a "means-ends organization, aimed at achieving observable and measurable objectives" (Roman and Diez, 2006, p. 151). Another definition describes curriculum as a "structured series of learning objectives intended to be achieved." The curriculum prescribes (or at least anticipates) the results of instruction (Johnson, 1970, quoted in Sánchez, 2005, p. 20). Curriculum is addressed from a systemic point of view and its elements, processes, and outputs are observed. It is oriented at instruction rather than at education, emphasizes the teaching process, and is more concerned with the way information is delivered without disregarding the contents (what is taught) (Chadwick, 1995, quoted in Obregon, 2002, p. 23).

The core curricular elements are the objectives in their different degrees of realization. The task of evaluation is to achieve objectives, to identify mistakes and achievements, and compare the initial and end state of the learning process to verify the efficacy achieved. Feedback is indispensable for the continuous reorientation of the processes that will ensure the achievement of learning objectives. Teaching is a technical activity focused on finding the best way to deliver information and to select and design the experiences that will allow students to attain the desired behavior (Chadwick, 1995, quoted in Obregon, 2002, p. 23). On the other hand, learning is understood as the active process that takes place within the student and that is verified in the change or acquisition of observable behaviors.

The competency-based curriculum is associated with this approach. This curriculum is supported on the cognitive and constructivist psychology, and its goal is to prepare a person to be able to solve new problems, make decisions, have initiative, take risks, work in a team, and learn to learn, to be able to interact with the environment and respond to its demands effectively and efficiently. Within this perspective, learning integrates skills, knowledge, and attitudes and becomes evident with the capacity of performing in specific problematic situations. Therefore, the student is at the center of learning, and the teacher adapts to the advance and performance of students to provide them with activities through active methodologies, playing the role of mediators in such process.

Cognitive Curricular Approach This approach does not address the concept of curriculum but rather its purpose. It concerns directly the development of the student's internal cognitive structures to develop in the learner the necessary skills to learn, in terms of cognitive strategies, intellectual skills, knowledge structures, and capabilities to learn how to learn. The purposes of learning are expressed through objectives or capacities that indicate the intellectual skills that the student will acquire or put into practice. This approach emphasized those contents that are related to the development of internal cognitive processes, without neglecting subject contents. Learning evaluation is formative, and therefore its purpose is to improve the students' cognitive processes and their learning.

Here, learning is an internal process that modifies mental structures and that entails a reformulation of previous structures. This approach provides the student with a very active role in the process. Learners need to keep testing their ideas and strategies, discovering, integrating, doing, and interacting with their peers and teachers. The teacher plays the role of facilitator, of leader, and helps the student without affecting the process of discovery. The teacher is concerned with the way the student learns, and once this is known, with the best way to teach. In this sense, this approach is superior to the teaching-learning model and generates a new one called "learning-teaching." Teaching is oriented toward teaching how to learn and facilitating the adequate use of cognitive and metacognitive strategies.

Humanist Curricular Approach The curriculum is focused on the students, cultivating their development and meeting their personal needs. As such, this curriculum is founded on respect for the person's dignity and creates an educational environment that favors their self-knowledge and their personal development. From this point of view, the curriculum is flexible and tends to individualization in the curricular development. It is also oriented towards the development of human or spiritual values (Palladino, 1995).

The purposes of learning tend to favor the development of the student as a person; the contents are wide and may refer to a discipline or not, insofar they meet the students' interests and needs. The learning evaluation fosters introspection through self-evaluation to favor self-awareness and the responsibility over their personal evolution process. The teacher plays a role of counselor, facilitating experiences and guiding the student's growing and learning process. It is similar to discovery learning.

Socio-Critical Curricular Approach In general, the socio-critical approach propounds that the curriculum is not a technical or professional matter, but a cultural, political, and ideological matter. As expressed by Moral and Pérez (2009, p. 48), the curriculum is defined as a social subsystem in which processes and contents, relations and methods work, which needs to be questioned for its ideological assumptions to be understood. Therefore, curriculum is a social construct, open and flexible, in which political interests, control and pressure instruments are exerted by different groups; the historical contexts, hierarchies, and social stratification underlie. It is aimed at achieving a deep educational change that will collaborate with social transformation. It propounds that education has a liberating function. This liberation comprises those who are responsible for teaching and those who learn within this process and who co-participate actively in it. It tries to achieve emancipation by the appropriation of knowledge and the access to the culture that is shared (Alvarez, 2001 p. 259–260).

This approach is interested in emancipation and therefore it is dialectic, offering problems to be solved, "contextualized, negotiated, agreed among everyone participating in the school; its main function is to contribute with liberation" (Roman and Diez, 2006, p. 186). In this approach, the relation between curriculum theory and practice cannot be separated, and they are linked dialectically. Practice is theory in action (Castro et al., 2004, p. 26). The purposes of learning are established through dialog and discussion processes among the directly involved educational stakeholders. In this sense, the objectives of learning transcend interest for the disciplines, the development of skills or capabilities, and aim at the student's liberation and social transformation. Curricular contents are chosen based on their social significance, and the values to be developed are shared, cooperative, liberating, from a review of underlying ideologies (Castro et al., 2004, p. 16). The approach to the contents is interdisciplinary, in groups, participative, through research-action projects, where critical thinking and analysis of the context, the reality of the classroom, the school and the community are central. Evaluation is qualitative; case study models (ethnographic techniques) and information triangulation are used to analyze learning as the classroom dynamics.

Teaching is a critical activity. It represents an emancipating and awareness-raising practice; therefore, it is a moral and political activity. Teaching is not only describing the world, but also transforming it (Ruiz, 2005). The teacher must organize critical and collaborative projects and activities, becoming a classroom researcher, working to guide the students to question theories and practices considered repressive (including even those in the same school), encouraging the generation of liberating responses, both at a personal and collective level, which may produce changes in their current life conditions. For this reason, the teacher and student dialog is very important. Learning is a knowledge-building process through social interaction, a shared process that emerges from critical thinking, discussion, and transforming analysis. "The learning process is oriented towards problem formulation and solution planning, and makes it possible to analyze practice critically" (Anton, 2003, p. 8). The purpose of this learning process must be to achieve moral and intellectual autonomy in order to face ethical questions.

Analysis of Primary Education Official Curricula

In this chapter, the official curricula are described and the underlying theoretical curricular approaches are analyzed. Eight governments are identified and as much as six changes of official curricula took place. Table 31.3 lists the curricula analyzed.

1973, 1974, and 1977 Official Curricula Within the framework of the Peruvian Educational System Reform, two types of official curricula appear in the education scenario: Primary Education adapted programs and Regular Basic Education curricular structure.

The Primary Education adapted programs of 1973 and 1974 were transitory and oriented educational work in public and private schools that were not chosen for the application of the New Educational System. As such, they were the primary education programs in place until Act 19326 was enacted; they were reviewed to adapt them to the demands of the New Educational System and to update them according to the scientific and technologic advances and to the social and economic changes that were happening in the country (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1973, p. 9). It is important to mention that the name Program that comes from the Plan and Program reforms, which started in 1964, is maintained, and that the term curriculum does not exist as such.

In the Adapted Programs, the purposes of learning are expressed as objectives for each year of studies, defined as the experience the learner must have by the end of the school year. There are also objectives for each subject,

TABLE 31.3
Official Curricula Analyzed Between 1972 and 2011

General Education Act No. 19326		**General Education Act No. 23384**				**General Education Act No. 28044**	
Adapted Programs of primary education. 1973: Adapted Programs from Transition (last year of Preschool) to 3rd year 1974: Adapted 4th and 5th year programs. Reformed programs of the new educational system. 1973: Regular Basic Education Curriculum. Cycle I: 1st and 2nd grade. 1977: Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure (RBE). Cycle I: 1st to 4th grade.		1982: Curricular Program or Study Programs for each one of the grades of Primary Education, from 1st to 6th grade.	1990: Basic curricular programs for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade. 1991: 4th grade program. 1992: 5th and 6th grade programs.	1997: Basic curricular structure of primary education for minors. First Cycle, 1st and 2nd grade. 1998: Basic curricular structure of primary education for minors. Second cycle, 3rd and 4th grade. 1999: Basic curricular structure of primary education for minors. Third cycle, 5th and 6th grade.		2003: Basic curricular programs for the I, II and III cycles of primary education.	2005: National Curriculum Design for Regular Basic Education. Articulation process. 2008: National Curriculum Design for Regular Basic Education.
Velasco Military Government 1968–1979	Francisco Morales Government 1979–1980	Fernando Belaunde Government 1980–1985	Alan Garcia Government 1985–1990	Alberto Fujimori Government 1990–October 2000	Paniagua Government 2000–July 2001	Toledo Government Alejandro 2001–2006	Government Alan Garcia 2006–2011

defined as specific experiences that are expected to be achieved by the learner as partial goals to attain the study year objectives (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1973, p. 9). These objectives have an experiential, not a behavioral, connotation.

The organization of the contents in the 1973 Adapted Programs has a globalizing character; it is proposed according to programmatic units. These units present a topic that will be the axis or unifying motif, around which the set of objectives and actions suggested corresponding to the subjects are organized (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1973, p. 9). In turn, the 1974 Adapted Programs make a distinction between subjects, but with an integrating overtone, according to the affinity of their contents and respecting the learner's and the community's objectives, interests, and needs (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 8). Therefore, the term "subject" refers to Social and Historical Sciences, Natural Sciences and Art Education, together with Language, Mathematics, Handicrafts, Physical Education, and Religious Education. However, the name "subject" is confusing, as it really refers to a set of "integrated subjects."

Evaluation of learning becomes permanent, and its purpose is to verify the achievement of the objectives proposed in the programmatic unit. The Adapted Programs introduce new subjects or elements to be evaluated in the educational process, as not only the student is evaluated, but also the teachers evaluate their own teaching practice and the environment built to facilitate learning.

From all the above, underlying the Adapted Programs we can see a concept of curriculum as a Plan of Study organized in subjects, globalized or integrated, in which the objectives for the year and of each subject, as well as the actions suggested to orient the teaching practice, are regulated. The purposes of learning are then the objectives, understanding them as the experiences the learner must achieve by the end of the school year. Each Adapted Program imposes upon the teacher "what" is to be taught and what must be learnt by the student, in terms of experiential objectives.

This is reinforced by what the 1974 Adapted Programs indicate expressly about the role of the teacher who is not able to remove or suppress the objectives set in each subject as they are basic. However, the teacher is granted a wide margin to organize, dose, apply, and evaluate the program according to the biopsychic development of the learner, as well as the characteristics and needs of the community (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1974, pp. 7 and 9). In this sense, the role of the teacher regarding the curriculum is that of an official curriculum user, in charge of developing it in the classroom, who may make some curricular adaptations, but no changes in its essential elements.

It is important to point out that the action of the teacher depends on the interest of the learner, in as much as the actions programmed are essentially valid, useful, and meaningful for the student, taking also into account that they need the student's direct participation to be carried out. Furthermore, these actions must be organized in such a way as to achieve the learning objectives proposed (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1973, p. 10).

In this way, the emphasis is on an integrated and globalized organization by subjects, oriented towards assuring objectives understood as experiences that the learner must achieve from actions programmed by the teacher; and the importance granted to the student as a person, regarding the evolutionary development as well as the interests of the community, profile the presence of the academicist theory in its New School model. This is because the contents are essential, there is an organization by subjects or disciplines, but it is made of the experiences according to the students' interests and needs. The teaching objectives are cognitive in general according to the nature of the discipline.

Within the framework of the 1972 Educational Reform and improving the Adapted Programs, two curricular structures are issued: the *Regular Basic Education Curriculum in 1973* and the *1977 Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure* (see Table 31.3). Such official curricula would carry the most important changes related to teaching and learning in the new educational system generated by the Reform.

The Ministry of Education Early Childhood and Regular Basic Education General Direction prepared both official documents. For the effects of this chapter, the characteristics of the 1977 Curricular Structure are presented as it shows an advance compared to that of 1973 and translates the reform education line of thought in a better way.

For the first time, the term curriculum appears, and a difference is made from the Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure. The first is the set of experiences the learner lives under the school advisory, while the Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure (RBECS) is the document containing the structure of such Curriculum. Such set of experiences that learners live participating in the actions regulated by the system and foreseen and generated cooperatively by the educational community, contribute to the personal and social development in a given historical moment.

> In our terminology, when we call Curriculum to the experiences lived by the learners, we want to point out that the curriculum is neither abstract, nor merely declarative, but the most concrete of realities: the experience lived by the learners. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 19)

The RBECS represents the official curriculum as it is regulatory, and as it is designed at the Headquarters (Ministry of Education), to guarantee the unity of the educational system (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 13). It is mainly oriented towards the comprehensive education of the learners and towards their commitment to the creative transformation of their reality through communitarian and participating work. It also has a humanist vocation that favors the harmonic development of learners in their biological, psychological, and social dimensions to ensure the promotion of their talents and capabilities and to watch over their physical and mental health, as well as their moral sense (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 14). This curriculum presents for the first time the curricular element called Profile of the Learner. Its concept is not defined, but it is designed based on what are called objectives—axis aimed at developing a new human being, essentially transformational, critical, creator, and committed with solidarity to transform the social and economic structures prevailing in society.

It is a comprehensive curriculum, in as much as educational actions comprise integrally, the knowledge, (theoretical and practical knowledge), the activities (experience, educational processes, and ways to exercise), the training for work (acquisition of symbolic and technical instruments, skills, and competences), and advisory for the learner (including methodological, vocational, psychological, and assistance support) (Education Act 19326, Art. 59). Besides, it is a flexible and diversified curriculum, as it is designed keeping in mind the peculiarities and requirements of the learner as an individual and as a member of a social group and according to the social, economic, cultural, and geographic variations of the different areas of the country (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 13).

Summarizing, the curriculum was conceptualized as a set of experiences lived by learners, within society, and within a concrete historic process, oriented mainly towards the comprehensive education of students who are committed to the creative transformation of their reality through work. This definition considers the participation of the community in curricular decisions and of the learner as the main agent of the educational process, together with the characteristics of integrality, flexibility, and diversification of the curriculum, keeping in mind the normative nature of the Curricular Structure.

Due to the intentionality and characteristics of this curriculum that contributes to the comprehensive development of the learner and to social transformation, we can identify the influence of both the humanist and the socio-critical approaches. The search for the learners' development in all their immanent and transcendent dimensions locates it within the first approach. The development of critical thought, the liberating awareness, and the transforming action through work for the common benefit with the participation of the educational community is associated with the second approach.

With regard to the purposes of learning, the 1977 Curricular Structure presents an organized body of grade objectives following different Lines of Action; then, learning objectives are proposed for each of the objectives. The learning contents were organized in this official curriculum as Lines of Educational Action, understood as a set of experiences and contents, of similar nature, that enable the student to develop specific skills, capabilities, attitudes, knowledge, and value that favor the discovery and transformation of reality (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 12). The Lines of Educational Action materialized with different intensity the four aspects of the curriculum: the knowledge, the activities, the training for work, and the learner's advisory become the means to achieve the Learner's Profile (Tincopa, 1993, p. 36).[2]

The 1977 Curricular Structure presents a new approach to student learning evaluation compared to what is proposed by the Adapted Programs and the 1973 Basic Education Curriculum. Evaluation is a comprehensive, systematic, and permanent process that indicates the extent to which the changes in the learner are achieved, based on the objectives proposed for a given period (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1977, p. 199). The information obtained through it makes it possible to make decisions to adjust or redesign the learning processes for the student to achieve the objectives and to improve educational action. In this sense, evaluation is not punitive or punishing but is continuously questioning teachers about the way the student learning context they have created should be adjusted to favor learning in their students.

The concepts of learning and teaching were not addressed in this official document. The main task of teachers is curriculum programming, wherein they create, graduate and organize the experiences the learners will have. Teachers ensure curricular development linked to the learners' interests and needs and to social needs. Teachers' professional work focuses on Experience Units that involve choosing motivating topics and establishing a sequence of actions that will ensure achieving the objectives for the grade (Peruvian Ministry of Education 1977, pp. 191–193).

The Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure of the Reform was regulatory. In addition, important changes were introduced in its components that supported the presence and use of systemic educational technology: profiles were formulated; objectives were set; contents were organized around Educational Action Lines; and a Comprehensive Curriculum, a new approach to evaluate learning is emphasized, the learners as well as the teachers and the community are incorporated as subjects of education. On the other hand, the role of teachers focused on the technical domain as programmer and on the teaching domain as they must make sure objectives are achieved. Therefore, there is a gap in this curriculum because of the role assigned to the teacher. This is not an active, critical, innovative agent, a researcher and negotiator who will apply the principles of the educational and curricular reform in the classroom. Besides, an explicit focus on teaching and learning is lacking in the Curricular Structure to orient the teacher's educational action.

1982 Official Curriculum As mentioned before, the Regular Basic Education Curricular Structure from the 1972 Educational Reform remained during the first two years in Mr. Fernando Belaunde's government. With the new General Education Act, starting in 1982, the Curricular Program or Study Programsare created for each of the primary education grades. The name Primary Education was reintroduced.

The Ministry of Education, under the Primary and Secondary Education General Direction, was responsible for the Primary Education Plans and Programs nationwide. Additionally, a team of varied specialists, institutions, and class teachers from several education regions in the country participated in it.

The axes of the Primary Education Curricular Program were the subjects for each grade, which followed the gradual restructuring process of the Basic Education Curricular Structures implemented in the 70s. The educational purposes of the Reform, of contributing to the social change and to the transformation of structures, were not kept in this curriculum (Sánchez et al., 1993, p. 22). The new Act proposed that the goal of education is the full development of the learner's personality and the promotion of knowledge and the practice of humanities, art, science, and technique (see Table 2) that must be achieved through the different subjects. The profile of the learner was not considered.

The 1982 Curriculum Programs focused on organizing each subject and making it self-sufficient. Therefore, they comprise: the rationale; the subject description; its characteristic; its general objectives; and a proposal of the basic contents with examples of learning activities, methodological advice, and suggestions of means and materials—and they end with a list of evaluation criteria and procedures. Each Curricular Program varies according to the grade and to the subject that has the characteristics of a discipline. According to Tincopa (1993), there was no curriculum doctrinarian and operative theoretical framework to orient the teacher. However, Act 23384and its regulations rule the learner's evaluation and the work of teachers in the teaching-learning process, who need to carry out certain functions—they program, develop, and assess curricular activities; they organize and set the classroom and prepare educational activities and evaluate the teaching-learning process (Art. 86).

During this period, the curriculum was understood as a plan of study focused on the contents of the discipline (subjects). The purpose emphasized the comprehensive education of learners so that they can act within the society. Another purpose was to introduce the student into the humanist and scientific culture as a way to progress. The academicist approach was recognized in this proposal because curriculum plays an instrumental role that contributes to the "student adaptation" to society and ensures "cultural transmission" of what is considered valuable and important for society (Schiro 2008). Therefore, curriculum is equivalent to a program or plan of studies that is conceived under the logic of the discipline. Additionally, the influence of the technological approach is found in the way curricular elements are proposed: objectives to achieve knowledge, selection and organization of basic contents and learning activities, and determination of criteria and evaluation procedures.

1990, 1991, and 1992 Official Curricula Starting in 1988, the Ministry of Education, through the Primary and Secondary Education Direction formulated new Curricular Programs for Primary and Secondary Education, which were tested and applied nationwide progressively from 1990 to 1992. These programs were prepared with the contribution of teachers selected from certain schools, specialists from the Ministry of Education, university teachers, and representatives from the public and private sectors. The official curriculum was called Basic Curricular Program corresponding to each grade of studies (from first to sixth grade). This document does not define the meaning of curriculum or Curricular Program, but such definition is found in other educational policy guidelines documents prepared by the Ministry.

Curriculum was defined as the learning system that generates bodies of knowledge, abilities, and skills progressively to enable learners, at the end of a grade, level and the system, to understand, explain, interpret, and later manage their reality (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1990a, p. 25). The primary education curriculum has to build values and be flexible, diversified, significant, comprehensive, formative, terminal, participative, experimental, work-oriented, and gradual:

> It builds values, because it emphasizes building positive attitudes towards coexistence, economic and social democracy, with peace, justice, freedom, cooperation and solidarity.
>
> It is flexible because it considers the different geographic realities in the country and adapts to the particular profiles of the learners, in each of the country regions and micro regions.
>
> It is diversified because it offer several learning options in areas related to production and the development of the regional and/or local culture.
>
> It is meaningful because it responds to the level of development and to the learner's previous experiences. This constitutes the starting point for the discovery and grasping learning in their educational space.
>
> It is integral and formative because it takes into account the cognitive, psychomotor, affective and volitive potential of the learner, and it is aimed at constituting global behavioral rules.
>
> It is terminal because its contents are oriented towards solving problems and achieving objectives in each stage, in order to meet the needs of their life in community and in the world of work during or after their primary and/or secondary education.
>
> It is participative because it promotes and receives the contribution of all educational agents and acknowledges their different components with educational capacity and quality.
>
> It is experimental because it is in constant review and study. It is designed to evaluate the intervening elements and the subjects to feedback the system. Besides, it readjusts based on the classroom and workshop experiences, at all the levels of the curricular administration.
>
> It is work-oriented because it considers besides the general formation component, the technical and vocational component, which enables the student to participate in the educational and social process in the country actively.
>
> It is gradual, in its application, because the curricular change will take place progressively according to the country regionalization, the administrative decentralization and the teacher formation and training processes. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1990a, pp. 5–26)

The curricular elements in the Basic Curricular Programs are: general objectives, specific or grade objectives, contents, methodological advice, and evaluation. The objectives were identified as purposes of learning, making a difference between general and specific objectives for each grade. Additionally, for each specific objective, there is a series of contents. Another element was evaluation, but it was not justified, and its purpose is not defined. Only evaluation criteria and procedures are presented. These Curricular Programs did not include the profile of the primary education graduate. However, the guideline documents mentioned above detail the Profile of Primary Education Student. Teachers, however, did not have this guiding element for their pedagogical work in the official curriculum. Each Curricular Program was not organized in subjects but in Educational Action Lines (EAL) that contribute to the comprehensive formation of the integrality of the learner, strengthening their historical awareness (development of being) through a set of instrumental[3] contents and other value-building contents.[4]

The 90, 91, and 92 curricula were not understood as a plan of studies or as a set of experiences. Now, the emphasis is placed on a curriculum as the organized set of learning experiences lived by the student. The interest is placed on developing abilities, skills, and knowledge, as well as a set of values for the learners to enable them to analyze, interpret, and them manage their reality and to contribute in building a democratic, fair, and solidary society. The contents of the curriculum were instrumental, as well as value building, which makes it a flexible instrument, adjustable to the regional and/or local characteristics, diversified, and suitable for the country's economic and productive development (Ministry of Education in Peru, 1990a, p. 25).

Since these Curricular Programs were focused on the human person and their integrality and creative capacity, oriented towards the students' personal development, promoted respect to their dignity and the building of values for their insertion into society, a humanist curricular approach is recognized. On the other hand, for the design of curricular elements, the technological approach contributions are still used.

1997, 1998, 1999, and 2003 Official Curricula Almost at the end of Fujimori's government, the Basic Curricular Structure of the primary education for minors (PEM-BCS) was published, for the First Cycle (first and second grades, 1997), the Second Cycle (third and fourth grades, 1998) and the Third Cycle (fifth and sixth grades, 1999), prepared by the Ministry of Education National Directorate of Early Childhood and Primary Education (DINEIP). On the other hand, during Toledo's Government, the Basic Curricular Programs of Primary Education were published for the First, Second, and Third cycles (2003). As in the previous cases, the Ministry of Education was in charge of designing such basic curricula, particularly the National Directorate of Early Childhood and Primary Education. The responsibility and participation of regional, local, and institutional educational authorities in the program diversification processes was emphasized.

The PEM-BCS (1997, 1998, and 1999) was designed in line with the educational principles stated in the "1995–2010 Medium- and Long-Term Education Plan," which can be summarized as follows: education must be an ethic that is oriented towards human development, that prepares the individual for work, that reaches everyone, and that agrees with our reality as a multicultural and multiethnic country. Additionally, it derived from the Curricular Matrix defined as the "structure of curricular components of an educational process and their functional interrelations" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 122).

In turn, the 2003 Curricular Programs were governed by the new General Education Act 28044 (see Table 2), which did not affect the organization and content of the curriculum and the Basic Curricular Structure substantially. For this reason, what is described below is valid for the four official curricula. Unlike the 90 to 92 Curricular Programs, the teacher was offered the theoretical, technical, and operative foundations that support the curriculum in an organized manner and with extensive information.

The Curricular Structure contains the *Conceptual Theoretical Framework,* which presents the concept of education, the educational and psychopedagogical principles, the social demands of education, the boys' and girls' needs, as well as the objective and mission of primary education. As mentioned before, the Primary Education contributes to a comprehensive formation and to building a democratic society. Additionally, it promotes the development of personal and cultural identity, knowledge and understanding of the natural and sociocultural environment, the development of the democratic and civic awareness, and the development of a productive and creative culture. On the other hand, it pointed out that primary education continues and strengthens the basic competences that were started in Early Childhood Education and that were the basis for the Secondary Education (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998).

In turn, the *Curricular Framework* presented the notion of curriculum, its characteristics, the organization of the Curricular Structure, the curricular axes, the cross-cutting contents, the boys' and girls' Education Profile, and the Basic Curricular Program. The *Operative Framework* describes the levels in the curriculum construction and gives advice on the development of educational actions.

A distinction is made between the Basic Curricular Structure and the Curriculum. PEM-BCS refers to "the document proposed to the country by the Peruvian Ministry of Education and that is organized in areas of curricular development, objectives, competences required for the development of skills, procedures, concepts and attitudes, to achieve the basic learning in primary students" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 9). The 1998 official curriculum also points out that the ECB serves two functions; to "ensure the unity of the system (student geographic mobility) and to be the basis for building the school curricular projects, which will, eventually, be applied" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 3)

Curriculum is understood as an instrument to regulate school life that defines the educational intentions of formal education and orients the teaching practice:

> The curriculum constitutes the formal education instrument and its essential function is to specify and define in terms of objectives and learning contents, the educational goals and purposes, and to orient the teacher educational practice. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 9).
>
> The curriculum orients the educational action, guides the choice and development of the activities, engages the action of all the members of the school and regulates the organization of time, the use of materials and spaces. Finally, the curriculum is also the central instrument for evaluation. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 15 and 1999, p. 15)
>
> The curriculum is an instrument of formal education; it specifies and defines goals and purposes in terms of competences, responds to social and cultural demands and the students' needs, orients the teaching practice. (Peruvian Ministry of Education 1999, p. 16)

The concept of curriculum emphasized differently the objectives and contents (1997), the orientation and regulation of the different curricular elements (1998, 1999), and the competences that define the educational goals and purposes (1999); therefore, it is recognized as a competency-based curriculum, "centered on the child and not on the contents, on learning and not on teaching" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 118).

There is a clear reference to cognitive approaches: "At the early childhood education (5 years) and at Primary Education, curricular decisions were taken based on the contributions of cognitive psychology which support psychopedagogical principles" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 8), and even learning contextual ecological contributions are considered. The outstanding characteristics of the curriculum are the following:

> Humanist and value building; it favor the practice and experience of values to contribute with the construction of a humanist society. It fosters attributing value to the persons, and stimulates democratic and civic behaviors.
>
> It is open and reconceptualist; it allows the incorporation of elements to make it more suitable to reality and us subject to a continuous process of reelaboration, attentive to diversity.
>
> It is flexible and diversifiable; it allows the introduction of the necessary amendments according to the boys and girls characteristics and learning paces, and according to the socioeconomic, geographic and cultural characteristics of the community where it is applied.
>
> It is comprehensive and interdisciplinary. It promotes the comprehensive development of boys and girls trying to offer them a comprehensive vision of reality. Therefore, it is designed to approach the same aspect of the social and natural reality from different perspectives. It favors multiple relations among the contents for the students to build

> learning more and more integrated, globalized and meaningful. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, pp. 15–16)

Teachers may "adapt, adopt and/or propose achievements regarding the demands of boys and girls according to their sociocultural environment" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, presentation). It insists that "the idea is not to customize or adapt official programs, but to build their own programs" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 4), which calls for a diversified curriculum.

Within the ECB, we can find the Curricular Matrix, an instrument that established the main elements of curriculum: curricular axes, cross-cutting contents, and Curricular Programs with five areas of personal development. This matrix is the key to understanding the organization of the curricular proposal. Additionally, the ECB considers the methodological guidelines for each area, the guides for diversification, curricular planning, and evaluation as complementary elements. The curricular axes[5] act as guiding lines that translate the intention of the educational system at a specific historical moment. They guide curricular work, and later, the education tasks in the school. The cross-cutting contents deal with the relevant problems of the Peruvian society.

The Curricular Programs are the organic body of competences and guide the design and programming of the educational action in the classroom. Therefore, the purposes of learning are expressed as competences, defined as the constituting units of Curricular Programs. Additionally, competences are "know how, that is, complex abilities, that enable people to act efficiently in the different spheres of their daily life and solve real problem situations. As they are complex abilities, competences comprise or involve certain attitudes and three kinds of contents" (Ministry of Education, 1998, pp. 17–18). Competences as such have a knowledge-related dimension and an emotional dimension. Within the Curricular Programs, competences are broken up into capacities and attitudes, no educational contents are considered. The former would correspond to the knowledge-related dimension and the latter to the emotional dimension of such competences.

Curricular contents, previously called Educational Action Lines, are replaced by the Personal Development Areas,[6] which are defined as

> units of curricular organization that group together similar competences, corresponding to aspects that need to be addressed especially by the formal education. The areas are different from the subjects because the correspond to personal aspects that need a particular attention from education, and not to disciplines or cultural sciences, and are different from action lines, because areas have a competency-based organization different in many senses from an objective-based organization. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 20)

The Profile of the Primary Education graduate refers to the "individual features that we expect the boys and the girls to achieve at the end of the educational process" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 123). These features arise when considering the Mission of Primary Education and the curricular axes. The competence-based evaluation model assumed is formative, criterial, and continuous. There is no information in the 1998 and 1999 official curriculum regarding how to conduct learning evaluation. However, there are specific indications within the Curricular Programs and by cycle curricular areas.

Teaching is understood as "the help the teacher offers to the boys and girls in their personal process of knowledge building" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 21). This is not a knowledge explanation and transmission process, but an interactive process, where children build their learning actively according to their context, their classmates, their working materials, and the teacher. This process will be efficient to the extent that the teacher's interventions are opportune and respond to the students' interests, needs, and developmental level. Therefore, the teacher has to play a guiding role, that of an active companion, creating the necessary conditions to favor the learning building process (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1997).

Consequently, the functions the teacher must carry out include the following:

- Plans and organizes meaningful activities with the children.
- Stimulates exploration and experimentation with objects and the exchange of ideas among the classmates, making questions and giving possible answers.
- Applies strategies focuses on the child, based on their previous knowledge and interests, learning styles, and developmental characteristics.
- Reinforces positive behaviors in the children.
- Applies stimulating forms of organization within a cooperative work framework.

Learning is understood as "a knowledge-building process" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 12). That is to say, it is the product of the child's personal construction interacting with another one, and with the sociocultural and natural environment. The purpose is to achieve and autonomous learner who is able to acquire the anticipated competences. Learning is governed under the principle of significance; learners have to be connected to each other and connected to other situations or previous learning.

With regard to students' roles, they are expected to be the main builder of their own knowledge; to be able to recover previous knowledge and connect it with the new; to participate in experiences; and to interact with their partners, teacher, environment, and materials. They are also expected to participate in school life, in activities related to the cross-cutting contents that address mainly problems critical to their local reality. Accordingly, the official curriculum is recognized as an instrument that defines the educational intentions of formal education that guides the teaching practice and regulates school life. It is expressed in a Basic Curricular Structure and is designed from a curricular matrix, which provides coherence and organizes the curricular logic from its main and complementary elements.

The objective is a curriculum which is articulate, comprehensive, flexible, formative, and coherent with regard to its elements. To make a difference from the curriculum with an academicist approach, it is organized in personal or curricular development areas that stress the importance of the comprehensive formation of the subject that is to be educated. The curricular approach is that of a competency-based technological curriculum, with a didactic orientation declared in constructivism, cognitive psychology, and the ecological context of learning. Its design is based on theoretical, curricular, and operative frameworks; it describes the curricular elements organized under a systemic logic where competences are the integrating element.

2005 and 2008 Official Curriculum During Mr. Alan Garcia's second government, two curricular proposals were made: the "Regular Basic Education National Curriculum Design" (RBE-NCD) in 2005 and again in 2008.[7] The former was also called "Articulation Process." The 2008 edition is considered an improved version of the 2005 proposal that articulates the educational levels of Early Childhood, Primary, and Secondary Education. Additionally, it points out the "Purposes of Regular Basic Education towards 2021" that educational institutions must guarantee nationwide.

In both cases, the Ministry of Education is in charge of the proposal and called several educational agents in different forums and consulting spaces to help with the review and adjustment. For the effect of this study, the 2008 RBE-NCD is described. Both 2005 and 2008 curricular designs are set within the context of the General Education Act No. 28044 (see Table 2). This Act points out the need to have basic curricula, common to the whole country and articulated among the different levels and modalities. In this sense, the Regular Basic Education National Curricular Designs responds to this need.

Neither design offers the *concept of Curriculum* explicitly, but they mention that the National Curriculum Design "constitutes the regulatory and orientation document valid for the whole country, which synthesizes educational intentions and summarizes the anticipated learning" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 10). Additionally,

> the Regular Basic Education National Curriculum Design contains the learning that students must develop in each educational level, in every corner of the country, to ensure educational quality and equality. (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2008, Introduction)

The RBE-NCD is supported by an approach that is competency-based, humanist, intercultural, inclusive, and process-based. It assumes a pedagogical approach oriented towards the development of competences that contain the fundamental and basic learning students must develop to respond to their context successfully. It also adopts a humanist and modern perspective, as it considers the person as the center of education and takes into account our country's diversity, the current pedagogical trends, and the endless advances in knowledge, science, and technology, with educational quality and equity (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 12). Additionally, it is supported by a process approach as it articulates the three educational levels. At the same time, it takes into account the human, cultural, and linguistic diversity, from an inclusive and intercultural perspective, and also incorporates the theoretical contributions of learning cognitive and social currents.

Consequently, the RGE-NCD is diversifiable, open, flexible, and articulated. This proposal is organized in three parts. The first contains the goals, objectives, and organization of the Regular Basic Education, as well as the educational approach—the grounding and the purposes of RBE towards 2021. The second part presents the curricular areas, the curricular diversification guidelines and learning evaluation, the study plan, and the freely available hours. And, finally, the third part includes the Curricular Programs by educational level: Initial, Primary, and Secondary.

The 2008 RGE-NCD organizes and explains the curricular elements of the proposal better. In this way, the purpose of education is expressed by competences that manifest at the reflexive, creative, and autonomous know-how to solve problems or achieve goals in the daily life of the students. *Competences* are proposed along each one of the cycles and are achieved throughout a continual process by developing duly articulated capacities, knowledge, attitudes, and values (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 16). The three of them favor the student know-how. Competences are distributed for each cycle of the primary education level in terms of educational achievements. The RGE-NCD contents are organized in Curricular Areas. These are considered as curriculum organizers that present the basic learning (abilities, knowledge, and attitudes) that the students must achieve throughout the country (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 45). Each area presents its bases and the main learning organizers in detail. They are not to be confused with subjects.

Finally, the concept, objective, agents, functions, and the grading system of the learning evaluation are explained. Evaluation is acknowledged as a continuous, systematic, participative, and flexible pedagogic process that is part of the teaching-learning process. Its purpose is formative and informative. It evaluates "competences from the abilities, knowledge, and attitudes anticipated in the Program" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 39). Learning is understood as constructivist, and teaching is "understood as the action generating an eminently active process, where students build their learning interacting with their contexts, with their classmates, with the educational materials, and with their teacher" (Peruvian Ministry of Education, 2005,

p. 150). The aim is to promote critical thinking, creativity and freedom, active participation, humor and enjoyment, as well as the development of a proactive and entrepreneurial attitude, avoiding simply copying or memorizing information. The mediating role of the teacher is emphasized. In line with this concept, the student is considered to be the center of the educational action and is expected to have the space to be autonomous in their learning process, so that learning is interconnected to real life situations and the social practices in each culture.

The 2005 and 2008 Curricular Designs consolidate a process of articulation and sequentiality of educational levels in Regular Basic Education. This shows a firm interest of offering teachers a unique document expressing the intention of education, called Basic Curricular Design. This document regulates and orients the teaching practice. The pedagogical approach oriented to the competency-based development is maintained. Attention to several perspectives is declared: humanist and modern, inclusive and intercultural, in order to contribute an education with quality and equity. It is remarkable that the concept of curriculum is not explicitly defined as in previous versions. The concept of National Curriculum Design is stressed.

The RGE-NCD curricular elements are organized and structured from curricular areas that present the basic learning that students in the whole country must achieve. In as much as these curricular designs consider the student as the center of educational action, trying to offer a comprehensive formation, and taking into account human, cultural, and linguistic diversity form an inclusive and intercultural perspective, a humanist curricular approach is outlined. On the other hand, the intention is to prepare students to be competent in life and at work by developing capacities, values, and attitudes that make up the competences the learner must achieve at the end of their educational process. The technological, competency-based curricular approach proposed in the 90s is maintained.

Finally, the underlying approaches in the official curricula are summarized as follows:

- 1973 and 1974 Curricula (Adapted Programs). New School Academicist approach
- 1973 and 1974 Curricula (Reformed Programs). Socio-critical approach and objective-based technological curriculum
- 1982 Curriculum. Academicist approach as cultural and discipline transmission; a humanist approach regarding its purpose with a technological instruction plan.
- 1990, 1991, and 1992 Curricula. Humanist curricular approach and objective-based technological design.
- 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2003 Curricula. Competency-based technological approach with a pedagogical and constructivist approach.
- 2005 and 2008 Curricula (in force). Humanist and technologic competency-based approach.

Conclusions

During the period of this investigation, different names for the official curriculum are recognized, in accordance with the General Education Acts and regarding the structure of the educational system involving different ways of conceptualizing the curriculum. Towards the end of the 60s, the name given to the curriculum was "Study Plans and Programs." With the 1972 Educational Reform, the term "curriculum" was introduced. From there onwards, except during the Belaunde Government, when the name Programs was taken again, a distinction was made between curriculum and Curricular Structure. During the Toledo and Garcia governments, the term "curriculum" was disregarded, using only the National Curriculum Design as a document equivalent to the Curricular Structure. The Curricular Programs were maintained, but as part of the Curricular Structure or Design.

During all the periods, the curriculum kept its regulatory character. The Ministry of Education, through the corresponding Directions, designed the official curricular proposal to be applied nationwide, with the participation and consultation of the society, to maintain the unity of education. However, so that the official curriculum may respond to the learners' and the community's needs and interests, it has always been flexible and diversified to ensure the pertinence and equity of education.

The definition of curriculum varied during the period from the 70s to the 90s. The prevailing definition is the curriculum as contents, a set of learning experiences or a learning system. From the 90s onwards, curriculum is understood as an instrument that defines the intention of education through competences and also regulates school life and orients the teaching practice.

The intention of these proposals and the characteristics of their elements are analyzed in order to identify the curricular approaches underlying the official curricula. Those curricula focused on cultural transmission based on subject contents or that were concerned with ensuring learning experiences that responded to the learner's needs and interest without disregarding subject knowledge are related to the academicist approach, such as the 1973 (Adapted Program), 1974, and 1982 curricula. Those curricula that have the person at the center and are focused on their self-realization and the affirmation of cultural and transcendent values, which are oriented towards the comprehensive formation of the learner, are associated with the humanist approach, such as the 1982, 1990, 1991, 1992, 2005, and 2008 curricula. When the focus is on the social nationalist intentionality of education, its transformational character, and its orientation to the national development through work, the curriculum corresponds to the characteristics of a socio-critical approach, which is identified in the 1973 (Reform Program) and 1977 curricula. Finally, the curriculum preparing the learner for an adequate and efficient performance in the different spheres of society is recognized as a competency-based technological curriculum, which corresponds to the 1997, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2005, and 2008 curricula.

The contribution of the systemic technological approach is identified in the design and organization of curricular elements, going from an objective-based to a competency-based design. This technological approach is juxtaposed with other theoretical approaches identified in official curricula since 1972.

Reflections

To guarantee the development of the official curriculum, the Ministry of Education, as the governing body of the educational activities in the Peruvian educational system, must make explicit the pedagogical basis that supports it and not only provide regulatory and technical guidelines. This would help teachers to understand the theoretical perspective and the sense of the official curriculum being offered, to enable a pedagogical practice in line with the official curriculum educational intentions. The lack of these bases may cause the teachers to develop the curriculum from their own understanding of the curriculum nature, purposes, contents, and evaluation, and also conceive the sense and dynamics of the teaching and learning process from their particular point of view. A curriculum that is clear in its concepts, intentions, and bases may contribute effectively in the achievement of the expected learning and empower the teachers to co-develop (to be jointly responsible for) the curriculum in their daily work.

It is important to maintain and guarantee that the official curricula are flexible and diversifiable as they have been during the last thirty years, as this makes it possible to attend to the different realities in the country and to adjust it to the particular profiles of the learners in each of the regions. Permanent advising mechanisms must be generated and ensured for the teachers to adapt the official curriculum to the characteristics and learning pace of each of the different groups of learning styles in the classroom.

Curricular sustainability requires certain conditions. One of them is not to be subject to the continual changes of government. Another is that the official proposal needs to be the product of the participation of the different social stakeholders to ensure a consensually-built proposal. Additionally, its constituting elements, such as objectives or competencies, contents, and evaluation need to have a univocal and clear meaning for the teachers. Finally, the curriculum needs to have a sense of pertinence that will decisively incorporate the perspective of intercultural education, which is so needed in this country.

The results of this study that explores the different theoretical positions on the official curriculum from the 70s to the present may start a technical and political curricular debate. This may help the transition from an eminently technical but not very clear curriculum to one with explicit intentions, bases, and elements to ensure the coherence of curriculum development in all the educational levels, especially in the classroom.

Notes

1. The official curriculum is the regulatory curricular proposal issued by the country's Ministry of Education.
2. The following Educational Actions Lines have been considered when structuring this official curriculum: Social and Historical Sciences; Natural Sciences; Art Education; Psychomotor Education; Religious Education; and Education for Work, Language, and Mathematics.
3. Language and Intercultural Bilingual Education, Mathematics, Artistic Education, Education for Work, and Physical Education.
4. Nature and Community, Historic and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Religious Education.
5. These axes are: personal and cultural identity, democratic and civil awareness, and creative and productive culture.
6. Personal development areas: Personal and Social, Comprehensive Communication, Science and the Environment, Logics and Mathematics, and Religious Education.
7. The 2008 RGE-NCD is in force to date.

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Poland

Through Golden and Dark Ages of History and Education

Aleksandra Łuczak

Historical Background

The beginnings of the Polish state go back to the end of the tenth century, and school education in the territory of Poland originated in the eleventh century, when medieval cathedral schools were set up in the episcopal residences and later when collegiate church schools were established at wealthier churches. Later, in the thirteenth century, with the establishment and development of parishes, parochial schools emerged according to the provisions of the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215).

The first University in Poland (Krakow Academy) was set up by King Kazimir III the Great in Krakow in 1364 and was refounded in 1400 by King Władysław Jagiełło and his wife Saint Jadwiga, who solicited for the papal support in Avignion and donated her personal jewelry, which allowed 203 students to enroll. The University attracted students from various countries, and it was the second university, after the University in Prague, founded in this part of Europe, and was the first university in Europe that possessed independent faculties of mathematics and astronomy, created in 1406.

Sixteenth-century Poland, united with Lithuania into one of the first constitutional monarchies, was an important centre of the liberal arts and the major political and cultural force in Europe. Schools attracted the youth not only from the nobility and bourgeoisie but also from the peasant families. During the second half of the sixteenth century, gentry started to send their sons to study abroad, which revived the cultural ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

An important contribution into the development of education in Poland was made by the Piarists (the oldest Catholic Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools) who appeared in Poland in 1642 and provided free elementary education for children, and Pope Clement XII formally commissioned them to teach the higher studies as well. One of the most distinguished Piarists was priest Stanisław Konarski, who set up Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw in 1740, which became the most prestigious Polish higher academy after the fall of the Cracow Academy. The aim of the institution was to educate a new generation of Poles who would conduct the reconstruction of the Polish state. Collegium Nobilium was a progressive establishment whose teaching was based on a modern curriculum, as compared to schools run by Jesuits. The curriculum stressed the teaching of natural sciences, mathematics, modern languages, and philosophy rather than Latin and Greek. Konarski employed well educated staff, introduced new teaching methods, and extended the curriculum by history, law, economics, and sciences as well as stressed the need for the teaching of rhetoric and public speaking and argumentation. In Collegium Nobilium, the reform of Piarists schools started, and Stanisław Konarski became the reformer of the Polish system of education. In addition to the above-mentioned ideas, Konarski postulated that schools should stress the practical knowledge, conduct classes developing manual and physical skills, introduce Christian values, and emphasise the spiritual development of the learners.

The first state school in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, called the School of Knights or the Nobles' Academy of the Corps of Cadets of His Majesty and Commonwealth, was formed in Warsaw in 1765 by King Stanisław August Poniatowski and was established to provide education for the poorer nobility to prepare the youth for military service and civil service. One of the most distinguished graduates of the School was Tadeusz Kościuszko—a Polish and American general and hero who participated in the American War of Independence as a colonel in the Continental Army and later led the 1794 Kościuszko Uprising against Imperial Russia and the Kingdom of Prussia as Supreme Commander of the Polish National Armed Force.

Until that time, education at the elementary and tertiary levels in Poland was organised by the Jesuits and therefore conservatively concentrated mostly on developing the knowledge of theology, while the language of instruction was Latin. Other subjects played a minor role. However, when Pope Clement IV suppressed the Order in 1773, the management of their schools and estates was taken over by the Commission of National Education—the central educational authority in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which is considered the first Ministry of Education and an important achievement of the Polish Enlightenment. The Commission formally consisted of four senators and two MPs, but in fact the core members of the body were scientists and artists managed by Hugon Kołłątaj—a Polish politician, priest, geographer, and writer.

Kołłątaj's group of experts reformed the Polish system of education and introduced a three-level education plan, which comprised parochial schools for peasants and burghers, district schools for the children of the nobility and talented children of lower classes, and universities, i.e., Jagiellonian University in Krakow and Vilnius University, which also supervised the lower-level schools playing the role of today's school superintendents. The reform also included the formation of a Society of Elementary Books whose task was to create modern textbooks in Polish since all education before was conducted in Latin. The Society's service for Polish science and education therefore included coining Polish terms for chemistry, physics, mathematics, logic, and grammar, many of which are still in use.

The Commission prepared a number of progressive rules and curricula for elementary and secondary schools, including the postulate of equality of both sexes in education. Moreover, the Commission created seminaries for teachers at universities that educated secular teachers in order to separate education from clerical teachers, introduced Polish history and natural history and elements of physical education into curricula, and forbade teaching in Latin, which was replaced by Polish.

Twenty years of the Commission's operations completely changed the shape of education in Poland. Education reached the poorest members of society. Several thousands of teachers trained by the Commission continued to provide education reflecting the Enlightenment standards of the Commission long after Poland lost its independence during the Partitions (1772–1918), bringing up new generations of Poles and preserving Polish language and culture.

Polish schools located on the territories under Prussian and Austrian partitions were Germanised. German replaced Polish as the language of instruction and the system of education was unified with the systems of the partitioner countries. However, the achievements of the Commission of National Education and its experience and pedagogical concepts were cultivated on Polish territories under the Russian partition, since only there schools were granted certain liberties. The twilight of the autonomy of education came with the outbreak and fall of the anti-Russian January Uprising (1863–64) after which Russification of all types of schools followed: the university in Warsaw was transformed into a Russian University, elementary education was limited, and secondary education strictly controlled. As a result, in 1897 the illiterate accounted for 69.5% of the population. All this led to the development of underground education, which was organised at all levels of education: from clandestine classes for children, through self-education of the youth in secondary schools, to lectures of the Flying/Floating University (1885–1905) in Warsaw and activities of underground folk high schools that provided education for the youth of the craftsman and working classes.

The Twentieth Century

During the twentieth century, Poland experienced three educational revolutions during which it created its system of education from scratch: the first when Poland regained its independence after 123 years of partitions in 1918 with the end of the Great War, the second after the end of the Second World war in 1945, and the third after the fall of communism in 1989 (Ćwikliński 2005: 262–263).

During the Interbellum, the most important initial task of the authorities was unification of the three different schooling systems and educational traditions in Poland, which were educationally backwards compared to Western Europe. At that time, a huge obstacle was also the lack of well-qualified teaching staff. As a result, compulsory seven-year free-of-charge state (mainstream) school was introduced for all children aged 7–14. At the secondary level, 8-year middle school was preserved, which ended with a maturity examination that opened the door for higher education. The access to middle and higher schools was limited by the school fees, despite postulates of the left wing for free education at all levels. At that time, Poland had five functioning universities (Krakow, Lvov, Poznan, Warsaw, and Vilnius), two technical universities (Warsaw and Lvov), the Veterinary Academy in Lvov, the Agricultural Academy in Warsaw, and the Warsaw School of Economics.

In the 20s and 30s of the twentieth century, Poland developed its system of national education, and school curricula were dominated by the idea of national-patriotic education, which was promoted by National Democrats who governed Poland at that time and stressed the need of preparing the young generations of Poles to serve their country and nation. The concept emphasised the need for comprehensive education that comprised social, artistic, academic, and physical development as well as self-development. It aimed at uniting people, arousing love for the home country, and preparing them to fulfil the commitments towards their nation. The objective was achieved. Poland unified its educational system between two wars and formed a national identity that helped Poles survive and save education and national culture during the Second World War (Wołoszyn 2003: 160).

The beginning of the Second World War was marked by the invasion of Poland by Germany on September 1,

1939. On September 17, 1939 the Soviet Red Army followed Germany as a result of Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. The defeat of Poland in the Defensive War, which lasted until October 6, 1939, led to the division and annexing of the whole country between the two invaders. The Nazis considered Slavs (the nations living on the territories to the East of Germany) to be subhuman to the Germans, which they considered to be a super human race. Therefore, according to their racial theories, the Slavs did not need any higher education as they would become serfs for the Germans.

As a result, the Germans closed all Polish secondary, vocational, and primary schools and universities. Poles were not allowed to attend German schools, except at the very lowest grades. On the territories incorporated into the Reich, education in Polish was banned and punishable by death. The curriculum for primary schools stated that:

> Only general primary schools are permitted and they will teach only the most rudimentary subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic. The teaching of such subjects as geography, history and history of literature, which are important from a national point of view, as well as physical training is forbidden. However, the schools should give training in agriculture, forestry and simple industrial trades and handicrafts. (Generalplan Ost/Master Plan East, 1939)

However, during the war, clandestine classes were organized all around the country, reviving the tradition of the Flying/Floating University form the time of partitions. Professors and teachers who survived the German AB-Aktion (in English, the Extraordinary Operation of Pacification) aimed at eliminating Polish intelligentsia and were not sent to concentration camps, risking their lives, started to give classes in private apartments. The Secret Teaching Organization played the most important part in underground education, creating an extensive network by means of which it offered education at primary and secondary levels to a million Polish children (Davis 2008: 926). At the tertiary level, the net of university faculties spread across Warsaw, Lvov, Krakow, and Vilnius and resulted in 10,000 students receiving masters degrees and several hundred receiving doctorates.

Teaching was based mostly on prewar curricula, but also comprised secret curricula for the courses forbidden by the occupant, i.e., Polish language, history, and geography. On the territories annexed by the Soviet Union, some Polish schools existed; however, the curricula were modified according to the communist ideology. At primary and secondary levels, religion courses ceased to be taught while history and geography courses were modified. Similarly, theology faculties were liquidated at universities; some professors were removed from staff and replaced with academics relocated from the Soviet Union. Universities were Russified and Ukranized.

During the Nazi occupation, Polish education suffered material, organisational, and human capital loss. Twenty-thousand primary, secondary, and tertiary teachers, which accounted for about 30%, died or went missing. Sixty percent of school buildings were destroyed or demolished, especially libraries, laboratories, and teaching aids. Due to school closures during WWII, the number of young illiterates significantly increased (to approximately 3,000,000). There were about 10,000 teaching vacancies immediately after the war, and many new teachers employed after the war did not have sufficient qualifications (Kupisiewicz 2005: 9–10).

The second educational revolution took place in 1944 and 1945 and was reflected in the PKWN Manifesto of July 22, 1944, announced by the Polish Committee of National Liberation, a Soviet-backed provisional government that operated in opposition to the London-based Polish government in exile. It stated that the most important task of the Polish Committee of National Liberation would be rebuilding schools at the liberated territories and ensuring free, universal, and compulsory education at all levels. Another important mission was protecting and restoring Polish intelligentsia, especially scientists and artists decimated by the Germans. In fact, the educational system needed to be rebuilt from scratch. Free, uniform, public seven-year schools were introduced and made available for all pupils in urban and rural areas, which helped fight illiteracy. Secondary general and particularly vocational education developed in order to satisfy the needs of the economy that was being reconstructed and expanded after the war.

Surprisingly, despite economic difficulties, expenditure on education was significant (Ćwikliński 2005: 262–263). The network of secondary pedagogical schools educating primary schools teachers was created, old universities were reconstructed, and new academic centres were established.

The Communist Period

The economic system influences education to great extent. According to Fagerlind and Saha (1983) and Williamson (1979), socialist societies are characterized by an egalitarian perception of education, overt emphasis on ideological content of the curriculum, and planned recruitment and selection systems. This could have been observed in Poland, where education maintained a high status during the 50s, 60s, and 70s of the twentieth century. Education opened the door for previously impoverished social groups, such as peasants, into the new *socialist people's intelligentsia* (Simon 1980). Unemployment was assumed as nonexistent in the centrally planned economy, and people usually were guaranteed one secure job for a lifetime. Therefore, vocational schools that prepared the workforce turned out to be impractical in the new reality. Pachocinski (1993: 219) sums up that "it is not easy to requalify them because in most cases the students were prepared to perform highly specialised industrial skills, mainly in the state sector of the economy, which is now falling apart".

In 1992, the Polish Deputy Education Minister, Andrzej Janowski, wrote about education under the communist rule: "State control was reflected in a centralised syllabus design, a ministerial monopoly over textbook production and the laying down of strict requirements for all teachers and other educational employees" (1992: 42). The 1991 Act on Education allowed for more freedom and initiative on the side of the teachers and parents. Funding of schools was transferred from the Ministry of Education to local authorities; school principals were elected for a period of five years and not on the basis of political criteria; and curricula and textbooks, which used to be overloaded with ideologically correct content, were slimmed down to what was called "minimum curriculum," i.e., a description of compulsory content and skills to be included in the school curriculum that also constituted the basis of examination requirements and school grades descriptors. Minimum curriculum reduced the subject coverage and the number of lessons in each grade. As a result, teachers were given "the freedom to introduce new content if they consider it necessary in the context of their work, taking into account the distribution of backgrounds and capabilities in a particular classroom" (Pachocinski 1993: 225).

A completely new syllabus was introduced for the course of civics and history, since these subjects were specially indoctrinated in the previous reality. History courses were cleared of Soviet influence and supplemented with more contemporary Polish content. Pupils also received an opportunity to participate in religious education classes, which were and still are not compulsory. This was a novelty, not permitted under the communist rule, and a reflection of the provisions of the 1991 Act that stipulated the future Polish education should be based on a Christian system of values. The teaching of Russian was stopped completely in primary and secondary schools and instead English was introduced to primary schools, and over time, German developed into the second most popular foreign language in Poland. Military training was also dropped in primary schools and reduced to one period in secondary schools. Since 1993, curricula have shown an increasing emphasis placed upon computing.

Twenty Years of Transformation

Before 1999, basic education in Poland started with the eight-year primary school and was followed by a secondary school cycle composed of two tracks: a general track (called *lyceum*), which lasted four years, and a vocational track that could last either three years (basic vocational school) or five years (secondary vocational school, also called *technikum*). With the Polish Education Reform of 1999, the primary cycle was shortened to six years and is followed by three years of comprehensive lower secondary school (called *gymnasium*) for all students before they make a decision about vocational or general/academic continuation of their education.

One of the arguments that backed the decision about re-establishing the *gymnasiums* that had existed in Poland before 1948 was as follows. (1) Better correlation of the stages of education with the psycho-physical and cognitive development of the learners since the age of 12 and not 15 is considered crucial. Moreover, (2) *gymnasium* was designed to level the educational chances of the younger adolescents in well equipped, prestigious schools with highly qualified teaching staff. Another important goal of this educational cycle was (3) diagnosis of the skills and interests of the learners in order to aid them in more accurate selection of their further educational track.

Whether *gymnasiums* achieved the goals set is now the centre of a heated debate in Poland, with many voices postulating the return to old, pre-1999 system. However, the results of PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment of 15-year-olds' competencies in the key subjects of reading, mathematics, and science—a standardized test conducted by OECD) show that Poland registered substantial growth in the scores rising from 470 points in 2000, to 490 in 2003, 495 in 2006, and 500 in 2009.

The content and skills that learners should acquire during their education at particular stages are contained in the core curricula announced by the Minister of National Education. Since 2009–2010, new core curricula have been being implemented, and they specify the minimum number of hours for each course, and head teachers must guarantee that, in total during the whole cycle, learners will not be offered fewer classes than is stated in the general outline. Teachers can freely choose syllabi, course-books, and teaching aids from those approved by the Ministry of National Education.

The new market reality after 1989 led to deterioration of vocational training in Poland, which was caused by several factors, including the dynamic development of private higher schools. This resulted in a decreasing number of learners wishing to continue education in vocational schools. The 1999 Reform of Education assumed that the number of people holding secondary and higher education would increase and only 20% of learners would graduate from vocational schools. Vocational schools were popular in the centrally planned economy where unemployment did not exist and vocational education guaranteed lifelong employment. In the new reality, the low level of education that they offered in obsolete conditions with no perspectives of well-paid employment resulted in their decreasing popularity. Instead, university education and other related forms of higher education started to be perceived as those leading to better employment opportunities and, in consequence, a better life.

After 1989, higher education in Poland developed dynamically, which was the result of liberalisation and privatisation of the Polish market. The turning point was passing the new Law on Higher Education in 1990, which permitted and granted equal status to private higher schools in Poland as well as simplified the rules for establishing them. Since then, about 300 private higher schools were opened, which now educate over half a million students. Another important step was adopting the new Constitution in 1997 and its Article 70 Point 3, which "(1) guarantees parents the right to choose schools other than public for their children and (2) grants citizens and institutions the right to establish primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education and educational development institutions". Over twenty years, the number of students increased fivefold (from 400,000 to nearly two million). The number of students hit an all-time high in 2005, and since then, it has been gradually decreasing (Report on Education 2010: 70): by 5.8% in public higher schools in the years 2005–2011 and by 12.2% in private higher schools in the years 2007–2011. However, during the first twenty years of transformation, the level of education of the Polish society increased significantly, which is illustrated by the still-growing higher school enrolment ratio, which rose four times between 1990 (12.9%) and 2011 (53.8%) and is comparable with the ratios of developed Western European countries.

Higher education has also contributed greatly to the social and economic transformation of Poland. However, the current debate concerns the quality of higher education provided by Polish universities, especially the private ones that concentrate mostly on providing mass paid, but not excessively expensive, education within a narrow scope of disciplines (i.e., education, law, commerce, and social sciences) and that ignore or drastically limit the need for conducting scientific research, which besides teaching, is a very important mission of tertiary education establishments. The quality of education at these faculties cannot be satisfactory, as the number of students per one associate professor there equals several hundred. Such a situation negatively influences the quality of Polish scientific publications in these disciplines, which do not count internationally. Much better ratings are achieved by Polish mathematicians, physicists, and natural scientists whose disciplines are not popular among Polish students. Moreover, the majority (82%) of students at Polish private universities study part-time, as compared to 36% at state universities.

On October 1, 2011, a new law on higher education came into force. It reduced the possibility of multiple employment of academic staff at several universities, which is now a common occurrence in Poland, especially among staff representing management, education, economics, and law. The new law aims at improving the quality of education provided by Polish universities, especially the private ones, by creating there their own academic staff who will teach, conduct research, and supervise young scientists. At present, most of them hold posts at state universities and only teach several hours at private ones. In its 2007 Review on Tertiary Education, OECD spotted that "the implications of multiple employment are severe. Staff who hold multiple teaching obligations will find it harder to discharge their duties to their students at their first employer" (OECD 2007: 64). The report also mentions the hidden risk resulting from multiple employment, i.e., overtime due to a still-growing number of students, which also distracts staff from their core duties, especially research.

The current reform of higher education in Poland is aimed at bringing together education and business in order to modernize and adapt tertiary curricula to the changing market situation, competition, and challenges awaiting students after graduation. This is a response to the growing problem of unemployment among university graduates in Poland. The reason for such a situation can be the much larger number of graduates of liberal arts than graduates of technical, mathematical, and life sciences faculties. In 2008, therefore, a programme of ordered study programmes was introduced, and the list of programmes was established by the Ministry based on expert opinion. For the academic year 2012–2013, this list encompasses: IT studies, physics, mathematics, environmental protection, biotechnology, and chemistry. Another step towards achieving the above goal is engaging employers and practitioners in curriculum development. Now, representatives of business and industry may join conventions of higher education schools, which is supposed to facilitate cooperation and help adapt the curriculum to the actual needs of the market by emphasising the practical and realistic aspect of education gained by students.

The reform is the consequence of Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 and the Bologna Process undertaken by the European countries to restructure and harmonize educational systems in Europe. The basic tools of the Bologna Process are the European Qualification Network (EQF) and the National Qualification Network (NQF), which grant universities the autonomy to create new study courses and programmes. New curricula shall integrate knowledge from many disciplines and allow students to choose their future careers more flexibly. According to the European Commission:

> in the EQF a learning outcome is defined as a statement of what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process. The EQF therefore emphasises the results of learning rather than focusing on inputs such as length of study. Learning outcomes are specified in three categories—as knowledge, skills and competence. (EQF 2008: 3)

The year 2012 is the deadline for the European countries to introduce new curricula based on the National Qualifications Network bearing the reference to the appropriate EQF whose intention is creating the tool for comparison of the learning outcomes of university graduates at various universities in various countries. Perhaps this will improve the competitiveness and, in consequence, the internationalisation of Polish universities which, at the moment, is very low since there are only 0.5% of foreign students studying in Poland.

The Future

Despite the unusual growth that Polish education went through in the 1990s illustrated by the quantitative success that included the rocketing demand, the number of students, and tertiary institutions. Now facing negative demographic changes, recent analyses of the condition of Polish education enumerate the weaknesses of the system that have led to poor quality of education, record-high unemployment among graduates, and low internationalisation, competitiveness, and ratings of Polish universities and Polish academics compared to the rest of Europe. Solutions undertaken in the latest reforms aim at implementing a new strategy for the new times.

Curricula designed at Polish universities are becoming more and more practical and pragmatic. Curricula modelled in the liaison of academics with businesses will benefit the newly qualified graduates, guaranteeing better preparation for their future professional career since they will be strongly market- and employer-oriented and integrated with the specific labour market needs. Such collaboration will also allow for the supplementation of studies curricula with more opportunities for apprenticeships, innovative forms of conducting classes, emphasis put on team work and cooperation, and the use of ICT and scholarships for the most ambitious students.

In general, the principal focus of changes in Polish education should be creating and promoting a strong vocational sector, dedicated to providing the highest quality of professional and vocational education and training beginning at the secondary and continuing through the tertiary cycle, which will provide highly qualified professionals responding to the changing needs of the new Polish economy.

The application of the National Qualifications Network in the curriculum development process will boost the low level of internationalisation of Polish tertiary education. The responsibility for the promotion and implementation of activities favouring the internationalisation process has been shifted from the Ministerial to the institutional level. New, more flexible curricula and internationally recognised ECTS credit points for course completion, more courses offered in English and other foreign languages, inter-institutional cooperation agreements, but also better infrastructure to cater for the needs of exchange students shall revive student and teacher mobility.

Internationalisation, however, refers not only to mobility but also to "internationalisation at home," which includes international curricula, foreign visiting academics, the requirement for Polish students to take some courses in a foreign language, the development of an European dimension in curricula, the recognition of credit points obtained by Polish students at courses held abroad via e-learning, and the use of international teaching materials during courses and programmes.

Polish education has changed dramatically since the fall of communism, and since then, over the last 23 years, Polish education has joined the ranks of countries with modern and creative systems of education. Nevertheless, there are still some antiquated aspects, e.g., the career and qualification structure in academic professions, which needs change and modernisation. These are now being introduced with the assumptions of the latest reform. Tertiary institutions are given more freedom in management. Next to well-established state universities, there exist younger but high-quality and innovative private universities that have become front-runners in international ratings. Demographic downturn cannot be ignored since it is already affecting recruitment figures.

New curricula that are, at the moment, being introduced will definitely serve the students well, preparing them for the challenges of the job market and offering them the advantages of mobility and internationalisation across Europe, which draws on the best European tradition going back to Golden Ages and the times of Nicolaus Copernicus when the value of obtaining knowledge and experience at several academic centres was appreciated.

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Curriculum Research in Portugal

Emergence, Research, and Europeanisation

JOSÉ AUGUSTO PACHECO AND FILIPA SEABRA

Introduction

The 2003 *International Handbook of Curriculum Research,* edited by William Pinar, represents, as he says, "the first move in postulating the architecture of a worldwide field of curriculum studies" (Pinar, 2003, p. 1). In this new academic world, curricularists have two new tasks: the first task is to begin an international dialogue, a "complicated conversation that is the internationalisation of curriculum studies and the formation of a worldwide field" (Ibid., p. IX); the second task is to create a movement "toward the internationalization of curriculum studies" because, as he recognises, writing notes on the state of the field, "internationalization" is one of those specialisations in which the curriculum studies field is organised (Pinar, 2007, p. XXV).

If internationalisation does not mean globalisation, we'll be careful to analyze his signification, namely when globalisation is a movement towards uniformatisation and standardisation of decisions' criteria concerned with knowledge and learning outcomes, having as a guideline the purpose to create more similarities than differences among schools.

In a time of meaningful change, globalisation means increasing homogenisation and leads us to this question: "Are curriculum and instruction in fact becoming more similar around the world?" (Anderson-Levitt, 2008, p. 349). The answer must be multiple, and any perspective will include the study of the national as *category-in-change.* The cross-national study of curriculum is a first step to understanding the global changes and to recognizing how the national is intersected by international parameters. In this text, we take as a starting point the mapping of Portuguese perspectives, focusing on four main aspects, contributing to the intellectual history of the curriculum field in Portugal, and thus to its disciplinarity through the establishment of a nationally distinctive curriculum studies field (Pinar, 2007).

The first of these aspects regards the genesis of the curriculum field in Portugal. We intend to analyze the conditions of its emergence, related to a *school-based curricular tradition* and its consolidation through an *academic curricular tradition.* Secondly, we will refer to the development of curriculum research, approached from the perspective of three cycles: the political, academic, and institutional cycles. Thirdly, we will direct our attention towards the process of Europeanisation that has been taking place in recent years. Because Portugal is a semiperipheral country, the European agenda has a strong and incisive impact in educational policies.

Lastly, we will focus on the didactisation[1] that has been a focal point for the return of the curriculum field to neo-Tylerian approaches, stressing the resignification and commodification of school knowledge. As we foresee, the discussion on the curriculum field will be increasingly influenced by "standards," we believe the study of the genesis and consolidation of an international curriculum field may contribute not only to analyses focused on specific settings, but also for the construction of an international field built upon the diversity and the recognition of realities, that, in many ways, are intersected.

The Emergence of Curriculum Studies in Portugal

Encouraged by Pinar's words (2008b, p. 130)—"This motive is also associated with my recent interest in encouraging nationally distinctive curriculum studies fields worldwide to cultivate their disciplinarity"—we are committed with the task of proposing a brief history of the curriculum studies field in Portugal, making a contribution to the Portuguese canon project. As referred by William Pinar "without history there is no future," and "without knowledge of its intellectual history, a field cannot advance. The concept of cannon—that core of disciplinarity knowledge without which a field does not exist . . ." (Ibid., p. 6).

The curricular field in Portugal can be said to have originated almost three centuries ago in the context of the liberal revolution (1820). Although this text does not analyze the historic event, it does acknowledge that political changes are crucial to understanding the school and academic curricular conversations. In the "century of pedagogy," as the nineteenth century is known (Torgal, 1993), liberal ideas supported the institutionalisation of public education and allowed for the emergence of what we call a *school-based curricular tradition.*[2] This means that the emergence of curriculum results from an administrative interest rooted in a technical goal related to the organisation of public school.

In this conversation, two features must be considered when we look at the curriculum field in Portugal: the political nature of school and the politics of the national curriculum. The political nature of school was, in different historical moments, liberal (1820), republican (1910), nationalistic (1926), and democratic (1974). Each of these perspectives on school expresses different perspectives about the aim of education and the organisation of the curriculum.

In Portugal, the liberal revolution created a public sphere including education, which became a sphere dominated by political interests concerning shifts in economic and social power from the nobility to the bourgeoisie. This is the time when French culture was highlighted, and the elitist school played a central role in the education of citizens. A review of the French influences on Portuguese schools reveals the orientations concerning the primacy of method in pedagogy and the universality of knowledge. This would change when the liberal regime opened the doors to the school laicisation, that is, the denial of any formal and official relations between the State and any religious confession, which would be continued by republicanism (1910), although a dictatorial régime between 1926 and 1974 would interrupt the process.

Republicanism framed the school as a public—even populist—experience to educate all citizens. For the mentors of the republican ideal, it is important to establish what the school can do for the youngest pupils. Education became a political process in the service of nationalism during the fascist regime (1928–1974). Referring to the nationalistic era, which is also a colonial time accented by the Portuguese "African wars" (1961–1974), João Formosinho (1988) says it was a time of education for passivity, with an explicit ideologisation of the curriculum. Through national education, then, the State became central in the process of education, emphasizing the moral dimension of education and training of obedient citizens. This nationalistic era remains a time of French influences, but, especially in the last years of regime, U.S. models were imported, namely Tyler's, but also Bloom's and Bruner's. But in every case, the school curriculum was a nationalist one, based on central decisions, backed up by State authority decreeing official knowledge. Enforcing this authority were guidelines for the development of curricular standards, especially for reporting national plans of academic content and the results of national examinations. In general, the curriculum, both in the liberal and in the nationalist periods, was directed nationally, implemented by teachers.

The school-based curricular tradition defines the emergence of curriculum studies in Portugal. The history of these first three centuries of the Portuguese public education system is characterised by a hierarchical curriculum structure wherein the curriculum is narrowly defined as a program or a studies plan. It also characterised by "*knowledge-out-of-the-context*"(Applebee, 1996, p. 30).

Curriculum making in Portugal is a nationwide process, a specific way of production of the discourses regarding the national values, as recognised by Ian Westbury's use of the term *compartmentalization.*

> "[T]he term *compartmentalization* capture[s] the structural simplification and differentiation necessary for the administrative delivery of educational change and reform . . . the most basic element in the toll kit available to managers of school systems to tame what they know or believe cannot to be attained. Compartmentalization routes the implications of comprehensive change platforms that, like systemic reform, could both threaten the equilibrium around schools and the school system and/or exceed the capacities of the system into discrete, decoupled programs and projects. These projects work alongside (and often within) older programs and structures. The result is a dispersal of the energy that places reform on the policy agenda. Reform becomes (at best) adjustments around the margins of an established system, not a change in basic structures that might put the overall system's stability, and therefore legitimacy, at risk. (2008, pp. 55–56)

A curricular conversation is, then, always a multidimensional encounter constructed by the participants. In Portugal, this conversation has been defined by political power, not only in identifying the domains of conversation through the nationalisation of curriculum, but also by imposing those pedagogical parameters allowed in schools. The Portuguese curriculum has been decided as a broadly political project disguised as a shared technical consensus.

The concept of curriculum as a complicated conversation (Pinar, 2001) is crucial in addressing these facts. In this concept, there is an implied agreement that the main itinerary of curriculum theory is to become more comprehensible and less technical, more conversational and less an imposition. The curriculum as a simultaneously personal and social project is always "not yet" to be built, not an objective to be implemented.

During the 1970s, the "April Revolution" resulted in new school subjects but not a new order of curriculum construction. The democratic school reflected the new social and political agenda, but despite this fact, the curricular structure (at both the elementary and secondary education levels) did not change. It remained a national curriculum controlled centrally.

In spite of the decentralisation discourses, schools and teachers played marginal roles in curricular decisions. While discourses promised school autonomy and teachers' professional development, the reality was different. There was an incommunicable bridge between discourse and practice not only at the level of educational reforms, always implemented by each incoming government, but also at the level of the school tradition.

The history of the Portuguese school exhibits a long tradition of a strong hierarchy, where the political legislation of the curriculum hinders the school autonomy. A curricular reading of Portuguese school reform reveals the centralisation of curricular decisions. Successive governments from different positions in the political spectrum have all conceived the *curriculum as fact* (Young, 1998), and as a politically determined product.

After the democratic revolution (1974), a new period in the Portuguese curriculum begins, not strictly concerned with a new decisional architecture, but related to the emergence of the academic field of curriculum studies at the universities. As an *academic curricular tradition,*[3] the curriculum's brief Portuguese history has its origins in teacher education. Considering the nexus between curriculum and teacher education, the emergence of the curriculum field becomes a reality within the educational sciences, in general, and is associated with curriculum development, in particular.

The second characteristic of this emergence is the continuity of the tradition of the field of didactics in the Portuguese discussion of the curricular implementation, derived from French and German perspectives.[4] Usually, these perspectives are congruent with the instrumental rationality characteristic of the intellectual tradition of didactics (Autio, 2006). For Autio (2007, p. 1), "together with the Anglo-American curriculum tradition, Didaktik/didactics is the second pillar of the two curriculum 'super-discourses' whose total influence in the field of education worldwide in one form or another has been insurmountable." This European debate is similar to the U.S. debate between curriculum and instruction. As Wayne Ross notes,

> . . . the logic of the distinction between curriculum and instruction is founded on the belief that decisions about aims or objectives of teaching must be undertaken prior to decisions about the how to teach. . . . The distinction between curriculum and instruction is fundamentally a distinction between ends and means. (2006, p. 3)

In Portugal, didactics (e.g., general didactics) was clearly responsible for the promotion of Tylerian rationality, promoting objectives and evaluation as the bookends of curriculum construction. Until the last decade, scholarly production focused on curriculum development, which is the phrase used to name the discipline in Portuguese universities. This phrase demonstrates the wide influence of the general didactics discourses, understood as the first step for specific didactics.

Regarding the emergence of curriculum studies and acknowledging the significant academic influence of didactics, the itinerary of curriculum studies can be seen imagetically as a little river that runs towards other conceptions, although the didactic field continues to influence the guidelines of many scholars linked to curriculum development. As a result, didactics have continuously been present in curriculum studies. The technical wave is still breaking at elementary and secondary schools, linked to administrative control of curriculum. João Formosinho (1988) refers to this approach through the metaphor of *curriculum as a single size uniform, ready to wear.*

During the 1990s, Portuguese curriculum studies are consolidating in universities, especially at the University of Lisbon, the University of Minho, and the University of Porto. During this period, the field is also expanding, taking on other perspectives, including those associated with the reconceptualisation movement (Pinar, 1975). The critical perspective emerges in the context of postgraduation courses. Curriculum is not merely a fact to be implemented in schools, but it implies a reflection about what teachers and pupils can do based on a critical rationality. It is the perception of some Portuguese scholars that the curriculum is not uniquely a political decision, profoundly ideological and related to social groups as structural analyses show us, but above all a human decision, embedded in personal circumstances, in the line of thinking of Paulo Freire, Dwayne Huebner, and James Macdonald (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 1995).

Despite this theoretical influence, the Portuguese curriculum field is increasingly under the pressure of international and supranational organisms, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development(OECD)and the European Union (EU). The educational and curricular policies of different countries belonging to these organisations, has been profoundly influenced by slogans such as *knowledge-based economy* and *lifelong learning.* Now, national governments promote, under the concept of accountability, both the implementation of a national and assessment-based curriculum: "the curriculum reform era has been replaced by standards-based reform era focusing exclusively on outcomes, a basic utilitarian approach that focuses more on ends (for example, test scores) that means, but that affects both" (Mathison and Ross, 2008, p. 14). While the school-based curricular tradition is a practice connected to public schooling, the academic curricular tradition consolidates the curriculum as a field of knowledge and research.

Framing Research on Curriculum Studies in Portugal

The political cycle is the focal point of Portuguese curriculum research.[5] If we analyze the Portuguese curriculum studies research, it becomes clear that there is significant theoretical production, but the discourse of curriculum as a technical decision is predominant. It is a school-based discourse.

One important characteristic of curriculum research and of educational research more generally, has been analyses of the practical politics of educational reforms. In many countries,[6] as Peter Maassen acknowledges, higher education reforms, to which we add those taking place in elementary and secondary education, "have moved from being mainly ideological to becoming more pragmatic, i.e. more oriented towards finding out what works and what does not work on the basis of the evaluations of the previous reforms" (2008, p. 101).

Academic and institutional cycles,[7] in spite the autonomy of universities and agencies, have a strange complicity with political decisions, not only because those who research education and curriculum are former teachers but also because national and international agencies have their political agendas. Further, the academic cycle is relatively weak on the creation of a specific research agenda. In this aspect, Portugal has the same problem of other countries, for example Argentina, which may lead to the conclusion: "there is a concentration of theoretical production on curriculum in the subject of design, development, and innovation of the curriculum" (Feeney and Terigi, 2003, p. 105). Curriculum studies textbooks reflect these influences, emphasizing curricular organisation, teacher education, assessment, and political reforms (Pacheco, 2007).

We identify in Portuguese curriculum research two main dimensions: *curriculum research on curriculum development,* strictly related to curriculum reform, and *curriculum research on curriculum theory* (Gundem, Karseth, and Sivesind, 2003). The first includes conceptual studies with empirical referents, while the second refers to the exclusively conceptual studies (Barriga, 2003).[8] In both dimensions are disclosed relationships among research, curriculum, and politics, often focused in those administrative interests associated with the genesis of the U.S. field (Pinar, 2004). Specifically, Portuguese curriculum research has suffered increasing influence from government, demanding the specification of themes linked to reform agendas, rendering matters of educational administration and management dominant in determining what counts as useful research for the school community. Recall that the consolidation of the curriculum field occurred during the 1980s, in a context of educational reform, linking the Portuguese field with administrative interests as well.

The political agenda in 1980s and 1990s has been a strong influence on curriculum studies researchers, directing their attention to elementary and secondary schools. That agenda meant attention was redirected in the early 2000s to higher education. These decades have been times of curriculum development and reform. It has been a time accented by the slogans associated with accountability: efficiency, quality, competitiveness, and performance. Schools were justified for economic reasons, research became a tool to improve school governance, and students' tests results were used as a ground for political decisions. Sixty-five percent of the Portuguese research production over the past three decades—including books, articles, master's dissertations, PhD theses and conference presentations—demonstrate that curriculum research exhibits a strong relationship with a national structure of curriculum, as well as with political curricular agendas (Pacheco, 2007). This is the political logic of curriculum construction, a logical coextensive with the history of curriculum in Portugal. Indeed, academic production has served to legitimate the curriculum as institutionalised and as political text.

The emergence of curriculum as a field of knowledge and research is deeply connected with Albano Estrela (Pacheco, 2004) from the University of Lisbon. Estrela's influenced is marked not only by the publication of seminal texts, but also by the supervision of PhD students (Pacheco, 1996). Although he focused on the curriculum in the frame of the epistemological foundations of the Educational Sciences, his ideas are essential to the connection between curriculum and research, and especially to the teacher's role in the process of its development, highlighting observation as a crucial element of the act of teaching/learning.

Curriculum Development, published in the early 1980s, was an early landmark event.[9] The author, António Carrilho Ribeiro (1990), was a Tylerian academic. Not being the bible of the field (Jackson, 1992), however, this book focused on the four principles of curriculum development advocated by Tyler and modified by Bruner.

With respect to the Tylerian approach, we can distinguish two moments in Portuguese curriculum research. The first is the research centered on the instructional elements of schools, e. g., general didactics. The main results of this research relate to planning, subjects, activities, and evaluation as part of pedagogy by objectives. The second is research focused on the effectiveness of schools, not only within the framework of the policies of decentralisation that declare the schools are responsible for their results and possible failures, but as well within the policies of accountability, imposing results according to a curricular organisation by competencies.

Further research shows a strict relationship between curriculum and competence in the study of the curriculum process and in the current process of legitimating of school knowledge. Some give special emphasis to research in assessment, especially through students' learning processes and the mechanisms that teachers and schools have to reshape their practices. In this instance, curriculum returns to instruction, imposing new parameters to be planned, implemented, and evaluated. We call this process of curriculum decision the *Re-Tylerisation* of curriculum, very visible in the present era of accountability.

Pacheco's work is well known in the curriculum field in Portugal, yet his first research focused on teacher education. Pacheco and his colleagues were the first to bring new approaches to the study of curriculum, defending not only curriculum development as a social, political, and personal process but also curriculum as a complex concept, whose research must include what happens outside the classroom context. The book *Curriculum: Theory and Praxis* is a step in the building of the new approach, close to the reconceptualisation movement.

Another well-known Portuguese scholar is Carlos Januário (1998) at the University of Lisbon, whose book *Curriculum and Teaching Reform* was fundamental to the pertinence of the curricular discussion, as issues of general didactic were emphasised.

The University of Minho has acquired a notable centrality in the rebuilding of the curriculum concept, especially through curriculum research related with political and personal perspectives. From among several scholars, we cite Maria Assunção Flores (2004), who relates curriculum to the professional development of teachers; José Morgado (2003), whose work is centered on curricular autonomy; João Paraskeva (2004), who has participated in the discussion of curriculum as ideological; Ana Maria Silva (2005), who connects curriculum and nonformal education; Isabel Viana (2007), who explores curriculum as a project; and Maria Palmira Alves (2001), who is closely connected to the francophone tradition concerning curriculum and evaluation. Still, on the relation between curriculum and evaluation, we must cite Pedro Rodrigues (1998) and Domingos Fernandes (2005), both from the University of Lisbon.

At the University of Minho, we can reference the work of Maria Luisa Alonso (1999), which represents an effort to connect the curriculum to the organisational development of the school and to the initial and in-service phases of teacher education for preschool and elementary schools.

The Institute of Education of the University of Minho has offered a postgraduation program in curriculum studies for many years, which is attended by Portuguese, Brazilian, and African students. Other universities also play important institutional roles in curriculum studies in Portugal: in particular the University of Porto (Carlinda Leite [1997] and Preciosa Fernandes [2007] are two frequently cited names in the curriculum field); the University of Algarve (namely, the work of Fernando Gonçalves [2006], concerned with research methodologies, and Margarida Fernandes [2000], the first scholar to relate curriculum and postmodernity in Portugal); the University of Aveiro (Carlota Lloyd Braga [2007] studies differentiation processes and pedagogical support); the University of Madeira (Jesus Maria Sousa [2000, 2003] explores ethnographically the teacher as a person, and Liliana Rodrigues [2008] links curriculum and vocational education); the University of Açores (especially Francisco de Sousa [2007] with the study of the politics and practices of curricular differentiation); the University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (namely Carlos Ferreira [2004], who studies elementary school teacher's evaluation practices); the Open University (Maria Ivone Gaspar has discussed the curriculum of secondary education [2006] as well as issues related to curriculum and instruction, and Filipa Seabra [2010] has worked on the subjects of curriculum development by competencies and issues on curriculum theory); the University of Evora (Marília Favinha has discussed curriculum management at the basic education level); Lusófona University (with the studies of curriculum politics by Elsa Estrela [Teodoro and Estrela, 2010]); and Higher School of Education of Leiria (Brites Ferreira [1997] and the study of the discontinuities within the basic education curriculum).

The work of Maria do Céu Roldão (1999, 2003, 2005; Gaspar and Roldão, 2007) was also associated with the genesis of the curriculum field in Portugal, focusing on History as a subject, basic education, management, and differentiation. Much of her work has been focused on the analysis of changes in basic and secondary education schools in the context of reforms. The genesis of curriculum studies in Portugal is also linked to Cândido Varela de Freitas (1992) and Ramiro Marques (2001). The former developed aspects connected to curriculum reorganisation and teacher education, and the latter approached curriculum through values, education for citizenship, and innovation. Alcino Matos Vilar (1993, 1994) and Fernando Diogo (2008), at the Higher School of Education of Porto, studied curriculum and teacher education as well as curriculum and innovation, and curriculum and evaluation. For her work in Philosophy of Education, assuming the curriculum as an object, Ana Mouraz Lopes (2004) has been constructing the curriculum from an epistemic point of view within the field of Educational Sciences in Portugal.

Portuguese curriculum research now follows different theoretical and methodological frameworks. Much qualitative research remains focused on conceptual issues related to the school. In spite of a small research group focused on curriculum studies, there is a great thematic diversity, especially in recent years.

The curricular reorganisation of elementary and secondary education, following the reform of early 2002, broadened the categories of the field's research by characterizing these as nuclear curriculum problems. Such "nuclear problems" include traditional categories of curricular concern: nondisciplinary curricular areas, competency profiles and key qualifications, integrated teaching, basic training, learning with diversified objectives, differentiation of the teaching strategies, and integration of new fields of learning, such as environmental education, new technologies, multicultural learning, and education for values, among others. However, not all these problems are immediately reflected in research. The issue of the objectives for a basic training for all children is, in fact, a nuclear theme, namely, if we consider basic training and the core curriculum, the differentiation of schooling by means of diversified learning offers, learning with diversified objectives, and the integration of the handicapped students as all these have consequences for school-based learning and for the integrated curriculum.

Teacher education is another dimension of curriculum research, indeed with a greater academic tradition. Since the early 1980s, Maria Teresa Estrela and Albano Estrela

(Estrela and Estrela, 1977, 2002; Estrela, 1994) (University of Lisbon) have done significant academic work, opening the door to other researchers such as Idália Sá-Chaves (University of Aveiro), José A. Pacheco (1996) (University of Minho), José Alberto Gonçalves (2001) (Universidade do Algarve), Maria Assunção Flores (2004) (University of Minho), Manuela Esteves (1999), Helena Peralta (2000), Ângela Rodrigues (1999), Ana Paula Caetano (2001) (University of Lisbon), and Maria do Céu Roldão (Escola Superior de Santarém). Nevertheless, the research centered on teacher education has increasingly been based on the teachers' role in curriculum development, professional development, identities and narratives, and exploring the broad influences of phenomenology and sociology.

When we imagine the future of curriculum research in Portugal, we foresee the curriculum as a point of departure rather than a destination, implying a conversation, namely a national and international conversation, supported by Portugal's membership to the European Union.

Curriculum and Europeanisation The internationalisation of curriculum studies[10] represents the contestation of globalisation, defined as common parameters through which national governments predict educational policies and practices of curriculum control or as circuit for the global flow of commodities, culture, and communications.[11] In terms of educational and other policies, globalisation is a movement towards uniformisation and standardisation concerned with knowledge and learning outcomes, designed to impose more similarities than differences among schools. Kathryn Anderson-Levitt, answers the question *Are curriculum and instruction in fact becoming more similar around the world?* as follows:". . . in some senses, curriculum is globalizing. The intended curriculum is apparently becoming more uniform around the world" (2008, p. 362).

Globalisation brings about new arguments for the debate about school, aiming at establishing a "worldwide pedagogy" (Kress, 2003) which is a re-edition of Comenius's ideas but which now intends to teach one and all, on a worldwide basis, competences of information and communication technologies. Internationalisation enables a theoretical discussion around relevant issues that call for a sharing of different perspectives, the joint production of texts, and organisation of seminars for their discussion. On the other hand, globalisation is related to an interest of economic nature,[12] with solid foundations on the theory of human capital and on the knowledge-based economy and with particular incidence on educational reforms:

Curriculum reform efforts have focused on globalisation as a prime goal. Throughout the world, globalisation has increasingly impacted curricula, and thereby teaching and learning. (Schlein and Page, 2006, p. 251)

> Globalization is having a profound effect on education at many different levels. That education has been a national priority in many countries is largely understood in terms of national economic survive in a fiercely competitive world. Many countries have take action to enhance their competitive edge through the development of the knowledge-production institutions and industries. (Pang, 2006, p. 4)
>
> In some senses, curriculum is globalizing. The intended curriculum is apparently becoming more uniform around the world. . . . Broadly speaking, nations agree on elementary subjects. Meanwhile, educators around the world are promoting a common, if internally inconsistent, set of reforms. (Anderson-Levitt, 2008, p. 363)

Over the last several decades, and in the most diverse political and social contexts, the course of education in general, and of the curriculum in particular, has been structured by economic policies whose orientations follow globalised decisions derived from international and supranational organisms, on the one hand, a process Hallak (2001) calls creation of new spaces for political regionalisation, and, on the other hand, the adoption of accountability policies that are anchored in a perspective of technical rationality connected to the market principles (Charlot, 2007).

As a process of creation of hegemonies, globalisation is a phenomenon that can be placed in distinct levels, mainly in the economic and social ones, and that, therefore, alters power relationships between levels of transnational, supranational, national, and local decisions significantly, imposing new logics of conceptualising not only education and training but also organisations themselves and, consequently, their role.

Whereas at a discursive level the concepts of local identity, decentralisation, and autonomy become vital, the uniformity of educative institutions remains a reality. It is, therefore, imperative to accept that the State will continue to insist "on the uniformity of practices, values, knowledge and orientations" (Kress, 2003, p. 120) and on the fulfilment of a globalised educational agenda that restates the debate regarding the role of the State (a protagonist or a reduced character?). To Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly Silver, "globalization is related to the emergence of transnational organisms that do not have to be loyal to any countries or do not feel at home in any of them" (2001, p. 16).

In the specific case of Portugal, globalisation has functioned, besides in those aspects that are common to all countries, through the European Union, whose member states nowadays have a common policy within what Santos calls "globalization of low intensity" (2001, p. 93) and Teodoro names the "globally structured agenda" (2003, p. 56). It is thus predictable that its effects on national policies tend toward homogeneity and uniformity rather than to diversity and multiplicity. It is, as B. Wätcher claims, the alteration of the dominant paradigm—from diversity to convergence—justified as follows at the level of higher education:

> It is linked to the fact (or perception) that, at the time, a global higher education market was emerging, with the 'export' of education as one of its traits, and that Europe

> was not amongst the winners on this market. European higher education therefore needed, in the words of the Bologna Declaration, to acquire "a world-wide degree of attraction." (2004, p. 268)

In this sense, the nation is a category-in-change, running towards a common structure about a global culture of schooling. For Joel Spring, "the nation-state does not disappear but becomes a subset of societies" (2008, p. 332) and the result is a global uniformity: "Of particular importance for creating global uniformity of educational practices is global comparison of international test scores. These global comparative test scores might cause national education policy leaders to organise their national curriculum to meet the standards set by these global tests" (Ibid., p. 350).

Can one think of the Europeanisation of curriculum within European policies for education? At this moment there is only a tendency being expressed, despite the fact that the existing regulation levels testify to two different realities: for higher education there is the formatting of curriculum training cycles through the Bologna Process; for compulsory and secondary schooling, regulation takes place according to indicators of learning outcomes, through which curricular options are justified, and in the adoption of curricular languages that privilege the mastering of pragmatic knowledge (Pacheco and Vieira, 2006). In this case, the global policy for education goes beyond the European Union:

> At the global level, the influence of OECD educational indicators, but particularly the TIMMS and PISA studies and results, can be seen to constitute a new global space in educational policy, but practices of educational policy also remain national and very localized, with the habitus of actors situated in various positions within the field. (Lingard, Rawolle, and Taylor, 2005, p. 774)

The profound relation between globalisation and knowledge, based upon the *theory of human capital* and on the movement of *lifelong learning* led the European Union to the adoption of *the techno-economic paradigm for a knowledge economy* (Bullen, Robb, and Kenway, 2004).

Knowledge, as it is conveyed by education and training curricula, tends to be viewed as capital. This leads Mark Olssen and Michael Peters to name it "knowledge capitalism" which "emerged only recently to describe the transitions to the so-called knowledge economy, which we characterise in terms of the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialisation of the state, and, investment in human capital" (2005, p. 331).

For elementary and secondary schooling, the Europeanisation of curriculum may have its genesis in the document *Indicators on the Quality of School Education,* which contains a series of curricular orientations and specifies quality indicators for the learning of Mathematics, Reading, Sciences, Information and Communication Technologies, Foreign Languages, Learning How to Learn, and Civic Education. Linguistic skills and information and communication technologies skills are structuring in a European-wide curriculum, which is recognised namely in the document-plan *Action Plan on Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity* (2004), in several programmes of e-learning, and in the *European Area of Lifelong Learning* (2001).

In practice, this knowledge is reduced to a more pragmatic perspective in which the knowledge of certain subject fields, for which symbolic meaning is relevant and of essentially technicist orientations, is cherished, and students are given a utilitarian vision of school. John Ladwig wonders then "why students begin to see this form of knowledge (and the required abilities and skills to make this knowledge public) as absolutely precious and desirable" (2003, p. 283).

The Europeanisation of curriculum, which is spread over all school levels, focuses therefore on the centrality of knowledge and on the adoption of more efficient social policies, highlighting the control of education and training systems. Therefore, globalisation in its diverse dimensions in general, and in its educational dimension in particular, represents curriculum regulation dependent on economic interests that demand an effective curriculum control—this originates what we may label as curriculum *Re-Tylerisation.*

Any process of curricular convergence which results, or does not, in the Europeanisation of curriculum contributes to the reinforcement of curricular over professional authority. According to Elizabeth Campbell (2006), curricular authority strengthens the legitimacy of planned curriculum, which is related to standardised and formalised curricular orientations derived from academic subjects, manuals, and the *authorised knowledge* teachers should teach to their pupils. Professional authority, in contrast, is situated not in the curricular parameters defined by forces that are external to teachers, but essentially in teachers' capacity to use their pedagogical and curricular knowledge with discretion and proficiency. The tension that can be noticed between these two types of authority has strongly marked what happens around the curriculum: in terms of discourse, teachers' professional authority prevails, whereas in terms of curricular practices, this happens with the authority of the central administration, whose decision action more and more often takes place at a supranational scope.

The Europeanisation of curriculum produces two main effects: the shifting from national policies to supranational policies and the association between education and training, especially in the operationalisation of lifelong learning, which is becoming an extremely relevant concept, both to the definition of what counts as useful knowledge, as to the construction of a *productive citizenship* (Giddens, 2007).

The Europeanisation of curriculum is more visible in the peripheral countries, such as Portugal, because their integration into the European Union has been accompanied by an overwhelming adoption of policies and practices of education and training. Curriculum has an essential role in this process, which in turn leads to the resignification of its organisation, contents, and assessment.

Curriculum reorganisation has been most evident at the higher education level, known in the European Union as the Bologna process. Concentrating on the policies of the European Union, we have laid stress, even if in a brief way, on some of the principles which guided the Bologna Process.[13] In order to answer the growing needs of the internationalisation of universities, the mobility and competitiveness of European citizens, and the improvement of the levels and conditions of employment for the ones who have a diploma, the Bologna Declaration,[14] an agreement which was signed in June 1999 and that now has the signature of 42 European countries, proposes the construction of a *European Higher Education Area.*

In order to achieve such a purpose, the Bologna Declaration enumerated four fundamental lines of action: the adoption of a comparable and easily read system of degrees; the adoption of a training system of two cycles; the establishment of a system of academic credits (ECTS) to stimulate the students' mobility and the promotion of mobility within and outside the community of teachers, investigators, and students; and the promotion of a European dimension in higher education. Subsequently, at the 2001 meeting in Prague, the Education Ministers of member states decided that for the construction of the European Higher Education Area, it was necessary to add three new action areas: lifelong learning; the students' participation in the management of higher education institutions, and the promotion of the capacity of attraction of the European Higher Education Area. This agreement was to be progressively consolidated, both in the Berlin (2003) and in the Bergen (2005) European Councils. A new council was scheduled for 2007 in London in order to assess the actions in course, to draw strategies, and reinforce commitments.

Nowadays, curricular changes cannot be limited to formal issues, for we are talking about key competencies, competencies which are oriented towards lifelong learning, new contexts and learning methods, and new ways of validating and assessing learning (Leney and Green, 2005). Rather than a case of mere curricular administrative change, the Bologna process should offer conditions for the curriculum to become a vehicle of social integration dependent on each context and able to act in concrete situations.

The challenges presented by the *Knowledge Society's* demand of the teaching institutions that they create learning opportunities that stimulate the development of capacities and competencies by the students so that they can participate more actively and responsibly in a society that is increasingly complex and in constant change implies change of the teaching-learning model that has ruled most educative institutions and of the curricular practices that are developed there.

As for the teachers—whose work used to be mainly based upon scientific competencies—they are now faced with a scenario wherein "relational and management competences play a new main role in a context in which pedagogy is becoming a quality facet of higher education's quality and a presupposition inherent in teachers' training itself" (Morgado, 2005, p. 55). Rather than transmitting knowledge, now teachers are supposed to develop certain capacities in students as, for instance, learning habits; investigative appetencies; the adoption of a critical way of perceiving available information; and the capacity for responsible analysis, selection, and use of information. In this same sense, Warnock defends that "universities will perhaps find their new role in the Knowledge Society through the teaching and learning of those capacities" (2003, p. 250).

Despite believing that free and emancipating education is an essential resource in every democratic society, it has been noticed, particularly in several European countries, that the declarations of political leaders have been transforming it into a tool at the service of economy and adapting it to market conditions and principles. The growing use of worldwide standards, favourable instruments for the commercialisation of the European educative sector, is a prime example of this. From kindergarten to universities, the principles of competitiveness and economic efficiency are more and more affecting the various sectors: labouring regulation, pedagogical strategies, institutional organisation, budgets, and so on.

In terms of assessment, the concept of curriculum has been oriented toward learning outcomes, rather than learning processes, oriented to employability and usefulness. From elementary school to higher education, a culture of evaluation has been implemented, aiming at attaining better results in the comparative studies held at an international level, as well as in the qualification of the workforce. It's not surprising that summative evaluation acquired a new centrality (Alves, 2005). Still at the level of higher education, in the era of globalisation, we can refer to a process of commodification of knowledge that is as follows:

> There has been a shift from elite to mass higher education globally, driven by the fact that in a knowledge-based economy. The payroll cost to higher education levels of education is rising worldwide. This a result if the shift from economic production to knowledge-intensive services and manufacturing. (Pang, 2006, pp. 7–8)

This commodification materialises in three main aspects: firstly, in a shift from a curricular organisation based on objectives to one based on results and competencies, with an emphasis in the individualisation of knowledge and on the employability of the citizens; secondly, in the valuing of the technological areas in higher education, which are understood in strict relation to enterprises and practical/economical uses of knowledge; and thirdly, on elementary and secondary schools, in the emergence of a 'new *trivium,*'consisting in the valuing of maths and sciences, English as the *second first* language, and Communication and Information Technologies.

These changes can be understood in the light of Jean-François Lyotard's (1979) assertion that the value of knowledge changes alongside the changes in society, and currently is related to the optimisation of performances, that is, the search for a better relation between input/output, allowing for the opening of a wide market of operational competences. In the context of the Portuguese curriculum, increasingly Europeanised and Re-Tylerised, didactisation is growing.

Curriculum and Didactisation Didactics has been a keyword in Portugal, as the construction of curriculum, at least as the articulation of decisions at various levels, has emphasised curriculum implementation, through the perspective of a technical or administrative rationality, which is related to contents, knowledge, disciplines, objectives, and evaluation.

Since the emergence of the curriculum field, curriculum and didactics have been somewhat intertwined. In its origin, curriculum was taught in departments of curriculum and didactics, or in departments of curriculum and instruction. Although one may easily distinguish these concepts into (a) what should be learned (curriculum) and (b) how it should be taught (instruction, didactics), on many occasions they are used as synonymous (Pacheco, 2005). Seemingly, this initial close relationship has been resolved as the curriculum field continued to develop independently. However, we argue that, at an international level, two different lines are discernible: one line connected to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, in which curriculum is distanced from instruction, essentially since the paradigm shift effected by reconceptualisation (Pinar, 1975).

Another line is of Francophone and German origin, in which curriculum is more limited to the conceptual horizons of general didactics, as Tero Autio (2006) makes evident when he refers to the didactisation of curriculum in the northern countries. Although proliferation of discourses that testify to the Anglo-Saxon tradition in Portugal, which have been revealed quite tardily, in the early 1990s, the curriculum was often confused with general didactics, both in the context of teacher education and of teaching practices.

With Tyler's "theory of instruction," present in his book *Principles of Curriculum and Instruction,* published in 1949, curriculum was still very much enmeshed with didactics; however, when in 1975 the reconceptualisation movement was initiated by Pinar, the separation between these fields was suddenly made clear. Since then, curriculum has undergone two waves of reconceptualisation. The first political wave received great influence from critical theory and Marxist theories, dealing with the reasons why certain knowledges were more valued than others, how they gained their place in the school curricula, and who was favored by those decisions. The second personal wave paid closer attention to the ways in which curriculum contributed to the construction of identities, and in particular to those related to race, gender, and sexual orientation.

These theories and perspectives have clearly departed from a concern on how one should teach, focusing instead on what should be taught, why, and for whom. The forums of academic discussion have shifted towards social and political concerns, and departed from more worldly and immediate issues. It is undeniable that curriculum studies have been established as a discipline.

However, in Portugal, the curriculum field has always found its place in relation to teacher training courses. Didactics has a greater tradition, while curriculum as a discipline in the academic milieu has been instituted with the creation of the so-called New Universities in 1973, which instituted courses specifically directed to teacher education. Teachers who are in the initial stages of their training eagerly seek answers to the practical questions facing them in everyday practice. Open as they may be to critical, postcritical and humanist theories, they still crave some control relative to their action with their students. This leads many professors of curriculum related disciplines to be pushed towards an ambiguous situation: although they transmit more current theories of curriculum, they cannot completely set aside more prescriptive visions of curriculum in which didactics has an important place.

Curriculum didactisation in Portugal is thus at least partly explained by the excessive dependence of curriculum studies on teacher education, especially when such courses are regarded as professional development. Therefore, in curriculum classes being taught in universities, the distinction between curriculum and didactics is still blurred. This is all the more true when we take a look to what takes place in the schools. Teacher's practice is frequently guided by traditionalist theories of curriculum. The nature of teachers' work already takes into account the curriculum implementation in spite of the movements related to teachers as curriculum makers.

We sustain that this connection with didactics, which never disappeared completely in Portugal, is currently being strengthened, which we refer to as the re-didactisation of curriculum. In certain Portuguese Universities, didactics has remained as a field of knowledge, making curriculum studies one of its subsets. This way, and as stated by William Pinar for the American reality, in the face of the nationalisation of curriculum, particularly regarding mathematics and science,

> . . . departments of Curriculum and Instruction disappear, replaced by departments of Teaching and Learning" . . . their disappearance "not only testifies to administrative and faculty capitulation to curricular control by others (and a self-degrading compulsion to market ourselves), it threatens the survival of curriculum studies as an academic discipline. (2007, p. xii)

We find evidence of this in four important aspects currently present in the Portuguese education system: a competence-based curriculum, an emphasis on the contents, the practicality of the specific knowledge that is favored, and the stress on teacher education. These four dimensions are not exclusive to the Portuguese context, as they are greatly influenced by European guidelines, influenced by the pressures that globalisation exerts on the European Union.[15]

The construction of the curriculum in Portugal, in particular the *school-based curricular tradition,* has suffered greater influences from the strategic thoughts of transnational (UNESCO, OECD in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s) and supranational organisms (EU, since the mid 80s) than by the discussions taking place at the universities. This frailty of the Portuguese curriculum studies field originates a curricular thought strongly centered on curriculum development, increasing the distance between the school curriculum and the university-based academic curriculum. This can be noticed both at the level of political discourse and at the level of school practice, and *grosso modo* derives from a social efficacy movement which is ongoing in Portugal.

Despite uniformity and the global culture of schooling in which we are immersed, brought closer by the use of common vocabulary of school reforms, for which didactisation is a major contribution, the current moment presents an opportunity to think curriculum theory differently. Yet the study of curriculum has not been held prisoner by "school culture" or the political dimension, and therefore may include the study of private sphere within the public sphere of education, even when "the expansion of curriculum away from scholars into multiple spheres of life has made many scholars uneasy" (Schubert, 2008, p. 412).

Another approach may include the study of what goes on inside the classrooms, without falling into practices borrowed from the Tyler Rationale, placing itself in practical curriculum places (Connelly and Xu, 2008), because it is through the curriculum and our experience of it, we choose what to remember about the past what to believe about the present hat to hope for and fear about the future (Pinar, 2008a).

What is happening within classrooms? This is a question increasing international dialogue on curriculum studies, allowing us to look at globalisation as the phenomenon that impacts the intended curriculum most, leaving margins for the study of student's experiences, as observes Kathryn Anderson-Lewitt:

> However, what actually happens in classrooms varies widely around the world. There are different pedagogical philosophies at play, and they are distributed unevenly across regions. . . . There are wide disparities in resources, including the availability of textbooks. . . . In short, enacted curricula continue to diverge; cross-national variation continues to emerge on the ground. (2008, p. 363)

Thus, the internationalisation of the curriculum studies field is based both on the study of each individual national reality and the analysis of their differentiating aspects and similarities.[16] This contributes to the rejection of perspectives which present globalisation as a legitimizing and homogenizing phenomenon, and the strong connection between globalisation and instrumentalism (Autio, 2009), rather than promoting a worldwide conversation (Pinar, 2009, p. 7).

Worldliness accepts death in life, accepts the reality of limits, respects necessity, and stares evil in the eye without fear and faith. No religion, worldliness is a retrospective, not an educational objective. "While [w]orldliness is no passive acceptance of the world as it is," Radhakrishnan (2008, p. 165) points out, neither does it imply faith in instrumentalism, or social engineering (Seigfried, 1996, pp. 193 and 201). Rather, worldliness invites the "rigorous" enactment of "individual intentionality" and "critical consciousness" (Radhakrishnan, 2008, p. 165). Because it follows from a subjectively structured creative engagement with the world, eschewing "standards" or "models," worldliness is characterized by difference, diversity, diversion, and the personified and situated relations among these (Seigfried 1996, pp. 145 and148).

As globalisation is marked by economical and political issues, which define a common and highly structuring agenda for culture and education, curriculum as a practice of the worldliness space—"The school curriculum is where the world is explained to the young, where the very meaning of and impetus for 'change' are elaborated (Pinar, 2009, p. 3)—becomes a process of individuation and subjectivation of students' learning, which requires a cosmopolitan perspective:

> A cosmopolitan curriculum enables students to grapple with (again borrowing Pasolini's language) the "problem of my life and my flesh" That "problem" is autobiographical, historical, and biospheric. It is a problem to be studied at is lived through and acted upon. The worldliness of a cosmopolitan curriculum implies that general education is more than an introduction to "great works," the "memorization of "essential" knowledge, or a sampling of the primary disciplinary categories (three units in social science, three in natural science, etc.). (Ibid., p. 8)

Conclusion

In a semiperipheral country such as Portugal, the emergence of the curriculum is related to the emergence of the public school, which lays the basis for its tradition. Despite the different political orientations, curriculum structure remained centralised, focusing essentially on administrative competencies for the definition of curriculum. The consolidation of the Portuguese field of the curriculum occurred due to the institutionalisation of higher education based teacher education, which included curriculum theory as one of the compulsory subject matters. We might also say that such consolidation was made, not only through text production, but also through international contacts between Portuguese professors with Brazilian, British, Canadian, and North American colleagues.

Concerning research on curriculum studies the political cycle has been determinant, not only in the definition of a thematic agenda, but also for its relation with the elementary and secondary school contexts. Nonetheless, there has been an increasing interest in higher education, due to the Bologna process, extending politically based research to this context. Hence, studies of *curriculum research on curriculum development,* strictly related to the dimension of curriculum reform, are more frequent than those centered on *curriculum research on curriculum theory.*

Furthermore, conceptual studies with empirical referents, especially those applied to the reforms of the elementary, secondary, and higher education reforms, have been most prevalent. The maturity and autonomy of research in curriculum studies relies on a progressive stress on exclusively conceptual studies, which are increasingly necessary.

In recent years, globalisation, and more specifically Europeanisation, have been major influences on the Portuguese curricular context. That can be observed by the resignification of curriculum at the level of organisation, contents, and assessment. Knowledge is gaining new value, being seen as a commodity, which relates to the valuing of a wide market of competencies and of subjects such as math/sciences, technology, and English.

This phenomenon of globalisation, which in Portugal is felt mostly from the level of the impact of the European Union and of the policies of the OECD, both at the level of higher education and of elementary and secondary education, is pushing the curriculum towards redidactisation, that is, the valuing of a productive knowledge, of operational schools and universities, of a technical teacher, and of a method for innovation based on the diffusion of best practices.

It is acknowledged that the curriculum studies field in Portugal has been dominated by a *school-based curricular tradition,* as the academic-based tradition has still very little influence, even though some Portuguese scholars are involved with the political-administrative level of decision-making. It may be said that the field's consolidation has been difficult, within the context of the sciences of education, furthermore when there is, in Portugal, a general confusion between curriculum and didactics. Another difficulty for the field's affirmation relates to the dominant paradigm of curriculum development, associated with a history of centralisation and uniformity of Portuguese schools. There is a long way to go before, in theoretical terms, the understanding perspective can gain precedence over the prescriptive perspective.

Similarly to other countries—see for example the study of the Canadian curriculum field presented by William Pinar (2008b, pp. 151–152)—the analysis of the Portuguese curricular reality may be described by two main characteristics: on the one hand, the "excessive centralization" of Portuguese schooling, within a "passion for uniformity," and on the other, a "greater curriculum control through control of materials" and national examinations. National curriculum, textbooks, and examinations have been emphasised at the level of both curricular politics and practices. In this case, formalism and bureaucracy have persistently remained a part of Portuguese schooling, in what may be designated as *bureaucratic change,* according to Ivor Goodson (2001).

Looking to the future, and acknowledging both the lack of investment in teacher education and the valuing of productivist learning, curriculum studies may become a critical voice if they interpret these changes as the result of a homogenisation process, which can never silence the role of the subject in the educational process.

Notes

1. Didactisation takes place when the operational components of curriculum development, aligned with the Tylerian rationale, are strengthened at schools, whether by their theorization, or by their inclusion on curricular practices, namely, planning, methodology, and assessment and evaluation.
2. We are using a distinction cited by William Pinar in the text *Introduction to a Common Countenance* (2008, p. 130). In this text, he mentions the school curriculum, as opposed to a university-based academic field of curriculum studies.
3 As José Díaz Barriga acknowledges in Mexico, 2003, p. 446, "The development of the field [in Portugal] is tightly linked with higher education."
4. To analyze these perspectives see Bjorn B. Gundem and Stephan Hopmann, *Didaktik and/or Curriculum. An International Dialogue,* 2002.
5. In the realm of the education research and analyzing the Portuguese reality, José Augusto Pacheco (2004) identifies three dominant cycles: academic, political, and institutional.
6. For example, Australia, according to Bill Green: "A major and enduring feature of the curriculum field in Australia is its bureaucratic and administrative character" (2003, p. 27).
7. The academic cycle is related to what is defined by higher education institutions, especially by themes approached in congresses and seminars, as well as to research themes. The institutional cycle is determined by the fundamental role of national and international agencies funding research.
8. ". . . assemble the themes that comprise the subject of study into three categories: a) exclusively conceptual studies, b) conceptual studies with empirical referents; c) proposals to elaborate study plans" (Barriga, 2003, p. 446).
9. On the establishment of curriculum as a discipline at the Portuguese universities, see Leite and Silva, 1991 and Pacheco, Vieira, and Costa, 1994.
10. For William F. Pinar, "internationalization follows reconceptualization. Internationalization promises a third paradigmatic shift, the outlines of which are just now coming in view" (2008, p. 501).
11. For the Portuguese reality, see José A. Pacheco and Nancy Pereira, 2009; José A. Pacheco and Ana Paula Vieira, 2006.
12. Concerning globalization and school educational reforms, M. Carnoy identifies three different models. We underline the first *competitiveness-driven reforms,* whose purpose is "to improve a country's competitiveness in the world of market and the major strategies include decentralization, centralization, and training" (1999, p. 9).
13. The Magna Charta of University is one of the most relevant documents of this process. Signed in Bologna in September 1988 by the Principals of European Universities, this document is the basis of the structure and signing of the Bologna Declaration.
14. See Bologna Process, Retrieved January 30, 2007, from http://www.dges.mcies.pt/Bolonha.

15. For a broad analyze of these aspects, see Antonio Flavio Moreira, José A. Pacheco, and Filipa Seabra, 2009.
16. To Ivor Goodson (2009) quoted in Pacheco, 2009, p. 149, the globalisation "gets redirected according to the national and local and classroom context. Sometimes it makes similarities. Sometimes it increases differences. We don't know till we've studied it."

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34

Curriculum

A Constant Concern in Romania

Rodica Mariana Niculescu, Mariana Norel, and Doina Usaci

Introduction

Romania is an island of Latinity surrounded by predominantly Slavic linguistic waves in Eastern Europe. Developed as a country over a tumultuous history marked by dramatic defense moments of its own existence, the Romania of today is the product of this history. This chapter presents curriculum history in the Romanian space viewed from a double perspective: *curriculum as a reality* expressed in its forms of informal, nonformal, and formal curriculum, and curriculum as a *reflective approach.* This reflective approach, in its turn, is seen from two perspectives. Firstly, an implicit curricular approach is presented. It is focused on the *implicit* reflections about what today is named as curriculum, and what represented the basis of the construction of formal educational institutions and educational process over the history, since the development of formal education appeared in the Romanian space. Secondly, an *explicit* reflection is approached focused on what usually is called *curriculum studies.*

Education at its Early Stages in the Carpatho–Danubian–Pontic Area Forms of education of young generations existed from ancient times in the territory inhabited by ancestors of Romanian people, known in history as Geto–Dacians. *Education* was conducted informally inside of families, sometimes under the tutelage of a free man with this special occupation. This type of education was consonant with what was happening elsewhere.

A historical discovery (1961) shows that the oldest written message of humanity was found in a village called *Tărtăria,* in Romanian territory. This discovery was analyzed and radiocarbon dated by Marija Gimbutas from the University of California, and confirmed in 1972 by the Bulgarian academician Vladimir I. Georgiev. It resolved controversies (Alasdair W. R. Whittle, 1996; Carl J. Becker, 2004; H. W. F. Saggs, 1998) within the historical field. The "Tărtăria tablets" appear to be "older" than those of Sumer, by more than a millennium. This discovery is a supplementary proof of an early concern for learning and writing in what is now Romania.

The installation of several flourishing Greek colonies, such as *Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Olbia,* and *Apollonia* (eighth–sixth century BC), on the *Dobrogea* coast contributed to what would become institutionalized education. Institutionalized education was also encouraged by the Roman conquest of Dobrogea (fourth century BC), parts of Transylvania, Crişana, Banat, and Oltenia (first century AD). Educational institutions were established especially in urban areas; private teachers were hired by rich families and even public schools existed (Ministerul Învăţământului, 1971:7; apud Radulescu, D. C. 2003:2)

In Dobrogea on the coast of the Black Sea, a school with the name of *Gymnasium* was established in the second century BC (Pascu, S. coord., Istoria învăţământului românesc 1983; chapter: Instruction and Education at Geto–Dacians, 1983:13). This gymnasium was led by a *gimnaziarh,* who was in charge of a team of teaching staff (Istoria învăţământului românesc, 1983:13). In the beginning, education was focused on literacy, basic concepts in mathematics, and recitation of Homeric poems. The *ephebs* (pupils) belonging to these schools were grouped in classes; this proves the existence of a considerable number of those who were enrolled in a formal type of instruction.

Historical studies aver that Geto–Dacians had an original civilization. This originality does not mean that they rejected foreign influences "but turning them, adapting them, enriching them. It's just what Geto–Dacians did" (Daicoviciu apud Cârlan, 2001:13). As an ancient population of this land, Geto–Dacians knew how to assimilate the invaders, (Scythians, Celts, and so on) *by adopting and adapting* elements of their higher material culture. They had known how to learn from neighbors, primarily the Greeks and the Thracians. They managed "*to melt together the elements of foreign civilizations;* they had put this into new patterns by assimilating them" (Daicoviciu apud Cârlan, 2001:13). We find encapsulated here the meaning of "*hybridization,*" a concept similar to how it is defined by Moreira (2003:182) and further used by Lopez and Macedo, (2003:189) connected to the recent education history in Brazil.

Moreira defines hybridization as a category that can be considered especially useful for a study that focuses on the process in which distinct trends, models, and curriculum theories, both new and previously existent, are mobilized and articulated in a determined place, thereby creating, within possible limits, new meanings (Moreira, 2003:182). By transferring the meaning of the hybridization concept from the curriculum studies area towards the Geto–Dacians' culture, understood as the root of the Romanian education history, several ideas can be highlighted.

Analyzing the complex developmental process of Geto–Dacians' and later Romanians' culture, *distinct historical trends and cultural, religious, and moral models* can be detected as factors of influence. At each historical time, previously existent models and new ones coming from beyond boundaries acted as factors of a specific process of developing a Geto–Dacians model. This was an original model involving, within possible limits, new meanings. This tendency of *adopting, adapting, and melting influences* became a pattern with an interesting influence on the development of education within this geographical and cultural space, involving curricular elements, even if for a long period of time they were not identified under the umbrella of this concept that appeared late in the history of Educational Sciences. The seeds of what today is Romanian curriculum research and curriculum reform can be found historically. A careful study of these seeds may be an interesting point of departure in deciphering the contemporary reality of education and curriculum development.

A field of mingled contention, influences, interdependencies, and rejections is revealed. This is the ancient space lived by the Geto–Dacians, who were invaded periodically. Thus, a specific process of hybridization could be considered as a result of a melting of cultures, traditions, and languages. Formal education had its own history, based on borrowed, transformed, and assimilated models. It incorporates a specific implicit philosophy about curriculum with many hybrid features, but still very Romanian. This process was long-term, and influences coming from Latin and Greek cultures on one hand and from Slavonic culture on the other hand continued to contribute to this process.

Economic, social, and cultural life found its linguistic expression; the popular language Daco–Moesian, became over time the common *Romanian language,* spoken inside of the Carpathian–Danubian–Pontic space, a language with strong Latin roots, enriched with Slavic and Byzantine Greek elements. Centuries passed before this new language was taught, as Latin, Greek, and Slavonic constituted the languages of instruction. Perhaps the first Latin school—1028—is presented by the Legend of Saint Gerard spread in the Banat area (the old land of Cenat). Its aim was the preparation of missionaries and religious staff. The 30 students were taught writing and reading, elementary Latin grammar, and church music. The school closed its doors due to the invasion of the Tartars in 1241 (Istoria învăţământului românesc, 1983:15).

Three Romanian principalities became one country, Romania, in 1859. Education developed simultaneously in the three provinces: Moldova, Transylvania, and Wallachia. A considerable number of schools existed in Transylvania-between 1200 and 1800; Latin was the teaching language from 1200–1400. The curriculum was focused on *Latin reading and writing* and *religious (Catholic)* contents. The children of rich families were sent abroad. Moldova andWallachia had schools even in rural regions. In Wallachia, the Slavonic language was the teaching language (Rădulescu, 2003:2; Istorie a învăţământului, 1983:16–17).

The first school featuring the Romanian language was *The School of* Şcheii *Brasovului (Transylvania),* founded according to some in 1495, and by others in 1583. The school of Şchei provided opportunities to preserve Transylvanian traditions and culture. Historical documents reveal that the Romanians of Brasov maintained intense and permanent connections with Moldova and Wallachia (Oltean, 2004). Gradually, the Romanian language became an accompanying teaching language together with those that had previously been dominant. Greek, especially Modern Greek, and Slavonic remained languages of teaching in many schools.

A *modern* education can be said to start around 1700. In the late eighteenth century, the so-called *royal school*s were organized in almost all provinces (Istorie a învăţământului, 1983: 17). These early stages of the Romanian education, as Stanciu Stoian (1957) suggested, tried to develop a modern education based on neo-Hellenism. Elements of the Enlightenment can be detected in this school, but scholastic and feudal features remained (Stanciu, 1957:20).

Schools trained young people for working as *administrative staff, merchants or custom officers.* In these circumstances, the curriculum was focused on *reading, writing and arithmetic for elementary schools, and in middle schools, the focus was on Romanian, Greek, or Slavic grammar and the study of arithmetic, geometry, and calligraphy.* Students were prepared for being able to write official documents in Wallachia or for other specific activities in Transylvania and Modova (Istoria învăţământului românesc, 1983:16; Stanciu, 1957). Those who wanted to be educated within higher schools usually went abroad to Poland from Moldova and to Italy from Wallachia (Stanciu, 1956:21)

The quality of teachers' preparation and their professional dedication are strong determinants of the success of a curriculum. Late in the eighteenth century in Banat (a province in western Romania), an educator, Theodore I. Iancovici, designed and implemented a cascading system for training teachers; the first wave was prepared and run by Iancovici. Courses began in 1774; Wolf (1957) presents and describes three such courses that extend until 1779.

Another contribution of Ivanovici as director of schools in Banat concerned *the methodology* of teaching. Two methods were in vogue at the time: the *literary method,* a kind of algorithm of memorizing, and the *tabular method,* requiring syntheses of texts to be written by students. Unfortunately, this exercise did not aim to practice the student's thinking but was rather a kind of starting point of the learning process. The written form was to be done following the literary method; therefore, memory was fundamental. Teaching methodology became a field of reflection. A methodology of teaching in two volumes was edited in Vienna (1774–1777), written primarily in German but translated further in all the interested languages, including Romanian (Wolf,1957:68–79).

Equally important is that an explicit concern *to write and edit textbooks* in the Romanian, Slavic, and Serbian languages (Wolf, 1957:68–79). We therefore conclude, together with Rădulescu (2003:2), that at the end of the eighteenth century, Romanian education was able to undertake a modernization process. Unfortunately, access to education still remained restricted. Still, there developed a strong desire of Romanians to participate actively in the European life, the desire for knowledge and action of a people by nature active and talented.

Strengthening Formal Education and its Development in the More Recent History of Romania Immediately after the unification of principalities in 1859, education in Romania was formalized by the Education Act of 1864. Free and compulsory education was introduced. Compulsory education appeared in England in 1870, France in 1872, Switzerland in 1874, Bulgaria in 1879, Italy in 1877, and Serbia in 1882. Education was considered in Romania by law as uniform, ensuring rural and urban schools were similar. Gymnasiums; high schools; theological seminaries; military, vocational, technical, medical and artistic schools; and normal schools (for teacher training) appeared in the countryside and in large cities.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the idea of high schools in the Romanian language grew strong. G. Lazar pioneered a Romanian high school to which Romanian children unable to attend Greek schools had access. The basic idea of Lazar was to demonstrate that sophisticated ideas could be expressed in Romanian (Stanciu, 1957: 34; Chelaru, T., 1957: 99–142) The curriculum of Lazar's school (*St. Sava Academy*) was based on "Ratio educationis" formulated by Minister Felbiger to the Habsburgs in 1773 (Chelaru, 1957:124). Lazar himself was a product of the schools of Vienna. Three fundamental ideas characterize this curriculum: *differentiation and customization* of what is learned, *adapting curriculum to the society's requirements,* and *applicability of what is learned* (Stanciu, 1957:34–36; Chelaru, 1957:99–142). Lazar was a Romanian born in Transylvania but worked in the Wallachia region.

So-called *frontier schools* (*şcoli grănicereşti*) functioned in Transylvania within the eastern internal part of the Carpathian arch, late in the nineteenth century. They are considered the first models of inclusive education (Cocan, 2006a, b); they represented an example of "education exercised on all members of frontier villages—children and adults, men and women, by involving all the existential domains: economy, schools, government, church" (Cocan, 2006a). The author suggests that these frontier schools might serve as a model to be followed nowadays when the complexity of issues is exponentially increased. At the end of the nineteenth century, then, education in Romania had progressed and would continue to do so until 1924, but some not entirely positive aspects appeared. Teiuşan Popescu (1963:163) refers to discrimination introduced between rural and urban schools, especially expressed in providing highly trained teachers only for urban schools.

The most important reformer of this period was *Spiru Haret,* the artisan of the Education Acts of 1889, 1899. These acts provided an important basis for secondary education, higher education, and professional-vocational education. Secondary and vocational education experienced some changes after 1864. These changes were crowned with ample restructuring and improvements contained in Spiru Haret's laws. In 1889 he created a law for secondary and higher education. In 1899, vocational education received a new legal base, which remained in force until the years between the two world wars (Popescu, 1963:168). Two important universities were also founded in this period: one in Iaşi (1860) and one in Bucharest (1864). Their core mission was to qualify teachers for secondary and higher education. Other universities followed (Popescu, 1963:168, 103).

Education in Romania of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was on a level comparable to European standards. This achievement was encouraged by a centralized institution with a strategic role: the *Ministerul Cultelor si Instructiunii* (Ministry of Cults and Instruction). It provided a unified philosophy of curriculum for the different levels of schooling. An explicit reflection on the curriculum, with its contemporary meaning, did not appear in Romania until later in the last decades of the twentieth century. But a special concern over school and schooling can be detected over many centuries. A philosophy of education was always present. The great figures of Romanian education were concerned that the younger generations could answer properly to social requirements, as well as that they be enriched with the force of the culture. N.C. Enescu (1957:191) describes the manners regarding what and how should be taught, referring to the pedagogy of the Pestalozzi and Lancaster system, at the time of Asachi, a well known Romanian educator; C. Dinu (1957:246) refers to the period of Petrache Poenaru and his beliefs about education; Teiusan Popescu (1957:302) discusses how to assess the educational process and its products as a part of Grigore Ploiesteanu's philosophy; while Enescu (1957:191) and C. Dinu (1957:262) speak about what kind of materials were used in the schools of that time. Popescu (1957:304), Enescu (1957:195), and

C. Dinu (1957) articulate a philosophy and practice of teachers' training. However, it is not accurate to discuss curriculum in terms of research about curriculum when referring to this historical period. This happened very late in Romania, sometime after 1889.

From 1944 to 1989, Romanian education followed the Soviet model, a highly centralized educational system with strong control from the Ministry of Education through its administrative county branches: School Inspectorates. The same phenomenon is highlighted by Zhang and Zhong (2003:262–263) in their chapter on China. The Soviet Instructional Model came in China after almost five decades (1900–1949) of curriculum following the American model. In Romania, the situation was different. Romania had a well-developed school life before 1944, but was without an explicit focus on reflecting upon curriculum in terms of a genuine reflection and research; this practical school experience was replaced by a highly centralized education system with roots in the traditional Pedagogy. The highly centralized educational system generated a centralized educational process, with a strong accent on teaching, on information to be taught and, consequently, on information to be learned and assessed in detail and memorized. Nevertheless, all the Pedagogy literature of the time claimed the necessity of a formative education even if, beyond words, a very informative one represented the school reality.

We should admit that during the period 1968–1976, the education in Romania was not bad at all. The school products, generations of well-trained students, and specialists in different areas and on different levels, testify to this. Therefore, looking back at the 45 years of communism, distinct sequences become visible. Speaking metaphorically, we can talk about two almost black periods being separated by a quite light one (1968–1976). During these almost 10 years, education was enough developed and the openness towards progress entered through the schools' windows even if the doors were mostly closed. We aver that this period had its positive aspects in terms of people being "in the eye of the storm," as a result of analyzing the reality with good faith and as much objectivity as a human is able to. Connections with what happened in the curriculum research field outside of the Romanian borders at the time (1944–1989) were unfortunately only informative without a real chance to conduct research based on school reality.

Romanian Education After 1990

After 1989, a transformation was definitely necessary. An articulate strategy, coherent for at least three decades, was expected to be designed. A smooth transition from the old system to the new one should have been designed and implemented. That did not happen. Each political cycle, during 22 years, came with its own program to renovate the education system. Successive so-called reforms of curriculum design were in fact core causes of incredible negative effects. The year 2011 was declared the year of disaster for the high school graduates, whose bad results were a result of everything that had happened in education during all these years.

The first five years after 1990, the four ministers who were in charge of the Ministry of Education did not bring significant legislative changes. In 1995, a new Education Act was approved. It included a series of amendments considered important, but no significant effects could be detected. This act was completed in 1997 with a normative under the name of *Status of Teaching Staff.* In 2005, a first legislative frame was created, which aimed to be the foundation of quality assurance in education. A specific act to regulate this sector appeared in 2006. Two specialized agencies were created: The Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance on Pre-University Education (RAQAPE) and The Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (RAQAHE). The last one is now, in 2012, a full member of the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education—ENQA—and is listed in the European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education—EQAR. The year 2011 was the year of a New Education Act focused both on the pre-university educational system and on higher education.

Curriculum Changes and Their Correspondent Legislative Steps A genuine cascade of inconsistent changes of curriculum was made in successive periods. They began in the period 1992–1994, and then continued, without a consistent strategy; essential contradictions from one stage to another were often involved. Thus, a new National Curriculum was created in 1997 and was implemented from 1997–2000 to basic grades, starting from first grade to ninth grade. The years 2000–2003 constituted the period of reviewing the *overall and specific expectations* of the educational process (finalities).

Curriculum reformers have not established clear distinctions between the *outcomes* and *aims.* The former are sometimes called *competencies or competences,* sometimes *skills,* and other times *overall and specific expectations.* Obviously, a result can be obtained only if the educational process is aimed to achieve designed outcomes. A long debate focused on the apparent contradiction between focusing curriculum on objectives or on outcomes (competences) took place when a part of the National Curriculum mixed the two manners of design. This contradiction does not really exist. We see the phenomenon of education from a double perspective: as *process* and *product.* Competences as students' acquisitions are the *result*s of education. Expectations are *presumed results* of the educational process, previously designed for different stages of this process. They are expressed through *goals or, on a more particular level, through objectives.*

If we consider the specific meaning of the English word *aim,* it can be used to express the route leading to defined outcomes. In this respect, we could say that *aims* related to *longer educational sequences* show the correct route of the educational process leading to *goals;* the aims related to *shorter educational sequences* lead toward the achievement of *defined objectives.* No matter what words we use for expressing these relations, it is important that education has: *concrete and assessable outcomes* as qualitative products (outputs) and *expected/presumed outcomes* (overall expectations and specific expectations) designed before the educational process is started, which are the goals and objectives of curriculum. But it is important to emphasize that all of them are expressed in terms of *competences or component of competences.*

We also prefer to consider the compound of competences in its broad understanding, involving: *knowledge,* already achieved or to be achieved by learning process; *skills/capacities/abilities,* achieved or to be developed; and *features of personality,* as already defined parts of a graduate's generic or personal profile or to be developed along an educational process. Personality traits involve *values and attitudes.* The described meanings of the core words used in the explanation above are kept in the schema presented by Figure 34.1. It tries to explain the relations between the mentioned concepts. (Adapted after The European framework for key competences [2006].)

Together with those who consider that the goal shows where we want to be, that the objectives are the steps needed to get there, we would add that the aims are the necessary direction in which to climb the stairs step by step and, generally speaking, in the stairs' direction. All these will lead to the graduate's competence profile established by the educational ideal. Our vision meets fundamentally with what S. R. Jain, K. M Rastogi, Zhou Nanzhao, and many other authors stated. Differences appear especially on the level of the used terms and not in a deep understanding of things. An issue is to be emphasized. The communication of a lot of common fundamental ideas suffers because of translations, from one language to another, or because of the fact that a statement is written in an authors' second language, without an in-depth understanding of all the involved nuances. The changing of meanings determines misunderstandings and sometime rejections, even when opinions are basically similar.

Many curriculum reforms succeeded to formulate proper outcomes, but without the synergy of an appropriate selection of contents, connected to adequate teaching methodologies and formative assessment strategies, these outputs did not occur. The educational process took a confusing turn. At the same time, the lack of connection between the formative evaluation and the final assessment (the external one) also generated dysfunctions and bad results. The qualitative outputs (designed goals and objectives) and the aims as directions should be understood in a kind of Ying-Yang relationship (Niculescu 2010). They gather around them the entire substance of curriculum: contents, strategies of teaching and assessment, and the instructional time.

Further, specific care should be focused on auxiliaries of curriculum: textbooks, different specific supporting materials, methodological guides for teachers, etc. Some countries (e.g., Canada, Denmark, and so on) have abandoned the idea of using defined textbooks within the curriculum implementation process. Teachers from these countries have the freedom to choose what they think as being appropriate as long as their students are well directed to accomplish the designed overall and specific expectations (the designed competencies existing within the curriculum). Other countries, including Romania, have opted for keeping the idea of textbooks but not a unique textbook for each content structure. Sets of approved textbooks were introduced.

In terms of *external evaluation,* some considerations are required when we are talking about unique assessment on the national–provincial level. This final (or balance)

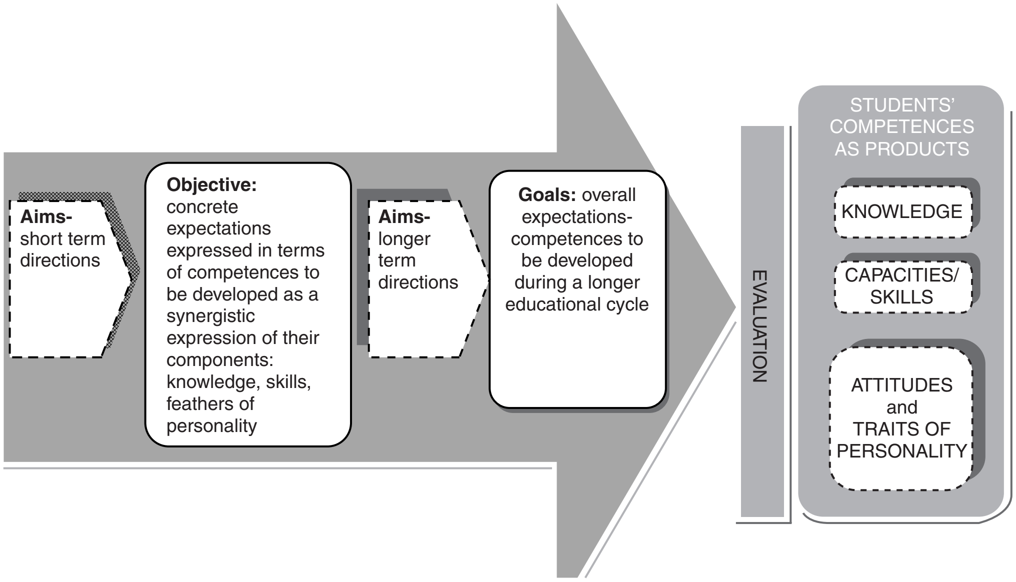

Aims- short term directions
Objective: concrete expectations expressed in terms of competences to be developed as a synergistic expression of their components: knowledge, skills, feathers of personality
Aims- longer term directions
Goals: overall expectations- competences to be developed during a longer educational cycle
EVALUATION
STUDENTS' COMPETENCES AS PRODUCTS
KNOWLEDGE
CAPACITIES/ SKILLS
ATTITUDES and TRAITS OF PERSONALITY

Figure 34.1 Connections Between Goals, Objectives, and Corresponding Aims.

assessment is already designed, as milestones, together with the overall and specific expectations of the curriculum. The final assessment should be triggered only after the moment when the other components of the curriculum have already been implemented at the level of a cohort of students. Specifically designed tools that are connected to the designed outcomes of curriculum should be used. Otherwise, a gap appears between the educational process and the assessment of its products. This happened in Romania several times during the last years, and the first to be blamed, unfairly, were the students, and secondly, their teachers. In fact, it is the reform strategy that should be blamed.

A final idea appears as being essential. In our view, the exacerbation of the evaluative moment can become a real danger, even if we see it as important to focus curriculum on its results, to establish levels of qualitative expectations for the products of the educational process. Genuine education must find ways to avoid a situation where the educational process turns into training that is conducted to be eventually measured. Evaluation is an important moment of the curriculum process, but it shouldn't be done for its own sake. There are aspects of the educational product, such as attitudes or general personality traits as components of competence that cannot really be measured in the context of external evaluations. A major risk for the quality of education outputs consists in moving the stress from what is important to be achieved through education as a complex process towards the aspects that can be rigorously and sometimes rigidly assessed.

Changes After 1997 After the National Curriculum development from 1997–2000, the year 2003 brought another reviewing action for primary and lower secondary levels, but not as a natural step of an ongoing and coherent process. The approach of reviewing and its results show a persistent confusion between curriculum and contents. Later, the misunderstanding of contents' role inside the structure of curriculum determined an artificial and random reduction of contents. Hard to understand in the modern era is the stress put on quantity and not quality of information to be taught. It seems that no one has shown to be aware that a strategy of restructuring contents should have been implemented, aiming to connect and harmonize contents with newly defined outcomes, all connected to appropriate strategies of teaching and assessing, within the limits of a newly established instructional time.

But the announced decision "to reduce" contents had interesting effects. Teachers were scared and suspected that reducing the amount of information would cause a shortage of hours allocated for each subject with effects upon their jobs. Nobody explained the philosophy of changing the volume of information concurrent with a new manner of structuring them as a necessary foundation of a genuine effective reform. Or maybe nobody had clearly in mind such a kind of strategy. In fact, the entire strategy of reviewing has not provided correct staging and rhythms. The overall expectations for each grade had not been put into a hierarchy and a consistent gradual system for the vertical of grades was not taken into consideration. Nor was a horizontal harmony established. So, these expectations (outcomes) were neither connected from one grade to another, inside of a school cycle, nor harmonized on the level of the same grade or cycle, among different areas of knowledge. As a consequence, the appearance of dysfunction was not delayed. The instructional time component did not fit with selected contents, and the expected outputs did not entirely fit with contents. The methodology of teaching was ambiguously presented. The evaluation was considered something outside of curriculum. A significant number of truly valuable new ideas were doomed to failure by a random implementation and without ensuring the necessary conditions. A simple example may be exposed: the requirement for an increased number of hours of physical education was a really good idea and a necessity. Unfortunately, the only produced change was a higher number of classes of physical education in the official students' "school time schedule," but because as space and material conditions remained poor, these physical education classes remained only a dream.

The initiative of abandoning the unique textbook and switching to alternative ones, a good idea essentially, resulted in a competition centered on other interests than the quality of the textbooks. The selection criteria were not clear enough. This happened even if the Minister Antonescu E. modified the methodology of selection. The real quality criterion was surmounted by price, in a country where the economy was still in decline or in a tenuous revival. In addition, other disruptive influences appeared with a negative consequence. Another aspect of the real school life came from some of the teachers with a conservative mentality. Traditionalist teachers continued to give extraknowledge, even when newly introduced curricula presumed a reduction in the amount of information.

The most interesting aspects that claimed to be "reform" occurred in the component of evaluation. The idea of introducing a national evaluation emerged in the period 1997–2000. It was focused on a national evaluation both at the end of a school cycle and for each school year, as in many other countries. At the same time, the final exams of lower secondary and high school (the exam of capacity and, respectively the "baccalaureate") received new methodologies. Therefore, in 1999, in accordance with the law, these two final exams were considered as forms of national assessment. From 2000–2003, the capacity exam (the final assessment of graduates of the lower secondary level) was "reorganized" and turned into "national tests," only a few years after being "organized." The implementation process of a new National Curriculum was not prepared for such tempestuous change, and the fluency and the effectiveness were lost. Moreover, the introduction of assessment standards for the terminal grades of a schooling cycle was put in force only in 2003–2004. Even then, standards were functional only for the lower secondary level.

At one point, before the introduction of a unique national assessment, a *unitary assessment period* was imposed in schools, without a clear explanation of its role. In fact, in that time, in the absence of national assessments, this period had no justification. Unprepared for what ought to be this period within the context of applying of national evaluations with unique topics, teachers understood that only in this period they were allowed to assess their students; for a while, real confusion occurred in schools. Students were subjected to waterfall assessments in various forms. Later, the idea of a unique assessment on a national level justified the introduction of this unitary assessment period, but it was kept only for unique topics on the terminal level of the lower secondary. Another new approach was evaluation based on *descriptors of performance* that have been introduced in primary education based on quantification on four levels; marks (from 1 to 10) were removed. This new style of assessment, partially descriptive but not entirely, was inadequately prepared, and teachers originally rejected it. Regrettable errors were made with effects upon the students' motivation for learning.

The years 2005–2007 brought changes to the system of developing topics for national exams. These topics were published on the Internet, in the name of "transparency." A perverse result emerged: the development of an industry of ready-topics that students rushed to memorize, with a harmful effect on what an effective learning process ought to mean. Also, in this period, a semester assessment with unique topics on the national level and based on unique national standards was introduced experimentally, again a good idea in itself. Nevertheless, it was not well prepared and, eventually, the expected results still have not been registered. In spite of this, the new Minister of Education, Adomniţei, eliminated national tests and officially introduced the yearly assessment based on unique topics instead of national tests in 2007–2008.

Changes of methodology for baccalaureate were subject to substantial interventions during 2008–2009 under another minister. Thus, the baccalaureate was designed to include three written tests: one in the study of the Romanian language; a second one in mathematics or history; and a third test conceived as an optional choice among three subjects according to the training route: real (sciences) and humanistic (arts). A practical test was introduced, focused on students' competencies for computer use. This practical test was taken by all students, except those who had completed High School in Informatics, where these skills were specific ones. The new organizational formula of baccalaureate eliminated the oral test in Romanian or foreign language. Instead, students had to obtain a *proficiency certificates for language and communication skills both in Romanian and an international foreign language* during the 12th grade. In 2009, another new Minister introduced periodic evaluations and the initial assessment; these were topics extensively commented on and rejected, partially by teachers who again were not prepared to understand the real value of these changes.

An avalanche of changes was made to the assessment component of the curriculum. These were introduced often in an unexpected and unprepared way both for teachers and students. Negative results followed, especially at the final exams of schooling cycles (capacity and baccalaureate). Moreover, the obvious strategy of assessing a cohort who had already trained under the new curriculum was disregarded. Above all, students did not benefit from any presumption of innocence; they were suspected beforehand of having intentions of fraud, and video cameras were put in to watch them, intensifying the inevitable stress of such kind of exam.

All of the above changes were made in the context of reconsidering the structure of a school year turned from three parts into semesters (1997); the school week had already become a five-day week instead of six days, as it was before 1990. Connected to the slower process of reducing contents, unexpected effects in the workload at school and of homework for students appeared.

Educational Curriculum Reform Within the Organizational Context of Education After 1989, Romania had had a too long and incoherent trial period. Two separate bodies were created when the first project of educational reform started: a component in charge of *curriculum reform* and another one in charge of *evaluation reform,* even if evaluation is a part of curriculum. These two bodies did not cooperate, and student results showed this lack of coherence. The separation of curriculum and evaluation betrays a basic confusion on the conceptual level.

Curriculum for teacher training should contain everything that is necessary to prepare the future actors of the teaching process for *understanding and being able to implement curriculum reforms.* Unfortunately, this did not happen in Romania. The Teacher Training Departments (TTDs) in universities failed to reform their own curriculum according to the new requirements. Why? First, the entire strategy of curriculum reform was not adequately articulated, which was the case, too, with the substance of training future teachers or in-service training for active teachers. Second, the TTDs curriculum and levels of training suffered successive changes. In the beginning, a concurrent training during license studies was in force. Later a second level, after license, was added (a kind of master level). With each academic year came new changes. Third, the TTDs lacked clear status, and their financial and material resources were diminished year after year. Fourth, the teaching staff of these departments demonstrated dogmatic attitudes. There were pretenses at adoption, but real change did not occur.

The 2011 Education Act adds more ambiguity into the teacher training system. It is designed to be done only as a master's degree, a so-called didactic master's degree without any clear explanation of what it means. If this didactic master's degree is seen only as a higher level of specialty training with only several negligible additional methodological approaches, then genuine training for being teacher remains a utopian fantasy. The new system involves, however, an excellent idea: an internship as school-based training. This is the final step of a teachers' initial training. It is an excellent idea but lacks clarity and a strong foundation. The most important ambiguity is connected to the institutional structure meant to be in charge of the teacher training as a whole. Struggles among different institutional constituencies to obtain the management of this training are expected to occur. The results will be far from the expected ones. As I already stressed, in Romania, the teachers lack status, are underappreciated, and have an incredibly low income. Students opting for a didactic master's degree in this situation are unlikely. The prospect of having newly trained teachers is doubtful. An impressive number of highly qualified teachers migrate to other professional fields with higher recognized status and consequently a higher income. No other young highly qualified graduates enter into the system. This is another aspect that continues to threaten the future quality of the Romanian school.

Education Organization—General Issues Immediately after 1990, the duration of compulsory education was reduced from 10 classes to eight. It's hard to say what caused this reduction, since the European trend was one of increasing the duration of compulsory education. The texts of successive Education Laws (Acts) speak constantly about the necessity of the introduction of 10 compulsory grades even if the previous law stipulated the same thing. Thus, Act number 268/13–06–2003 (a Law amending and supplementing the Law on Education no. 84/1995) states this introduction in Section 6, and further, the 2011 Education Act reiterates this introduction in its Section 6. Moreover, some confusion in formulations persists in this later Act. Thus, the Law of 2011 speaks about 10 years of compulsory education for the following schooling levels: *preschool, primary, and secondary education* (Section 6). The detailed presentation of these levels of schooling (Section 15) requires three years for preschool education (3–6 years), four years of primary education (grades 1–5), and 5 years of lower secondary, with the inclusion of grad 9 within this level. According to Section 6, all these levels are compulsory, and a simple math shows 13 compulsory study years. Section 11 (Subsection 7) of the latest Act (2011) speaks about the possibility of developing so-called *pilot schools,* which would be experimental and applying schools without clarifying their role.

The new Education Act brought for higher education substantial changes related the L.M.D (License, Master, and Doctorate) system. Unfortunately, a strange ambiguity remains. The license was not understood as an academic level geared to train mainly transversal and transferable competences by means of studying a specific knowledge domain, and secondly, core specialized competencies. Normally, after license studies, the master's degree program should develop the specific competencies to a higher level; creating the foundations for the necessary research skills to pave the way to doctoral studies. Unfortunately, in Romania, the license is designed according to relatively narrow specializations. This type of design has created the false idea that higher education has reduced the period of studies and concurrently the number of credits but, in fact, a thorough training for a specialty involves attending at least the two levels: license studies and master's degree programs.

III. Research and Reflection on Curriculum: A Recent History

Only after 1990 can the first explicit reflections and research on curriculum issues be detected in Romania. There were "leading actors" and "supporting actors" of curriculum reform who have done this reflection and research related to curriculum reform. This leading or supporting role is considered especially connected to the power of decision making within the area of education. A. Crişan is the author of an analysis of curriculum reform after 1989 (Crişan, 2001). He edited a study focused on the implementation of the new, at the time, National Curriculum. This study was conducted in 2001. It reviews the main steps of the reform process as seen from the perspective of a person directly involved at the beginning of the theoretical foundation of this reform, and further as one of the leading actors engaged in the coordinating of reform implementation.

Crişan stresses that the first attempts to open curriculum research and curriculum reform were carried out soon after the Romanian dictatorship. First, changes of curricula occurred in 1992 for the primary and secondary school levels; at that time the first so called "parallel textbooks" were developed and introduced instead of a unique one for each subject and level: 1995/1996 for primary school and 1997 for secondary school. The author asserts that these changes imply clear elements of differentiation from what existed in the period from 1947–1989; at the same time, the author claims that these changes kept positive elements coming from traditional Romanian education of the interwar period. Crişan (2001) states the idea that the "awakening" of society to the change occurring in education came much later in 1999, namely, in a concurrent moment with the emergence of alternative textbooks for grades 9 and, partially, for grade 12. This is the moment when Romanian society as a whole, not just the teaching community, perceived changes in Romanian education. This study reveals the lack of preparation of the Romanian society to understand the background and the nature of these changes. The lack of coherence of Romanian research in the field and the lack of unity among the forces able to carry out joint research approaches with valuable results for a scientific foundation of a curriculum reform should be added to this lack of preparation. Such research could have supplied a solid foundation for a coherent, wise, and eventually effective strategy for developing a new curriculum project for the Romanian education. The research should have been focused later on an initial assessment of the new curriculum design, then on the impact of the curriculum implementation, and finally on the results of the curriculum reform.

The author presents the years 1990–1996 as a period of conceptual development of curricular reform, unfortunately little known to the public. Crişan highlights that in this period "no media coverage, not a real attention from the decision makers' side" existed. Reform was "invisible" and "hidden" from public eyes since the teams that worked on it had no access to decision-making spheres; they belonged mostly to the area of "research in the field." (Crişan, 2001:1). The author, a member of the team that worked on this "conceptual reform," adds that after 1997, "the top decision to implement a substantial reform became more than obvious. As a consequence, the authors of changes, invisible in the beginning, became responsible for curriculum reform implementation, and media ensured this time a proper visibility; at this point the reform turned into a tangible reality" (Crişan, 2001:3). The study speaks about coherent rhythms of implementation that started in 1998, stating that it ought to be connected with what happened in the seven prior years. Thus, the first step is represented by *a stage of conceptual elaborations* that started when, in 1991, the re-establishment of the Institute of Science of Education happened. A specialized department focused on curriculum was created inside of this institute, and the *National Council for Curriculum* was founded. As a consequence, the frame of a special consideration towards curriculum research and development started to exist.

In 1992, Bucharest hosted the UNESCO International Conference on the theme Curricular Development in Europe—Strategy and Organization. Romania's interventions were published in 1993. These are the first published works explicitly using the word "curriculum" and the phrase "curriculum reform" in Romania. The author states that the use of the term "curriculum reform" meant an approach focused on three components: *conceptual, strategic, and institutional.* Also, the idea of transition from the educational process focused on information storage to a focus on "procedural knowledge" is emphasized by the author. This means, according to Crişan, a good understanding of the European trend. Unfortunately, the study itself and especially the real products of reform prepared by Crişan's group, don't express a cohesive view of what curriculum and curricular reform should be. Even the author accepts the existence of an unsystematic character of the first approach of restructuring actions of this period.

However, a positive fact has to be emphasized: conceptual development was based on background studies that were reported to the analysis of curricula from 1898 until 1947, in conjunction with the curricula of the communist years. Existing valuable elements of Romanian programs of the third decade of the twentieth century were valued and reconsidered in developing new programs through adaptation to a new historical time.

A second stage or, rather we should say, a second direction of action consisted of analyzing the reality of the education system as it looked in the early 90s. This was done under the coordination of the National Council for Curriculum and the Ministry of Education. Several concrete aspects are connected to this direction (Crişan, 2001).

The first aspect is represented by realizing *foundation studies* based on specific actions. A first initiative was a survey applied to all curriculum subjects aiming to find out *the needs for change in each subject area.* Crişan speaks about a research approach with a clear target audience, scientifically sampled, with defined data collection and statistical procedures. Analysis of the survey's data led to the conclusion that teaching staff "*adhere to the idea of a need of curriculum change.*"

At the time, the authors of this chapter happened to be closely connected to the educational field. We were in a position to support the implementation of the mentioned steps of curriculum reform. Thus, we knew from the inside the teaching staff's opinion as a result of constant discussion in formal and informal contexts. This is the reason that we could formulate several crucial questions about the mentioned conclusion of the survey:

> Did the Romanian teaching staff really know what a genuine curriculum reform means after 44 years of a super-centralized educational system?
>
> Did teachers know what a curricular approach means, after 44 years of traditional pedagogy, without any previous attempt of introducing reflection on this topic?

It is necessary to highlight that nobody in charge of this reform organized an explicit action aiming to explain the essence of this new curricular vision and of a curriculum reform strategy. And another question arises:

> Is it correct to speak about a genuine understanding of the essence of curriculum reform even though for a long time the concrete reform only consisted of superficial contents?

New curriculum models for the Humanities and Science were introduced to the primary and secondary education levels as a second important action.

Third, a detailed analysis of the latest curriculum reforms in the world was finalized, both in terms of their strategy and in terms of involved curriculum documents (1993). This was a very good point as long as these experiences would have been considered models to be used for a Romanian reform. The assessment of the genuine values of the Romanian educational tradition connected to new trends and positive experiences worldwide could have finally led to a Romanian strategy of curriculum reform anchored in contemporary concrete conditions.

Another aspect of the analysis focused on Romanian school is labeled by Crişan as "studies for designing curriculum reform." The author himself points out that, in

1991, a first approach to curricular reform was focused on a reform of the *contents.* This "reform" was designed in two phases: a preliminary one aiming to give as products newly designed school programs (not based on a curricular philosophy, as we should underline); and a second phase named *operational* and "consisting of the creation of alternative textbooks as support for curriculum implementation" (Crişan, 2001). According to the original schedule designed for a period covering the years up until 1997, all these were to be implemented. But the reform would begin in a coherent manner only in 1997, as the author says. Actually, the Romanian educational reality was far from a coherent curriculum reform even after the moment of this analysis (2001); it appeared more like a long series of "trials," obsessively and periodically restarted and never reaching a perceptible final.

Contradictory directives coming from different levels of decision, the chaotic nature of providing so called "material support," and the policy of development and approval of alternative textbooks were not able to support a real effective curricular reform. This has happened in spite of a possible coherent and consistent philosophy of this reform that remained hidden, if it at all existed. Together with the author, we emphasize that one of the causes was the lack of continuity and convergence between central decision making and the actions of those who conceived reform in its details; but more than this, at least a part of this philosophy, if it ever existed as "a whole," could be discussed.

The "phases" shown above (as they were called by the author) are deemed to have had some importance as a starting point in the development of what was known as the *Curriculum Component of the Romanian Education Reform Project.* This project was conducted in collaboration with World Bank experts and cofinanced by the Romanian Government and the World Bank. The author discusses the production of some theoretical approaches embodied in several pedagogical publications. A special issue of *The Journal of Pedagogy,* a journal edited by *Institute of Educational Sciences,* was dedicated in 1994 to curriculum reform under the title *Curriculum and Curriculum Development.* Studies in this issue deal with the reform from strategically and conceptual perspectives. But at this time, no clear presentation of conceptual foundations can be really detected.

That is why those who have worked as designers of different sequences of the new curriculum, at the time, could not base their work on an in-depth and coherent understanding of the theoretical curriculum foundations. It was not clear at all which is the genuine difference between the new curricular approach and the traditional design of a subject program. In the best case, curriculum designers figured out that they should produce, *next to selected contents,* a list of targets or outcomes. Some of the "outcomes" were named "frame objectives"; others received the label of "reference objectives." The difference and relation between all these concepts—"outcomes, reference, and frame objectives"—were never really understood. Generally, the official documents replaced the excess of information with an emphasis on learning process. It is difficult to talk about a philosophy based on the understanding of what this means and what the conditions and the consequences of this declared intention are.

As professionals, we got involved, at the time, in the organization of concrete contexts related to support curriculum designer teams' activity. As a matter of fact, we had the opportunity to shadow their work, and we can testify that this was extremely well intended with a deep desire for renewal. But, conceptually speaking, it was located in a very slippery realm. The fundamental concern remained, at the time, as an almost obsessive one: the issue of *what* and *how much* information should be provided to students. Most of the teachers still highly valued the meaning of the phrase: "students' acquisitions are demonstrated by what and how much they can remember, as a sign of a high level of knowing." Unfortunately, this belief was shared by many curriculum designers. Thus, a huge gap persisted and still persists between the theoretical intentions (not scientifically founded and without a proper explanation) and the real school life. Words like: *curriculum, curricular,* and *procedural learning* appeared only as phrases in fashion, well to be said but impossible to use them as a cognitive foundation of a new curriculum design or a proper effective curriculum implementation.

The foundations of the newly designed National Curriculum can be found in the studies published during these years and in the *White Paper of the Reform* edited by the Institute of Sciences of Education (1993). These materials attempt to define some conceptual categories like: "*written curriculum,*" "*formal curriculum,*" "*taught curriculum,*" "*tested curriculum,*" and finally "*learned curriculum.*" Also, several other concepts were introduced: "*core curriculum,*" "*national curriculum,*" and "*school-based curriculum.*" However, the correlation existing between *curriculum theory* (as foundations), curriculum *representation* of the action/designed curriculum, and *curriculum implementation* was not well formulated. Even now in 2012 it seems that it is not clear how evaluation acts within a curriculum theory phase, or in a curriculum design, or during and after the complex processes of curriculum implementation. The specific targets and outcomes of all these evaluation hypostases are not differentiated, and as a consequence, they are not understood.

The *assessment of theoretical fundamentals* (concepts, the unity in defining them as a common language of the ongoing process of curriculum development, their systemic connection) belongs to the first phase. It can occur again on the upper spiral of a new theoretical approach, as a necessary consequence of reconsiderations after a full cycle of curriculum implementation, and after the holistic evaluation of the whole curriculum reform process. The upper spiral is a new moment of reflecting upon the theoretical bases according to the most recent educational realities and the latest results of research. New conceptual approaches might be necessary. The *evaluation of curriculum design* is primarily focused on the *products of this phase: written official curriculum with all its components***,** including *curriculum support materials.* During and after implementation of curriculum, the main target to be evaluated is represented by *students' concretely achieved competencies* compared to the designed competencies as overall and specific expectations; this criterion of assessment has been already created during the curriculum design stage. This means that curriculum represents a complex set of phases with a defined trajectory, based on an unity of connected concepts, all revolving around the five components of curriculum structure (in fact, the core components of a learning situation), meaning that a condition of coherence and consistency is the existence of an inner core of shared philosophy.

All these issues were neglected. That is why the curriculum reform appeared as a symphony played by an orchestra in which everybody plays without a score and the conductor lost control. Even the Reform Project had two separate institutional structures: one focused on curriculum (meaning mostly contents) and another one on evaluation. They were not able to be coordinated.

A New National Curriculum The period 1997–2000 has brought the development of a new *National Curriculum* and succeeded in implementing a curriculum reform. This is characterized as a period of systematization and consistency in curriculum reform by those who were in charge of it, but the reality was otherwise. The fundamentals of the New National Curriculum were represented by the so-called *Reference Framework* developed under the coordination of the Minister of National Education and National Council for Curriculum and published in 1998 (Frame of Reference, 1998). This document had the merit of trying to define fundamental concepts. It intended to establish benchmarks of curriculum reform. The document is the product of a team of six researchers of the Institute of Sciences of Education, members of the National Council of Curriculum. A. Marga, the Minister at the time, emphasized that education is an area in which everyone is capable of having an opinion; this delusion was based on the fact that everyone passes through the educational system. "Educational reforms are not possible nowadays, other than as comprehensive reforms" (Frame of Reference, Introductory Word, 1998:5). Such reforms involve complex changes in infrastructure, curriculum, support, implementation, management, school-community relationship, teacher training, and so on, and all these under a substantial change of the philosophy about the role of education in society (Frame of Reference, 1998, Introductory Word). It continues: "But, anyway one looks at it, an educational reform does not exist without a curriculum reform. The latter condenses best the educational reform and represents its core condition" (Frame of Reference, Introductory Word, 1998:5). Also, the necessity of preparing Romanian competitive graduates capable of facing a high level of international competition was highlighted (Frame of Reference, 1998:7).

The manner of using the term *competence* by authors is partially connected to the model EQF recommended to the European Community as fundamental for building national qualifications frameworks. This model separates competence (considered as an independent entity) from skills and knowledge: "students should be able to use their *knowledge and competences* in different situations" (Frame of Reference, Introductory Word, 1998:8). Later, the document abandons this model; the authors talk about *capacities* and *attitudes* as components of competence. Knowledge seems to be excluded. Features of personality are referenced as well, even if the related model does not specify them. Thus, the authors express the following main expectations: the motivation to react positively to change as a premise of personal development, capacities of an active social adaptation, and a set of personalized attitudes and values to support an active participation in a democratic and open society (Frame of Reference, 1998:8).

In this document, curriculum refers to the following: 1. *formal curriculum* understood as a set of "educational processes and learning experiences offered to students along their schooling route" (Frame of Reference, 1998:7) and 2. *official curriculum* materialized in the products of curriculum design, considered as regulatory documents for the formal educational process. The Frame of Reference establishes five components of the New National Curriculum: 1. National Curriculum for compulsory education; Frame of Reference seen as a document regulating coherence of components of the curricular system in terms of processes and products; 2. Framework plans (Master Plans) for first to twelfth /thirteenth grades; this document sets curriculum areas, subjects of study, and instructional time resources necessary for their approach; 3. School programs that include: goals (named *frame objectives,* connected with the corresponding *reference objectives*), learning contents, examples of learning activities (covering the methodological component of curriculum), and performance curricular standards set for each subject; 4. Guides, methodological rules, and support materials describing the conditions for implementing and monitoring the curriculum process; and 5. Alternative textbooks.

The *goals* of different education levels (primary, lower, and high secondary) represent a detailed presentation of the general expectation of education (educational ideal and general finalities) for different levels of schooling. These goals describe the specific expectations of each level of schooling in terms of education policy. They represent a system of reference both for developing the curricula of each level and for the teaching approach in classroom. A special chapter of the document is focused further on these.

Curricular cycles are defined as grouping several years of study that share certain goals and have therefore their corresponding curriculum. The timing of formal schooling overlaps the structure of the education system aiming to focus the major expectations of each stage in order to adjust the school and the education process through a series of curriculum type accents. A special chapter of the document is designed for detailing these aspects. The introduction of curricular cycles is expressed as follows: 1. specific goals for each level of school; 2. specific teaching methodology. Introducing curricular cycle becomes operative by (a) changes in the curriculum, meaning a distinctive grouping of objects of study, the grade when a specific subject is placed in the framework plan, and the sharing of each subject within the economy of curriculum; and (b) conceptual changes in the programs and textbooks; and 3. changes in teaching strategy (subject to initial and continuous rethinking of teachers). Each cycle has a specific role. The following diagram presents the determined curricular cycles for primary and low secondary education. (Frame of Reference, 1998:10)

The document promises that each curricular cycle will offer a coherent and consistent set of expectations. Unfortunately, the final product of the National Curriculum did not honor this promise. The official documents of that period operate with the concept of *objective* for the first to ninth grades and the concept of *competence* for tenth to twelfth grades. The other two concepts that are defined in the Frame of Reference (1998:11) are: *core* curriculum (a common curriculum at the national level) *and school-based curriculum.* At school level, the core curriculum must be achieved and three other options are possible: to implement a depth core curriculum, an extended curriculum, and a curriculum designed within the school.

Curriculum area represents another defined concept. It shows a new vision of structuring contents, the multi/interdisciplinary approach being involved. The National Curriculum in Romania was divided into seven subject (curricular) areas designated on the basis of epistemological and psycho-educational principles and criteria. These subject areas are: 1. Language and Communication, 2. Mathematics and Natural Sciences, 3. People and Society, 4. Arts, 5. Physical Education and Sport, 6. Technologies, and 7. Advice and Guidance. Curriculum areas remain the same throughout the term of mandatory school and high school, but their weight is variable for different grades.

Analyzing the Frame of Reference, seven dimensions of novelty are announced by the authors: 1. learning as a central element of the educational process, 2. learning focused on developing capacities and attitudes, 3. flexibility of offers that come from school, 4. adaptation of learning content to everyday life and concerns to students' interests and skills, 5. introduction of new ways of structuring and introducing contents during the schooling years, 6. creating conditions for implementation of individualized learning paths, and 7. a higher responsibility of all those involved in designing, monitoring, and evaluating curriculum (Frame of Reference, 1998:11, 12).

The New Curriculum design was based on several principles connected to four main aspects: curriculum as a whole, learning, teaching, and evaluation. These principles are further detailed on so-called criteria aiming to ensure a functional and methodological coherence of curriculum. Several other issues are introduced, discussed, and argued. Thus, the *training profile* is defined as describing the expectations as results at the students' level at the end of compulsory education. It is designed according to the general educational policy expectations and social requirements; it is based on students' psychological specificity and requests an appropriate pedagogical approach. The included capacities and attitudes have a "trans-disciplinary" nature, the authors say. We infer that knowledge is considered as a base of developing capacities and attitudes. The new vision is not focused on memorized information.

The document also provides details of all these aspects, ensuring a theoretical frame for the New National Curriculum design. Unfortunately, the detailed design process and the incoherence of the implementation process meant that in 2011 there was a necessity to talk *again* about a *new curriculum reform.* We are not talking about an ongoing natural process. On the contrary, the new National Education Act (2011) even if promised a better one, in spite of several real good points, does not offer a sound educational policy base for an adequate curriculum reform.

Another Frame of Reference is to be done. A team of 16 specialists started the work for this new document. What remains missing is the existence of a strategy of curriculum reform. It should be the starting point of this fundamental document. We wonder if once again the authors will proceed to the construction process without an architectural plan beforehand, only based on purported calculations of the engineering of construction, even these unclear, without an overview of the building and of its place and role within the determined environment. From what we know about the new document, it is in a phase of near completion but it is not likely answering to high and legitimate exigencies. We hope that before becoming an official document, things will change. A document of such importance should be based on clear ideas to highlight a coherent strategy and

TABLE 34.1
Curricular Cycles of Romanian National Curriculum

Age	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Grade	Preparatory	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Curricular cycle	Basic acquisitions			Development				Observation and orientation		

to have internal consistency and clarity. Thus it may be a useful foundation of an effective curriculum reform.

Strategies of Curriculum Reform Designing a frame of reference is an important stage of a curriculum reform. It belongs to the first steps of an entire and complex strategy. Metaphorically speaking, the entire process can be thought of as starting a new house without any idea about the architectural plan as a whole. No matter how competent the constructors are, without a vision of what is to be done, of all the steps to take to actualize the vision, nothing can be achieved. Because strategies and their tactical sequences are designed and turned into realities by people, we affirm that human resources are the most important aspect. We are referencing the *selecting, motivating, and organizing* of the human resources involved on different levels and at different moments of the curriculum reform process.

Human resources must represent the necessary *proper expertise.* We suggest the *milestones* of the strategy by presenting human resources' involvement on different levels and in specific moments. (Figure 34.2) First, a *top team* must become responsible for *designing the general strategy,* an overview of curriculum reform. It ought to contain professionals able to have a helicopter view of the entire educational system and an in-depth understanding of the educational process. A detailed understanding of the national, political, social, and economical system as a whole, with its intimate international connections is presumed, and a long-term perspective is involved. The design of the *landmarks* and an *effective decision-making process* along a dynamic reform are expected on this level.

Second, but not with a secondary role, *a team of curriculum specialists/professionals* should be the authors of a *core philosophy of curriculum design.* The role of this team is to design a *Reference Framework* that includes several important elements. A *corpus of concepts* clearly and simply (not simplistically) defined and shared with all the other subordinate teams ought to be the substance of a glossary of terms. The glossary of terms should be a main tool for all the curriculum designers' teams. The *core philosophy of the official curriculum design,* the *core philosophy of the external evaluation strategy* with its connections to the designed expectations of the National Curriculum should also be enclosed in the Reference Framework. A responsible analysis of educational national traditions and of effective international experiences should be the foundations of the articulated major lines of the future National Curriculum. This team has a double role: a *productive* one and a *consultancy* role, both for the managerial level as well as for the specialized teams of designers.

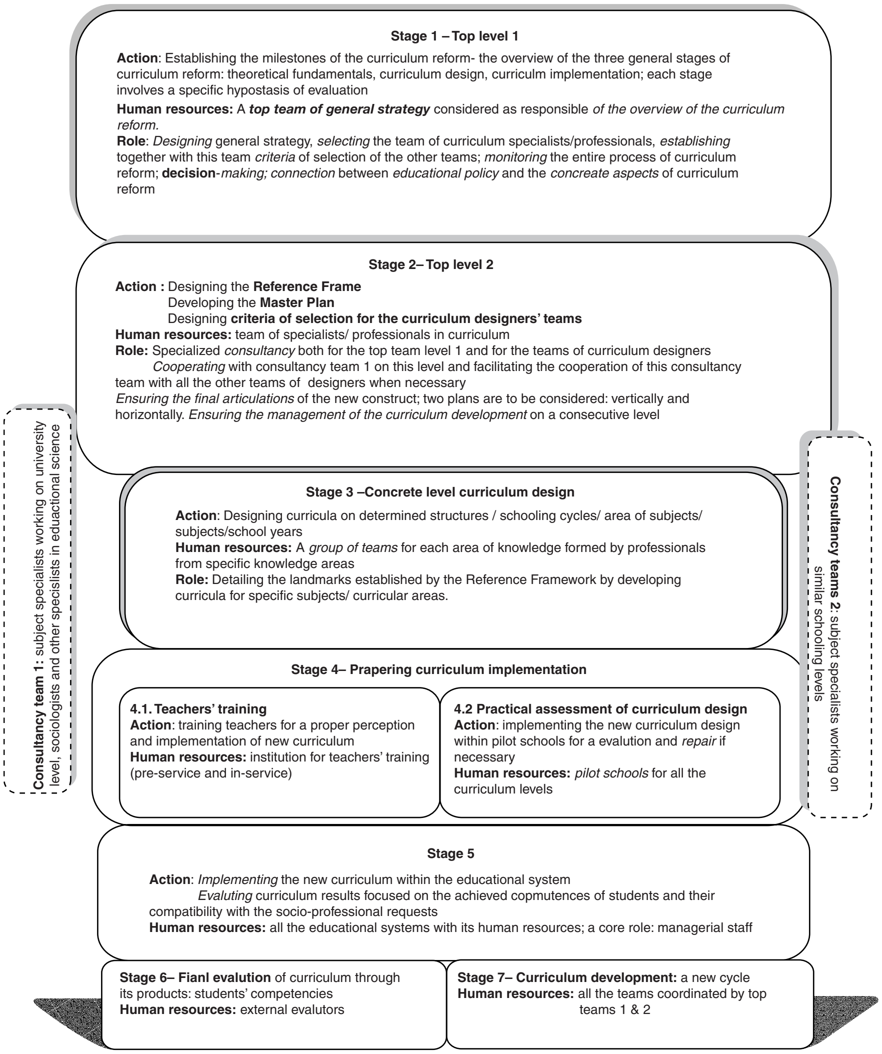
These two central teams act along the *entire* curriculum reform process. They ensure the *starting point* and the *general management of curriculum design,* including the final articulation of the elements incorporated within the new construct. Two plans are to be considered in this articulation: on the *verticality* of grades, schooling cycles, and training pathway, and *horizontally,* on the level of each curricular area and on grades. The designed Master Plan should establish defined areas of knowledge and the correspondent instructional time for each grade and each instructional context. Also, these teams are in charge of the *general and specialized management of curriculum implementation,* curriculum *evaluation,* and on a consecutive level, of *curriculum development.*

The core teams are responsible for selecting a group of *specialized teams* for each *area of knowledge.* Their work might be focused on a determined level (grade), but the products of these specialized teams have to be integrated within a complex document covering the entire curriculum area of knowledge since the first moment of its inclusion in curriculum (the grade when it is first approached) to the last one. This could be a way of ensuring *consistency, continuity, and quality.* The role of these specialized teams is to detail the landmarks established by the Reference Framework. They should have a complex structure: specialized teachers representing each defined level of design and at least one representative from the previous and the following level. The *team of curriculum specialists/professionals* has to ensure a permanent consultancy. Another necessary consultancy opinion for punctual issues can be provided by teachers with the same area of expertise, working in different geographical areas of the national territory. A flexible list of these "supporting teachers" might be established. They may be consulted on line for punctual opinions during the curriculum designing process. They could answer to *well-structured frames of questions* with filling space for facilitating an efficient synthesizing process. All the mentioned teams ought to benefit from consultancy ensured by a *group of sociologists, educational psychologists, and higher education representatives of knowledge areas.* They are meant to offer consultancy in their area of expertise along the entire curriculum design process and further along the implementation, evaluation, and curriculum development stages.

Designers of the tools for the established forms of the external evaluation must be intimately connected to all of the already presented structures. They must necessarily know the *core philosophy of National Curriculum design* and the *details* of curricula for their area of expertise and for other connected curricular areas. This knowledge offers the substantiation of a correct and efficient design of assessment tools (topics) with standards connected to what the National Curriculum states.

Selecting the right persons for all these teams should be a process in itself, focused on proven expertise and open minds. The management of a piloting stage of the new curriculum design within the designated pilot schools, before the general implementation should be an important phase. Necessary corrections before the general implementation are important to be done.

A number of projects are initiated on different levels to support the development of human resources in Romania. One of them is the EU project "PERFORMER," developed by the University Transylvaniaof Brasov in cooperation



Stage 1 – Top level 1

Action: Establishing the milestones of the curriculum reform- the overview of the three general stages of curriculum reform: theoretical fundamentals, curriculum design, curriculm implementation; each stage involves a specific hypostasis of evaluation

Human resources: A ***top team of general strategy*** considered as responsible *of the overview of the curriculum reform.*

Role: *Designing* general strategy, *selecting* the team of curriculum specialists/professionals, *establishing* together with this team *criteria* of selection of the other teams; *monitoring* the entire process of curriculum reform; **decision**-*making; connection* between *educational policy* and the *concreate aspects* of curriculum reform

Stage 2– Top level 2

Action : Designing the **Reference Frame**
Developing the **Master Plan**
Designing **criteria of selection for the curriculum designers' teams**

Human resources: team of specialists/ professionals in curriculum

Role: Specialized *consultancy* both for the top team level 1 and for the teams of curriculum designers
Cooperating with consultancy team 1 on this level and facilitating the cooperation of this consultancy team with all the other teams of designers when necessary
Ensuring the final articulations of the new construct; two plans are to be considered: vertically and horizontally. *Ensuring the management of the curriculum development* on a consecutive level

Consultancy team 1: subject specialists working on university level, sociologists and other specislists in eduactional science

Consultancy teams 2: subject specialists working on similar schooling levels

Stage 3 – Concrete level curriculum design

Action: Designing curricula on determined structures / schooling cycles/ area of subjects/ subjects/school years

Human resources: A *group of teams* for each area of knowledge formed by professionals from specific knowledge areas

Role: Detailing the landmarks established by the Reference Framework by developing curricula for specific subjects/ curricular areas.

Stage 4– Prapering curriculum implementation

4.1. Teachers' training
Action: training teachers for a proper perception and implementation of new curriculum
Human resources: institution for teachers' training (pre-service and in-service)

4.2 Practical assessment of curriculum design
Action: implementing the new curriculum design within pilot schools for a evalution and *repair* if necessary
Human resources: *pilot schools* for all the curriculum levels

Stage 5

Action: *Implementing* the new curriculum within the educational system
Evaluting curriculum results focused on the achieved copmutences of students and their compatibility with the socio-professional requests

Human resources: all the educational systems with its human resources; a core role: managerial staff

Stage 6– Fianl evalution of curriculum through its products: students' competencies
Human resources: external evalutors

Stage 7– Curriculum development: a new cycle
Human resources: all the teams coordinated by top teams 1 & 2

Figure 34.2 Human Resources' Role Within the Curriculum Reform.

with two other Romanian universities (Arad and Alba Iulia) and ISPEF Rome. This EU project aims to develop *a higher education master's degree focused on teacher training for early education.* The level of early education represents a novelty of the educational reform in Romania. Teachers' specialized training for this level is an essential aspect. Sharing a European experience and disseminating it in at least three places in Romania, and further in other regions, is also an important result of this project.

See file: Romania figure 2.

Involvement of Romania in International Studies Romania has participated since 1995 in studies such as TIMSS, PIRLS, and PISA, and negative results have been registered. Many of the identified causes are connected to the National Curriculum, and taking action at that level is not only necessary but also possible. Recognition of these results does not imply the existence of a proper response to an interesting question: *How can the smooth insertion of Romanian immigrant children into the educational systems of other countries be explained?* Thus, average-level students within the Romanian assessment obtain results often much above average, or at least at the average level, in their countries of adoption. Official or informal discussion with people in charge of emigrants' insertion into different countries, and a long-term observation of students selected at random revealed this truth. We refer to this as a result of concrete discussions in the United States and France with persons in charge of assessing the immigrants' insertion into education and, after an informal inquiry conducted by ourselves, focused on ordinary Romanian students living in very different countries. As we have already stressed, their results as students or employees in other countries exceeded an average level, if not exceptional. A serious study could examine this situation and eventually could identify the real strengths of the Romanian education of the specific period.

Concerns and Reflections upon Curriculum Within the Publications of the Period 1990–2011 Romanian curriculum research has focused on: 1. Curriculum reform, changing needs, and priorities of these changes from the perspective of all stakeholders and potential beneficiaries (Miclea et al., 2007); 2. Consequences of the introduction of compulsory education of 10 years, conditions of implementation, and corrective measures that had to be taken at that time (Jigău, 2008); and 3. Current restructuration of the National Curriculum with specific conditions to implement it (Bîrzea et al., 2010). Other works highlight specific fields of analysis. Thus, Cerchez and Căpiţă (2004) present an interesting analysis of school programs from the perspective of ensuring the development of communication skills. The relationship between the National Curriculum and nonformal and informal education is the core topic of a work published in 2008 (Costea). The problem of key competencies and the way to implement the European framework in the Romanian context are the topics of an edition that appeared in 2010 as a result of the work of a research team of I.S.E. coordinated by Costea and Nastea. The issues of expanding training, and strengthening and shaping key competences throughout one's lifetime are discussed in the Romanian context.

It is worth noting that all Faculties of Education in Romania have introduced the study of Curriculum Theory after 1990. Thus, in Romania, laboratories of curriculum have been developed within faculties of education, research has been done in the area, and some necessary theoretical approaches appeared. Some works have the merit of introducing this topic in the Romanian specialty literature (Ungureanu, 1999; Niculescu, 2000; Creţu, 2001). Others represent approaches of specific aspects: Curriculum intercultural (Creţu, 2001) or Global Curriculum (Creţu, 2006), Curriculum Theory and Curriculum Management (Niculescu 2003), or Curriculum a Continuing Challenge (Niculescu, 2010). A comprehensive presentation of curriculum history can be found in the work of Negreţ (2008). In many cases, however, the introduction of *Curriculum Theory* was only another subject added to the traditional Pedagogy.

Working on this chapter, we have initiated a study of the pedagogical publications of the last years from 20 publishing houses in Romania. Several works focused on pedagogical topics and their distribution on categories was taken into consideration. The result can be briefly presented as follows: 43 (35.8%) theoretical works published were explicitly related to curriculum or strongly correlated to this theme; 30 (25%) works were related to Sciences of Education in general; 44 (36.66%) works were focused on the teaching methodology of different curricular areas; and only 3 books have represented translations of foreign literature in the field. The small number of translations can be explained by the real access of those interested in reading materials in international languages. It is important to emphasize that the number of pedagogical books or studies edited in this period is *much more numerous* than the results of this investigation because it was just based on 20 specified publishers. These results do not contain, for instance, any of the referenced materials of the previous analysis. We have inserted these data as an argument of a serious interest for curriculum field in Romania.

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35

The History of Curriculum in Russia

Vladimir Blinov

The history of Russia, as of that of any other country in the world, is closely connected with the history of its culture and education. Thus, the periods of development of Russian education will (indeed, must) mirror the periods of its history. These periods are:

1. The end of the tenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth—the period of the development of the Russian state, characterized by the openness of its culture and education towards Western and Eastern cultures.
2. The mid-seventeenth century to the early twentieth century—the period of Russia's establishment as a European state, accompanied by the division of Russian society into "Western" and "Slavic" paths of development of state and culture.
3. 1917–1991—the period of Soviet Russia, characterized by extreme ideologization of many aspects of civic life and being significantly closed off from the Western world.
4. 1991–the present—the period of Russia's inclusion in global processes, which exacerbated the stratification of society in terms of the idea of Russia's openness to the West.

The idea of the openness (or transparency) of Russian education, and its relationship to Western educational models, is essential to understanding the specifics of the development of Russian education. This idea in education is inextricably bound up with the idea of free choice. Freedom in cultural and educational contacts envisages, on the one hand, openness towards all states, and on the other hand, free choice in historically developed cultural and moral values. Openness to, and consistency with, such values form the basis of the development of Russian education throughout its history. In understanding the stages mentioned, it is important to bear in mind that free discourse in the areas of culture and education does not imply mimicry of Western educational values or their ill-conceived adoption.

Russia's aspiration to transparency in education and culture, especially in the first period of its history, can be explained first of all by two factors: the essence of Eastern Orthodoxy as the state religion, and constant external military and cultural influence. One way of protecting cultural and educational values—counterintuitive though it might be—was the idea of openness in these areas.

Education from the End of the Tenth Century to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century

The organization of the first institutions of learning and the spread of education throughout the Russian principalities was tied to the adoption of Christianity and the spread of writing and the systemization of literacy among Slavic peoples. Along with an alphabet, the Slavs got a whole package of liturgical, spiritual-moral, and scientific writings, which were translated into the Slavic language in the ninth century. From the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, education had a state-and-church nature. This is explained largely by the fact that teachers in educational establishments throughout this period were all clergymen.

In education, the first priority was to form the moral qualities of a person, through knowledge and the ability to wield this knowledge. Therefore, a great deal of attention was paid to requirements for priest teachers, and to the nature of their relationships with students. Special letters to teachers reminded them of the necessity of having a gentle influence on their students, and of showing them love and understanding in the course of their studies. The absence of recommendations for corporal punishment is explained by the fact that this was a crime for clergymen, one for which they would be tried in an ecclesiastical court and possibly defrocked. From the mid-eleventh century, priest-teachers were paid out of a set-aside fund from princes' treasuries. Education in the eleventh–sixteenth centuries was considered both a state and a church matter, and was not passed on to private individuals, even in difficult times.

Schools were founded under parish churches or, more rarely, under monasteries. The organization of the first schools was based on the specific examples of the Byzantine and Bulgarian institutions of learning, which explains much about the rapid growth of schools in the Russian principalities. Chronicles preserve news about existing schools in the tenth–thirteenth centuries in Kiev, Novgorod, Pereyaslavl, Murom, Vladimir-Volynsky, Smolensk, Galich, Rostov, and other Russian cities. The fast development of early education in the eleventh–fourteenth centuries was facilitated by a variety of educational literature in the Slavic language, coming from Bulgaria, Serbia, Constantinople, and Afon.

As a rule, boys began formal education at the age of seven—with the end of "infancy" and the beginning of boyhood, although the age was not strictly regulated. Many sources show that education was a mixed affair, with children of various social classes, from peasants to nobles, learning together. Particular attention was devoted to the education and raising of orphans, for whom churches built Orphans' Homes. Many manuscripts have preserved information about the fact that schools and teachers were widely present, covering not just cities, but also small towns and villages. In terms of student numbers, schools varied—from 8–10 children in small villages, to several dozen in schools in large cities.

The curriculum of the first stage of education in the eleventh–seventeenth centuries included reading, writing, calculating, and singing. Schoolbooks for the learning of literacy and writing throughout the twelfth–eighteenth centuries included alphabets, handwriting copy books, spelling books, educational psalters, and books of hours, grammar books, vocabulary books, and others. Preserved examples of these books exist as both manuscripts and printed copies.

The expansion of historical and geographical vision of children and adults in the Russian state came about in the process of reading books with a spiritual and moral focus—the Lives of Saints. Through these, students learned about Russian and world geography. Persia, Alexandria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Byzantium, the Roman Empire, Caucasian Iberia, Britain, and Spain were just a few of the states and regions familiar to Russians by the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries. Various historical events were also thoroughly covered in the Lives of Saints. Manuscripts existed and were transcribed in various Russian regions, which reflects on the authors' and transcribers' familiarity with world geography and history.

Knowledge of a geographical nature can be found in Russian manuscript collections and translated compositions as early as the eleventh–twelfth centuries, and from the fourteenth century, they were included in many collections of an educational nature, composed by educated people of the age. Any fourteenth-century volume from the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery library will contain information about geographical ideas as understood in Muscovy. For example, in the chapter "Structure of the Earth," it was noted that the Earth is shaped like an egg and that it rotates on its axis, there was an understanding of longitude and latitude, ocean currents, and a number of other concepts in the same sense in use today.

After the so-called Age of Discovery, interest in geography increased significantly, not just in Europe but in Russia as well. This was reflected in the translation of the Cosmographies, which were actively translated and written in Russia. In the sixteenth century, the works of Pomponius Mela (15–60 AD) and Martin Belsky (1495–1575) were translated, and in the first half of the seventeenth century, those of Gerard Mercator (1512–1594), Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), and others. In addition, there were many widely distributed works with descriptions of European states, China, India, Turkey, Algeria, Ethiopia, and many other lands. On the basis of these works, domestic geographical compositions flourished. For example, a textbook from 1665 included descriptions of countries and lands, and of the lifestyles of their peoples, not only of Europe, Asia, and Africa, but also America, Australia, and the Arctic. In addition, we have scientific and educational compositions in various areas of knowledge: the seven liberal arts, city planning, the science of war, medicine, and others.

Education was inextricably bound to literacy. Birch bark letters and documents, containing writings by the very people they mention, testify to the wide extent of both education and literacy through different classes of the population. We can determine, for example, that the literacy rates among the non-clergy population of the Moscow Simonov Monastery parish in various periods of the sixteenth century was around 78–80%, while the population of the Iosifo-Volokolamsky Monastery Parish in the same period had rates of 57–88%. Parish and monastic clergy were fully literate, according to the requirements of their positions and responsibilities. A fairly high percentage of monks were literate, since their offices—lector, librarian, singer, and others—required full literacy. For example, the literacy rate for brothers of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery in the 1580s was 100% for monk-priests, and 94% for regular monks. In terms of the upper classes, in 1598, literacy rates were as follows: for *boyare*—72%, for *okolnichie*—88%, and for *dyaki*—97%.

Nor was literacy a rarity among women. For example, about a third of the addressees or authors of the birch bark letters of the twelfth–fourteenth centuries were women. Chronicle compositions preserve testimony about the daughter of the prince of Vitebsk, Yefrosinya Polotskaya (c. 1104–1173), and the daughter of the prince of Chernigovsk, Yefrosinya Suzdalskaya (1212–1258), who were not only literate, but received a good, broad education, reading in Latin and Greek authors such as Virgil, Asclepius, Galen, Aristotle, Homer, Plato, and others.

The spread of literacy and education throughout the eleventh–seventeenth centuries took place thanks to the wide distribution of books, in particular of educational materials, among various sections of the population. Book printing played a significant role in this. The Moscow Print Yard was a sort of center for printing educational books in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Educational publications had print runs in the thousands, and the total printing of, for example, alphabets in the second half of the seventeenth century was at least 350,000. It should be noted that these print runs—large even for our time—were merely complementing the manuscript alphabets already in existence, which were widely distributed up to the nineteenth century. Alphabets were available for purchase to all social classes and were greatly in demand. In addition to the Moscow Print Yard, in the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries, there were no fewer than 30 large typographical studios, printing from 1491 on the orders of the Russian government educational books in Russian (Church Slavonic) in Rome, Krakow, Prague, Venice, Stockholm, and Amsterdam.

The first library among the Russian principalities, according to the *Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennykh let*) (twelfth century), was founded by Prince Yaroslav the Wise at the Sofia Cathedral in Kiev. This collection was filled with books brought from Byzantium, gifts from France, Norway, Poland, Hungary, and Rome from the ruling dynasties with whom the Russian rulers had intermarried. Many of the books were in foreign languages, which lead to large-scale translation and transcribing procedures. The principality library also included antique manuscripts, some of which came from the embassy in Rome as gifts to the Grand Prince Ioann III Vasilevich. Some of the book collection may have come from Byzantium, by that time captured by the Turks.

Practically all command departments (*Prikazy)*—the bodies of government management—had large libraries. For example, by the early seventeenth century, the Ambassadorial Command (created in 1549) contained the largest repository of Russian and foreign maps, writings, contracts, and educational and scientific books. Under Tsar Ivan the Terrible, the Command began to get foreign papers from Amsterdam, The Hague, Koenigsberg, Hamburg, Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, Brussels, Rome, Madrid, and other European cities. On the basis of this foreign information, they prepared periodic reports on the situation abroad, *vestoviye pisma,* which by the end of the sixteenth century had morphed into issues of *Vesti* or *Kuranty.* The name (from the German *couranten*—"current news," and the French *courant*—"running") probably came from similarly named European papers of the time. A comparison of dates of the European events with the dates of the articles about these events in the Russian *Kuranty* reveals a time lag of about two to three weeks, which is quite impressive for the early seventeenth century.

Professional education in Russia was directed by the state, and the Command Departments acted as centers for training specialists in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. The main form of professional training was trade apprenticeship: private, with master craftsmen, and state education under the Command Departments. The state maintained control not only over state education, but also over private education, since the quality would allow those completing the training to be taken into state service. In many cases, this was beneficial both to the state and to the student. Student rolls included nobles, city children, children from military families, orphans, and paupers. The professional preparation made good use of educational and scientific compositions in Russian and foreign languages from the libraries at each Command Department. For example, the library of the Military Command (*Pushkarsky Prikaz)* contained educational materials on geometry, draftsmanship, astronomy, fortress construction, and other subjects, in several foreign languages.

The beginning of military education in Russia was linked to the creation of a standing army, since without specialized knowledge of military matters, it is impossible to command forces or to carry out orders. Throughout the eleventh–seventeenth centuries, education in military matters was directly through military services and campaigns, and based on the knowledge laid down in parish schools. For this reason, there was a family tradition in military affairs. This tradition was responsible for the lack of any kind of specialist military academies up to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The appearance of regular military units—the *Streltsy* regiments—in the mid-sixteenth century lead to the establishment of training for soldiers on military matters. For example, they took German military leadership, and for the establishment of the "new regiments" in the 1640s, they looked to the Dutch. Translated military rules and compositions of an educational nature, created by various European states for hired forces, gradually brought about changes in the nature of military education in Russia.

The main method by which Russia and European states shared knowledge on the subject of education throughout the eleventh–mid-seventeenth centuries was by sending young people abroad. The goal of sending them off was to ensure mastery of foreign languages and familiarity with European educational practices. Evidence for this is plentiful in Tsarist letters and orders, ambassadorial orders carried to foreign ambassadors, diplomatic correspondence, private letters, and other sources. Cooperation between the Russian state and other Eastern Orthodox countries (Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and others) on education was a hallowed tradition. At this time, young people were sent to study foreign languages in other countries as well, including Sweden, Denmark, and the German lands. We also know of cases where young people took it upon themselves to travel abroad in order to learn foreign languages. Such examples reflect a quite important trend—Russian rulers not only did not condemn the study of foreign languages by Russian subjects, they actually supported it. In the early seventeenth century, Tsar Boris

Godunov (1598–1605) undertook an attempt to send 15 young men to Germany, France, and England to study at leading European universities.

Two well-known representatives of the Catholic Church—Johann Fabri, Bishop of Wienne (1478–1541) and Pavel Ioviy, Bishop Novokomsky (1483–1552)—left testimonies of education and morality in the Russian state in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In their testimonies they evaluated positively the level of education of the Russian populace, and had only positive things to say about the population's morality against the backdrop of criticizing the current state of morals in German lands. These writings also attest to the broad cooperation between Russia and European states concerning education.

Education in Russia from the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Russia's annexation of a number of southwestern territories settled by Slavic, Eastern Orthodox-practicing peoples in the mid-seventeenth century had serious consequences regarding the nature and tasks of education. For about four centuries (the thirteenth to the seventeenth), these lands had experienced active, largely aggressive influence on their cultures. The corresponding opposition hugely influenced the loss of many traditions in education and the building of systems of educational establishments based on European educational practices. An example is the organization and running of the so-called fraternal Orthodox schools, mainly based on the educational organization of Jesuit and Protestant colleges. The activity of such schools in Lvov, Vilnius, Kiev, and other cities influenced the organization in Moscow of governmental initiatives and of institutions of middle and higher levels of education. As a result, the emphasis in education on self-study was shifted to a targeted and controlled educational process. Its attributes from the seventeenth century up to the present day were a fundamentally new experience for Russia—an administrative apparatus of the educational institution, uniforms for students, a system of departments or classes, a system of incentives and punishments, documents upon completion of studies, and so on. The most famous educational establishments were the Kievo-Mogilyanskaya Academy (1631) and the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow (1685), which was further developed in the eighteenth century.

The reforms of Tsar Peter the Great in the military field and state management demanded a significant increase in the number of specialists for various areas of state life. These changes primarily lead to the creation of military academies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russia had a system of specialist military academies which included naval, engineering, and artillery institutes, garrison schools, noble military schools, and a number of others.

In 1701 in Moscow, a professional educational institution for all classes was founded—the Mathematical and Navigational Arts School—after which navigation schools began opening up in port cities all over the place. To prepare for entrance into these institutions, arithmetic schools were founded. In 1715 in St. Petersburg, the Naval Academy was founded, also known as the Academy of Naval Guards. Artillery and Military Engineering schools were founded to educate military engineers. By order of Empress Anne in 1731 in St. Petersburg, Russia's first Cadet Corps was opened. The Russian Page Corps was founded in 1759—an educational establishment to train nobles in the sciences and rules of military service under the Tsar.

The active mining of iron ore in Olonets and the Urals in the early eighteenth century called for training a significant number of qualified specialists for various responsibilities in the mining industry. The first mining school of the eighteenth century was founded in Olonets in 1716 by the commander of the Olonets province, German engineer V. I. de Gennin (1676–1750). Other schools began to open in connection with Urals factories in 1721, on the initiative of the head of state factories of the Urals, V. N. Tatishchev (1686–1750). The Mining Academy was founded in 1773, a higher professional education establishment training mining engineers.

The educational institutions that offered general education throughout the eighteenth century included parish schools and folk schools run by the local civil and ecclesiastical authorities, bishopric schools, seminaries, and academies run by the Holy Synod, a university and gymnasiums run by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and a university in Moscow and gymnasiums in Moscow and Kazan. An interesting influence on Russian education was the Kharkov collegium, a higher educational institution. It included departments of drawing; architecture; painting; music; "engineering;" artillery; surveying; mathematics and geometry; history; geography; the French, German, and Italian languages; and a number of subdepartments such as the Division of Russian Eloquence and Poetry, similar to those in the Moscow University. It had about 1,000 students.

The University of the Academy of Sciences (1725) and the Imperial Moscow University (1755) held a special place among the higher educational establishments founded in Russia in the eighteenth century. Both universities also had gymnasiums (two in Moscow and Kazan), with four schools for Russian, Latin, German, and French, and two departments—one for the nobility and one for other ranks. Evidence of the high level of Moscow University students regarding scientific work can be seen in students A. Karamyshev and M. Afronin, sent in 1759 to Uppsala University (Sweden) to study under the leading academic in natural sciences, Carl Linnaeus. Their dissertations were published three times in Sweden in the latter eighteenth century as essential scientific works, and families and species of plants were named after A. Karamyshev. Part of his dissertation was included in Linnaeus's foundational *Systema Naturae.*

From the latter seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, educational institutions founded by foreigners became more common. The first such schools appeared in the early seventeenth century in the Foreign Quarter of Moscow—the district where most foreigners in the city lived. This tradition became especially popular in the eighteenth century, although it took place under government supervision. Most popular in the latter eighteenth century were boarding schools. As a new type of institution for Russia, they began to be founded after the idea took hold in the 1720s-50s of the advisability of not only state, but also private, class-segregated education. In some cases, private educational establishments were reminiscent of government schools in terms of organization, but in others they were modeled on European colleges and had a very closed character. Because most Russians did not promote closed forms of education, most private boarding schools were founded by foreigners. The low quality of teaching and disdain for Russian interests led to a decision by Empress Catherine the Great (herself German by nationality) to transform foreign boarding schools into state institutions.

The Spiritual Regulations of 1721, prepared by Orthodox Bishop Feofan (Prokopovich)—a graduate of a Jesuit college and a promoter of Protestant ideas in Russia—were a bright manifestation of adopting new pedagogical ideas. They suggested, for example, mixing children from the clergy, the merchant class, and the petty bourgeoisie together in closed educational institutions—Academies and Seminaries—to create a separate class of society based on the example of Western European states. For hiding sons who did not wish to study, parents could be fined, fired, or excluded from the workplace. Children who tried to run away from school could be subjected to corporal punishment. These ideas were further developed in the Foster Home project, designed by I. I. Betskoy (1704–1795). He was raised abroad, and studied in the Copenhagen Cadet Corps, served in the Danish cavalry, travelled around Europe, and was entranced by the ideas of the French Enlightenment. Under these influences, Betskoi suggested opening foster homes in Russia, which would gradually create a "new race of people." By this, Betskoi meant primarily "new fathers and mothers," who would possess the "new" morality, and become "new citizens." The high rates of fatalities in the foster homes and the population's rejection of the ideas led to the end of the project.

The result of educational searches in Russia based on European pedagogical ideas in the late seventeenth–eighteenth centuries was the initiative by Empress Catherine the Great to establish a single state system of education in the Russian Empire. The goals of the reforms were to build an education system in Russia based on a return to the principles of mixed-class education, accessibility, and free education, and establishing the continuity of all levels and forms of obtaining an education. The *namestnichestvos*—the new territorial administrative units—were educational districts. All management of education was concentrated in the hands of the Commission for managing the folk schools (1782), headed by Count Zavadovsky. The result was a three-tiered system of educational institutions: Universities, Main Folk Schools, and Small Folk Schools based on national Russian educational traditions. The opening of new institutions was supposed to take place based on a decision by the civil authorities—Public Assistance Orders. All other schools were subordinate to the general rules and educational plan. The management, financing, and educational part took on a state and civic character. Altogether, about 350 Main and Small Folk schools were opened over 15 years.

An important peculiarity of Russian education was the serious attention the state paid to educating the indentured populations, or serfs. For example, about 35–70% of students in Main Folk Schools were the children of serfs and received up to a secondary education. By order of the authorities, the landed gentry were required to send their serfs' children to parish schools. Meanwhile, the gentry themselves frequently organized on their estates not only primary schools, but also general secondary schools and professional education institutions. In selecting children to study, they focused on persuasion rather than coercion, and accepted only those who freely chose to study. For the entire time in education, schoolchildren were provided with all their needs in terms of food and clothing.

Schools were set up across the country, including in the far reaches of the Russian Empire. For example, on Kamchatka, schools began to be founded in the early eighteenth century as the result of a number of naval expeditions. As part of these expeditions, a number of primary schools were set up, and by the mid-eighteenth century, there more than 20 of them. In the 1780s, the first schools were established for Russian and native children in Alaska, which belonged to Russia until 1867.

As part of the reforms at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Ministry of National Education was established, and the fundamental system of Russian education was based on universities. They were to become the centers of the educational districts of Russia and to coordinate all the educational establishments in their territory. Many new ideas about Russian education were set out in projects by F.A. Lagarp, a teacher of the future Emperor Alexander I, and P. Stroganoff, a member of the French convention of Jacobins and a friend of Alexander I. Under conditions of increased influence of European pedagogical ideas on Russian education, the stratification of classes increased, institutions of secondary education were closed to girls, and the trend for turning children over to closed boarding schools increased. Nobles once again, as in the mid-eighteenth century, developed a preference for home education with foreign governesses and tutors. Gymnasiums began opening up many boarding schools for the nobility, and a new type of secondary school emerged—the noble institute.

Minister for National Education S. S. Uvarov (1833–1849) may serve as a kind of a mirror of the new trends in

Russia education as he was a promoter of the European, in particular the German, models of educational systems. Their fundamental curriculum was "classics"—the study of ancient languages and authors, with their consequential emphasis on logic, philosophy, and mathematics. However, and without changing his views, Uvarov based his ideas for Russian education on "Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality." There is nothing strange in this, since the idea of copying another and focusing on one's own exclusivity always go hand in hand.

The increasing closeness of Russian education to European pedagogical traditions in the nineteenth century led to the exacerbation of the "own path" problems in Russian society. Some people believed that such a path was impossible—they believed Russia to be an integral part of Europe. Others saw another way, outside of Western countries. They were united in the idea of disagreeing with the state approach, and the "Western" or "Russian" path for development of educational thinking seemed to them to be historically determined and exclusively true. Changed in form but not in substance, this idea crystallised in the activities of the political parties at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. State authorities were forced to take into account such mentalities.

Primary education throughout the nineteenth century was delivered by several dozen types of institutions. Mainly these were parish schools, district schools, city schools, ministerial schools, land schools, estate schools for peasant children, and so on. When setting up primary education, according to ancient Russian tradition, special care was paid to the education of orphans, for whom orphans' homes were founded.

In secondary education, the main institutions were classical and real gymnasiums (from 1872 onward, called real schools). Gymnasiums also ran, in addition to the basic course of study, professional classes that taught the basics of a given profession. The profession was determined by the demands of the specific region in given specialties. In the mid-nineteenth century, a network of secondary educational institutions for women—gymnasiums and institutes—was founded and expanded quickly. This was closely tied to the spread of European ideas about the equality of men's and women's professions, and led to women paying less attention to their families, a reduced number of marriages, and fewer children in urban families. In turn, this trend lead to the establishment in Russia of a fundamentally new type of institution—public children's nurseries, accepting children from the age of one, with the aim of 'liberating' women for intellectual and physical labor.

In higher education, universities held the central place, and offered a classical education. Their activities were regulated by special University Statutes (1804, 1828, 1864, and 1883). Each agency in Russia had its own institutes on its activities—mining, communications channels, technical issues, finance, and so on. The Lycees were a special form of higher education, at Tsarskoye Selo and in Moscow, Nezhin, Yaroslavl, and Odessa.

In the late nineteenth century, there was active growth in secondary pedagogical educational establishments—state and private pedagogical institutes, teachers' colleges, and pedagogical courses. An important Russian characteristic was the relationship of pedagogy to state service, and of the pedagogues to state servants.

In the area of pedagogical thinking, it is worth noting the interesting appearance of a purely Russian tradition—active participation by leading writers and poets in pedagogical activities and in writing pieces addressing educational issues. The like included Pushkin, Dal, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and many others. Their position, as a general rule, departed from the official one and spoke of the necessity, on the one hand, of being open to the world, and on the other hand, of thoughtfully correlating new pedagogical ideas with Russia's great educational traditions.

An example of disregard for this proper idea can be seen in the trend for studying Scripture in educational institutions from the latter seventeenth century up to the early twentieth. The more Russia adopted from Europe in the way of pedagogical ideas and educational practice, the more teaching of this subject deepened and lengthened. It is interesting to note that from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, this subject was not only absent, but was considered to be of "European influence." This trend should be seen not as a defensive reaction, but as two aspects of a single process: the poorly considered copying of Western educational ideals led to a "withdrawal" of Russian education, which begat the feeling that "everything we have is bad," and a consequential desire to adopt more and more ideas from other countries and break apart everything old. A fine example of this trend can be seen in Russia's copying of the "new upbringing" idea and the experience of "reform pedagogy" in the early twentieth century. Such copying led to strengthening the ideas of classicism in education, and also to the comprehensive destruction of the education system in 1917.

Education in Soviet Russia (1917–1991)

The development of education in the first years after the revolution of 1917 was based on values worked out during the Imperial period. This was due to the fact that ideology and values are not susceptible to fast transformations, and education is always based on specific value standards. And because of this, the People's Commissariat for Education (founded in 1917), having declared the construction in Russia of a new "communist morality" and "single labor school," was forced to announce in 1921 that the new goals were very slow to be achieved—although a comprehensive review of ideological standards in the 1920s was carried out most thoroughly.

Both in the theory and in the practice of education, the ideas of a communist upbringing quickly superseded humanitarian principles of education and instruction, subjecting the Russian school to a new ideological setup in the 1920s under the influence of pedagogical ideas about the need to transition from "schools of study" to "schools of labor." Russian education underwent large-scale experimentation, in the course of which many American and European pedagogical ideas were implemented—the Dalton plan, the project method, and the laboratory-brigade form of organizing education and upbringing. Under these activities, lessons, grades, and diplomas were offered, classes were expanded, and a brigade-laboratory approach to organizing instruction was implemented. The word of the teacher was replaced by "workers' schools." The theory that schools would gradually "die off" on the path towards communism enjoyed popularity. Normal schools were transformed into "commune schools" with the aim of creating "new people," and breaking up traditional family relationships.

Political organizations for children and young people became an important part of Soviet education. The Young Pioneers were founded in 1922, which functioned in both the school and out-of-school life of children. In the 1920s–1930s, Pioneers fought against religion, learned the basics of communist ideology, and often testified against their own parents. The Pioneers organization actively included children into the country's political life. There were regular "political briefings," special gatherings for children at which they read central newspapers and discussed political events. This politicization of the young prepared members for eventual membership in *the Komsomol* (The Union of Communist Youth)—a political organization that was a prototype of the Communist Party and its main source of recruits. *The Komsomol* accepted young people between the ages of 14 and 27, and separated communist ideals from participating in building communism. Membership in *the Komsomol* generally opened up many opportunities for young people, such as the chance to study at university, hold a leadership position, get promoted at work, and join the Communist Party.

In the late 1930s, the Pioneers began to focus on preparing for future wars, being useful to the Fatherland, helping adults, and studying well. Under the influence of a shift in the national direction, there were changes in how schools functioned. It was announced that "the main task of a Soviet schoolchild it to study." The Pioneer's political briefings previously considered sacrosanct, were now cancelled, or delayed if they impacted on studies. A new direction in education reform was aimed at reinstating traditional Russian points—a fixed-class system, subject programmes, and an approach to education as a means of acquiring the fundamentals of sciences. A result of these changes was the increased level of general-knowledge preparation of students, and their consequential improved readiness for continuing studies at universities and professional education institutions.

In 1940, *the Timur Movement*—a youth volunteering movement—grabbed the attention of hundreds of thousands of schoolchildren. It has been demonstrated that many "*Timurovtsi*" did not belong to the Pioneers. During the war, they helped the families of fallen soldiers and officers, elderly people, searched for orphans, and collected scrap metal for arms manufacture. There were many cases of children working with the partisans or regular forces, and giving up their own lives to help other people. The mass heroism of children and adults in Soviet Russia during World War II reflects, first of all, the preservation of the basic ideological beliefs and moral standards established throughout all of Russian history. The events of the war showed the country's leaders the futility of many political acts of the 1920s and 30s.

During World War II (the 1943–1944 academic year), a new series of changes began, aimed at reinstating many elements of the classical gymnasiums of pre-Revolutionary Russia, which had been done away with in 1917. In particular, graduation diplomas; gold and silver medals; school uniforms, which closely resembled gymnasium uniforms; school ID cards; rules for students; and the study subjects of logic, psychology, pedagogy, and military fundamentals were reintroduced. Staff uniforms mimicking pre-Revolutionary ones and electives in Greek and Latin remained as projects. Upper schools restored the model of the classical university. All learning tools for all levels of education were fundamentally reevaluated from this perspective. However, in the mid-1950s, as a result of yet another change in direction, many of the reforms were revoked.

In the latter half of the 1950s, the country's political leadership made the decision to build communism in the USSR within 20 years. As a result, the education system was once again required, as it had been in the 1920s, to serve this goal. There were orders about transforming all nurseries and secondary schools to residential programs within 10 years, abrupt consolidation of educational establishments, the "grafting together" of manufacturing and schools, and a number of other decisions deleterious for the educational system. Similar steps had already been taken in Russia in the 1760s and the 1920s. However, after about 10 years the political course changed direction yet again, which caused further long-term changes in the educational system.

All changes in education in the post-Revolutionary period took place in an atmosphere of ideological opposition between two political systems and the Iron Curtain. This was a quite effective tool for blockading information from reaching socialist countries. Although in matters of education and pedagogical ideas, it did not play a major role, and Soviet Russia in the 1950s–1980s repeated and sometimes directly copied many pedagogical concepts, such as programmed learning, problem-based learning, "*humanitarian pedagogy*," and others. But a number of other concepts, generally those connected with economics and requiring serious structural changes, did not gain a foothold in the USSR. Such concepts included, for example, the Nobel-prize-winning "human capital" theory, and the theory of merit-based standardized education.

The "education pendulum" swung back again during the relatively stable period of the 1970s–1980s, when nearly all projects by the USSR's Ministry for Education were aimed, for example, first at improving older schoolchildren's labor readiness, and then at removing it entirely from the school curriculum and improving preparations for continuing into higher education, depending on current labor needs. Under the planned transition to universal secondary education, primary and eight-year schools were expanded with upper years, and the growth in the number of full 10-year secondary schools exceeded the state's capacity, leading to lower-quality education.

In February 1988, in accordance with a decision by the Communist Party on education, the order was given to launch yet another raft of education reforms and develop a new concept for general secondary education. In 1988, three government ministries—Education, Higher Educational Institutions, and the State Committee on Professional Education—worked together to create the USSR State Committee for Public Education, which was to become the centre of the new reform project. Under its auspices, a Temporary Scientific Research Collective (TSRC) School was set up, which brought together famous pedagogues and psychologists. The TSRC's primary task was to draw up policy documents on reforming schools and supervising their onward implementation. In that same year, 1988, the TSRC's "Concept for general secondary education" and "The state of the general secondary school" were accepted and approved by the USSR State Committee for Public Education. And again, the USSR instituted a wholesale overhaul of everything created by the previous reforms.

The conference of public education workers, the majority of whom were members of the Communist Party, again voted almost unanimously to support their party's decision. Principles for the proposed transformation were set forth, which were more reminiscent of political slogans: The Democratization of Education and of its variety and plurality; and Openness to innovation, regionalization of educational systems, a census of regional and national characteristics, humanization of upbringing and humanitarianization of education, provision of different types and diversification of education, and continuity of education and study. These principles determined the goals, aims, and education methods of the changes, but they did not touch upon the organizational and economic functional basis for secondary and higher schools.

In evaluating the nature and results of the educational reforms of the late 1980s, we can see several key aspects. Firstly, it should be noted that the reform of general schools took place in conditions of serious political and socio-economic changes in the country, which partly explains the nature of these reforms—fairly radical for their time. On the other hand, the reforms did take place in a socialist system, and it would have been too much to expect truly fundamentally new results from them. Secondly, many of the reforms simply repeated those already adopted.

Education in Modern Russia

In 1991, the USSR ceased to exist, and the republics of the union gained status as independent states. The long-term changes to come in the educational system of the Russian Federation were tied primarily to the development of new types of educational institutions, the implementation and spread of new innovations and designer education programs, bringing alternatives into education, rejecting the universalization of education, and so on. And so, a wide range of preschool educational establishments arose. There are nurseries that focus on one or several areas of development, appearance, care, and healthcare for their pupils, emphasizing. In the general education system, schools with intensive focus on special subjects—gymnasiums and lycees—have expanded greatly.

The system of state institutions of secondary professional education has added new types of establishments—colleges, where students are trained to be specialists in areas such as in high-tech, in the social sphere, and in areas demanding high levels of intellectual development from workers. The development of such variety in educational establishments for professional education has been accompanied by transcending those previously established industrial associations that had come into conflict with new market demands, by matching structures to the shifting economy, and by developing regional labor markets. One of the significant changes in education was the development of variety in education programs, which enabled opportunities to choose the right level and type of education, and which is aimed more at training to meet market needs.

The regulatory framework that enabled the transformation in education at the primary level began with the Presidential Decree "On Initial Measures to Develop Education in the RSFSR" of July 11, 1991, and the Law of the Russian Federation "On Education" of July 10, 1992, amended in 1996. These documents formed the basis for bringing in the aforementioned principles of education reform, although many were left dissatisfied by the new documents. They also had a heavy emphasis on the state's priorities in developing the sector.

The law "On Education" allowed the creation of private educational establishments, setting out the procedure for licensing and state accreditation. The enactment of the law signaled the end of the first stage of reforms. A strategy and a comprehensive program to reform, stabilize, and develop education was developed and began to be implemented.

In 1994, the law was amended. The 1996 Federal Law "On Education" identified a number of situations missing from the first edit—a guarantee of accessibility to free education at all levels of general education, doing away with the competitive selection system for state and municipal institutions to get a full general secondary and primary professional education, establishing the right to noncompetitive acceptance to state and municipal educational institutions for secondary professional and higher professional education for orphans and children without parental care, as well as for disabled people on condition of successfully passing the entrance exams.

The law "On Education" in the 1992 version also allowed for the privatization of educational establishments, which drew a sharply negative reaction from education workers, pedagogues, and the wider public. This was amended in the 1996 version, which contained a direct ban on privatizing state and municipal educational establishments.

As educational institutions gained autonomy, they developed variety. The law strengthened the rights of schools in terms of allowing specialized secondary and high educational institutions to offer additional, fee-paying courses that were outside of the mandatory educational programs and state standards and allowing schools to enter into contracts with individuals and with legal entities for fully-paid-for education on top of that financed by the institution and to accept specialists in training or retraining who marked out their acceptance for payment.

Other education laws were also enacted, which directly or indirectly regulated the functioning of the educational system. The law "On higher and post-graduate education" (1996), set out the basic tenets of state policy and state guarantees for Russian citizens in the areas of higher and postgraduate professional education, fixed the principles of autonomy for higher education establishments and the nature of their academic freedoms. It defined the system of higher and postgraduate professional education, dividing it into levels (undergraduate/bachelor, diploma specializations, and masters), regulated the procedure for founding and reorganizing institutions and for licensing and accrediting them, regulated the procedure for admissions, and so on. The first legislative regulation in practice on education activities in the law fixed the rights and responsibilities of students, teachers, and other workers. The law also defined the system of management for higher education institutions and financing.

One of the most important state priorities in the 1990s in education was education in the humanities. This process envisaged a system of measures aimed at prioritizing the development of cultural components in education, which helped to mold pupils' personal qualities. This process was to encompass the entire educational system, from preschools to higher education establishments. The need to humanize education was seen in ending the dominance of technocratic aims over humanitarian ones. The dominance of technocratic priorities led to the loss of the humanitarian components in education, when academic subjects were disaggregated, and their logical components dominated over social and historical and cultural ones. These ideas were brought to fruition in the 1990s by implementing the following: firstly, reevaluating academic plans and programs towards increasing hours spent on studying cultural and humanities disciplines and secondly, reevaluating the curriculum on natural science and mathematical disciplines to include elements of the history of science, psychological profiles of academics, and so on, with the aim of expanding students' world views.

The issue of humanizing upbringing was closely tied to the implementation of the above. The idea of humanization was tied to prevailing opinions among proponents of radical education reform in the 1990s—namely, about the extreme "facelessness" of Soviet schools, with their approach to the pupil purely as an "object" for training and pedagogical activities. Proponents of reform believed that the chief means of overcoming this alienation between teacher and pupil would be this idea of humanization.

The new stage in modernizing general education was continued on the basis of the "Strategy for development of the Russian Federation through to 2010," and the subsequent "Concept for the reform of Russian education to 2010." This last was adopted by the Russian Government in October 2001. One of the main principles of implementation was the idea of increasing "co-partnership" of the population in financing educational establishments. The Concept also noted that "education must constitute one of the key priorities for Russian society and the nation," and that the state "is renewing its responsibilities and active role" in education. Specifically, the document notes the need to create a national educational policy that will enable the country to reach modern standards of education, which correspondingly meet the current and future needs of individuals, society, and the state. It must reflect national interests in education and take into account general trends in international development.

In Russia, the large-scale National Project "Education" has been under way since 2006, envisaging significant increases in funding for education, strengthening infrastructure, improving schools' IT facilities, and supporting "leaders" (the best schools, teachers, and talented youth). The project's main task is to ensure access to quality education.

Overall, the Russian education system as of 2011 can be described by the following figures: 45,111 preschools with 5,388,000 pupils; 49,469 general public schools with 13,317,700 pupils and 1,053,000 teachers; 2,356 professional schools with 1,006,600 students; 2,850 colleges and technical colleges with 2,125,700 students; and 1,115 higher education institutions with 7,049,800 students.

In terms of the fundamentals of Russian education policy in the first decade of the twenty-first century, we envision the following:

- conducting a search for a way towards a good curriculum for education and developing new educational standards as well as pedagogical foundations for principles for a reasoned approach.
- developing the idea of continuing education and providing the right conditions so that each person can establish his or her own educational trajectory and get the professional qualifications necessary for further professional, career, and personal growth.

- developing a single system of qualifications and educational programs that adequately meets the needs of the labor market and of individuals; addressing problems in improving the quality of professional education and competitiveness; and protecting national education services markets.
- developing a theoretical basis for creating an international network of continuing education and international labor market and developing systems of measures to ensure participation of all European countries in the Bologna and Copenhagen processes.

Present Circumstances, Future Prospects

First of all, we must discuss the context of current socio-economic development trends in Russia. The first of these is connected with attempts to create a civil society. The second is connected with establishing an economy not based on the oil and gas sector. At the heart of these processes lie the actions aimed at coping with the consequences of totalitarianism, the psychology of which has wormed its way incredibly deeply into the national consciousness, assimilating all forms of mimicry and touching on the moral values of both adults and children. The axiological formula of the totalitarian consciousness is simple: “I do not make any decisions, all decisions are made for me!” and consequentially, “I am not responsible for anything—the one who makes the decision is responsible for it!” Citizens’ dependence and irresponsibility is exacerbated by the voluntarism and impunity of the ruling class, giving rise to an abnormal but extremely stable form of consciousness, behaviour, and public life as a whole.

The more careful form of forecasting is developing scenario forecasts, which as a rule fall into one of two categories—optimistic or pessimistic. Following the popular joke that optimism is merely a special instance of pessimism characterized by a lack of information, we will start with the pessimistic scenario. It is entirely probable that the task of raising an independent and responsible generation under the Russian educational system is fundamentally impossible. This is easy to explain using well-known logic—a person begins teaching others only that which he or she knows himself or herself. In Russia, teaching is not considered prestigious, and it makes no sense to expect teachers to actively cultivate in their charges qualities which they themselves do not possess. This means that education will play a passive role, giving students the elements of functional literacy but not delving into the deeper issues of upbringing and personal development.

The second scenario is the optimistic one. This is based on the assumption that a person is self-learning and is capable of picking up that which neither he (she) nor others know. Further, and as demonstrated by examples from Russian history, Russians have learned historically and do now learn from other countries, selecting and then implementing the best examples and practices. As a rule, this occurred during critical periods—turning points in the existence of Russian society and with clear distinctions in the handling of given values or management systems. The belief that Russia is more likely to experience the optimistic scenario of educational development is supported by the establishment of several steady trends: the development of educational variety, regionalization (territorial localization), and the development of systems of public administration and self-governance.

Educational variety in Russia may be characterized as a trend towards the appearance of diverse pathways to getting an education. The totalitarian uniform programs and customs of Soviet schools are gradually being broken down. Both general education and professional schools are learning how to adjust to students’ expectations and abilities, offering them a wider and wider range of choice in programs and further education. The fact that general education schools in the Soviet era acted as a kind of separator, dividing children into groups of future white- and blue-collar workers is already being recalled in present-day Russia, raising the issue of how to overcome “labour segregation”—in which manual labourers, workers, and service personnel are second-class citizens, struck down by the discrimination of public morality. The Russian tracking school has every chance of becoming a civilized institution for education and upbringing, making a variety of resources for developing their individual capabilities accessible to children.

In the 1990s, general education schools began to offer the chance to implement individual study plans, organize specialized groups by student interest, and use the educational resources of nearby schools in a school network. The idea of choice in educational programs became paramount. Similar measures to increase variety were adopted in professional education, including in higher education, which from 2010 began implementing the educational standards and programs enshrined in the Bologna Declaration.

The greatest barrier on the path to variety in Russian education is, unfortunately, not financial or legal or administrative, but rather the inertia of consciousness among teachers who are not prepared to embrace the value of choice, the value of teaching pupils or students of any age the primary act of social behaviour and the standard basis of civil society which is the right and the ability to choose. Individualization and variety demand much more from teachers and professors, and it seems that this has thus far been met with an amount of protest. But at the same time, a new generation of teachers continues to mature—a generation in whose moral system the opportunity to choose is natural and assumed.

The regionalization of general and professional education is an important trend in educational development, allowing a move towards resolving the age-old problem of Russia’s vast territory. The main problem was and remains that the centralized management entrenched across several centuries has led to the rise of “mental centralization,” expressed by the phrase “Moscow knows best!” The centralized planning of the Soviet economy stripped all local social institutions, including educational ones, of their independence. It is no joke that farmers in Siberia would not start sowing without appropriate instructions from the ministry in the capital.

Since 2011, all educational establishments, with the exception of higher education institutions, are established with regional or municipal oversight. From that moment onwards, all constituent entities of the Russian Federation must independently address matters of the number and quality of workers to be trained, must create systems to support professional choice, and must construct an education policy that meets the demands of the regional labour market. The convergence of education and daily life is an important factor in educational development, particularly from the perspective of the convergence of daily life with societal realities. The task for the coming decade is to teach the educational system to respond appropriately to change, adapt to changing realities, participate effectively in the civic life of the city or town, and help solve significant local problems.

In the 1990s, curricula included federal, regional, and school components. It is characteristic that the regional component was virtually fictitious, and by the beginning of this century it was integrated with the school component, expanding the schools' right to influence the program. Schools and educational institutions for secondary professional education received better tools to respond to changes in the social sphere. Educational standards for higher education at the undergraduate level envisage a 50% variable curriculum, rising to 75% at the graduate level, offering universities real freedom in composing degree programs. The main barrier to implementing these opportunities is the mental inertia of educational managers, who still need instructions from a higher authority—"Moscow knows best!"

The third trend—the development of civic participation and self-governance in education—is arguably the most important yet manifests itself the least. As in many other countries, Russian schools are the object of incessant public criticism of a passive and unconstructive type. Municipal self-governance is still not established in the country as a matter for the public rather than one for the authorities, and schools can count practically on no social institutions as allies.

The situation is the same in professional education, as business's social responsibility is still at an extremely low level. Employers are just beginning to formulate their own demands for the results of professional education, under quite intense pressure from the government. In 2012, under orders of the Russian president, work began to draw up professional standards, which will help educational institutions find direction in the chaos of various and often conflicting demands on the labour market.

The unclear relationship between public demand and requirements in turn slows down the development of school management based on teamwork and self-rule, although it is precisely this resource that offers the most effective driver to educational development as a whole. This is due to the fact that the more active role teachers can adopt in management, the more it will strengthen their own independence and responsibility, both professionally and in life generally, which is absolutely essential for modern pedagogy and teaching.

The reality of the development of educational management is such that it is, for now, most often built on a foundation of authoritarianism. Directors of schools and colleges and deans of institutes and universities manage operations, teaching staff, curricula, and the learning process. Matters of organizing lawn-mowing and ensuring fire safety sit side by side with issues of establishing educational ideals and deepening the study of physics in upper classes. Managers who are capable of mixing all of this together and efficiently managing it all are few and far between, and the means to delegate powers and responsibility within educational institutions are so far rarely implemented. But this is the direction in which we are moving, and significant changes in the management of educational institutions will soon be unavoidable.

And so, 2010 saw the introduction of a new subject into the standards and programs for secondary professional education—the professional module. This is a part of a program that includes several academic disciplines and practice. The result of studying on a professional module is a qualification exam. The module may not be taught by just one instructor, but must be taught by a team, working together for a full result. Coordinated action, mutual high standards, and personal responsibility for intermediate results with collective responsibility for the overall result—this is one possible model of educational management based on self-rule.

It is clear that the prospects for the development of education in Russia are firmly entwined in the canvas of building civil society, and the dynamics of this process depend largely on the success of democratic transitions. One cannot help but recall how E. D. Dneprov—guru of the Russian school reforms of the 1990s—was asked for his opinion on how well the reforms had turned out, and he answered that the reforms had turned out well, but the country for which they were intended had not.

This reformer's sharp irony can be seen from a slightly different angle: Russian schools did not develop a trend to outpace the nature of education. We always orient ourselves to the existing reality, aware of the fact that today's children will mature in different times, with different ideals, laws, and standards. Building such schools is the long-held dream of pedagogues everywhere, and we can only hope it is another nascent trend in the development of modern Russian education.

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Curriculum in Singapore

VINITI VAISH

Introduction

Singapore, a highly globalized and first world country, has invested heavily in its education system. Since the country has few natural resources the development of human capital through the national school system is an important mandate of the government. According to Sharpe and Gopinathan (2002), the school system has been through major changes in style of management since Singapore's independence in 1965. At that stage of nation building, Singapore was targeting basic indicators of development like trying to achieve a high literacy rate, reduce the drop-out rate, and set up a curriculum that would aid the economy of an emerging country. At that stage, Singapore had an efficiency-driven school system.

However, the centralized, standardized, top-down system, with its emphasis on socialization and rote learning, the practice of tracking, and the quiescence of students—all of which were crucial in developing the state's agenda of economic growth and nation building—have become impediments. In a postindustrial moment, policy makers agree, a "radical transformation of education is required if schools are to play their part in producing the creative, autonomous and flexible work force required to compete in value-added markets" (Sharpe and Gopinathan, 2002, p. 152). Thus in the 1990s, Singapore moved from an efficiency-driven to an ability-driven school system. The key policy initiatives for this change will be discussed in this chapter.

The main driver for reform in Singapore's education system, especially the curriculum, is the economy. This is not terribly surprising as, Kress (2000) points out, "The curriculum has always had a more or less direct relation to the economy" (p. 141). The government of Singapore regularly reminds its citizens that this country does not have the natural resources of larger land masses. Thus to keep the economy roaring and to maintain a high standard of living, education is far more important than in other larger countries. The changes that have been made to the curriculum in Singapore like the changes suggested by Thinking Schools Learning Nation, or those mandated by the English language syllabus, are mainly the government's attempt to create a work force which will be ready for the twenty-first century knowledge economy.

These changes in curriculum are not unique to Singapore. According to Kress (2000), developed countries are now thinking about "education for instability." He means that in the twenty-first century, the world is a site for social and economic instability unlike previous eras. In the past, a person could be educated for the stabilities of well-defined citizenship and a static economy. Today, the student needs to be ready for a world where he/she will require creativity, innovativeness, and adaptability to deal with uncertainty. Referencing a flyer from the Islington Summer University, Kress shows how a university is presenting itself as a site of fun and learning while at the same time offering a buffet of summer courses which are more like activities rather than formal learning in a classroom. Kress concludes that the curricula of the future will be motivated not only by the economy but also by multiple identities and new sites of learning like cyberspace and new motivations.

The Status of Singapore's Education System

Singapore's education system is currently supposed to be one of the best in the world according to the results of international tests and the latest McKinsey Report (Mourshed, Chijioke, and Barber, 2010). The authors of the McKinsey Report list 20 school systems that they think have shown sustained improvement on the basis of international test results and a database of 575 reform interventions made across these school systems. Mapping the progress of these school systems from 1985 till 2010, the report shows that Singapore comes out on top followed by Hong Kong and South Korea. The current performance rating of Singapore is "great" on a scale of poor, fair, good, and great.

The other school systems in the "great" category are Hong Kong, South Korea, Saxony, and Ontario.

Singapore's results in the 2006 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) has been exemplary. Inaugurated in 2001 and conducted every five years, PIRLS is the International Evaluation Association's assessment of students' reading achievement at the fourth grade level. In 2006, PRILS was conducted in 40 countries. The test assesses a range of reading comprehension processes with two foci: comprehension of literary texts and comprehension of informational texts. In 2006, the Russian Federation, Hong Kong, and Singapore were the top performing countries. It is important to note that in Singapore, nearly all children are bilingual and not all of them have English as their dominant language. Since the PIRLS in Singapore is conducted in English, it is noteworthy that Singapore is a top-performing country.

History of Organizations Involved in Curriculum Development

The Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore (CDIS) was formed in 1981. In the 80s, CDIS prescribed a curriculum only for primary and lower secondary levels. For the O and A levels of schooling, the syllabi prescribed by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate (CES) was used in Singapore. Every 10 years a committee was set up to scrutinize syllabi being used in Singapore, as compared with syllabi in other countries, especially the United Kingdom (Toh, Yap, Lee, Springham, and Chua, 1996).

Subject-specific Aspects of Singapore's Curriculum

Discipline-specific curricular concerns in Singapore include concerns about differentiating the curriculum by ability (Ho, 2012), connecting the curriculum with real world experiences (Toh, Yap, Lee, Springham, and Chua, 1996), and problematizing the link between the economy and the curriculum (Chew 2007)). Exploring the nature of curricular content in social studies, Ho (2012) found that the curriculum differs significantly in content for the three main ability groups in Singapore: the elite Integrated Program (IP), the mainstream Express and Normal Academic track (E/NA) and the vocational Normal Technical (NT) track. Only the best students are allowed to join IP offered by 11 elite secondary schools. Only IP students are offered a rich curriculum in social studies with alternative forms of assessment like project work and opportunities for social action so that they can be groomed for future leadership roles. The author comments that "In the current Singapore system, access to citizenship knowledge and skills is determined largely by academic achievement because of the ruling party's belief in democratic elitism and the allocation of educational resources by merit" (p. 422, Ho, 2012). However, the author also suggests that the assumption that academically high achieving students will necessary be the only types of students who can undertake leadership roles is flawed. Consequently Ho (2012) recommends that all students regardless of ability should be given equitable access to civic learning opportunities so that they can define for themselves their roles as democratic citizens.

Baildon and Sim (2009) conducted a research study with the collaboration of in-service teachers of Social Studies. Social Studies was introduced in 2001 as a compulsory and examinable subject at the upper secondary level for students in the age group 15–17. "As an integrated subject that includes elements of history, economics, political science and human geography" it "focuses on national, regional and international issues central to the development of Singapore as a nation" (p. 409). Baildon and Sim's study is about the dilemma of teachers regarding teaching critical thinking in a subject like social studies given the cultural and political environment in Singapore. Critical thinking skills involve "identifying a problem and its assumptions, and making inferences, using inductive and deductive logic, and judging the validity and reliability of assumptions, sources of data or information (p. 410). However, in Singapore, critical thinking is presented in the social studies syllabus as a list of discrete skills along with assessment objectives that emphasize the demonstration of these skills.

Baildon and Sim (2009) raise an interesting issue regarding the curriculum of Social Studies. They document the attitudes of teachers to "OB" or "out of bound markers." This is a term that the People's Action Party of Singapore coined in 1991 to refer to topics that are supposed to be off limits in public discourse. Baildon and Sim found that in-service teachers were divided in their opinion regarding OBs. They find for some teachers "OB markers, whether real or perceived, operate to create fear and a 'pragmatic' stance, in which teachers have to be careful not to cross into certain, albeit ill-defined, areas of public discourse" (p. 415). For other teachers OB markers are a problem because they find that this goes against the grain of critical thinking especially in a subject like social studies where students are supposed to discuss issues regarding the nation like immigration, multiculturalism, race, and religion.

There is substantial literature on the English curriculum in Singapore as English is the medium of instruction and Singapore's economy is supposed to thrive on the fact that this is an English-speaking nation (Kramer-Dahl, 2008; Cheah, 2002). Discussing the enactment of the 2001 English language syllabus, Kramer-Dahl (2008) finds much that is creditable about this syllabus, a view also held by Cheah (2002). Cheah (2002) comments that the 2001 English syllabus is forward looking in that it introduced text types to contextualize the teaching of grammar. At the same time, this syllabus has a back-to-basics approach because it recommends the teaching of phonics to beginning readers and the also the explicit teaching of grammar, aspects that were missing in the 1991 syllabus. Most importantly, the 2001 syllabus lays emphasis on literacy and not merely language ability, which stems from a concern that Singaporean children were weak in reading and writing skills.

Kramer-Dahl comments that "The curriculum, along with the kind of pedagogy the syllabus endorses, promises far better than its predecessors to anticipate the literacy demands, the discourses, practices and genres, which young people face beyond English and school" (p. 87). The syllabus instructs teachers to develop higher levels of literacy in their students through self-access learning and use of materials outside the text book. Its emphasis on flexibility and adaptability envisions a curriculum that promotes a wide range of literate activities. However, there is a severe misalignment in the way that this syllabus is enacted. The two secondary school teachers that Kramer-Dahl observed for this study did not feel that their students were capable of dealing with the 'higher order literacy skills' that the syllabus was trying to inculcate. For instance, though the syllabus is based on text-types and the students are supposed to experiment with diverse genres, the teachers encourage their students to write only narrative essays as those are the easiest.

I have mentioned in the introduction that curricular changes in Singapore are linked to the economy. Kramer-Dahl (2004) illustrates this through a discussion of grammar courses for English teachers that were initiated in the 1990s and are still in existence. In mid-1999 there was a flurry of articles in *The Straits Times* about the low level of grammar amongst English teachers causing pupils to speak in "Singlish," a colloquial variety of English. Kramer-Dahl links this discourse of crisis with the Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s in which some East Asian countries like Indonesia suffered from a severely depreciated currency. During this period, the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate was hired by Singapore's Ministry of Education to design a 60-hour grammar course to prepare teachers for the new English Language Syllabus of 2001.

According to Kramer-Dahl (2004) the problem with the grammar course for English teachers is that it is top-down, prescriptive, and does not ensure that what teachers learn in this course will be internalized in their own speech. "For the government, what had become top priority was to stem what it saw as a tide of linguistic, and by extension economic, deterioration, and the best way to do that was by a back-to-basics, normative language curriculum" (Kramer-Dahl, 2004, pg. 80).

Finally, Koh (2006) analyzes the introduction of National Education (NE). The idea of National Education was first announced by the then Prime Minister Goh at the Teachers Day Rally in 1996. It was officially launched in 1997 as part of the Thinking Schools Learning Nation education policy, which is discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter. Prime Minister Goh emphasized that the reason for introducing NE was that young Singaporeans, especially those that were born after independence, knew very little about Singapore's history. NE is not taught as a separate subject but is fused into social studies, civics and moral education, history, geography, and the "general paper." At the primary level, the goal of NE is to "Love Singapore," at the secondary level, it is to "Know Singapore," and at the junior college level, it is to "Lead Singapore."

According to Koh (2006) Singapore has implemented NE because it finds that globalization, though necessary for the economy of this small country, also has shortcomings, in that globalization is eroding the Asian ethos and values of the youth. Though Koh agrees that citizenship education through a subject like NE is important, he takes issue with the current curriculum because:

> NE has not responded to what globalization means for the construction of youthful identities. There is a complete disregard for 'who the young are and what they might become' (Kenway and Bullen, 2005, p. 32) and their agentive role of constructing their preferred identities, whether this is inspired by their consumption of global/regional popular cultural forms and practices or transient youth subculture practices. (Koh, 2006, p. 363)

What Koh means is that the NE curriculum is organized in an essentializing way which leaves no room for hybridity and liminality. Koh also quotes the Singaporean political commentator Cherian George who says that the NE curriculum is based on the PAP's (the ruling political party of Singapore) version of history. "Because NE reflects a dominant political ideology, it is argued that the narrow conception of its syllabus design may produce conformist thinking" (Koh, 2006, p. 367).

Policy Initiatives

The most important policy initiative in Singapore's national school system was to introduce English as the medium of instruction and teach the mother tongue as a second language, a policy recommended by the All-Party committee on Chinese Education in 1956 (Koh, 2004). There are two main implications of this policy initiative: achievement and multicultural education. In terms of achievement, it is a challenge for the school system to bring the proficiency of bilingual children from diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds up to the level that they can compete in the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). To help children with weak reading skills in English, Singapore initiated the Learning Support Program in the early 1990s. This early literacy intervention uses both phonics and whole language approaches to reinforce reading skills in English. Pupils are selected for the LSP through a diagnostic test that they take when they enter primary school in grade 1. They exit the LSP in grade 3 or earlier if they become proficient readers (Vaish 2012). The curriculum for the LSP closely follows that of the mainstream English classes so that the pupils get maximum support. For instance, the Big Books used in the mainstream class are also being used in LSP.

According to Bokhorst-Heng (2007), Singapore inculcates multicultural education in schools through its bilingual education policy: "'Multicultural education' is not a phrase used in Singapore. Instead, multiculturalism is realized through the bilingual education policy" (p. 638). Bokhorst-Heng comments that there is a clear link between language and values. These are considered discrete between English and the Mother Tongue. Whereas English is the language of technology and globalization that has made Singapore one of the most prosperous countries in the world, the mother tongues are symbolic links to the great cultures of India, China, and Islamic communities.

One of the key initiatives of the Ministry of Education is Thinking Schools Learning Nation (TSLN), which has been analyzed from the point of view of pedagogy (Curdt-Christiansen and Silver, 2012) and curriculum (Koh, 2002, 2004). TSLN was envisioned in 1997 by Prime Minister Goh to counter rote learning. This education reform mandates the teaching of critical thinking, IT skills, and citizenship education. To create space for critical thinking in the classroom, the curriculum for all subjects was supposed to be cut by 30%. Koh (2002) comments that to make the recommendations of TSLN a reality, both curriculum and pedagogy have to change. He recommends that critical literacy should be taught in Singapore's English classrooms. For instance, students could be given a project to explore the ramifications of "Singlish," the local variety of English spoken in Singapore. One of the key questions they could think about could be: "What does a campaign against Singlish do to an individual?" (p. 261).

Koh (2004) rightly comments that TSLN is a "curriculum imagination" that the state has conceived "as the solution to the problems of the new economy with its attendant volatile job markets, changing job demands, portfolio careers, and an increasingly competitive international labor pool" (p. 338). Thus, the intention of the policy is in the right direction. However, there are shortcomings in its implementation that need to be addressed. For instance, in the case of the introduction of IT into schools, the policy tends to emphasize merely competency. Students are taught basic skills like making web pages, saving, surfing, retrieving, and using excel. The most important skill in IT, which is technological literacy that allows students to question the value of hypertexts and create their own content, is missing in TSLN. Thus Koh (2004) recommends:

> The new IT curriculum that the Ministry of Education has charted and implemented is essentially good in terms of the provision of infrastructure and the availability of software and hardware, but I argue that it will have greater success and purchase for the new semiotic economy if it re-conceptualises technology from a functional perspective to a critically-oriented technological literacy (p. 340).

TSLN has created some changes in curriculum, assessment, and the types of work that students produce in school. For instance, the government has identified life sciences as an important part of the future of the science curriculum. Since 2001 there has been a move to incorporate life sciences into the regular curriculum in Singapore. In terms of assessment, project work has now been identified is an important way of measuring what students have learned. Also, project work is interdisciplinary and allows students to see connections between the various subjects that they study. Since 2005, project work has also been included as one of the admissions criteria for entry into local universities (Koh, 2004).

Koh's (2002) views are substantiated by Curdt-Christiansen and Silver (2012) who studied how the TSLN initiative is translated into classroom practice. The authors explain how "Asian Values" are in conflict with two major educational reforms in Singapore: Thinking Schools, Learning Nation (TSLN, 1997) and Teach Less Learn More (TLLM, 2004). They analyze 20 English lessons that implement the Strategies for English Language Learning and Reading (STELLAR) program in Grade 1 (7–8 years) and Grade 2 (8–9years). The authors find that though educational reforms like TSLN encourage critical thinking, the sociocultural context of education requires students and teachers to follow the hierarchical norms of conformism. Specifically, they find that the recommendations of TSLN are being accepted by teachers in that they are changing the physical arrangement of the class. However, there is very little change in more important aspects like pedagogy, interactional patterns, and creating affective warmth in the classroom.

Another major concern about TSLN is that the center still has control over the curriculum though the schools have been allowed to cut 30% of it. According to Sharpe and Gopinathan (2002), "In Singapore's case it could be argued that the center's control over the curriculum and assessment, and consequent rigidities in instruction, is a Fordist relic and inappropriate for a TSLN vision" (p. 163). This is despite the fact there has been a move towards decentralization in Singapore's school system, which includes the establishment of autonomous and independent schools. These schools have more autonomy to innovate regarding curriculum, and their principals have greater freedom over matters such as fundraising, staffing, and school-based programs.

Finally, though many schools have cut 30% of their curriculum, the time that this has opened up in the school day is being used by many teachers to train their students for exams. As a consequence, instead of creating intellectual space for creativity and critical thinking, students are yet again in the grinding mills of high-stakes exams. This is because schools are still ranked according to their results in the national examinations and teachers are hard pressed to meet the high standards of their schools. Even if teachers believe in the philosophy of TSLN they are unable to implement its goals because of pressure from parents and the establishment to perform well in exams.

Madrasahs

Though very few students in Singapore attend madrasahs, they are an important institution in the Malay community as they have the responsibility of producing future religious leaders. Approximately 4% of Malay students receive full-time education at the six madrasahs in Singapore. The curriculum for the madrasahs is not under the Ministry of Education (MOE), but with MUIS, which was established in 1968 to advise the President of Singapore on all matters relating to Islam. However, all primary school children in the madrasahs have to sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) mandated by MOE. The controversy regarding the quality of education provided by madrasah is heighted by the fact that though the drop-out rate in madrasahs is high, there is also an increase in enrollment and the popularity of these schools. The drop-out rates were 71% in 1996, 65% in 1997, and 65% in 1998. At the same time though in 1986, there were 135 Primary 1 (grade 1) students enrolled in various madrasahs, and the number rose to 464 in 2000. The government caps the intake of students into Primary 1 in madrasahs at 400 (Tan, 2010).

Regarding curriculum, the priority for madrasahs is to teach Islamic subjects so that graduates from these schools can become religious scholars and leaders. The government of Singapore has a technocratic view of education in which education is seen as a means for producing a competent, adaptive, and productive workforce. Educational reforms in Singapore are instituted so that students can better meet the requirements of the knowledge economy. According to Tan (2010) from the perspective of the state, the madrasahs, because they emphasize subjects like Islamic theology, Islamic jurisprudence, and Arabic language, are not able to achieve the goal of equipping students for the twenty-first century unlike the secular schools (Tan, 2010).

Buang (2010) had a different view. She found that since 1971, the madrasahs have taken it upon themselves to prepare their students for national-level examinations in Mathematics, Geography, English language, and Malay language. Buang comments: “With good nationally and internationally recognized academic qualifications, the madrasahs realized that their students stand a good chance in the academic labor market” (p. 47). Buang documents that MUIS has also been proactive in implementing the ITMasterplan in madrasahs by integrating IT into the curriculum.

Concluding Remarks

What are the future directions for a school system already ranked as “great”? According to the latest McKinsey report on education, though Singapore’s education system is “great,” it is still not “excellent.” It is notable that of the 20 school systems ranked in this report, not one is “excellent.” Yet, it is important to think about what it would take to progress from the “great” to “excellent.” It is the type of interventions carried out in schools that can take a school system from “great” to “excellent.” “The interventions of this stage move the locus of improvement from the center to the schools themselves; the focus is on introducing peer-based learning through school-based and system-wide interaction, as well as on supporting system-sponsored innovation and experimentation” (Mourshed, Chijioke, and Barber, 2010, p. 26). What the authors mean is that it is only in the journey from “poor” to “fair” that schools systems are characterized by tight control from centralized authorities. As the system matures to the “good” and later “great” stages, there is a “letting go” of centralized control.

My view of curriculum reform in Singapore is that the system is definitely aware and open to change. There are also schools with Principals who are willing to try out new ideas. My current research project is about using the mother tongue to teach English to struggling readers. In this project, I am currently working with a school with an excellent research culture. At the same time, the old efficiency-driven system is still in place and in need of change, especially in the areas of pedagogy and assessment. No doubt, reform has to be holistic, transforming every single aspect of the school ecology to create a new environment. Going forward, it is this holistic approach to educational reform that will take Singapore’s school system from “good” to “great.”

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37

Curriculum Reform and the Field of Curriculum in Spain

César Coll and Elena Martín

Introduction

The development of the field of curriculum in Spain is closely linked to the political changes the country has undergone as a result of the restoration of democracy in the mid-1970s. When the Spanish Constitution of 1978 came into force, it opened up the road to a wide-ranging set of reforms in virtually every area of the State. The education system, especially those levels involved in pre-university teaching, immediately became a priority area for political reformists. In 1985, the first significant Education Act of the new Spanish democracy was enacted—the *Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación* (Right to Education Act, LODE)—which established the right of every Spaniard to basic education, regulated the existence of public and private schools and the participation of the various sectors of the educational community in teaching, and introduced democratic management into schools. The LODE did not, however, modify the actual structure of the education system, nor did it introduce curriculum changes. It was with the enactment of a new law, the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo*[1] (General Regulation of the Education System Act, LOGSE), in 1990, that these changes took place.

Indeed, the LOGSE introduced far-reaching change into the curriculum model then current in the education system and at the same time put the curriculum and all related matters at the core of the education reform and the debates that accompanied it. This change is directly reflected in the *Reales Decretos*[2] (Royal Decrees) enacted between 1991 and 1992, which established the minimum teaching requirements for each level of education. Far from closing the subject, however, the LOGSE became the starting point for a series of curriculum revision and updating processes that took place over the following decades and were marked by another two laws on education—the *Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación* (Quality of Education Act, LOCE) and the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* (Education Act, LOE)—enacted in 2002 and 2006 respectively, along with their corresponding *Reales Decretos* for minimum teaching requirements.

Later we will return to these curriculum revision and updating processes. For now, however, we will highlight two relevant aspects. The first is the importance that curriculum issues have had in the education reforms carried out as a result of the need to adapt the Spanish education system to the new democratic order. The second is the link between the curriculum revision and updating processes and, on the one hand, the education reforms and, on the other, legislative and regulatory changes at the highest level. We believe that these aspects will enable us to understand some of the characteristic features of the constitution and development of the field of curriculum in Spain. We are referring to the roles played by political and ideological attitudes in dealing with questions linked to curriculum, the dearth of academic research and studies—especially empirical ones—on curriculum topics, their subordination to the Administration's policies on curriculum as regards the subjects researched, and even the low impact the results of these studies and research have on the curriculum decision-making process.

More recently and so far at least with less intensity, the reform of university teaching has also begun to play a role as a platform for analysis, thought, and research involving curriculum. Spain's entry into the European Higher Education Area proposed in the *Bologna Declaration* of 1999 brought with it a substantial change in the structure of university teaching and an awareness of the importance of curriculum issues at this level of education. Both aspects are clearly reflected in the 2007 Act, which amends the *Ley Orgánica de Universidades* (Universities Act) of 2001, and the two *Reales Decretos* that expand on it. A careful reading of these regulations again makes it clear how important curriculum issues are embedded in the reform of university teaching and how they are linked to legal and regulatory changes. It should also be added that, as in the case of pre-university teaching, the limited number of empirical studies and research that exist almost always focus on the curriculum innovations proposed in the regulations: the emphasis on the functionality of learning areas, the skills, continuous assessment, the student's opportunity for self-study, etc. Although university teaching is obviously an important area for developing curriculum research and theory in Spain, this field has until now been associated more with curriculum change in pre-university teaching.

We will focus on these curriculum changes in pre-university teaching, with the chapter being divided into two large sections with final comments. In the first section, we will present an outline of the curriculum change, revision, and updating processes that the Spanish education system has undergone since the restoration of democracy. We will avoid going into too much detail about the changes, and instead direct readers to the relevant sources. The purpose of this first, essentially descriptive section is to identify the trends underlying these processes along with the most important curriculum topics or issues that have had the greatest theoretical impact or stimulated wider debate and discussion. In the second section, we will come back to some of these questions in order to present an overall picture and assess their impact and relevance in the development of the field of curriculum in Spain. To this end we have chosen from all the topics identified in the first section those that have stimulated the greatest number of papers and research and those which, in our opinion, will have greater influence in the immediate future. The chapter closes with some brief comments on the respective importance of the curriculum change processes instigated by the education authorities and of the studies and research on curriculum in shaping and developing this field of knowledge in Spain.

Education Reforms and Curriculum Change

As mentioned above, over approximately the last 25 years a number of significant reforms of the Spanish education system have been carried out, in which curriculum issues have played a leading role. Of all the various aspects affected by these reforms, our analysis will focus on the changes that have come about during this period in four main areas that we consider especially relevant from the point of view of curriculum: the degree of openness in the establishment of the common basic curriculum, the definition of educational intentions, decisions on comprehensiveness and attention to diversity, and the curriculum development measures adopted to support implementation of the proposed changes.[3]

The *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE), passed by the socialist government in 1990 after a process of experimentation, discussion, and consultation that took place during the latter half of the 1980s, for both political and pedagogical reasons, opted for an open curriculum model as opposed to the closed model that had been used until then. As far as the political reasons are concerned, the Constitution of 1978 introduced among many other things a political and administrative organization in which the competencies for education, like for other areas, were not exclusively in the hands of the government and central administration but were to be shared with the governments and administrations of the autonomous communities (regions). As for the pedagogical reasons, which are certainly more relevant for the aims of this chapter, the first thing to highlight is the idea that the prescriptive curriculum, the one that it is compulsory for schools and teachers to implement, would be limited to specifying the areas of learning that everybody needs in order to become fully-fledged citizens with rights and duties in the social group to which they belong. Other areas of learning would be defined by the people in every school and classroom who best knew the specific circumstances of the context and the characteristics of the students so as to be able to tailor the educational program to each case. Another reason why the LOGSE opted for an open curriculum model, no less important than the previous reason, was the conviction that teachers cannot be mere executors of whatever is laid down by people and authorities unconnected to real life in the classrooms and work in the teaching profession. Thus, by opting for a model of open curriculum, with details to be filled in across successive levels, thereby leaving a large number of decisions in the hands of the teachers, the aim was to encourage processes of joint reflection involving teachers in schools so as to improve their professional competency.

These approaches led to the establishment of three levels in defining and specifying the curriculum in the various levels of education: one level decided by the central and regional education authorities, a curriculum plan for each school devised by the teaching staff as a whole, and each teacher's planning for their own group of students. Hence, according to the model, at the first level, the only responsibility of the education authorities was the establishment of a common and compulsory basic curriculum for Spain. However, agreement could not be reached between the central government and the governments of the autonomous communities, and so in the end the LOGSE established that the central government, in line with the *Royal Decrees* on minimum teaching requirements, would decide on 55% of the curriculum timetable in those communities that had to teach another official language in addition to Castilian Spanish (Catalan in Catalonia and Valencian Community, Galician in Galicia, and Basque in the Basque Country) and 65% everywhere else. The autonomous governments, meanwhile, would decide on the prescriptive curriculum which, along with the minimum teaching requirements, would include all the learning areas considered essential for students in the respective autonomous communities and serve as the basis for devising curriculum plans for schools and class timetables.

The Acts that have followed the LOGSE have not changed the essence of this approach. The *Ley Orgánica* *de Calidad de la Educación,* passed by the Partido Popular (People's Party) government in 2002 but never fully put into effect because the implementation process was halted after the Socialist Party won the general elections in 2004, introduced no changes in this respect. However, it should be mentioned that a reform of the minimum teaching requirements in secondary education carried out in 2002, as the result of a debate known as the "humanities reform,"[4] had as one of its aims to avoid—as a consequence of making the curriculum more open—the possibility that history teaching could encourage nationalist ideologies to appear and grow in strength among the students in some autonomous communities—particularly Catalonia and the Basque Country.

But opting for an open curriculum model does not simply mean successive levels of curriculum specification. The autonomy it grants to schools and teachers in making decisions about curriculum is an essential aspect when it comes to assessing the scope and implications of this choice. The *Royal Decrees* on minimum teaching requirements accompanying the LOGSE established the prescriptive curriculum for primary education (six years) and compulsory secondary education (four years) as a whole. Within these ample periods, teaching staff would be able to decide on how best to organize and sequence the learning areas. And it is on this point that the 2002 LOCE and its corresponding *Royal Decrees* on curriculum in 2003 did introduce an important new aspect, dividing the sequencing and organization of the learning areas into closed cycles of two years in primary education and one year in compulsory secondary education. Moreover, this decision was maintained in the 2006 LOE and its corresponding *Royal Decrees* on curriculum in 2007, and therefore it can be said that the LOGSE's initial choice of an open curriculum has been limited by subsequent laws.

As far as the second area for analysis is concerned—the way of defining and specifying educational intentions—again the most substantial change was introduced by the LOGSE. Firstly, the decision was made to slim down the curriculum, restricting it to the essential areas of learning. This attempt was to a large extent unsuccessful given that in the end the *Royal Decrees* on minimum teaching requirements included a greater volume of learning contents than was initially desired. Neither were the laws that followed able to reduce the curriculum contents: indeed in some cases, such as the *Royal Decrees* deriving from the LOCE, the opposite happened and the volume of contents increased noticeably.

Secondly, the curriculum model that was adopted, based on a set of social constructivist-oriented psychopedagogical principles (Coll, 1987; Martín y Coll, 2003), meant abandoning the operational objectives approach and substituting it by a list of educational intentions in terms of the abilities that the educational action should help develop in the students.. These abilities, involving all areas of human development, were the starting point for choosing the learning content. Out of all the areas of disciplinary knowledge, those chosen to be incorporated into the school curriculum would be those that contributed most to developing the abilities sought and had the greatest social relevance. Following the ideas of cognitive psychology, the model also assumed that abilities do not develop in a vacuum and that therefore acquiring them meant working with specific contents. It also sought a wide conception of learning contents that would include, along with traditional factual knowledge, knowledge of procedures and knowledge of attitudes, values, and rules. In order to draw attention to the fact that these three types of content to some extent involve different learning processes and often require different educational action, it was proposed that they would be registered separately in the curriculum. Finally, criteria were established for assessing the level of acquisition and development of abilities.

The fundamental element of the model is its vision of teaching as an aid to the learning processes that manifests itself in the joint activity of students and teacher as they work on school tasks. This vision of teaching as an aid tailored to fit the learning processes is in opposition to the choice of one specific didactic method as being the most appropriate. Nevertheless, the model did include certain methodological principles to guide the teaching activity.

Concern about the significance and functionality of school learning was one of these principles. Learning implies constructing or reconstructing the meanings students have regarding the part of the world in which they are working at any particular time, bringing meaning to the learning activity itself. Learning is significant for the learner when the meanings constructed or reconstructed enable them to better understand the situation or task, and from that moment they can use this understanding to deal with similar situations or tasks. Generalization and functionality are indicators of the degree of significance of the learning that students have achieved. Favoring functionality means that teachers help students to give meaning to the learning tasks and activities. For this it is fundamental to explain and share the goals aimed at in these activities. Bringing the goals of teachers and students closer together is fundamental for giving meaning to school learning and is one of the most important instructional strategies.

Another principle is the emphasis the model places on an integrated view of learning assessment. In the course of the learning process, a single activity can have a variety of functions. On the one hand, the student reconstructs its meanings, but the traces the task leaves of the knowledge the student has already acquired and the knowledge that still needs to be worked on enables the teacher to carry out continuous assessment focused on the processes and not only on the results. And on the other hand, the teacher has to help the learner to become aware of what has and what has not been learned and, more importantly, the factors that made this learning process possible. Hence, the teaching and learning function of the assessment must be integrated into the classroom activity. Practices such as co-assessment—between teacher and student as well as between student and fellow students—and self-assessment are very worthwhile from this point of view. When assessment is approached in this way, the information obtained regarding the degree of learning achieved by students at the end of an activity or set of activities can be reflected in a mark or qualification, thereby fulfilling the necessary social-certifying function. However, the most important thing is that, on the basis of this information, the teacher can regulate and the student can self-regulate the subsequent steps in the learning process.

The view of teaching as an *aid* to the student's constructive mental activity is the third psycho-pedagogical principle we would like to highlight. As opposed to more cognitive-type stances that place exclusive responsibility for the learning processes with the learner, the LOGSE model considered a fundamental role to be played by teacher intervention. Teaching does not consist of transmitting preconstructed knowledge to students but of activating their ideas about the learning content and giving them the help and support they need to enable them to revise and reconstruct these ideas. Teacher intervention does not therefore replace student activity but is a fundamental element in directing this activity toward the construction of meanings to give sense to the curriculum contents that form the essence of school learning.

Although in general terms the psycho-pedagogical principles that provided the basis for the LOGSE curriculum model have survived the curriculum revision and updating processes carried out in the years that followed, the model itself has undergone some important changes. The 2002 LOCE, for example, eliminated the distinction the curriculum made between different types of content and considerably strengthened the presence of contents of a factual and conceptual nature. The 2006 LOE, however, maintained this difference as a theoretical discourse but eliminated it from the formal structure of the curriculum and adopted an approach based mostly on procedural content. But the fundamental change was brought about by the LOE with the introduction of basic competencies. In another section of this chapter, we will come back to competency-based curriculum approaches and the analyses, papers, and debates that have been generated mainly as a result of the introduction of competencies into the school curriculum. For the moment, we will restrict ourselves to pointing out that the decision to incorporate them was more a consequence of the agreements adopted by the Lisbon European Council of 2000[5] than the result of deep reflection on the curriculum. Perhaps this is why their incorporation was basically formal, juxtaposing competencies with other curriculum elements—objectives, contents, and assessment criteria—through the introduction of a text explaining how each area of the curriculum can contribute to developing the eight basic competencies: competency in linguistic communication, competency in mathematics, competency in knowledge of and interaction with the physical world, skills in information and digital competency, social and civic competencies, cultural awareness and expression, learning to learn, and sense of initiative and entrepreneurship.

Still, within the framework of this second area of analysis, the LOGSE curriculum model held that organizing by area with different disciplines mixing together—social sciences or natural sciences, for instance—could favor learning more than organizing by separate disciplines—geography, history, economics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc. However, despite maintaining this psycho-pedagogical assumption in the debate preceding the Act, the LOGSE finally adopted a disciplinary structure in the last two years of *Educación Secundaria Obligatoria* (compulsory secondary education, ESO) mainly due to pressure from a culture shared by the teachers giving these classes that sprang from a clearly disciplinary viewpoint. This disciplinary approach was strengthened in the LOCE. The LOE, however, has again taken up the LOGSE assumption and allows the curriculum to be organized by area—the sociolinguistic area and scientific-technological area—in the first two years of ESO. The few schools that have so far adopted this way of organizing the curriculum have been able to see the positive effects of interdisciplinary integrated work and of a reduction in the number of teachers needed to teach the same class group.

Debate on the presence and weight of particular subjects in the school timetable has continued throughout the period. The tradition of certain types of knowledge that had a large presence in previous syllabuses and the weight of the professional collectives that supported them have led—to give just two examples—to a defense of the number of hours of mathematics and Spanish language in primary education and compulsory secondary education, and philosophy in higher secondary education. Meanwhile, new areas of knowledge introduced into the curriculum by the LOGSE, such as technology and economics, have been scaled back. Other subjects have also been incorporated into the curriculum as a result of new social demands, such as those related to information technology and communications (ITC) and the new subject for higher secondary education, *Sciences for Today's World.* In addition, a distrust of values being taught using a cross-sectional approach in all areas and subjects of the curriculum led to the introduction of *Education for citizenship and human rights* into the LOE curriculum.

Without entering the debate on how pertinent or relevant any one particular type of knowledge may be, what these changes make clear is that the logic behind the curriculum is one of mere addition, in which new contents or subjects are added or the weight of those already existing is modified in response to new demands, without considering the impact that these changes and incorporations will inevitably have on the curriculum as a whole. This logic, apart from producing a curriculum that is ever more laden with contents, has steadily deformed and perverted the assumptions of interdisciplinarity and knowledge integration as well as the criteria for selecting school contents that underlay the basic model, marking a return to more traditional approaches.

The considerations immediately above are directly linked to our third area of analysis: decisions on comprehensiveness, attention to diversity and, in a more general sense, the advance toward a more and more inclusive school. One of the biggest changes introduced by the LOGSE, if not the biggest, was the extension of compulsory education by two years, increasing it from eight to ten years, and the appearance of a new stage of compulsory secondary education (*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria,* ESO) lasting four years (see Figure 37.1a). This decision did not necessarily involve adopting the comprehensive model. As in other countries, it would have been possible to open up two educational pathways—academic and vocational—at the core of compulsory education so that all students would opt for one or the other depending on their abilities and interests or simply their level of learning. After intense debate, however, it was decided to retain the system's comprehensiveness throughout compulsory education. Thus the LOGSE laid down that all students had to study the same subjects, with little margin for options until the final year of compulsory education (the fourth year of ESO), when they would have more choices open to them depending on what further studies they intended to follow. This wider range of options in the final year, however, was not reflected in the final qualification at the end of compulsory schooling, which was the same for everyone and allowed access to both academic and vocational pathways in subsequent studies without making any distinction between them.

The choice of comprehensiveness made in the LOGSE and maintained in the LOE was a response to the idea that compulsory comprehensive education without different learning pathways at its core is fundamental for achieving greater equality in education. The longer the moment when students have to choose between an academic pathway and a vocational one is delayed, the more chance there is that this choice will not be determined by their sociocultural origin. Opting for comprehensiveness and the inclusive school naturally means that a wide range of measures have to be introduced to meet the needs of diversity in order to best fulfill the learning needs of a heterogeneous body of students. This is therefore an ideologically-charged argument associated with the social function of schooling. Hence, there is nothing strange in the fact that the 2002 LOCE, devised and enacted by a conservative government, should introduce changes in this aspect. In fact, this Act set up different pathways in the last two years of ESO so that, in the penultimate year, students could choose between two learning pathways—technological and scientific-humanistic—which in the last year were split into three: technological, scientific, and humanistic. Despite this proposal to separate students into different training pathways at the core of compulsory education, the LOCE retained the single qualification *Graduado en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria* (graduate in compulsory secondary education) established by the LOGSE, which gave access to further studies in both the *Bachillerato* (higher secondary education) and *Formación Profesional* (vocational training).

The move toward a less comprehensive ESO, however, did not become a reality as the LOCE was halted after the electoral victory and return to power of the Socialist Party in 2004. Nevertheless, the ideological concept behind it recently made a strong reappearance after another electoral change and the arrival of a Partido Popular government in November 2011. The new Minister of Education has already announced a law that, among other things, will reduce the duration of ESO from four years to three, thereby enabling the Bachillerato to be extended from its current two years to three. Assuming that the new regulations will confirm and specify the announced changes, the more comprehensive options are becoming a lesser presence in the Spanish education system.

To conclude this section, we will look at the fourth area of analysis mentioned earlier: the curriculum development measures adopted to support implementation of the proposed changes. Opting for a more open curriculum that offers schools and teachers greater autonomy and therefore greater responsibility means that measures have to be taken and various types of action carried out to make it possible. The greater the autonomy, the greater the need to strengthen leadership, carry out assessment processes to make it possible to find out how educational intentions are really being determined, and increase the resources and support for training and psycho-pedagogical guidance provided to schools. During the regulatory development of the LOGSE and the educational policies that followed, initiatives were taken and actions carried out in all these areas, which we will describe briefly below.

In 1995, at the instigation of the same government and the same ministerial team responsible for producing the LOGSE, the *Ley Orgánica de la Participación, la Evaluación y el Gobierno de los Centros Docentes* (Participation, Assessment and Governance of Schools Act, LOPEGCE) was passed. This adopted various measures aimed at strengthening school management. Firstly it established an accreditation system for teachers who wanted to nominate themselves as candidates for election to principal by the school committees. For this purpose, an assessment procedure was designed for use by school inspectors in which an assessment would be made not only of the teaching function but also of pedagogical coordination, management experience, and participation in the school's governing bodies. The incentives associated with this function were also improved. A significant increase in the salary supplement was established and, more importantly, approval was given for this supplement to be applied to the salary in proportion to the years in which the function was carried out, even when the teacher was no longer principal, as long as the time spent as principal was given a positive assessment. Finally, it was guaranteed that, on giving up the post, the teacher would be given priority to change schools if they wanted to.

The *Instituto Nacional de Calidad y Evaluación* (National Institute for Quality and Assessment) was established in 1993. This institution, on the board of which both the Ministry of Education and the education authorities of the autonomous communities are represented, is charged with conducting an assessment of the workings of the education system in all its various different aspects and dimensions, including school performance. It therefore coordinates the application of international assessment programs and carries out national assessments with the aim of finding out the degree to which minimum teaching requirements at all educational stages have been acquired.[6] Apart from the various different names the institute has been given under successive laws—its current title is the *Instituto Nacionalde Evaluación* (National Institute of Assessment)—the main change comes about in the 2006 LOE, which makes it responsible for general diagnostic assessments. As we will see later, the purpose of these standardized assessments by sample is to ascertain the learning level of certain basic competencies in both primary and secondary education. Meanwhile, most of the autonomous communities also set up institutes similar to the national one in order to assess their own curriculum in schools within their area of competence, although in this case the assessments are censual rather than by sample.[7]

The LOGSE curriculum model involved new requirements for teachers both from a didactic point of view and as regards providing measures to meet the needs of the growing diversity among students. To support the development of these requirements, a network of continuous training for teachers was set up and services involving educational and psycho-pedagogical guidance were strengthened. Therefore, clearly inspired by the Anglo-Saxon model, in 1992 the *Centros de Profesores* (Teacher Centers) were created, these being institutions with the job of providing training activities, refresher courses, and improved teaching practices for teachers in a particular territorial sector. These centers, which still exist today under different names in most autonomous communities, provide courses and organize work groups and seminars along with actions to support improvement plans drawn up by the schools themselves. In order to encourage continuing training, a salary supplement has been established to be paid to teachers every six years on proof of their having carried out a certain number of hours on any of these activities. The LOE, in turn, has reinforced these activities, declaring teacher training to be the right and duty of every teacher.

Finally, within the framework of an open and comprehensive curriculum model, the LOGSE established psycho-pedagogical guidance as another essential factor for educational quality and as a measure of the utmost importance to support the development of the curriculum. The idea of low-performing students was abandoned in favor of adopting an adaptive teaching approach, in which the priority is not diagnosis and individual support for students with difficulties but to help teachers to work in the classroom by adjusting the teaching to the different speeds and ways of learning of the students. To carry out this task, sector teams were set up to help in infant schools, the number of sector teams providing support to primary schools was increased, and *Departamentos de Orientación* (guidance departments) were set up in secondary schools. Extending compulsory education from eight to ten years and opting for comprehensiveness made it necessary to provide this new resource tasked with coordinating measures to meet the needs of student diversity. Consistent with the curriculum model, the work of these services was structured through the provision of psycho-pedagogical assessment to the school's management and to the tutors of the various student groups. The figure of the guidance counselor is seen as an expert not only in learning difficulties but also in the instructional strategies that can prevent them and help all school students to succeed.

Although the tasks of educational and psycho-pedagogical guidance were initially conceived as specialized services to meet the needs of diversity in general and those of students with educational needs due to physical, mental, or sensory disabilities in particular, hardly any provision was made for measures and actions involving ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. The explanation for this can be found in the relative homogeneity of the school population in Spain as regards this aspect in the early 1990s. In the academic year 1989–90, for example, foreign students in pre-university levels of education accounted for only 1.1 % of the total. In the following years, however, there was spectacular growth in this collective, with the proportion for Spain as a whole in the academic year 2008–09 reaching 9.2% (Instituto de Evaluación, 2011). In order to attend to the needs of this collective, which had been virtually non-existent 10 years before, the policy development of the 2002 LOCE adopted a series of measures and established a set of specific actions aimed at giving support in the schooling of students who did not know Spanish, who had had their schooling interrupted, or who had simply received no schooling in their countries of origin. A few years later, in 2006, the LOE also identified the collective of late-joining students, i.e., those joining primary or secondary school after the start of the academic year, as a group needing specific educational support.

The increase in the diversity of students' ethnic, cultural, and linguistic origins has undoubtedly been one of the factors that has contributed most to the strengthening of educational guidance services over the last two decades. In some autonomous communities, there has been significant growth in the number of professionals working in these areas, either as part of the sector teams or as part of the teaching teams in schools. But, above all, new professional profiles have been introduced into guidance services and provisions in order to meet the particular educational needs of these students. Thus, in many cases, there are experts in social work who coordinate work with the families, both in their relations with the school and with the council's social services. There has also been the introduction into some schools of the figure of the expert in teaching Spanish as a foreign language, who works mainly but not exclusively in specific classes initially containing students who know no Spanish.

Despite its briefness, the above description illustrates and supports the statement with which we opened this chapter, on the link between curriculum revision and change processes and regulatory and legislative changes in educational matters. Indeed, this link shows the close relationship that exists in Spain between the curriculum on the one hand and educational policies and, more specifically, educational reforms conceived and promoted by the Administration on the other. Although a similar association has been detected in other countries and regions, as can be seen in several of the contributions to the first edition of *The International Handbook of Curriculum Research* (Pinar, 2003), this relationship is particularly strong in the case of Spain. Indeed the strength of the relationship is such that, based on the curriculum revision and change processes described, it is possible to identify not only the central themes around which the field of curriculum in Spain has been shaped over these years, but also the factors that have led researchers and academics to focus their attention and interest on them.

Curriculum Studies in Spain: Shaping Factors and Main Themes

One group of factors that has had a direct influence on the field of curriculum involves the profound transformations of all types—not just political and economic but also social and cultural—that Spanish society has undergone over these years. We have already mentioned the huge increase in immigrant students during the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first and how at a certain point this made it necessary to revise the plans, strategies, and actions involved in attention to diversity. To give another example, we can point to the increased use of digital information and communications technologies (ICT) in all types of individual and social activities, especially based on the widespread presence of the Internet, and the appearance of new teaching needs associated with the knowledge and functional control of these technologies. Also, the social and cultural transformations brought about by ICT have had an impact on curriculum, most evident in the incorporation of new learning contents and new competencies into the school curriculum along with the appearance of didactic methodologies and proposals for teaching innovations and improvements based on the use of ICT.

What makes these examples interesting, however, is not so much the impact of social and cultural transformations on curriculum, which is not only logical and to be expected, but seeing these transformations lead to the appearance of topics and questions that at a particular time are considered crucial in the field of curriculum, thereby having a decisive influence on its shaping and development. The subject of interculturality and the educational attention to diversity associated with the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic origins of the students (Besalú y Vila, 2007; Gimeno, 1992a) and also the impact of ICT on education and the school curriculum (Area, 2005; Sigalés et al., 2008) have been and continue to be—to a great extent, in this sense—two central themes shaping the field of curriculum in Spain, and not only in connection with the curriculum revision and updating processes promoted by the education authorities.

Something similar happens with another group of factors easily identifiable from the earlier description. We refer to the ideological debate and political conflict between different views of education. Their role in the curriculum revision processes has been made absolutely clear. Less obvious, however, but in our opinion no less important for that, is their impact on the identification and formulation of certain questions that have monopolized a fair proportion of the attempts to analyze, devise, and research in the field of curriculum during this period. This is the case of the debate on comprehensiveness, for example, closely linked to changes in the curriculum organization of the final stage of compulsory education, but also the focus of papers and studies of an academic nature (Sevilla, 2003). The same can be said of other subjects, such as the argument as to whether basic education should be an end in itself or propaedeutic, related to joining compulsory and postcompulsory secondary education and the requirements needed to access the latter (Puelles, 1996; Viñao, 2011); or the friction between excellence and equality (Escudero, 2003); or decentralization and the curricular autonomy of schools and teachers (Bolívar, 2004; Contreras, 1997). These and other issues have been the subject of fierce ideological debate and political conflict and have played a huge role in the curriculum revision processes carried out in the Spanish education system since the late 1980s. However, their effect has not been limited to the area of education and curriculum reforms but has also had a strong impact on the shaping and development of the field of curriculum as a whole, contributing to the identification of topics for study and research and establishing priorities for dealing with them.

Finally, among the factors that have led to the curriculum changes described above, we find a third group related to the adoption of proposals and approaches that have their origin in the field of curriculum studies itself, or at least receive their impetus from these studies. This, for instance, is the case with the growing importance given to student performance assessments as one of the factors that could contribute to improving the quality of the education system and the introduction of basic competencies into the curriculum after the enactment of the LOE in 2006. Interest in both these topics, which occupy a prominent position in the studies and research on curriculum carried out in Spain over the last 15 years, originated in proposals and approaches with a strong theoretical and academic emphasis. This interest, however, grew considerably the moment they were considered elements of education reform and started to play an important role in the curriculum revision and updating process.

The close relationship existing between the subjects and issues that have contributed to shaping the field of curriculum studies in Spain, on the one hand, and the processes of education reform on the other, are also clearly seen in two academic and research areas of special interest for the development of curriculum thought and theory. We refer to specific didactics and the analysis of educational practices. Basically coinciding with the transformation process of the Spanish education system described above, and to a large extent making use of the force behind this process, there has been a large increase in the number of studies and research papers of a didactic nature on the teaching and learning of the contents of the various different areas and subjects in the school curriculum. Departments have been set up in many universities to look at specific didactics, which has brought about the emergence and consolidation of powerful and very active research groups and the appearance of high-caliber refereed journals specializing in different curriculum subjects and areas.[8] In this respect, special mention should be made of the work and research carried out on the didactics of mathematics (Goñi, 2011; Planas y Alsina, 2009), language (Camps, 2011; Ruiz, 2011), English and French as foreign languages (Guillén, 2010; House, 2011), the natural sciences (Caamaño, 2011; Cañal, 2011; Martín, Cañas, y Nieda, 2007; Pujol, 2003), the social sciences (Hernández, 2002; Prats, 2011), music (Giráldez, 2010) and physical education (González y Lleixà, 2010).

Although the work done in these areas has naturally focused on issues closely linked to the nature of the knowledge typical of each area or subject, it often also deals with curriculum issues of a general type with a specific perspective. Thus, for example, the areas of the didactics of mathematics and of the natural sciences have on occasion looked into curriculum issues of general interest such as comprehensiveness, attention to diversity, and student performance assessment, whether or not ESO is propaedeutic in character, and the friction between the pedagogical and social functions of learning assessment. Something similar happens with the work done on the didactics of the social sciences, which often deals with curriculum topics of great interest such as interdisciplinarity and interculturality, and likewise with work on the didactics of language, which relatively frequently raises questions about attention to the cultural and linguistic diversity of the students.

Research focusing on formal school education practices has also seen growth, driven by the transformations the education system has undergone during this period. Interest in analyzing teaching practices has a long tradition in educational research and has been linked to a wide variety of objectives: identifying and defining effective teaching, characterizing teachers' teaching styles, determining teachers' professional competencies, building up a repository of good teaching practices, etc. From the perspective of curriculum studies, however, what makes this research interesting is the fact that it focuses on the "curriculum in action" as opposed to the "prescribed curriculum" or the "official curriculum" that appears in the regulations and instructions of the education authorities (Gimeno, 1988, 1992b, 2010). Beyond what the theoretical models, research results, and education authorities say teachers and students *have to do,* analyzing whatthey *really do* in schools and classrooms provides highly valuable information in at least three ways: it enables an assessment to be made of the gap that often exists in the field of curriculum between what is proposed and what is really done and helps identify the factors underlying this mismatch (Sánchez y Rosales, 2005); it provides material and specific benchmarks for initial in-service teacher training based on a reflective analysis of practice (Pérez, 2010; Porlán et al., 2001; Posada, Cascante, y Arrieta, 1989); and it contributes elements to help understand how students and teachers convert curriculum guidelines and instructions into real learning experiences (Coll, Onrubia, y Mauri, 2008; Cubero et al., 2008; Sánchez et al., 2008).

From all the aspects around which the field of curriculum in Spain has been shaped over the last two or three decades, we have selected three which, apart from generating a relatively large body of work, will, in our opinion, continue to play an important role in the immediate future. These aspects involve studies on student performance assessment and its relationship with the school curriculum, the concept of competencies and competency-based curriculum approaches, and the discussion on basic learning areas in the twenty-first century and decisions on what to teach and learn in schools. Naturally, we could have chosen other aspects just as important, relevant, and imaginably influential—interculturality, for example, or the curricular autonomy of schools and teachers, the functions of learning assessments or inclusive education to mention just a few—but the three selected are undoubtedly worth looking at in more detail.

Performance Assessments and Curriculum The use of student performance assessments to determine the effectiveness of the curriculum, the teaching, and the functioning of education systems has seen spectacular growth over the last two decades. For years, various international organizations have been encouraging comparative studies to be made of student performance in key areas of school learning (basically mathematics, sciences, and reading) as a strategy aimed at rolling out and promoting processes to improve quality and equality in education.[9] In this context, the proposal to put assessment at the core of curriculum reforms comes about naturally (Agrawal, 2004). Student performance assessment is thus presented as the instrument that can provide the information necessary for leading and guiding the curriculum revision and updating processes, and through them improve the effectiveness and quality of school education (Solomon, 2003).

Of the many different factors that have contributed to the growing acceptance of the thinking that links performance assessment to the planning and management of curriculum changes, there are three that have played decisive roles. The first is the importance given to the *regulating function* of the assessment, i.e., the proposal to use the information provided by the assessment to make decisions that could lead to the introduction of corrective measures and thereby bring about improvements in the various components and elements of the education system and the way it is joined together. The second is the increasing importance that today's society gives to the *accountability function* of assessment, i.e., the use of the assessment results to show to what extent objectives have been achieved. And the third is the *establishment of standards* of quality in education, often defined in terms of the performance levels that have to be reached by students of a particular age or educational level—or what they should know and what they should know how to do.

The tendency to give special importance to performance assessment in the curriculum revision and updating processes and in academic work on the quality of education has also manifested itself strongly in Spain. On the one hand, as already mentioned, the 1990 LOGSE identified the "assessment of the education system" as one of the "factors favoring quality and improvement in teaching" and laid the foundations for the creation of an "*Instituto Nacional de Calidad y Evaluación*" (National Institute for Quality and Assessment)." This institute, at first alone but later in collaboration with autonomous community organizations with similar functions, and also with international bodies, conducted a series of student performance assessment studies that we can group into three categories: those aimed at assessing the impact of curriculum changes, comparative international studies, and national and regional diagnostic assessments.

As far as the first group of studies is concerned, three student performance assessments in primary education and five in compulsory secondary education were carried out between 1990 and 2003 (INECSE, 2003; 2005). These assessments, across various subject areas and different levels of schooling, are clearly aimed at assessing the curriculum and the curriculum approach of the LOGSE, and their design and results are often to be found within the framework of the ideological debate on the advantages and disadvantages, the successes and failures, of that Act. The general conclusion that can be drawn from them is that student performance has remained at a similar level to that of previous years. For a correct interpretation of this result, however, it is best to take the following two facts into account. The first is that the LOGSE was not only a curriculum reform; it was also a structural reform that introduced far-reaching changes into the education system as regards teachers, schools, and the length of compulsory education. The second is that the primary education established by the LOGSE started to be put into effect in the academic year 1992–93 and was completed in 1995–96, which shows how short a time had passed between its introduction and the performance assessments aimed at evaluating its impact. Something similar happened in the case of compulsory secondary education, which started to be put into effect in the academic year 1996–97 and was completed in 1999–2000, just two years before the LOGSE was repealed and substituted by the LOCE in 2002.

As regards the comparative international studies, Spain, already a participant in the IEA's TIMMS project to assess knowledge of mathematics and sciences, started to take part in the OECD's PISA studies in 2000. From that time on, as in many other countries, the PISA studies have become a highly important benchmark for both the education authorities and society, in general mainly due to the wide availability and media impact of their results. Presenting and assessing these results for Spain as a whole and the autonomous communities is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Instituto de Evaluación/Assessment Institute, 2010; Roca, forthcoming). Allow us, however, to make two comments that are relevant here. The first is that presentation of the PISA study results has frequently given rise to debates on curriculum and has often been accompanied by proposals for strengthening the presence of the assessed areas in the curriculum, given that the results have systematically been around the average or below it. And the second is the growing importance—in number and dissemination—of academic papers that consist of using these results to carry out secondary analyses of the PISA data (see for example Ferrer, Castel, y Valiente, 2009; Zancajo, Castejón, y Ferrer, 2012).

The national and regional diagnostic assessments, meanwhile, in general terms follow the models developed by the international studies. Hence they share some of the same basic characteristics, such as the theoretical assumptions on which the performance tests are based and the presentation of results by levels of competency. However, unlike the IEA and OECD studies, which are not curricular—i.e., the tests do not refer to the curriculum of the participating countries[10]—the reference in the diagnostic assessments is minimum teaching requirements or the official curriculum of the respective autonomous communities. The fundamental difference between the national and regional diagnostic assessments introduced by the 2006 LOE is that, while the former are based on samples, i.e., they are applied to a sample of students from the levels being tested (4th year of primary education and 2nd year of compulsory secondary education), the latter are censual, i.e., they are applied to all the students. This introduces important differences regarding the usefulness and possible uses of the assessment results from the point of view of curriculum. Whereas the national diagnostic assessments provide a picture of the education system as a whole based on student performance, the regional diagnostic assessments, apart from giving a picture of the education system as a whole in the relevant autonomous community, provide schools with information about their students' performance and families with information about their child's performance. Some communities also request schools, on the basis of the report on their students' performance, to draw up a plan for improvements, which is certainly an interesting use of diagnostic performance assessments.

At this point, it might be a good idea to ask how strong the connection is between the results of the student performance assessment and the establishment of educational improvement processes that are at the root of these approaches. The results of the research and studies conducted so far call for us to think carefully about how we answer. On the one hand, there is empirical evidence that, under certain conditions, using the information provided by the student performance assessments can lead to processes to improve teaching quality (Schleicher, 2005). Furthermore, there are studies indicating that the assessment may act as an "engine" or "lever" for curriculum changes (Barnes, Clark, and Stephens, 2000). On the other hand, however, there are studies and research that show the unexpected and negative effects of reforms that mainly or exclusively stress the assessment of learning standards (Haymore, Ogawa, and Paredes, 2004). There are also studies and research that are extremely critical of education and curriculum reforms that put most of the emphasis on student performance assessments (Berliner, 2005).

In Spain, at least during the period analyzed, the connection between the results of both national and international performance assessments and curriculum change processes has been practically non-existent. When the curriculum changes described in the previous section of this chapter are analyzed, it can be seen that they do not derive from the conclusions of the assessment studies we have just mentioned (Coll and Martín, 2006a). Indeed, they are not even justified on the basis of the results of these studies. The root factors are generally of a different nature (basically ideological debates and social transformations that generate new learning needs). Naturally, we are dealing with a specific case that precludes any attempt at generalization. Nevertheless, regardless of its specificity, analyzing it may help us to understand and better assess the scope and limitations of the approach that puts performance assessments at the core of the processes for designing and leading curriculum change.

As far as the central idea of the approach is concerned, whether or not it is a good idea or even necessary to gather information on student performance in order to find out if the educational intentions expressed in the curriculum have been achieved is beyond discussion. Educational intentions are expressed in the curriculum in the form of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and competencies that are intended the students will acquire or develop as a result of the teaching. Therefore, in the extent to which student performance assessments are able to effectively provide reliable and valid information as to how far it has been achieved that students learn what they are meant to learn, it is clear that they are valuable instruments for leading the curriculum reform processes. Nevertheless, highlighting educational intentions as the ultimate reference for the curriculum also shows up a number of limitations and weaknesses in the approach (Martín, 2009), and this is where we should focus our attention next.

To begin with, some of the assumptions on which it is based are highly questionable. For example, the apparent ease with which the transition can be made from information on student performance results to the factors that explain it; the way it is supposedly possible to directly infer the reasons for the performance from its measurement; and that the causes to which performance results are attributed are unequivocally located in the area of the curriculum. Today we know that the process whereby the educational intentions of a curriculum take shape in particular teaching and learning experiences—and through these in certain levels of performance—is extremely complex, and that there are a great many factors of very different natures involved in it or that have an effect on it, guiding it in one direction or another. Trying to follow the process back and reconstruct it so as to identify and assess the curriculum factors involved is not an impossible task, but it is very costly and its results would no doubt be debatable.

Even more questionable is the propositional and proactive aspect of the approach, which advocates using the information on student performance *in order* tomake curriculum decisions. Even supposing we could manage to formulate reasonable conjectures as to the effect that elements and processes relating to curriculum have on the performance levels observed, how can we logically derive specific proposals for curriculum change from them? Going from performance assessment results to interpreting them and using them to make specific proposals as to what should be changed in the curriculum involves an epistemological leap that can only be justified through the use of elements that are, strictly speaking, unconnected to the way of thinking we are analyzing. The key element in the decision-making processes involved in driving curriculum change is not performance assessment results but the interpretation filter used on them to derive specific proposals for action. And the main ingredient of this filter is educational intentions, and the performance assessed is certainly an indicator of the way these are carried out. Hence the conclusion that performance assessments can in fact provide useful and valuable information about the degree to which educational intentions are achieved, but they are not, and neither can they be, the source from which these intentions originate, nor are they an appropriate instrument for legitimizing them.

When performance assessment results are used to make decisions about the legitimacy of educational intentions, we believe a basic fact is being ignored: that any curriculum is to a great extent the reflection—precise and defined to various degrees depending on the case—of a particular social and cultural project. Hence proposals for curriculum change are often more likely to be a reflection of social changes, and therefore a result of changes in the social and cultural plans of the dominant groups, rather than a result of the internal dynamics of the education system or a consequence of students' performance assessment results, hence also the weight and importance of ideological arguments and choices in curriculum updating and revision processes. The case of Spain, to which we have referred, provides clear and illustrative examples of both aspects, which leads us to believe that perhaps, in this sense, it is not as exceptional as it may first appear.

Competency-Based Curriculum Approaches The use of competencies as the curriculum element chosen to define and specify educational intentions is certainly another topic that has occupied a central position in discussions and studies on curriculum in Spain over the last few years. As we have already said, the incorporation of basic competencies into the curriculum was one of the new aspects introduced by the 2006 LOE and came about as a result of the agreements adopted by the Lisbon European Council of 2000 and their later appearance in a series of key competencies for lifelong learning. From that moment, partly as a consequence of this and partly as a consequence of the way various international agencies firmly supported the incorporation of the discourse on competencies into the field of education,[11] the subject took on a prominent role. Studies and papers exploring various aspects of competencies and competency-based curriculum approaches immediately began to appear, always taking the curriculum change introduced by the LOE as a benchmark. There were discussions about the novelty involved in incorporating competencies into the curriculum and assessments were made of their use (Gimeno, 2008; Pérez, 2008); detailed studies were carried out on basic competencies (Moya y Luengo, 2011), especially those of a greater cross-sectional nature (Marina y Berbaneu, 2007; Martín y Moreno, 2007; Puig y Martín, 2007); the difficult question was raised as to how competencies should be assessed (Álvarez, 2008); their possible effect on citizenship training was analyzed (Bolívar, 2008); and, most importantly, investigations were carried out into how to transfer the competency-based curriculum approach to the classroom (Escamilla, 2008; Zabala and Arnau, 2007).

Leaving aside other undoubtedly interesting considerations regarding the diversity and heterogeneity of the meanings, approaches, interpretations, and practices that characterize the concept of competency and competency-based curriculum approaches (Coll, 2009), we believe its main interest can be found in the following two points. The first is that it provides a thought-provoking picture of how to define educational intentions and specify school learning in a way that connects with ideas and concerns that have traditionally been on the agenda of progressive and innovative educational movements (e.g., to bring school learning closer to situations in everyday life; to abandon academicism and bookish transmissive teaching practices; to encourage functionality in learning; to create "real" and "authentic" situations and activities for learning, teaching, and assessment; etc.). And the second is that it highlights certain aspects and introduces new—or at least relatively new—touches into the picture of learning it is intended to promote via school education. We would like to comment briefly on some of these.

The first aspect we can point to is the mobilization (Perrenoud, 2002) of knowledge. Being competent basically means being able to activate and use the knowledge one has in a particular situation. Clearly, this dimension of learning is fundamental, which does not mean it is totally new. The insistence on promoting significant and functional learning was already present in the constructivist approaches to education that guided reform in a number of countries, including Spain, in the last decades of the twentieth century. The novelty of the competency-based approach does not therefore lie so much in the fact that it considers functionality to be an important dimension of learning, but rather in the fact that it places it in the foreground of the type of learning it wants to promote via school education, which is certainly not a minor aspect.

The integration of the various types of knowledge that students should learn is the second essential component of the concept of competency. It is assumed that conceptual knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes are learned in different ways, and therefore it is admitted that this difference must be taken into account when they are taught and assessed. In addition, using knowledge to understand real life and act upon it involves mobilizing these different types of knowledge in a fluid and interrelated way.

A third aspect of the concept of competency is the importance it gives to the context in which learning is carried out and the context in which it is to be subsequently used. Competencies cannot be separated from the contexts of activity and practice in which they are learned and used, and this has important implications for school learning. Hence, whereas curriculum approaches based on the acquisition and development of contents or general abilities stress the importance of teaching students how to transfer, apply, and generalize the knowledge acquired to contexts different from that in which it was learned, competency-based approaches insist on the need to use different learning contexts for the acquisition of competencies. Also, the criteria for assessing what constitutes a "sufficient" or "effective" level in carrying out a competency depends on the context, because the level of sufficiency or effectiveness in carrying out a specific action is directly linked to the requirements of the demand to which one is responding.

The fourth and final element of the concept of competency involves the action or execution component inherent in competencies. Competencies always manifest themselves through the actions or behaviors that people show when faced with the demands and challenges of a situation. From the point of view of school learning, this means that the level to which students have developed or acquired competencies can only be detected via their performance, i.e., through the actions or behaviors they exhibit when faced with the demands and challenges they are given. There is, therefore, no sense in making use of a competency without at the same time making use of its equivalent in terms of execution or "competent action." This is why competency-based educational and curriculum approaches apply great importance to the results expected from student learning expressed in terms of *abilities-in-context,* i.e., what they should be able to do in a particular type of situation and under particular conditions.[12]

The above comments support the idea that competency-based curriculum approaches are actually an advance, especially as regards the identification, characterization, and organization of what should be learned in school. At least as far as the specification of educational intentions is concerned, competency-based approaches shade and enrich the ability-based approaches that held sway over pedagogical discourse and the definition of curriculum policies in many countries over the last two decades of the twentieth century. In this sense, it is reasonable to expect that the incorporation of competencies into the curriculum from 2006 will bring about processes of transformation and improvement in school education. Future research will tell us how far these expectations were right. What is not reasonable, however, is to expect solutions from competency-based curriculum approaches that they clearly cannot provide. Despite its contributions in this respect, the concept of competency is still bound by serious limitations as regards identifying and specifying educational intentions. Moreover, some interpretations of the concept—especially when these interpretations are reflected in the curriculum—involve risks, have negative implications, and may give rise to dubious educational practices. Both aspects can easily be identified in Spain's experience of incorporating competencies into the curriculum.

One interpretation that we believe is incorrect and detracts from the concept of competency consists of defining school learning only in terms of the competent action of the students, completely ignoring the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and other resources that need to be mobilized in order for this action to come about. As already pointed out, fluid mobilization that interrelates different types of knowledge and resources is an essential element of competencies. This means that the acquisition of a competency is inextricably bound to the acquisition of the different types of knowledge (knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, emotions, etc.) that the competency mobilizes. Stressing the mobilization or use of this knowledge cannot do away with the need to have it in the first place, and it is always there even when not identified or made explicit. In other words, in order to acquire or develop a competency, it is always necessary to have the appropriate knowledge associated with it and learn how to mobilize it too, and not one instead of the other. In this sense, we believe that the competency-based curriculum approaches presented as an alternative to those based on contents or abilities are deceptive, since it is impossible to define and characterize a competency accurately without specifying the knowledge, skills, and other psychosocial resources needed to acquire and use it. It has to be added that emptying the curriculum of contents, which is what these interpretations lead to, is actually equivalent to emptying them of cultural knowledge (Perrenoud, 2011; Torres, 2008), which is unacceptable from the point of view of the curriculum as the embodiment of a social and cultural plan.

Equally detracting, as far as we are concerned, is the solution of presenting a series of basic or cross-sectional competencies separated from the contexts of their acquisition and use. In a world characterized by globalization, basic learning areas defined only in terms of competencies are necessarily very similar in all countries and all societies. The acquisition and use of these competencies only acquires its true sense in a framework of diverse sociocultural activities and practices, in the Vygotskian sense of the expression, which demand that participants have certain specific knowledge—knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, emotions, etc.—that cannot be reduced to a decontextualized use of the competencies involved. In this sense, taking into consideration the sociocultural practices and knowledge associated with competencies is not only necessary for ensuring that they are acquired and developed, it is also a guarantee to make two aspirations that cannot be given up in today's world compatible: to educate students in the practice of "universal citizenship" and to educate them in the practice of a citizenship rooted in the social, cultural, national, and regional reality of which they are part.

Due to the importance they attach to the competent execution or action component, competency-based approaches may generate the illusion that identifying and selecting school learning areas is an easy process that, in addition, can be carried out with the strictest ideological neutrality. The widespread idea that it is much easier to identify and reach a consensus on the learning areas that school education should promote when they are defined in terms of competencies is essentially wrong, in our opinion. It is true that having specific benchmarks for action linked to the application or provision of competencies is a big help in the process of specifying educational intentions. But before that, there are at least two questions that need to be considered and answered, *why learn?* and *why teach?,* which, among other things, call for deep reflection on the cultural relevance of the learning areas and the social function of school education. This reflection is much more complex and its conclusions necessarily more controversial and conflictive than defining particular learning areas using the execution or action component of competencies.

In short, our assessment of the Spanish experience on this point is that perhaps the main risk of a competency-based approach is similar to that which other curriculum approaches have had to face in the past: that of presenting itself or being presented as the definitive solution for a series of highly complex questions. What is true, however, is that these questions, especially those related to decisions on identifying and specifying educational intentions, do not go away when people stop talking about contents and abilities and start talking about competencies instead. On the contrary, due to the apparent and deceptive ease it offers in defining and specifying educational intentions, the generalized and uncritical use of the concept of competency may contribute to making the criteria underlying these decisions more opaque, removing the decisions from analysis and debate and presenting them as the only ones possible and desirable, when in fact they are always the result of specific ideological choices.

Basic Learning Areas in the Twenty-First Century: Decisions About What to Teach and Learn The last subject chosen to provide some keys into to how the field of curriculum has been shaped in Spain also involves educational intentions or, more specifically, decisions about what to teach and learn in school. Unlike the two previous sections—performance assessments and their relation to the curriculum, and the adoption of a competency-based curriculum approach—this concerns a subject that has so far given rise to very few studies. However, in our opinion it is a subject that will become more important in the future and from which there emerge certain questions that are fundamental for the evolution and development of the field of curriculum in Spain. Of course, we do not think that its relevance and interest is confined to the context of Spain, but our view is obviously conditioned by the specificity of that context.

What background of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values do students need to acquire in order to cope in today's society? What must we try to make sure students learn in school? What learning should all students be able to achieve in the course of basic education? Making decisions about basic learning reflects ever more intensely the friction generated by two demands that seem to pull in opposite directions. On the one hand, in the new social, economic, political, and cultural scenario being shaped to a great extent by migratory movements, globalization processes, digital information and communications technologies, the knowledge-based economy, etc., it is becoming clearer and clearer that new learning areas need to be incorporated into the basic education curriculum. The belief that some competencies and learning contents essential for the practice of citizenship in this new scenario are barely represented in the school curriculum is widespread and is the basis of a generalized demand to fill the gap. This demand is also strengthened as a result of the growing "social and community deresponsibilization" as regards education (Coll, 2003), which, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, has led to a transfer to school education of certain learning areas that until recently were the responsibility of other education, socialization, and training settings (family, church, political and trade union groups, sports and cultural associations, etc.). At the same time, however, large sectors of teaching staff in basic education have come to the conclusion—which we share—that it is impossible for students to learn and for teachers to teach all the contents already included in current curricula. This is closely linked to another widespread conclusion, which in this case involves an awareness of the need to revise the curriculum in the opposite direction to the previous conclusion, i.e., directed toward reducing the learning contents. Indeed the highly negative implications of overloaded, excessive curricula for the quality of school education are well known.

Faced with this state of affairs, with various terms—fundamental training, common basic culture, basic skills, basic competencies, fundamental learning areas, etc.—and various ideological, pedagogical, and didactic approaches and stances, the need to redefine what is basic in basic education has started to take root in pedagogical debate (Gauhier y Laurin, 2001; Coll, 2006). In the following paragraphs, we will point out and comment on some of the thoughts and contributions that have emerged within the framework of this debate.

In our opinion, the key point is the acceptance of a principle—to some extent an obvious and common-sense principle—which has not yet received the attention it deserves despite its importance when it comes to making decisions about basic learning areas. This principle can be stated as follows: it is not possible, in the course of basic compulsory education, to teach everything we would like children and young people to learn; it is not even possible to teach them everything it would no doubt be good for them to learn. The content overload that characterizes the school curriculum in Spain is the result of repeatedly applying the accumulated logic that has dominated successive curriculum revision and updating processes and which is the complete opposite of this principle. Indeed, the introduction of new contents and the extension or strengthening of old contents has almost never—contrary to what one might think—been accompanied by a correspondingly balanced reduction in the presence of other contents, let alone a thorough restructuring of the curriculum as a whole. Yet the principle as stated would lead one to think that this cannot be the right way to do it. When contents are extended or new contents or competencies introduced into the school curriculum, other contents need to be cut, dropped, or reformulated. The school curriculum and timetable are not like chewing gum or a rubber band that can be stretched at will. Choices have to be made. We have to choose.

The crux of the matter is the ambiguity of the term "basic." This is a term normally used within the framework of the school curriculum and refers to the specification of educational intentions, with meanings that are partly diverse and partly similar. The contents and competencies defined as "basic" to justify their presence on the school curriculum always refer to the learning areas considered necessary for students. However, the aims or purposes that justify this supposed necessity may vary considerably. Thus it is normal for the presence of contents or competencies in the basic education curriculum to be justified using the argument that learning them is *necessary in order* to achieve one or more of the following aims: (a) to make it possible to exercise citizenship to the full within the sible to construct and develop a satisfactory life plan; (c) to ensure balanced emotional and affective personal development; (d) to enable access to other further education and training processes with guarantees of success; and (e) to enable entry into the world of work.

The number of purposes and aims of basic education at least partly explains the pressure that exists for the school curriculum to incorporate contents and competencies considered "basic" in one or another of the meanings above. It could be asked, however, whether these different meanings of the concept "basic" referring to school learning are equally relevant at different levels of basic education—infant, primary, and secondary. More importantly, it could be asked whether the contents and competencies included in or proposed for the basic education curriculum contribute equally to guaranteeing or ensuring what is aimed at by including them. It may well be that, all contents and competencies being basic in one or another of the senses mentioned, not all of them are equally "essential" for achieving the aims that justify their presence in the curriculum; although they may, however, all be "desirable" in the sense that learning them favors these aims and makes it more likely that they will be achieved.

Hence a distinction emerges between what is *essential basic* and what is *desirable basic,* two categories that could help decisions to be made about basic learning. According to this distinction (Coll, 2007; Coll and Martín, 2006b), essential basic includes those learning areas that, should students not complete basic education, would negatively condition or determine the personal and social development of the students in question, compromise their future life plans, and put them in a situation of obvious risk of social exclusion; they are also learning areas that it would be very difficult to teach beyond the period of compulsory education. Desirable basic, on the other hand, includes those learning areas that, while still making a significant contribution to students' social and personal development, would not negatively condition or determine this development if they were not taught; they are also learning areas that can be taught without too much difficulty after the end of compulsory education.

The distinction is certainly difficult to make, and we are aware of the problems involved in having to decide which contents and specific competencies belong to the essential basic category and which to desirable basic. Among various reasons, this is because the decision will depend on the importance attached to the various aims or purposes of basic education—it is not the same, for example, to stress the aim of avoiding the risk of social inclusion or the aim of guaranteeing access to further education and training processes—on the social and cultural context in which we find ourselves, and on the function or functions we believe should be fulfilled by school education in today's society. We are also aware of the dangers involved in the distinction, in so far as it lends itself to being unfairly interpreted as a "return to basics" in the traditional sense of this movement.

All in all, our view is that it is a useful distinction in that it can be used to produce a procedure and criteria that may help when making decisions—reasoned decisions which will therefore stand up to critical analysis and debate—about what to teach and learn in basic education (Coll et al., 2007). What we are suggesting is, firstly, to subject the contents and competencies currently included in the basic education curriculum—and any that may be put forward for inclusion in the future—to scrutiny to see how far and in what way they can be considered "basic," and reject those that do not pass the test. Secondly, to identify among the body of contents and competencies that remain those that involve learning areas which, if not carried out within the timeframe of basic education, would bring about the negative consequences mentioned above, in order to differentiate between essential basic and desirable basic. And thirdly, to give different and preferential treatment to those contents and competencies identified as essential basic, regardless of whether they involve teaching action, attention to diversity, learning assessment and accreditation processes, or comparative studies on the extent to which performance and quality standards for school education have been met or achieved.

Final Comments: Curriculum Change and Curriculum Studies

The overall picture that emerges from the preceding pages supports and illustrates the statement with which we started the chapter. The shaping of the field of curriculum in Spain has been marked by the transition from an authoritarian political system to a democratic one that took place in the 1970s and the resulting transformation of a centralist-type state into one based on the existence of autonomous communities with the capacity for self-government. In this context, the work on reform directed toward providing an appropriate education system for the new situation soon gave curriculum a prominent role. The reasons for this, however, were not academic but political, at least at the beginning. It was necessary to revise the contents taught in schools, freeing them from the ideological biases typical of the authoritarian system, and modernize teaching methodologies by incorporating new pedagogical approaches. Meanwhile, the existence of autonomous communities with the capacity for self-government made it necessary to revise the distribution of competencies and responsibilities for establishing the school curriculum, which until then had belonged exclusively to the central government.

Hence, curriculum became one of the core elements of the 1990 LOGSE and, by extension, the following Education Acts. With the exception of the 1985 LOE and the 1995 LOPEGCE, it can be said that the legislative changes and education reform after the LOGSE were also to a great extent curriculum reforms. This has conditioned the configuration and development of the field of curriculum in our country in at least three aspects. Firstly, the most controversial issues and fiercest debates preceding and accompanying the educational reform processes have unfailingly had a strong curricular component (comprehensiveness, attention to diversity, performance assessments, revision of contents, extension of the time assigned for studying certain areas or subjects, etc.). Secondly, the curriculum has often been used as one of the reference points, if not the main one, for designing policies and actions relating to other components of the education system, such as the organization and running of schools, initial and in-service teacher training, the production of curriculum materials, supervision services, and guidance and support services for teachers. And thirdly, education reforms, and more specifically the curricular components of these reforms, have to a large extent marked the agenda of curriculum studies, establishing research priorities and encouraging work to be carried out involving particular topics and approaches.

However, we believe it would be a mistake to conclude on the basis of these statements that the configuration and development of the field of curriculum in Spain is solely or even mainly the result of idiosyncratic factors. Indeed, most if not all the issues identified as relevant in the course of this chapter have been and still are the subject of attention and study on an international level. In this respect neither the curriculum policies conceived by the education authorities nor the subjects researched nor the theoretical and epistemological approaches on which the studies are based are unconnected to the policies, issues, and approaches we find in other countries. In our opinion, what is specific in the Spanish case is not so much to be found in each of these aspects separately but rather in the fact that, in Spain, the educational and curriculum reforms instigated by the Administration have played a decisive role in the configuration and development of the field of curriculum. Rather than the results and approaches of studies and research on the curriculum being transferred to the curriculum change processes, the picture described on the previous pages suggests that the influence works in reverse. Instead, it has been the education and curriculum reforms that have channeled studies on curriculum, establishing priorities and encouraging particular lines of research.

Notes

1. Figure 1 shows the evolution of the structure of the Spanish education system for pre-university teaching from 1990—when the LOGSE was enacted—to the present.
2. See the list of legal and regulatory texts and institutional documents included at the end of the chapter.
3. More detailed information on some of these aspects can be found in Coll and Martín (2006a) and Coll and Porlán (1998).
4. This debate gave rise to a draft Royal Decree—Proyecto de Real Decreto por el que se establecen las enseñanzas mínimas correspondientes a las áreas de Ciencias Sociales: Geografía e Historia y Lengua Castellana y Literatura en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (Draft Royal Decree for establishing minimum teaching requirements in the areas of the Social Sciences: Geography & History and Castilian Language & Literature in Compulsory Secondary Education)—which, although never enacted, had considerable impact in the media.
5. The Lisbon European Council of 2000 concluded that there was a need for a European reference framework to define the new qualifications that should be provided by lifelong learning as a response to globalization and knowledge-based economies. The Lisbon agreement was made official in 2006 in the *Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council on key competences for lifelong learning* (see the list of legal and regulatory texts and institutional documents included at the end of the chapter).
6. For more information see http://www.educacion.gob.es/ievaluacion.html
7. The consolidation of the *Estado de las Autonomías* (Spain's framework of autonomous regions) introduced by the Constitution of 1978 means that a fair number of competencies in educational matters have been transferred to the governments of the autonomous communities. At present, the management of the education system and the definition of education policies on a wide range of issues are the responsibility of these autonomous governments, which nevertheless have to comply with the laws and regulations that apply to Spain as a whole. The requirements for obtaining a qualification at the end of compulsory education, the organization and structure of the education system, the conditions governing access to becoming a teacher, and minimum teaching requirements for the curriculum are some of the aspects that are regulated in general terms and that all autonomous communities must comply with.
8. Notable among these are: in the area of the natural sciences, *Alambique* (alambique.grao.com), *Enseñanza de las Ciencias* (ensciencias.uab.es), and *Investigación en la Escuela* (http://www.diadaeditora.com/); in the area of mathematics, *Revista de Didáctica de las Matemáticas: UNO* (uno.grao.com) and *Revista para la enseñanza de las Matemáticas: SUMA* (www.revistasuma.es); in the area of language and literature, *Textos. Didáctica de la Lengua y la Literatura* (textos.grao.com); and in the area of the social sciences, *ÍBER. Didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia* (iber.grao.com).
9. For example. the *Programme for International Student Assessment*—PISA—(http://www.pisa.oecd.org), promoted by the OECD, the *Third International Mathematics and Science Study*—TIMSS—(http://timss.bc.edu) and the *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study*—PIRLS—both promoted by the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement*—IEA—to name just a few of the most widely-known examples.
10. The fact that these studies have no curricular reference does not prevent their results from often being used to support specific proposals for curriculum revision and change in the areas assessed.
11. In this respect, special mention can be made of the DeSeCo (*Definition and Selection of Competencies*) project, promoted by the OECD with the aim of providing a solid conceptual framework for identifying key competencies. Reports on this project (Rychen and Salganik, 2001, 2003) have had a great deal of influence on studies and research carried out on the subject in Spain.
12. This is also why competency-based curriculum approaches lend themselves fairly easily to behaviorist or neobehaviorist interpretations. These interpretations place the highest priority on the execution component formulated in terms of observable behaviors, ignoring other components or relegating them to a secondary level.

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Appendix. Evolution of the structure of the Spanish education system between 1990 (LOGSE) and 2006

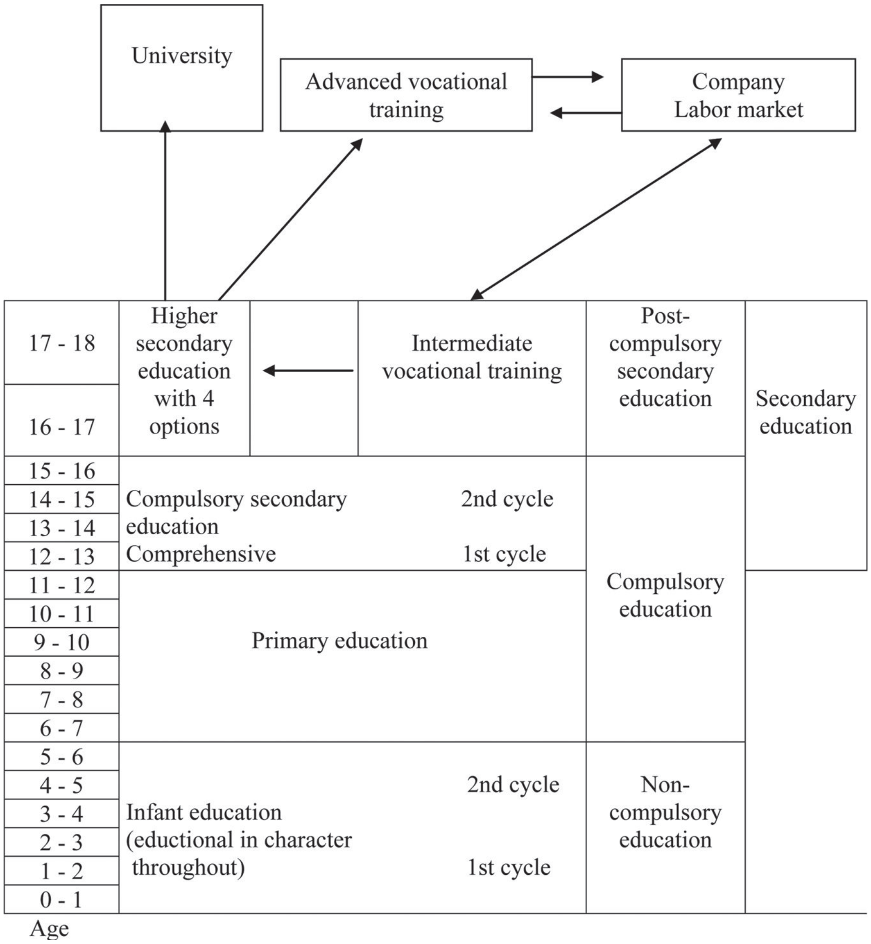
University
Advanced vocational training
Company Labor market
17 - 18
16 - 17
Higher secondary education with 4 options
Intermediate vocational training
Post-compulsory secondary education
Secondary education
15 - 16
14 - 15
13 - 14
12 - 13
Compulsory secondary education Comprehensive
2nd cycle
1st cycle
11 - 12
10 - 11
9 - 10
8 - 9
7 - 8
6 - 7
Primary education
Compulsory education
5 - 6
4 - 5
3 - 4
2 - 3
1 - 2
0 - 1
Infant education (eductional in character throughout)
2nd cycle
1st cycle
Non-compulsory education
Age

Figure 1a Structure of the Spanish education system according to the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE, 1990).

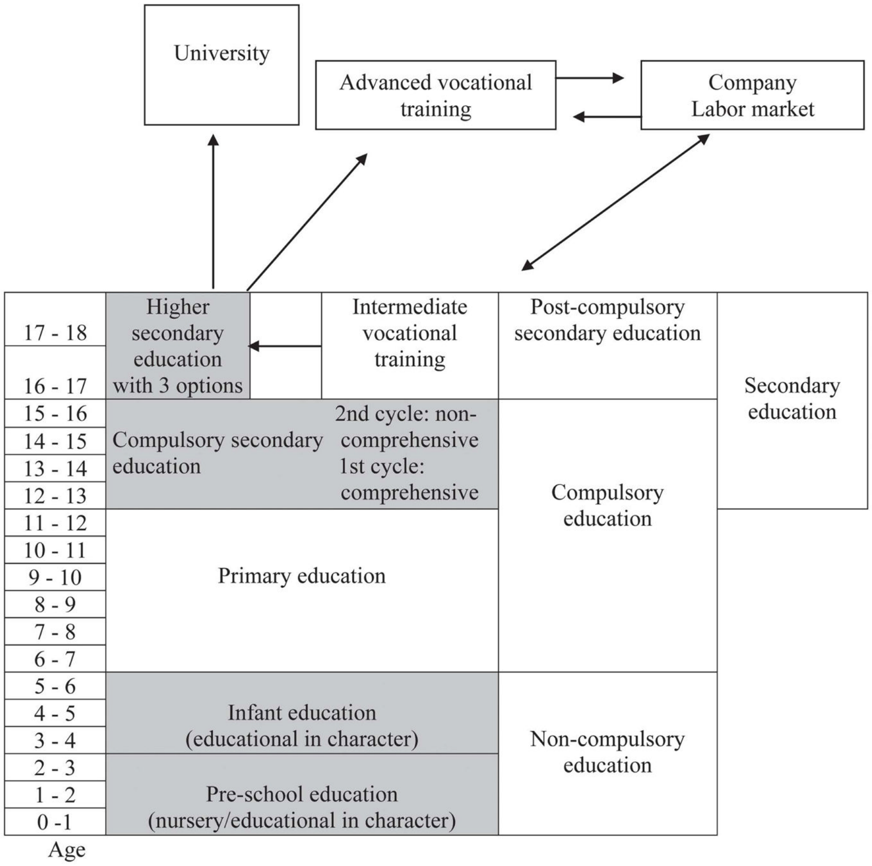
University
Advanced vocational training
Company Labor market
17 - 18
16 - 17
15 - 16
14 - 15
13 - 14
12 - 13
11 - 12
10 - 11
9 - 10
8 - 9
7 - 8
6 - 7
5 - 6
4 - 5
3 - 4
2 - 3
1 - 2
0 -1
Age
Higher secondary education with 3 options
Intermediate vocational training
Post-compulsory secondary education
Secondary education
Compulsory secondary education
2nd cycle: non-comprehensive
1st cycle: comprehensive
Compulsory education
Primary education
Infant education (educational in character)
Non-compulsory education
Pre-school education (nursery/educational in character)

Figure 1b Structure of the Spanish education system according to the *Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación* (LOCE, 2002). Shaded areas show changes.

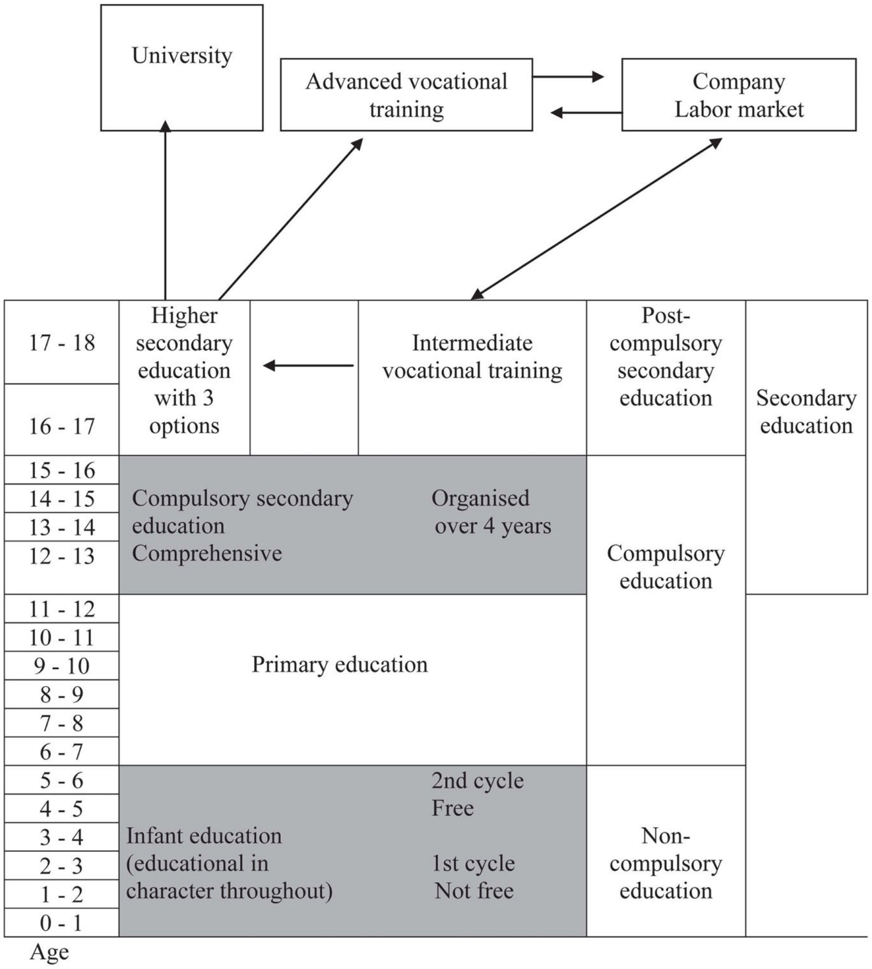
University
Advanced vocational training
Company Labor market
17 - 18
16 - 17
Higher secondary education with 3 options
Intermediate vocational training
Post-compulsory secondary education
Secondary education
15 - 16
14 - 15
13 - 14
12 - 13
Compulsory secondary education Comprehensive
Organised over 4 years
Compulsory education
11 - 12
10 - 11
9 - 10
8 - 9
7 - 8
6 - 7
Primary education
5 - 6
4 - 5
3 - 4
2 - 3
1 - 2
0 - 1
Infant education (educational in character throughout)
2nd cycle Free
1st cycle Not free
Non-compulsory education
Age

Figure 1c Structure of the Spanish education system according to the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* (LOE, 2006). Shaded areas show changes.

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Curriculum Research in South Africa

Lesley Le Grange

Introduction

I write this chapter on the eve of a historic moment in South African education, the launch of a South African Education Research Association (SAERA). It is a significant moment because the education community remains fragmented/divided in post-apartheid South Africa, evidenced by the existence of separate education research associations: The Education Association of South Africa (traditionally White and Afrikaans), the Kenton Education Association (traditionally White and English), and an association with members almost exclusively from historically Black universities. Several other research associations that are more specialized (e.g., on science education, language education, education management, mathematics education, and environmental education) do exist, but because their origins are more recent and not ideologically tied to particular universities, the membership of these associations is more representative of the demographics of the South African higher education community. The membership of the Education Association of South Africa (EASA) and the Kenton Education Association (KEA) has not remained exclusively White in post-apartheid South Africa; however, its traditionally strong ideological ties to respectively White-Afrikaans and White-English universities is important in understanding the production and circulation of curriculum knowledge in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. These divisions in part explain why South African Curriculum Studies as a field is fragmented and why until very recently a historiography of curriculum had not been mapped. Moreover, it explains why complicated conversations on curriculum matters between South Africans rarely occur (at home)—although I have observed some of the more difficult and heated conversations between South African education scholars occurring on foreign soil. The establishment of SAERA and a South Africa chapter of the International Association of the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS) promises to open up opportunities for complicated conversations to occur between South African curriculum scholars and the potential for producing of a corpus of knowledge that reflects these.

I also write this chapter in the wake of the publication of a seminal text, *Curriculum Studies in South Africa: Intellectual Histories and Present Circumstances* (Pinar 2010). The text is the first attempt to gather together in one collection distinctive views on South African Curriculum Studies, emphasizing intellectual histories and present circumstances. Soudien's chapter in the book is the first comprehensive attempt to map a historiography of the curriculum dilemma in South Africa—"how the story of the curriculum and its making is told and what implications such narrations might have for issues of inclusion and exclusion" (Soudien 2010:19). In his mapping, Soudien identifies significant periods in South Africa's curriculum making: the emerging modern period, modernity in full cry, and a new post-apartheid South Africa. Any discussion of curriculum (research) will inevitably involve some form of periodization, invoking constructs such as premodernity, modernity, and postmodernity; colonial and postcolonial; apartheid and post-apartheid. And so I shall invoke the terms apartheid and post-apartheid in my discussion of curriculum research in South Africa. My interest here is not primarily to map the making of curriculum in South Africa, but to discuss the intellectual history of Curriculum Studies as field (academic "discipline"); the current state of the field; and what conditions globally, nationally, and locally influence curriculum research in South Africa.

Curriculum Studies in Apartheid South Africa

During apartheid, there were three major ideological traditions that influenced educational theory and practice in South Africa. Ashley (1989) refers to these as: Christian National Education (CNE), Liberalism, and Liberation Socialism. Christian National Educational values and beliefs had their genesis in the history of Afrikaner nationalism, concerned with the Afrikaner's struggle for linguistic, religious, and national survival. CNE, which had existed for several decades prior to 1948, reached its zenith in this year when the National Party came into power and introduced its policy of apartheid. Enslin (1984:139–140) avers that although the Christian National Education Policy of 1948 purported to be policy for White Afrikaans-speaking children, it had far-reaching consequences for the education of all children in South Africa. She points out that, according to CNE policy, education for Blacks should have the following features: be in the mother tongue; not be funded at the expense of White education; by implication, not prepare Blacks for equal participation in economic and social life; preserve the "cultural identity" of the Black community (although it will nonetheless consist in leading "the native" to acceptance of Christian and National principles); and must of necessity be organised and administered by Whites. Enslin (1984:140) elaborates on the latter feature:

> The final point reflects a significant paternalistic element in the policy. This is particularly evident in articles 14 and 15, entitled 'Coloured Teaching and Education' and 'African (Bantu) Teaching and Education' respectively. Black education is the responsibility of 'white South Africa', or more specifically of 'the Boer nation as the senior white trustee of the native', who is in a state of 'cultural infancy'. A 'subordinate part of the vocation and task of the Afrikaner', is to 'Christianise the non-white races of our fatherland'. It is the 'sacred obligation' of the Afrikaner to base black education on Christian National principles. Thus, revealingly, 'We believe that only when the coloured man has been Christianised can he and will he be secure against his own heathen and all kinds of foreign ideologies which promise him sham happiness, but in the long run will make him unsatisfied and unhappy.'

In the 1950s, CNE's delinquent cousin Fundamental Pedagogics (FP) was introduced. It can be traced historically to M. J. Langeveld's publication *Beknopte Theoretische Pedagogiek* in the Netherlands in 1945. The first publication in South Africa was C. K. Oberholzer's *Inleiding in die Prinsipiële Opvoedkunde,* published in 1954. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Fundamental Pedagogics was a powerful doctrine at Afrikaans-medium universities. It was also a powerful doctrine at Black colleges of education and in education faculties of historically Black universities that were dominated by Afrikaner lecturers. Fundamental Pedagogicians argued that the "scientific method" was the only authentic method of studying education. For them, the scientific method that was particularly appropriate for studying education was the phenomenological method (see Landman and Gous 1969; Viljoen and Pienaar 1971; Gunter 1974). Enslin (1984:141–142) points out that it was believed that through this method, the Fundamental Pedagogician would learn to know the phenomenon of education through "radical reflection" on the educational situation. She states that the pedagogician describes the essence of the educational situation in terms of pedagogic categories and the corresponding criteria derived from them. Advocates of Fundamental Pedagogics such as Landman and Gous (1969) and Gunter (1974) have argued that practising Pedagogics as science frees it from metaphysics, dogmatics, and ideology. In their textbook entitled Fundamental Pedagogics, Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) distinguish three stages in scientific research:

- the *pre-scientific* (pre-reflective) life-world in which the original phenomena reveal themselves, and which arouse the wonderment of the scientist;
- the *scientific reflection* on the phenomenon and the universal, verifiable logically systemised body of knowledge offered by such reflection; and
- the *post-scientific* meaningful implementation of this body of knowledge.

According to Enslin (1984:142), the distinctions made by Viljoen and Pienaar are significant: during the scientific stage, values are excluded, whereas in the pre-scientific and post-scientific stages, values or life-views play a prominent role. During the scientific phase, the pedagogician brackets extrinsic aims and beliefs. Enslin (1990:82) states that the political, therefore, becomes forbidden speech, as it has no legitimate place in the realm of science.

The problem of Fundamental Pedagogics was that no room was made for critically examining the question of values in the pre-scientific and post-scientific stages, such as in CNE policy in the South African case. Instead of being "universally valid" knowledge about education, free from "metaphysics," "dogmatics," and "ideology," Fundamental Pedagogics played a role in reproducing the ruling ideology by legitimating CNE policy. In fact, some Fundamental Pedagogicians such as Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) and De Vries (1986) made explicit links between Fundamental Pedagogics and Christianity, claiming that Christianity is the only doctrine on which education can be safely based (for details, see Viljoen and Pienaar 1971; De Vries 1986; and Enslin 1990). As De Vries (1986:211) writes:

> The Christian educator acknowledges that the child is conceived and born in sin and consequently is inclined to evil. He also knows that the child cannot be without authority, but acknowledges that God is the absolute authority and that all human authority is therefore only delegated authority.

Inspired by the European *Didaktik* tradition, *Didaktiek* (the Afrikaans spelling) was introduced into Faculties of Education at Afrikaans medium universities (Stellenbosch University, the University of Pretoria, and the former University of Potchefstroom[1]) and historically Black universities under the control of Afrikaner academics. Several publications on *Didaktiek* were produced in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, Spoelstra (1976); Duminy (1977); Duminy and Sohnge (1981); and Cawood, Muller, Swartz, and Blanckenberg (1982). Interestingly, as part of a renewed interest in the European *Didaktik* tradition in North America in recent decades, a book published by South African Richard Krüger in 1975 was translated (perhaps opportunistically so) into English by George Yonge and published in the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (JCS) in the year 2008. The article published in JCS gives the English reader some insights into the *Didactics* tradition in South Africa. However, in a reply to Krüger, Le Grange (2008) argues that in South Africa, *Didaktiek* became interwoven with Fundamental Pedagogics and as a consequence played a role in reproducing apartheid ideology—it did not provide a language of critique or possibility. He avers that this is one reason why the tradition has seen its demise in post-apartheid South Africa. For a fuller discussion of the debate, see Krüger 2008, Le Grange 2008, and Yonge 2008. In short, the *Didaktiek* tradition in South Africa was a narrow (conservative) one, a diluted form that never realised the richness of cultivating humanity evident in the European *Didaktik*'*s* association with *Bildung*. The purported "value neutrality" of Fundamental Pedagogics and Didaktiek in South Africa is evidenced in many articles published in the 1980s and 1990s in the *South African Journal of Education* (SAJE) and the journal of the Education Association of South Africa (EASA).

In the traditional White and English-medium universities (University of Cape Town, Rhodes University, University of Witwatersrand, and the former University of Natal[2]) and in historically Black universities that became radicalized in the struggle against apartheid, two other ideological positions contended for space in the South African education landscape. Liberal values were strongly entrenched in English-medium universities during apartheid. The values first reached South Africa with the British occupation of the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century. White and English-medium universities were founded on liberal values. A key proponent of liberal education, Enslin (1986:148) wrote that the central aim of a liberal education was the "promotion of individual autonomy." Drawing on the work of English educationist John White, she argues that individual autonomy has three features: personal autonomy, moral autonomy, and democratic participation. Liberal values were promoted by academics at the mentioned universities but also by professional associations of White English speaking teachers such as the Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA), which found it necessary to define itself in opposition to CNE. Liberal teachers from both public and private schools organised themselves in associations such as the TTA. It is in the elite private school system (akin to the public school system in Britain) where liberal values were promoted in schools and where racial integration occurred for the first time in South African schools in the late 1970s. Academics from the mentioned universities established the Kenton Education Association (KEA) in the 1980s, and it was at the Association's conferences that liberal education ideas were promoted and debated—in "true" liberal tradition, voice was also given to other perspectives such as neo-Marxist and associated radical pedagogical thoughts. South African education journals strongly associated with the liberal tradition are *Perspectives in Education* (PIE) and the *Journal of Education* (JOE). Ashley (1989:40) argues that the liberalist view of curriculum in South Africa has been reformist; that change in society is desirable but should happen piecemeal by the application of intelligence and reason. During apartheid, liberalism functioned largely as an opposition discourse to CNE. Ashley (1989:42) neatly captures its contribution:

> Liberalism has never been dominant as a force making education policy in South Africa and it is certain that its role will continue to be, at best, one aimed at influencing the process of policy formulation in other quarters through the asking of questions, the raising of doubts, the clarification of concepts and the insistence that ultimately the common interest is best served in a society where human freedom, individual autonomy and social justice co-exist.

This brings me to the third ideological position, liberation socialism. Ashley (1989:43) argues that in the 1970s, particularly after the Soweto uprisings of 1976[3], there emerged a South African viewpoint in education that was distinctly socialist in character. Although there were divisions between adherents of the nonracial Freedom Charter of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black Consciousness movement,[4] they shared a common vision for a transformed South African education system and the contention that there is a strong nexus between racial discrimination and capitalism—that the struggle was against apartheid-capitalism. Ashley (1989:45) avers that Marxist views were evident in the viewpoints and goals of several major liberal organizations, the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the National Forum (NF). In the 1970s, students belonging to the South African Students Organisation (SASO), a Black Consciousness aligned movement, found inspiration in the then banned book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire (1970). Academics at English-medium universities and some at certain radical Black universities also introduced students to works of authors such as Bowles and Gintis (1976), Illich (1971), Giroux (1979), Apple (1979) etc. Influenced by socialist discourses circulating at the time and in response to a deepening crisis in Black education, a grassroots movement of parents and community leaders established a committee called the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which mapped out a socialist vision for a reconstructed education system—the vision is captured in a notion referred to as People's Education. The vision of People's Education is that it

- enables the oppressed to understand the evils of the apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial, democratic system; and

- eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism, and stunted intellectual development and one that encourages collective input and active participation by all, as well as stimulating critical thinking and analysis (NECC 1986).

The NECC advocated that parents, teachers, students, and other community members (the people) should be involved in the government of education. However, not simply only on matters of governance, but also curriculum matters such as the introduction of, for example, People's mathematics and People's history as alternatives to apartheid syllabuses. People's Education provided an alternative story, a story of resistance in hope. It involved a process of conscientization that would help children to better understand their past, their present, and provide hope for the future. Mkatshwa (1985:14) notes that People's education emphasised the links between education, politics and social transformation. However, in the late 1980s, People's Education plunged into crisis due to state repression as well as a lack of clarity over what, precisely, it meant (Levin 1991). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, much was written on People's Education by South African scholars (see, for example, CACE 1987; Thlagale 1987; Ashley 1989; Nkomo 1990; Walker 1991; Johnson 1991; and Gultig and Hart 1991). Many of these scholars argued that the democratic impulse of People's Education could provide useful insights in developing a new post-apartheid education system.

Any typology will of course not capture all positions, not those in between and those that cross such constructed borders. However, the three ideological positions give one a sense of the divided nature of education in South Africa, a context that did not provide space for complicated conversations on curriculum matters to occur—there was little opportunity for discussing/debating different points of view. My contention is that the Didactics tradition's association with CNE and FP resulted in it not being embraced by all South Africans institutions. The tradition was only embraced by White Afrikaans-medium universities and introduced in historically Black universities where Afrikaners were in control. Academic publications on the Didactics tradition in South Africa in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s were almost exclusively produced by White Afrikaner male academics. Moreover, South Africa's isolation (due to sanctions and boycotts, including the academic boycott) meant that the Didactics tradition in South Africa did not keep pace with developments in the European tradition, which according to Yonge (2008) had strongly influenced its early development. In short, the Didactics tradition was doomed to unsustainability—it never reached maturity as a field/discipline in South Africa. Liberalists positioned much of their work in opposition to CNE and FP and never developed a coherent body of curriculum knowledge that is in any way distinctive. As mentioned, People's education plunged into crisis in the late 1980s. Notwithstanding the aforementioned, the review of the three educational ideologies in South Africa does provide evidence that matters curriculum were discussed, reflected on, and written about. So, curriculum was an object of inquiry during apartheid, but Curriculum Studies as field was not established.

Amidst the separateness and fragmentation of curriculum work in South Africa during apartheid, a significant debate on curriculum takes place. The debate is a response written by Buckland (1982) to an article published by Tunmer (1981). Both articles were ironically, published in the *South African Journal of Education,* which would typically not have published what might have been perceived as a very radical position (Buckland's) at the time. In his article, Buckland (1982) critiques Tunmer's parochial view of curriculum, a view that ignores the relationship between the way knowledge is organized and how power is distributed in society. He writes:

> By taking a narrow 'philosophical stance' and ignoring the important sociological dimensions of the curriculum process, Tunmer effectively de-politicizes education and treats curriculum as if it were the product not of social, economic, political and ideological history but based on a set of universally-valid 'realms of meaning' or selection of 'subjects.' (Buckland, 1982:167)

For Buckland (1982), curriculum is not a product but instead a contextualized social process; it's not a document (something that you can pick up) that contains universally valid knowledge. Instead, he views it as a construct that is embedded in social processes, that is, that it is shaped by both societal structures and human agency. This debate was significant in that it served as a basis for critical discussion in graduate courses in Curriculum Studies at some universities—a basis for critiquing the apartheid state curriculum (see Le Grange 2010).

By the end of the 1980s, there was no established scholarly tradition or traditions that constituted a field/discipline that one might refer to as South African Curriculum Studies. This is noteworthy because, in part, this situation influences what emergences in post-apartheid with respect to both the making of the school curriculum and what is researched by curriculum scholars.

Curriculum Studies in Post-Apartheid South Africa

By the year 1990, the world had changed geopolitically. In November 1989, the world witnessed the fall of the Berlin Wall, which paved the way for the reunification of Germany in October 1990 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In South Africa in February 1990, political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela were released and political organisations such as the ANC and the PAC were unbanned. All of these developments smoothed the way for a negotiated settlement in South Africa that led to the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) in South Africa and the country's first democratic elections in 1994.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union as well as the negotiated settlement weakened the liberation socialist agenda in South Africa. At the level of policy at least, the Christian National Education ideology saw its demise. However, the changing events described above led to the strengthening of liberalism in South Africa and more recently a particular variant neoliberalism. A product of the negotiated settlement was the adoption of a liberal constitution, and with respect to curriculum change, the approach in post-apartheid South Africa has been reformist and piecemeal (in the liberal tradition). As noted, the education community in 1990 was fragmented, and none of the education associations had obvious legitimacy. It was the NECC, which by then had changed its name to the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, that embarked on a project to map the future of education policy in South Africa—the project named the National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI).

NEPI was conducted between December 1990 and August 1992, gathering together academics (mainly from White English-medium universities) to debate education policy options for a democratic society. The aim of NEPI was to interrogate policy options in all areas of education within a framework informed by the ideals of the broad democratic movement in South Africa. The project produced twelve reports, including a report on curriculum (NECC 1992) convened by Pam Christie and Jonathan Jansen. The principles underpinning the curriculum report were: non-racism, non-sexism, a unitary system, democracy, and redress. These principles informed a key discussion point in the NEPI group focusing on curriculum, that is, a need for a core curriculum and differentiation. A national core curriculum was deemed necessary for the building of a unitary education system. The NEPI curriculum report focused on the distinction between the curriculum intended and the curriculum-in-use, and with respect to the latter, raised important critiques against the apartheid curriculum of the time. However, an important point to take cognizance of is that the NEPI process was fairly inward looking in that it raised issues influenced by factors internal to South Africa—the need to build a unitary education system with a curriculum that was unbiased with respect to race and gender. And further, although the NEPI report on curriculum makes reference to curriculum models/frameworks from abroad, its key focus was not on the how global forces might or should impact on curriculum policy in South Africa. Le Grange (2010:189) avers that the NEPI report on curriculum did not provide proposals substantive enough to lead to anything other (given the urgency for change) than the superficial syllabus alterations that took place with the introduction of the interim syllabus documents of 1995.

As noted, a year after South Africa's first democratic elections we witnessed the introduction of what was referred to as interim syllabuses. Jansen (1999a:57) critiques these syllabus alterations by arguing that they had very little to do with the school curriculum, but rather were more concerned with an uncertain state seeking legitimacy following the national elections. In the main, curriculum revision involved exorcising of racial content as well as outdated and inaccurate subject matter from school syllabuses. He points out that the haste with which the South African state pursued what he terms "a superficial cleansing of the inherited curriculum" needs to be understood in terms of a set of pressures faced by a South African state in transition. Jansen (1999a:64–65) avers that syllabus alterations immediately after South Africa's first democratic elections might be understood in four ways: in the context of the constitutional and bureaucratic constraints of political transition under a Government of National Unity; as a process that emerged in the context of weak political leadership in the then Ministry of Education; as a process propelled by mounting pressure on the Minister of Education from the media; and as a process made possible by a weak political challenge from the education community on the educational terms of the project. Here we see the beginning of a key curriculum (policy) research theme emerging in post-apartheid South Africa, which Jansen (2002) terms *political symbolism.* I shall return to a discussion on political symbolism later in the chapter.

Following the interim syllabuses, we witnessed the introduction of three iterations of outcomes-based education (OBE): Curriculum 2005, Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS), and the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). Jansen (2002:213) argues that the introduction of OBE generated for the first time in South African history a broad public debate about curriculum and pedagogy. I agree and would add that the introduction of OBE in South Africa produced by far the largest volume of curriculum research in the country's history, ranging from philosophical critiques, think pieces, empirical research, and commissioned research. I shall review some of the research that was done.

At the very inception of OBE in South Africa, there was fierce contestation of the discourse. OBE was either wholeheartedly embraced or severely criticised by South African academics. The first significant critique of OBE was a paper presented by Jonathan Jansen at the University of Durban-Westville in 1997 entitled *Why OBE will Fail.* A version of the paper was later published in the *Cambridge Journal of Education* (Jansen 1998) and as a chapter in a book edited by Jansen and Christie (1999). In his critique, he outlines what he refers to as "principal criticisms of OBE" including its historical lineage, sophisticated language, and instrumentalist epistemology (Jansen 1999b:146). Jansen's work elicited responses such as those of Mason (1999) and Mahomed (1999). In the same year that Jansen first presented *Why OBE will Fail,* Soudien and Baxen (1997) conducted a study on OBE that draws on critical and post-structural theories. They use critical theory to explore how much "space" has been accorded to previously disadvantaged groups within the curriculum development process. They use a post-structural angle to interrogate "the parameters of power, as defined by the nexus between race and class and knowledge in particular, in making of a new discourse" (Soudien and Baxen 1997:450). Concerning philosophical and pedagogical issues, their study shows that, for some of the interviewees, OBE "fails to engage issues relating to the quality and character of knowledge in the formerly Whites-only educational system, nor is it in itself a sufficiently deconstructive mechanism for addressing the vestiges of apartheid" (Soudien and Baxen 1997:450). Put differently, the adoption of an OBE approach allowed some White teachers to claim that OBE was what they had been doing all along and therefore resisted making changes in their pedagogical practices. As regards identity, Soudien and Baxen (1997:450) view OBE as a script of modernity and state that, "the abiding concern of OBE has been that of producing a universal subject with universally good attributes," without addressing the nature of these attributes and their social significance. Several other theoretical/philosophical studies were performed that critiqued OBE, such as Waghid's (2003) one that uses Richard Peter's non-instrumental justification of education to contest the philosophy of OBE in South Africa. The one other philosophical critique that I wish to elaborate on briefly is Morrow's Scripture and Practices article that appeared in several versions, the last in his book *Learning to Teach in South Africa.* Morrow (2007:109) argues that the introduction of OBE in South Africa was characterised by "political correctness, sacred texts and suspicion about critical or independent thinking"—it was South Africa's New Scripture. He provides a comprehensive philosophical critique, but space will not allow me to elaborate on it here. However, he ends his discussion by highlighting the importance of practices, arguing that if education is to be improved, it would be wise to not undermine the practices of education. He tentatively suggests that OBE could be the lever to shift the centre of gravity in the way we think about education, but that this would require abandoning talk about "outcomes" to talking about practices and achievements in those practices. He however doubts whether such a move would make it possible to still refer to it as OBE. I shall return to Morrow's emphasis on practices.

Several empirical studies have been conducted on the implementation of OBE, for example, Jansen (1999c), Le Grange and Reddy (2000), and Harley and Wedekind (2004). Moreover, in response to the criticisms levelled against Curriculum 2005, South Africa's second post-apartheid Minister of Education commissioned a committee to review Curriculum 2005. The review committee made several recommendations based on its visits to schools, review of published literature on Curriculum 2005, and review of submissions made by organisations and individuals as well as further investigation (for details, see Chisholm et al., 2000). The authors of the Report of the Review Committee on Curriculum 2005 observed that historically disadvantaged schools did not have the resources (reference and textbooks, stationery, photocopying facilities, and other technologies of teaching) to implement Curriculum 2005 effectively (Chisholm et al., 2000).

There have been several more detailed and sophisticated critiques of OBE, but there is no place to discuss all these in this chapter. It is enough to say that, despite initial criticisms levelled against OBE and although revisions were made to Curriculum 2005, the state pressed on with its OBE agenda for almost a decade. However, after about a decade of "implementation" there has been a turn of events whereby the Director of a statutory body Umaluzi[5] delivered devastating critiques of OBE in both an academic article and in the popular media—purportedly signaling the end of the OBE chapter in South Africa (see Allias 2007 and Blaine 2007).

Allais (2007:66) argues that outcomes-based education is part of a neoliberal agenda and appeals to states who have embraced neoliberalism. She points out that governments are making stronger links between education and the economy, and it is in this context that outcomes-based qualification frameworks have arisen, "which claim to provide world-class standards against which students must perform and which are linked to employment, economic improvement and international competitiveness" (Allais 2007:67). Furthermore, she argues that there is a double-bind on states in that, on the one hand, neoliberalism says that the state must be smaller, and on the other hand, the state must ensure that tax-payers' money is well spent. Allais (2007:68) argues that measuring performance through outcome statements has appeared to provide the solution "which accounts for the duality of managerialism and neo-liberalism." For Allais, outcomes-based qualifications frameworks give priority to the economy rather than the academy. She goes onto to argue that outcomes-based education undermines disciplinary knowledge, the latter being crucial in formal education because central to formal education is the socialization of learners into a field, discipline, or content area (Allais 2007:76). Drawing on the work of Bernstein (2000) and Moore (2004), she argues that outcomes-based education undermines disciplinary knowledge, "which is hierarchically organized, as in the sciences, or organized as a series of specialized languages with specialized modes of interrogation and specialized criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences." She goes on to argue that the way disciplinary knowledge is organized facilitates the sequencing of learning in classrooms.

In response to criticisms leveled against OBE, the current Minister of Basic Education, Angelina Motshekga signed the death certificate of OBE (as reported in the media) in 2010. As I write this chapter, a new iteration of the national curriculum, called the Curriculum Policy and Assessment Statement (CAPS), is being phased in—outcomes have been removed. However, outcomes-based education has in a sense been a red herring in Curriculum Studies in South Africa. Its introduction sparked much debate and elicited a great deal of curriculum research in post-apartheid, mostly of a critical nature. The result was the removal of any outcomes-speak in the new CAPS curriculum, as if outcomes-based education per se was the problem and not the underlying model.

Since 1994, South Africa has had several national curriculum frameworks. The change from a content-based Interim Core Syllabus to an outcomes-based National Curriculum Statement presumably represented a major shift in approach to curriculum. Although the implementation of outcomes-based impacted teachers' work, including lesson design and classroom organization, the underlying approach to curriculum (curriculum paradigm) has remained the same. The different curriculum frameworks were merely lighter or heavier touches of the so-called factory model of schooling inspired by Frederick Taylor (1911). Gough (2011:3) elaborates on the model and its influence on curriculum:

> Taylor's emphasis on designing industrial systems to achieve specified products is reproduced in the objectives-driven curriculum models of Franklin Bobbitt (1918, 1928) and Ralph Tyler (1949), and more recently manifested in outcomes-based approaches to . . . education curriculum. . . . Bobbitt, Tyler and Biggs represent curriculum as a simple, tightly coupled system in which it is both possible and desirable to closely align what students do in order to learn with intended learning outcomes and how they are assessed.

In fact, all of the national curriculum frameworks comfortably fit the key principles of Tyler's (1949) rationale. The four divisions of Tyler's curriculum are outlined below:

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to help attain these objectives?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can we determine whether the objectives are being met?

Whether the national curriculum frameworks in South Africa referred to aims, objectives, or outcomes, the principles of the underlying curriculum approach has remained the same despite several criticisms against its mechanism and instrumentalism by, among others, deliberative curriculum scholars, reconceptualist theorists, and complexity theorists, internationally. The change in terminology from "outcomes" in the NCS for Life Sciences to "aims" in the CAPS for Life Sciences, for example, is illustrative of what might be termed change without difference (see Table 38.1 below).

The learning outcomes of the NCS for Life Sciences and that of the specific aims of the CAPS for Life Sciences are similar—the order of numbers 1 and 2 just reversed. Two observations: both the NCS and its extension CAPS are underpinned by a Tylerian approach to curriculum, with the latter having an even heavier touch of this curriculum model, given its more prescriptive nature as to what, when, and for how long teachers must teach different topics. Even though "outcomes" have been excised from the national curriculum for schools, given its heavier touch, CAPS might serve to further deskill teachers and, by association, limit the potential of learners.

This brings me back to Jansen's political symbolism and Morrow's concern about improving practices. Jansen (2002) argues that, despite the production of literally thousands of pages of policy documents after apartheid, there is little change in classroom practice throughout South Africa. He suggests that the policy-practice gap might be understood through the lens of political symbolism. Jansen suggests that our assumption that policies are made so as to change education "on the ground" might be flawed. The seven cases he examines in his study show the post-apartheid state's preoccupation with settling policy struggles in the political domain rather than in practice. This preoccupation might explain why South Africa has had four different national curricula in less than twenty years and spends the biggest slice of the its national budget on education, yet its learners perform exceptionally poorly on all international benchmark tests and Annual National Assessments (ANAs) in areas such as mathematics, science, and languages. If the state's preoccupation with policy struggles in the political domain continues, then this does not augur well for addressing a deepening crisis in South African schooling. Morrow's (2007) insight that the debate should shift from the particular curriculum approach (such as OBE) to practices to how we can build them and how we might improve, is valuable. In other words, whether it is an outcomes-based NCS or an aims and objectives CAPS, these should not take primacy but rather practices such as school science, school mathematics, school geography, etc., and that teaching as a key ingredient of such practices should be retrieved. Le Grange (2007, 2010) argues that our escape from the Tylerian mould might be to view its variants such as OBE

TABLE 38.1
Outcomes of NCS and aims of CAPS

Learning outcomes of NCS for Life Sciences	Aims of CAPS for Life Sciences
Learning outcome 1: Scientific inquiry and problem-solving skills.	*Specific aim 1*: Knowing Life Sciences
Learning outcome 2: Construction and application of Life Sciences knowledge.	*Specific aim 2*: Investigating phenomena in Life Sciences.
Learning outcome 3: Life Sciences, technology, environment, and society.	*Specific aim 3*: Appreciating and understanding the history, importance, and applications of Life Sciences in society.

as potential carriers of alternative possibilities. Put differently, it is, for example, not about what OBE is but what it might become, how it can become different, and how it can become other than what it is/was. Moreover, all Tylerian variants could be imagined differently, making practices possible for the multiple becomings of pedagogical lives.

Some Parting Thoughts As noted, much curriculum research post-1994 was conducted on matters related to changes to national curriculum frameworks generally and OBE specifically. The curriculum changes elicited theoretical and empirical research from a wide range of South African scholars. Despite this, however, I would argue that this did not strengthen the field—that the field remains fragmented/divided. Or, in Hoadley's (2010) terms, there are different tribes and territories contesting around Curriculum in South Africa. The histories of the tribes can be traced back to the ideological positions I referred to under the section Curriculum Studies in Apartheid South Africa. Notwithstanding the danger of generalizing, Hoadley's (2010) description of the tribe representing most academics from former Afrikaans universities is plausible: the bureaucratic mode, a functionalist view of curriculum, and the integration of indigenous knowledge into school curricula all published in the *South African Journal of Education.*

I would like to give some attention to a particular tribe, academics in Schools of Education at former English-speaking universities, pejoratively referred to by those outside the tribe as "the Bernsteinians." A key figure or perhaps leader of the tribe is Joe Muller, and according to Hugo (2010:93), some of the key works produced were by the following members of the tribe: Muller and Gamble (2007), Christie (2006), Ensor (1999), Hoadley (2007), Davis (2005), Adler and Davis (2006), Reeves (2005), and Breier (2003). The tribe's connection to Bernstein and his works obviously arose from ties between English-medium universities and British universities. The tribe is insular, and its body of knowledge is produced in journals such as the *British Journal of Sociology of Education* and a South African journal called *Journal of Education.* Research is alsoshared at conferences, such as the British Education Research Association (BERA) and the Kenton Education Association (KEA). The unreflexive nature of the tribe and its works is captured in Hugo's (2010:93) claim that it is in Bernstein that the answer lies in creating an intrinsic discipline of curriculum studies. He writes:

> . . .something that stands on the shoulders of giants and builds a positive, intrinsic discipline of curriculum studies in its own terms, one that unashamedly takes Basil Bernstein as the father to both revere and murder (and eat him, we will).

So, the tribes and territories remain and the members of tribes speak only to each other and validate their ideas within the tribe.

There is another group of South African curriculum scholars that do not form part of a tribe—who at least do not share the histories of the two tribes just described. They are Black scholars who work at both former English and Afrikaans universities and also at some historically Black universities. They visit the two tribes from time to time at conferences, through publishing in the journals of the two tribes, and so on. They have an interest in producing culturally inclusive curricula, in the project decolonizing South African Curriculum Studies, and in an age of performativity, a more human curriculum. For insights into these interests, see for example Soudien (2010) and a 2012 special issue on Africa of *Educational Philosophy and Theory* edited by Waghid and Smeyers.

In January 2013, a South African Education Research Association (SAERA) was launched where members of the different tribes gathered. May the tribes and their territories be deterritorialized within this forum, which will enable complicated conversations to occur between South African curriculum scholars on local soil that will invigorate lines of flight and the transformation of the field.

Notes

1. In 2004, the former University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education merged with the former University of Bophuthatswana to form a new entity, North-West University.
2. In 2004, the former University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville merged to form the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
3. The Soweto Uprising of 1976 was the largest student revolt in the history of South Africa. It began in the Black township Soweto, where students protested against the forced introduction of Afrikaans into Black schools. The protest spread to the rest of the country and marked a significant moment of unity amongst all oppressed students in South Africa.
4. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) led by Steve Biko acknowledged the importance of race and ethnicity and believed that Blacks specifically needed to develop self-consciousness and self-confidence—that Blackness needed to viewed positively.
5. Umaluzi is the quality assurance body for General and Further Education and Training (Grades R to 9) in South Africa.

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From Rationalist Autonomy to Scientific Empiricism

A History of Curriculum in Switzerland[1]

Rebekka Horlacher and Andrea De Vincenti

Writing an intellectual history of curriculum research and development in Switzerland proves to be somewhat problematic. From the start, there is the issue of ambiguous terminology. The two common terms used in German, "*Lehrplan*" (curricular guideline) or "*Lehrplanung*" (instruction planning) (Künzli 1986, p. 9) may well constitute a part of what is meant by the English term *curriculum*, but they do not reflect the full dimension of what is contained in the notion of curriculum research and development. The English term "curriculum" does not merely represent the various societal expectations placed on schools and teaching, but also designates the diverse planning instruments for teaching such as schoolbooks, school organization, learning goals, and testing tasks, and the term specifically emphasizes their close interconnections. Unlike the German-language context, where the *Lehrplan,* developed by the school administrators and teachers and approved by policy makers, is understood as a document that defines the framework for instruction, but grants considerable freedom to teaching staff for planning and implementation of classroom instruction; in the Anglo-Saxon world, teachers are specifically trained to use prescribed textbooks in their classroom instruction. The Anglo-Saxon curriculum-centered teaching culture is thus much more markedly a "culture of textbooks and learning materials" (Künzli 2009, p. 137) as compared to school culture in the German-speaking world. Moreover, the "syllabus," which was originally the official canon of readings for the College, is tethered more strictly to the didactic setting than the German concept of *Lehrplan*. The *Lehrplan* generally has the status of a prescription and is thus a document that is approved by governments and educational administrations.

Moreover, the nation of Switzerland is officially quadrilingual (German, French, Italian, and Romansh)[2] and cannot be considered as fully equal to the German-language research tradition. Especially for questions related to curriculum research and development, we must also take the perspective of French-speaking communities into account, a perspective that differs substantially from the academic and educational policy traditions of Swiss Germans.[3]

Moreover, educational policy in Switzerland is not organized at the national level but rather at the cantonal level. In all the cantons, *Lehrplan* development and, to an even greater extent, *Lehrplan* research, are closely linked with educational policy, school administrations, and class- room practice and are much less the subject of university or academic debate. This is related to the fact that broad academic engagement with issues related to schools, instruction, and education began in the universities only in the 1960s. For example, at the University of Zurich, educational science was a subject of instruction since its founding in 1833 but was fully integrated into the philosophical institute. Only in 1897, with the appointment of Ernst Meumann, a student and personal assistant of Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig, was an attempt made to establish educational science as an independent empirical discipline. These efforts were only partially successful, and it was not until 1946, when Hans Stettbacher, who had previously taught secondary school, was appointed *Privatdozent* (Lecturer) in the History of Education that a professorship was created that was independent of the department of philosophy. It was another ten years before an independent institute of education was founded (Criblez 2011). Education had a similar developmental trajectory at the University of Bern (Späni 2011). However, the University of Geneva chose a somewhat different path. At the urging of the *Département de l'instruction publique* (Department of Public Education), a professorship for education was established in Geneva. In contrast to the other can- tons, which all opted for training their educators in teacher's seminaries, the Geneva professorship was responsible for training teachers. In the 1920s, this professorship was integrated with the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau,* an action that effectively united empirically oriented research about children with the German tradition of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (Hofstetter 2011).

In keeping with the federalist logic underlying Switzerland's educational system, it was the cantons that were responsible for educational research. At first, such research was practice-oriented rather than theoretical and was located in cantonal education departments rather than in the professorships of education that were newly being developed. The cantonal education administrations were meager departments prior to the expansion of education in the 1960s and 1970s. Their work was limited primarily to setting and overseeing policies, and their purview also included curriculum development. The professors of education at the universities mainly focused their research and teaching activities on the history and theory of education, though debates continued to flare up over broader incorporation of public school teacher training, collaboration in school reforms, and tackling practical educational issues in an academic setting (Criblez 2007, p. 206f.). The contributions made by various teacher-training seminaries in generating a Swiss academic discourse have been incompletely studied, despite the fact that a few seminary directors were significant voices in the public debate about education and instruction (Grunder 1993, p. 346ff.) and that these actors may have made important contributions to curriculum research in particular. The lack of academic involvement with practical questions related to education and instruction led to a situation where *Lehrplan* research—that is, a theoretical engagement with issues related to the *Lehrplan*—was typically imported from Germany, whereas *Lehrplan development* was managed on site, at first by teaching staff and later by school administrators as well.

The term *Lehrplan* as classically defined by Erich Weniger (1894–1961), a major figure in the *geisteswissenschaftlichen Pädagogik* in Germany and a teacher of history methodology, "specifies what counts in classroom teaching" (Weniger 1930/1952/1990, p. 216) and may be understood as "government guidelines for educational content and learning objectives"—as a rule, it did not include specifications or recommendations for classroom didactics. Thus, the *Lehrplan* is strongly tied to ideas of "German culture"[4] and is oriented to social norms regarding the "good life" or the "good citizen," which cannot be contemplated in the German-speaking world without including the notion of *Bildung*. In turn, the notion of *Bildung* is not primarily oriented to economic or social necessities; rather, it should be understood as a "counterpart" to life's political and social structures, and implies the pure development of the individual, a process that, in principle, should be conceived apart from any external constraints (Horlacher 2012).

Despite (or perhaps because of) this orientation to *Bildung*, the term *Lehrplan* and the research associated with it is thought of as much more narrow than the Anglo-Saxon term "curriculum," which, in addition to being a planning tool for instruction, as outlined above, may include the "intellectual, social and subjective reconstruction" of the individual, of the subject of instruction and of society (Pinar 2009, p. 160). These aspects of the term curriculum, in conjunction with questions related to the reciprocal interplay between society and schools, to educational objectives and to socialization through daily life in schools, are discussed in German-language re- search under other thematic and sometimes other disciplinary categories, and thus are not included under the heading of "*Lehrplan* research" (cf. Westbury, Hopmann, and Riquarts 2000). Instead, they are topics within the theory and history of education (*Allgemeine Pädagogik*), socialization theory, teaching methodology, or educational sociology.

As Switzerland lacked university-based *Lehrplan* research or theory until well into the twentieth century, *Lehrpläne* were discussed and developed primarily at the level of school practice or policy. The prevailing Swiss understanding of the notion of "public" further supported this arrangement. In Switzerland, unlike in Germany but similar to the United States, the school is a public institution, and this means not only that it is organized by the government and (for compulsory schooling) made available free of charge, but also that it is controlled and directed by the public (Tröhler 2011a, p. 17ff.). When compared to Germany, this difference in the notion of "public" also involves a different understanding of the role of the teacher. It was particularly in the context of curriculum development that the practice-oriented theoretical knowledge of the teacher was called upon.[5] While the German state had already in the nineteenth century developed a broadly implemented administrative structure, which also served to organize schools and work on the *Lehrplan* (Hopmann 1998b, p. 8), in Switzerland, teaching staff was responsible not only for classroom instruction per se but, as the local elite and bearers of practical knowledge, they were also responsible for the ongoing development of the school and the society. In the twentieth century, *Lehrplan* development was largely driven by subject-based pedagogics[6] and public primary school teachers. However, this field has often been marginalized by those engaged in *Lehrplan* research as being too close to popular theory and has received little academic attention; this represents an empirical and theoretical gap in the research. It is the intention of the authors that this chapter draw attention to this gap, even though the chapter itself does not fill it.

Accordingly, the following exploration of curriculum research and development in Switzerland takes place on two levels: on the level of concrete *Lehrplan* development for public primary schools[7] on the one hand, and, on the other, on the level of academic debate over the theory and function of the curriculum. In fact, these discussions and developments at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century progressively became almost exclusively focused on school development and school quality. The following structure thus emerges for this chapter: The first section, focused on the nineteenth century, will examine the *Lehrplan* as the outcome of practical work on the curriculum. Using as an example the works of Ignaz Thomas Scherr, one of the key "schoolmen" of the nineteenth century, we will describe the leading arguments for the introduction of the first *Lehrplan* after the establishment of the modern public school system in the canton of Zurich in the 1830s. These arguments highlight the close linkage between society's educational objectives and curriculum. The formulation of *Lehrpläne* in Switzerland has always had as its point of departure a specific *Lehrplan* for a specific educational system, one that inquires about its mission, examines its effectiveness, or seeks to harmonize it. While it is true that teaching plans were approved by the educational administration, they needed to be legitimized through a democratic process. The second section is devoted to *Lehrplan* theory as the subject of the human science approach to pedagogy. In this section, we will reconstruct theoretical discussions about the *Lehrplan* in their historical context. This reconstruction will be guided by the German "classics" of curriculum research, such as Friedrich Wilhelm Dörpfeld's *Theorie des Lehrplans* (Theory of the Lehrplan) (1872), Wilhelm Rein's handbook article about the *Lehrplan* (1893, 1906), and Erich Weniger's *Theorie der Bildungsinhalte* (Theory of Educational Content) (1930).[8] In these two sections, we will outline two different settings for the debates regarding the *Lehrplan* as well as two different educational policy contexts. Whereas Scherr—who was an important education policy maker, director of the Zurich teachers seminary, and the prolific author of teaching materials—was interested in a practical engagement with the subject and the development of a concrete, politically implementable curriculum, the authors of the "classics" of *Lehrplan* research were academically and theoretically oriented, and situated in the context of the still-emerging academic discipline of education.

The third section is devoted to the question of how and why curriculum—understood as the concept of the *Curriculum* imported from Anglo-Saxon discussions—was able to establish a foothold in the German-language debates,[9] where its adoption is understood as a consequence of the internationalization of the academic and educational policy discourse. A milestone of this evolution was the publication of *Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculums* (Educational reform as the revision of the curriculum) (1967) by Saul B. Robinsohn, director of the Max-Planck Institute for Human Development in Berlin. Even as the Anglo-Saxon ideas about curriculum were gaining a reception, the *Lehrplan* as a humanistic idea continued to be developed. This is demonstrated particularly in the writings of Wolfgang Klafki, who can be classified as belonging to the area of general didactics. Looking beyond the linguistic frontier to the discussions and developments in educational policy in French-speaking Switzerland, we find that the publication of Robinsohn's work provided in both parts of Switzerland a stimulus for involvement with issues related to the curriculum. In addition to relevant publications, we will also take a look at the institutions and actors who left a mark on the discussions about the *Lehrplan* and the curriculum.

The fourth section considers the transformation in the methods of school administration and describes the path from reform through curriculum development to the idea of steering schools by "output" regulation in the context of "new public management" and "educational governance."

By the end of the 1980s, emphasis with the *Lehrplan* had been overtaken by involvement with questions of school organization with the key concepts being school development and school quality. Structural reforms, the professionalization of school administration under the term "sys- tem control" and discussion about models dominated public discourse in the 1990s, pushing questions about curriculum into the background (Rosenmund 2011). Using the canton of Zurich as an example, we will show that since the mid-1990s, in the framework of a discourse marked by economics, elements of "new public management" and "educational governance" were introduced. This change can truly be described as a paradigm shift, since the content and methods of instruction were now of subordinate interest and performance goals for schools and competencies and standards for individual students became a kind of substitute curriculum. In tandem with these changes, two additional developments were the desire for rational organization and control of instruction based on empirical educational research, and the rise of a culture of competing experts (Bürgi 2012; Langer 2012; Ozga 2008). The developments associated with this paradigm shift will also be considered as the expression of a theoretical shift in the context of the internationalization of educational discourse (Rosenmund 2006; Drori 2006; Finnemore 1996). Through the introduction of targeted objectives for schools and student performance, curricular issues are quite topical in Switzerland today, but interestingly enough, they are rarely addressed or discussed in their own right.

The *Lehrplan* as a Means of Implementing Education Policy

The various cantonal school laws that were enacted in Switzerland mostly during the 1830s, and the regulations based upon them, usually contained a paragraph about the "lesson plan" (*Lektionsplan*) that set forth which subjects would be taught for how many hours and the sequence of instruction. Ignaz Thomas Scherr (1801–1870), the Zurich seminar director, educational policy maker, and author of teaching materials, who virtually single-handedly formulated not only the Zurich school law, but also developed innumerable teaching materials for the public schools, held the assumption that "the instructional material should be divided according to a defined hierarchy and that the organic progression [should] . . . never be interrupted" (Scherr 1833, p. 7). According to the goals set down in the School Law for the canton of Zurich, the schools should "educate children from all classes of the people, according to consistent principles, to become intellectually active, socially useful and morally religious human beings" (School Law 1832, §1).[10] From this legal foundation, Scherr inferred that the mission of the public schools was to enable their students to become conscious of their mental powers and to develop them, and also to "equip [the schoolchildren] with necessary, useful and beautiful knowledge and skills" (Scherr 1832, p. 3). He regarded elementary and secondary (*Realschule*) education as including the subject materials required to accomplish this mission, together with art education, which primarily consisted of singing, drawing, and penmanship (*Schönschreiben*). Together with the Church, the schools were also to provide religious education. At each grade, elementary and secondary education included the teaching of language arts (*Sprachlehre*), arithmetic (*Zahlenlehre*) and formal theory (*Formenlehre*). Furthermore, secondary education was supplemented with national history, descriptive geography, and government as well as the essentials of history, the natural sciences, and earth sciences, with due consideration to agriculture and crafts (Ibid., p. 3ff.).[11]

For Scherr, however, connecting the subjects of learning and instruction with the concrete realities of the students' lives was always of central importance. Schools needed to be "useful" in the sense of molding intellectually educated and politically informed as well as religious and moral individuals, because this was the only way that the schools as an institution could fulfill the expectations placed upon them by the newly developing nation (see Dekker 2010, p. 67ff. and Tröhler, Popkewitz, and Labaree 2011). From Scherr's perspective, instruction (and thus, the *Lehrplan*) was not an aim unto itself, neither was it—as in Germany—to be dedicated to the fulfillment of an ideal of *Bildung*, which saw as its utmost mission the realization of the individual personality (Tröhler 2011b). As the example of Zurich shows, the necessity of a "lesson plan" (*Lektionsplan*) or an "instructional plan" (*Unterrichtsplan*) was clearly pedagogically based, and so had "educational levels" and a "course of instruction," but it was also based on entirely practical concerns of assuring a certain degree of standardization of instruction. The intention was to prevent children of factory-working families, who often had to change their place of work and residence, from having to begin their schooling all over again in their new town, and also, for larger schools that employed more than one teacher, to provide for an orderly transition between different grades (Scherr 1936, p. 3).

The arguments for or against standardization were debated again around a half-century later, when a new constitution for all of Switzerland came into effect in 1874, which included an Article (§27) on the public schools. Although its provisions scarcely infringed upon cantonal sovereignty over education, it was considered to be a potential menace to cantonal sovereignty over education. The article simply established that an adequate primary education should be offered on a compulsory basis, free of charge, and under public or state control. Based on these provisions, there was some discussion about a more far-reaching centralization of the public schools and the introduction of a Swiss Federal Secretary of Education along with a proposal for standardized testing of young military recruits (*Pedagogische Rekrutenprüfungen*) to be conducted annually. However, a referendum against the idea of a national Secretary of Education was initiated, and as its opponents mobilized for the ensuing referendum campaign, they referred to this office in mocking terms as the "school bailiff" (*Schulvogt*). Ultimately, the proposal for a national Secretary of Education was rejected by two-thirds of the voters (Criblez and Huber 2008, p. 107). In contrast, the recruit examination, first conducted as early as 1832 in the canton of Solothurn, which had the goal of testing the academic abilities of the new soldiers in order to be able to assign them to different service branches, ultimately proved to be "an effective tool in the standardization process" (Crotti 2008, p. 132). The often-disappointing test results led to an intense discussion about the effectiveness of instruction and also to intercantonal comparisons. As with today's global comparison studies, these comparisons provided an impetus for discussions about systemic issues.

The *Lehrplan* as an Object of Humanistic Theory

A scholar or a publication becomes a "classic" when succeeding generations believe that the individual or work embodies a unique perspective or casts a distinctive new light on a particular issue. This pattern holds true for German curriculum research as well, which has consistently borne the stamp of the canonical figures of Dörpfeld, Rein, and Weniger, its classic protagonists. However, a focus on classical figures has narrowed historians' perspectives; they have tended to miss the breadth and diversity of this history, giving rise to the deductive fallacy that other than or prior to these classical figures, the subject had not been discussed. It is our explicit intention to *avoid* following this deductive fallacy in our presentation, even as we include the "classics of *Lehrplan* research." Our focus is not simply the result of the characteristic structure of handbooks and their articles, but instead, represents our attempt to point out the discourse-determining positions that defined *Lehrplan* research as an object of humanistic theory (and later also of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*).

Although Scherr did not exclude theoretical educational considerations in his writing, he concentrated on the organizational and practical issues in creating and designing a *Lehrplan.* In contrast, Friedrich Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1824–1893) specifically wanted to accentuate the theoretical issues in his work. In this difference of focus, Scherr and Dörpfeld may be regarded as typical representatives of their respective political and cultural contexts. Although the men held in common that neither worked in a university setting and both were professionally involved in the schools and in teacher training and committed to the professionalization of the teaching profession, they differed substantially in their ideas about the function of the *Lehrplan*. In his forward to the *Grundlinien einer Theorie des Lehrplans* (Foundations for a theory of the Lehrplan) (1873), Dörpfeld draws a line between a formal and a material principle and takes the latter as the point of departure for his discussion. The formal principle involves issues of didactics or methodology and the material principle involves issues of instructional content. He saw the aim of his publication as a corrective to what he regarded as a deficit in the area of the material principle (Dörpfeld 1873, p. III). He saw this as all the more necessary because neglect of this area had effects on the didactic and methodological area as well, which he illustrated by citing the example of the dispute over introduction of the "*Realien*" (here especially the natural sciences) into Prussian public schools. With the introduction of a new teaching code in Prussia in 1872, the "*Realien*" did become an integral part of the list of subjects to be taught. The natural sciences were not meant to be just another subject of instruction, but rather were intended to make up for a more than 300 year deficit, which from the beginning had left a hole in education that Dörpfeld claimed had "misdirected didactic thinking and teaching practice" (Ibid., p. VI).

In order to satisfy the "organic" requirements outlined in his forward (Ibid., p. VII), Dörpfeld proposed a *Lehrplan* that included the three principal areas, bodies of knowledge (*Wissensfächer*), mother tongue (*Muttersprache*), and other skills (*separate Fertigkeiten*). Among the bodies of knowledge, he included biology, history, geography, and religion; "mother tongue" referred to speaking, reading, and writing; arithmetic, drawing, and singing constituted the other skills (Ibid., p. 1). What he singled out as remarkable about his theory was not the listing of individual subjects, since these largely corresponded to the dominant current of the times, but rather the grouping and sequencing of these subjects of instruction. He advocated a departure from the traditional classification of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which from his point of view had come from the poorly educated teachers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and did not correspond to any internal logic or to a "didactic conception" of the subjects of instruction (Ibid., p. 2). At the center of his theory he placed the bodies of knowledge (*Wissenfächer*), which were to be taught according to a principle of "concentric circles" and would form the foundation for all other subjects (Ibid., p. 9). He emphasized the critical importance of a regulated architecture of instruction, which would follow the internal logic of the subjects of instruction, since each of the subjects possessed its own particular "educational force" (*Bildungskraft*) (Ibid., p. 12) and "educational value" (*Bildungswert*) (Ibid., p 14), which could only develop if the *Lehrplan* were "correctly" configured. Accordingly, the subjects of instruction were not oriented to a concept of a "socially useful" individual, as Scherr had promoted for Switzerland, but rather to an internal principle situated in the subject itself, which provided a standard and an orientation, and thus offered potential connections to a discipline of educational sciences to be established at the university level.

The professor for education Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929) published his first article on the *Lehrplan* in 1897 in the highly influential *Encyklopädischen Handbuch der Pädagogik* (Encyclopedic Handbook of Pedagogy), which he edited. The article was reprinted unchanged in the 1906 second edition. In his article, Rein placed his concept of the *Lehrplan* in a significantly broader context than had either Scherr or Dörpfeld.

In the tradition of Dörpfeld, Rein highlights the fundamental importance of the *Lehrplan* for education and instruction, but at the same time complains that the existing *Lehrpläne* generally were "not derived from the principles of didactics" but were "instead determined by powers imported from the outside and imposed upon our schools' *Lehrpläne*;" in these comments he targeted "public opinion," "tradition," the "government," the influence of religion and politics, as well as the highhandedness of some individuals within the education department (Rein 1906, p. 528f.).

Rein demonstrated here a different understanding of the *Lehrplan* than the one formulated by Scherr, or, for the most part by Dörpfeld. Rein's insights should be placed not only within the category of German *Lehrplan* research but rather, they should be understood as belonging to the larger sphere of the German-language topos, especially in relation to German pedagogy, which he explicitly regards as a research field separate from policy, placing great value on its autonomy and its own internal logic. This understanding of educational philosophy can be linked back historically to Johann Friedrich Herbart, who took the position, in a lecture titled *Über Erziehung unter öffentlicher Mitwirkung* (On education with direct public participation) that politics and education were subject to different working logics (Herbart 1810/1964, p. 146). This separation of politics and education is linked to his concept of *erziehender Unterricht* (instruction that elevates or improves humanity) according to which, instruction should not be limited to knowledge transmission, but rather, must always incorporate education for developing the personality (Herbart 1806, p. 35). Under these theoretical premises, the *Lehrplan* were no longer considered as a tool for educational policy efforts or as the distillate of society's requirements for schools and instruction, but instead, as the structuring principle for education as a whole, which would follow an internal pedagogical or didactic logic.

We can see this underlying premise in Rein's comments about the *Lehrplan*, in which the "notion of *Bildung*" becomes the point of departure for his exposition of *Lehrplan* theory (Ibid., p.532). Rein's perspective did not focus upon the "quantity of his [the teacher's] knowledge" but rather, upon the "quality of his attitude," which is regarded as being the "highest level of inner education of the person." In addition, it is essential that both the "humanistic" side of *Bildung*, which is to say, the "engagement with persons in one's environment, in history, and in poetry," as well as the "realistic" side, namely the "knowledge of the objects of nature" come into play. This objective, he argues, could only be accomplished in a school with *erziehender Unterricht*, which must additionally include in its *Lehrplan* "religion, and the history and literature of the Father land," "since . . . otherwise, a major piece of developing one's attitude and one's world-view would be left out," leading to a critical deficit in the educational experience (Ibid.). Consequently, those subjects of study that "serve to develop moral attitude" were to form the core of the *Lehrplan* (Ibid., p 535). Alongside religion, these include history, literature, and instruction in the arts.

What was important for Rein was not only the ordering of different subjects in the *Lehrplan* but also their didactic design, which were to be oriented toward the principle of "distillation" (*Konzentration)* (Ibid., p. 542f). Thus, Rein formulated a model of the *Lehrplan* that has been adopted within g*eisteswissenschafliche Pädagogik* and has continued to this day to be a formative element for the theoretical understanding of the *Lehrplan* in the German-speaking world. The *Lehrplan* is regarded as a planning tool for the design of instruction, a tool that enables one to organize a diversity of educational content and to present it to students in an optimal sequence, understood as a step-wise structure.

Erich Weniger, one of the significant proponents of the *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* and the successor of Herman Nohl, one of the Mandarin of German education as a professor in Göttingen, also believed that the essential function of the *Lehrplan* was the "establishment of educational goals," both in terms of "selection and distillation . . . of the subjects of instruction," or of "educational values" (Weniger 1930/1952/1990, p. 216). However, unlike Rein, the state, the church, and society as a whole were no longer regarded as undesirable factors of influence that had seized sovereignty over the *Lehrplan* without understanding its true "essence" and thus, without the ability to design it properly. Instead, Weniger described the state as the institution that first makes possible and then guarantees the existence of different educational facilities; the state is an entity that can convey its "*inner form*" through the *Lehrplan* (Ibid., p. 228). For Weniger, this was possible because the modern regulatory state—the first version of this text was published in 1930—had "substantive relationships to all areas of life" (Ibid.).

According to Weniger's model, the *Lehrplan* itself was divided into three levels. The first was the "educational ideal," and laid out the basic content of the *Lehrplan*. The second, the "basic direction," was intended to provide a normative orientation. Finally, the third level detailed the specific knowledge and skills to be taught. Even if Weniger starts from the assumption that it is the state that first enables the existence of schools, the issue of the limits of state involvement is a central one for him, because there is always a fear that the state could take over control of education and turn it into a degenerate form of purely state-run education, thereby endangering the autonomy of educators, which is the highest creed of *geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*. However, his conception of the state does not see this as a likely danger since the way the state first makes education possible is by granting "vital freedom" (Ibid., p. 256) and by assuring this freedom in the form of *Lehrpläne*. Whereas all other powers—the church, economy, society, art, science, the law, and morality (Ibid., p. 201)—"merely acquiesce [by compulsion] to a transposition of their aims and substance into the form of pure *Bildung*, the state itself . . . [is committed to] this pure form of Bildung in the encounter between the powers of education and the generations within the living space of the schools" (Ibid., p. 256). Since *Lehrpläne* are directed primarily at the teaching staff and describe "*the intellectual attributes that the state must expect in its teachers*" (Ibid., p.257), every new *Lehrplan* actually has the consequence of demanding a new form of teacher training or continuing education for teachers. For Weniger, *Lehrpläne* no longer describe what the students are expected to know and be able to do, but instead, the educational objectives of the schools from the point of view of the state. Thus, *Lehrpläne* should no longer present detailed instructions about what should be taught, but instead, provide an orientation designed to "draw out intellectual forces and contents" (Ibid.).

A new element that we see in Weniger, when compared with previous theorists of the *Lehrplan*, is the attention to the "living-world" as a factor in education, one that can no longer be considered simply as a context for growing up or as a milieu that leaves an impression, but in- stead, has "educational powers and effective forces . . . even if their aims might often be hidden" (Ibid. p. 283). Therefore, the *Lehrplan* connected to the school cannot be built on a *tabula rasa*, but instead faces a diverse array of experiences and influences that must be meaningfully integrated into the *Lehrplan*. This expansion of the *Lehrplan* and the educational force associated with it beyond the school had implications for the understanding of schools, which were now seen as having an operating area that was on a par with other areas of life. This was methodologically expressed, for example, in learning by doing and in the principle of hands-on experience (Ibid., p .284). On a more negative note, one could also find points of connection here to the discussions that took place especially in the 1960s regarding the "hidden curriculum" (Jackson 1968; Zinnecker 1975), a reference to unexpressed learning goals, and unintended learning effects of instruction.

Curriculum and Didactics—Two Strands of Theoretical and Practical Engagement with The *Lehrplan* in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

After the Second World War, debates about educational content or the goals of schools were conducted less often around the terms *Lehrplan* or *Lehrplan* research, and more often under the categories of "didactics" or "general didactics" (*Allgemeine Didaktik)*. One needs to distinguish between a broad and a narrow use of the term. In keeping with the writings of Wolfgang Klafki (b. 1927), the foremost proponent of general didactics in Germany to this day, a broad definition of didactics includes not only the theory of educational content and methodology, but, in addition, all of unplanned teaching and learning effects that may occur. By contrast, a narrower understanding of didactics concentrates on the "theory of *educational tasks* and *educational content*" (Wilhelm 1966/1970, p. 355).[12] Thus, didactics takes on the function of the *Lehrplan*, especially as described by Wilhelm Rein, that is, with a focus on the internal logic of the instructional event; in this research paradigm, the social, political, and structural frameworks of schools and instruction are marginalized (Hopmann 1999, p. 78). By contrast, the German concept of *Bildung* regains its significance as a source from which to derive the aims and the tasks of instruction. Klafki defines the concept of *Bildung* not merely formally but also historically. He places its emergence in the period between 1770 and 1830, linking it to the "giants" of German intellectual history who rose to prominence during that time, whose work he refers to collectively as the "philosophical-pedagogic classics." In their notion of *Bildung* he sees "the central idea of the Enlightenment 'preserved,' the moment Kant defined as man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity" (Klafki 1985/2007, p. 45). This adopted philosophical notion of *Bildung* would now become the basis for a "contemporary and future-oriented notion of Bildung" (Ibid., p. 48f.), which, in turn, would provide an orientation for the selection of curriculum content. Because the concept of *Bildung* reflected the relationship of the individual to society (Ibid., p. 49), Klafki also understands that the school is not disconnected from society. However, the nature of this relationship between school and society would still be largely determined from within the intrinsic logic of didactics and pedagogy.

Klafki's idea of general didactics may also be read as a reaction to the "realistic turn" in German educational philosophy that took place in the 1960s, which, in the area of *Lehrplan* research, is largely associated with a text published by the director of the Max Planck Institute for Human Development at that time, Saul B. Robinsohn (1916-1972),[13] *Bildungsreform als Revision des Curriculums* (Educational Reform as Revision of the Curriculum) (1967). With this work, not only did Curriculum Studies make its entrance into German-language discourse (Hameyer, Frey, and Haft 1983, p. 14), but the book also represented a departure from a humanistic defined teaching canon toward a curriculum adapted to the prevailing sociocultural circumstances, and determined on a continuing basis by experts and the interested public (Robinsohn 1969, p.10). In the foreword to his work, Robinsohn himself emphasized that the choice of the term "curriculum" instead of "*Lehrplan*" or similar terms was no coincidence. By using this term, he did not intend it to conform to specific "forms of its manifestation in England or the United States" (Ibid., p. 1). Rather, he was pursuing the objective of responding to "an extreme reduction of the horizons of the field of didactics" (Ibid.). Robinsohn especially criticized the distinction between "internal" and "external" school reform in earlier research on the *Lehrplan*, since such a division between structure and content in the schools had been an obstacle to "real curriculum revision" (Ibid., p. 9). For him decisions about school reform—in the 1960s there was intense debate about the introduction of integrated comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*)—that did not include questions of instruction would inevitably fail. Yet he also felt that decisions about the *Lehrplan* were pointless without considering structural circumstances and preconditions. Robinsohn regarded the fact that the debate about *Lehrpläne* took place principally within the field of education and not in exchange with society was a "problem" with didactics that was particularly manifest in the current of thought established by Weniger. "Precisely here, in its self-imposed restraint from didactic reflection on the formulation and transposition of the given educational content, lies the cause of the mounting failure of the educational philosophy tradition compared to the historically accepted one, which, even in its self-consciousness, saw its roots in the idealistic notion of *Bildung* and in the '*Deutsche Bewegung'* "[14] (Ibid., p. 24.). This dilemma could not be resolved by means of recourse to empirical research methods, unless this included a new theoretical orientation. For Robinsohn, didactics cannot reach any conclusions about the substantive con- tent of *Lehrpläne*, since such decisions "can only result from expertise grounded in the disciplines and spheres of life, and thus from a given profession itself" (Ibid., p. 27).

It was based on this that Robinsohn raised the question about which methods would make curriculum reform possible. For Robinsohn, the reform experience in other countries could not serve as a "theoretical foundation" or as a "model for curriculum development." Various efforts in different nations, which also had the benefit of major funding, showed the general importance of curriculum development, without which the school system risked stagnation (Ibid., p. 43). The risk of stagnation would prove to be an important argument over time, as the issue became how to transform and develop the nation's school system through international consensus (Horlacher 2011, p. 88).

Against the backdrop of the "realistic turn" in educational science—that is, the renunciation of a humanistic research tradition and a move toward an empiricism that was based on American developmental psychology—Curriculum Studies served as a counter-program through which "a predominantly humanistic, educational and pedagogical discourse on didactics and the *Lehrplan*" was challenged (Künzli 2009, p. 135). This newly established research tradition included teaching materials and textbooks as an integral part of its research context, whereas traditional German *Lehrplan* research often saw research on textbooks and teaching materials, if it was conducted at all, as a competing and subsidiary activity.[15]

The Swiss *Lehrplan* debate found multiple points of connection in Robinsohn's paper, with its recommendation for empirically structured, broadly financed, politically supported, and ongoing *Lehrplan* development. In this debate, Robinsohn's paper primarily served as a door-opener for discussion and as a source of slogans, but was never used as a concrete guide for working on the *Lehrplan*, even though we might regard Robinsohn's proposal as the original springboard for ensuing important debate. As a bilingual city with a bilingual university, Fribourg also assumed an important role. In 1968, the "Fribourg Working Group for *Lehrplan* Research" (*Freiburger Arbeitsgruppe für Lehrplanforschung*) was founded, which engaged in strategic expansion of the field along with efforts to consolidate awareness by teaching personnel and education administrators regarding the importance of the *Lehrplan* and curriculum. The Working Group performed comparative analyses of *Lehrpläne* in an attempt to provide an impetus for educational policy efforts related to curriculum research in the public school system as well as in teacher training programs (Aregger and Gretler 1983, p. 826).

Switzerland is especially insistent about relying on cantonal authorities in decisions on educational issues, and has only reluctantly proceeded toward opening its educational system to political and economic integration in a European or global context (in a point of fact, Switzerland only became a full member of the UN in 2002 and is not a member of the European Union). Nevertheless, virtually unnoticed by the general public, Switzerland has long had the expertise to participate in various working groups specifically involved in educational issues, as part of European and international development projects. Thus, we find international involvement can indeed be compatible with a certain sense of separateness or insistence on autonomy and independence.[16] Ever since 1960, Switzerland has been a founding member of the OECD, which is considered one of the decisive and trend-setting actors in matters related to the organization and direction of schools (see OECD 1966).

The project with the greatest impact on education policy in the context of the Fribourg Working Group was a reclassification of the "pedagogical disciplines in teacher training" (Gehrig1970). In association with it, the 1970 to 1975 project known as "Teacher Training for Tomorrow" (*LEMO, LehrerBildung von Morgen*), was conducted on behalf of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (*Schweizerischen Konferenz der kantonalen Erziehungsdirektion, EDK*).[17] This conference had as its goal achieving "an improvement and harmonization of future teacher training" and reorienting the debates about organization of all of Switzerland's schools in the future from the level of "school *structures*" to the level of "educational *content*" (Müller et al. 1975, p. 15).

The authors of this report documented a series of substantial shifts in the orientation of the overall educational goals of the public schools since they were first founded in the 1830s. While the teacher, and so the curriculum, had been transformed between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries from a "servant of the preacher" into the "priest of rationality," over the course of the nineteenth century, the teacher turned into an advocate for the liberal federal state and into a "trailblazer for democracy," whose mission was to prepare "good citizens." The authors state that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the teacher had been placed "in the service of scientific and technological progress," and in the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the teacher was turned into "an advocate for the child in a world hostile to children" (Ibid., p 21). According to the authors (who were writing in the 1970s), sweeping educational goals for making the world a better place were no longer in the foreground; instead, providing "good instruction," and thereby making an important contribution to children's education had become the focus (Ibid.). In addition, the report clearly articulates the significance of the uniqueness of Switzerland's school system, as a result of which the teacher, in designing the shape of classroom instruction, must answer primarily to a school board, that is, a committee selected by the public, rather than to a school administration.[18] In the area of required teaching materials, this means that joint authorization is given by the cantonal education council[19] (public) and the cantonal teaching materials commission (administration) (see Bosche 2012, p. 149).

Aside from the LEMO project just described, at about the same time a number of other empirical research projects were created that had to do with the relationship between the *Lehrplan* and the teaching staff (Santini 1971) or with the methods of curriculum construction (Frey 1970). In addition, however, theoretically oriented studies were also published—for example, in the area of curriculum comparison (Nezel and Ghisla 1977). To this day, the area of "good instruction" is intensively researched, and *Lehrplan* research still concentrates largely on (primarily content-related) didactic issues or issues related to cognitive psychology (Helmke 2003/2007; Klieme, Pauli, and Reusser 2009; Messner 2006; Staub 2006). This emphasis fits well into the rest of German-language *Lehrplan* research, in which a number of Klafki's studies about didactics based on a theory of *Bildung* not only have "reactivated" the concept of *Bildung* in the *Lehrplan* discussion, but have taken the rather structurally oriented view of "classical" *Lehrplan* theory and increasingly applied it to didactic questions. Klafki's fundamental questions about didactics are intended to elucidate the "value" of planned educational content and in this way determine which educational content should find a place in the curriculum (Klafki 1985/1991).

In addition to the basic theoretical dimension, these Swiss research projects always have had an educational policy and school practice focus. It is not only for content-related reasons that *Lehrplan* research has always been sited in the midst of school practice, but also for organizational and structural reasons, as a portion of this research is conducted at the various cantonal departments of education, or else the departments participated in recruiting researchers whose training took place in the context of *Lehrplan* research (Aregger, and Gretler 1983, p. 830).

In French-speaking Switzerland as well, the discourse about a movement to reform the curriculum was substantially influenced by the teaching staff when, at the policy-making level, they promoted the creation of a unified *Ecole Romande* in 1961 (Aregger, and Gretler 1983, p. 831). Through this advocacy for a super-cantonal mandatory *Lehrplan*, the French-speaking Switzerland (*Suisse Romande*) assumed a pioneering role with respect to a range of coordination and unification efforts, areas in which the German-speaking areas have lagged behind to this day. What is important in this respect is that these efforts never had a national vision, but instead, had a language-related regional focus.[20]

The Performance Goals of "Educational Governance" as a New Curriculum

One of the consequences of the social changes taking place in Switzerland during the 1970s was a new understanding of the educational system. A colloquium on the "Future of Education" (Gretler et al., 1972) held 1969 in French-speaking Switzerland with participants from the arenas of politics, business, and academia came to the conclusion that it was necessary to fundamentally rethink the meaning of education at the end of the twentieth century (Rosenmund 2011, p. 96). This broadly shared opinion, in addition to mounting societal demands on the educational system, led to innumerable reforms that took place at various levels of the school system, which on a whole had a very unsettling effect. There were efforts to counter this uncertainty by developing new *Lehrpläne* and by attempts at better coordination and control of the reforms. Both of these efforts were linked to the hope of providing new order "to a disorganized, obsolete and poorly coordinated public education system" (Künzli 2002, p. 215), and, in the cantons, this led to a major expansion of education administrations. Educational offices were established within the educational authorities and increasing numbers of academically educated personnel were employed, leading to the beginning of a new era with respect to curriculum work, which traditionally was notable for its alliance between political authorities and teaching—not academic—staff (Rosenmund and Diethelm Werder 2008).

In addition, there were growing attempts to strengthen educational policy cooperation between the cantons, in order to achieve at least a minimal level of coordination between the school sys- tems.[21] For example, a project initiated by the EDK titled "Reviewing the Situation of the Primary Schools" (*Überprüfung der Situation der Primarschule, SIPRI*) provided a framework for guiding cantonal reform efforts. It served to "register important aspects of the current situation in the primary schools, in close collaboration among practitioners, researchers and the administration, and to formulate and test recommendations for specific improvements" (Heller 1986, p. 8). The authors of this study grouped their findings in six thematic blocks, which covered a broad range of issues ranging from questions of school organization to instructional content and quality, including the process of student evaluation and parent participation. The conclusions derived from the study related in part to the *Lehrplan*, but taken as a whole, extended significantly beyond it and dealt with the basic organization of the schools and the political administrative authorities, as well as teacher training. In relation to the *Lehrplan,* this project attempted to communicate a "new" understanding of the *Lehrplan* to teaching staff, which entailed a shift from a view of the *Lehrplan* as a "instrument of control for school oversight" to its being regarded as "a guide for orientation" and a "working tool" (Heuberger, Mayer, and Rageth 1985, p. 2). The goal was to create "minimal *Lehrpläne*" that could be used for "inspiring instruction," assuring that the growing body of knowledge would be brought into the classroom, and for providing teachers with a sense of security (Dubs 1984, p. 121). Work on the *Lehrplan* during this period also focused on introducing "learning objectives" and "guiding principles for schools." "Curriculum-making was understood as school development" (Künzli 2002, p. 216; Rosenmund 2011); with this, the understanding of school reform expanded substantially. The school would be understood in a new way, as a total institution, which consequently would need to develop and to become professionalized as a whole, if it was to continue to meet changing social and economic requirements in the future (Jenzer, Strittmatter, and Weiss 1978; see Manz 2012, p. 140).

However, the attempts to coordinate reform efforts did not bear fruit at first. On the contrary, confidence fell in the ability of the *Lehrplan* to be an effective tool for improving and coordinating the schools, and a broad debate began about the efficacy of reform efforts. A central argument in these debates was that the school systems needed to learn independently, and in this process, the *Lehrplan* could only serve as an impetus toward the desired development of the schools, development that would actually have to take place on site. This was the political context for the National Research Program conducted between 1994 and 1998 on "The Effectiveness of our Educational System" (NFP 33). It included a sub-project about the *Lehrplan*, which sought to investigate "what expectations and ideas have an impact on curriculum discourse and decisions, and what conflicts arise in the process" and also "what are the effects of curriculum-making, and how are curricula used" (Bähr et al. 2000, p. 3). The project was based on the premise that curriculum development should not be regarded as a *top-down* process, but instead, as a collaboration among various individuals and levels that participate in the design of the schools. In addition, the focus of the study was directed to the actors and sites actually involved in the preparation and implementation of *Lehrpläne*, which meant that the public domain, understood as the public discourse about content and design of the curriculum, was not explicitly taken into consideration in this research project (Ibid., p. 5).

A finding from this project that is of significance for situating the Swiss discourse about the *Lehrplan* was the statement that curriculum development primarily belonged to the domain of the teacher, who would help shape it to a significant degree, both in terms of content and time frames. The work of the teacher would be crystallized in the concrete document of the *Lehrplan*, which could be seen as the expression of the "common sense" of the teaching staff. Thus, it should not be surprising that in the *Lehrplan* research context, both discussion and research focused primarily on questions of process design and didactic implementation in everyday practice in the school, while the area of reciprocal impact between the schools and society through *Lehrpläne* was left as a peripheral topic. For Switzerland, this resulted in the somewhat paradoxical situation that schools, as public institutions, were strongly incorporated into public discourse, but the major tool of the *Lehrplan*, which can be understood as one of the key pillars of the schools, was rather feebly researched on both a theoretical and empirical level. The authors of the NFP 33 even came to the conclusion that "curriculum-making is enacted publicly, it is carried out as a matter internal to the school, without the inclusion of external competencies and interests" (Ibid., p. 32).

An international conference in 1999 organized in association with the NFP 33 research project had the goal of further developing the findings that had been determined for Switzerland and Germany as part of an international exchange, as well as to generate "new contacts between curriculum researchers and planners" (see Rosenmund, Fries, and Heller 2002, p. 10). Since 2011, the topical threads set forth in NFP 33 have been further interwoven in an interactive project that is part of a non-institutional online research platform.[22] This project includes contributions related to current research, trenchant educational policy commentaries, and other topically related content, all presented side by side on an equal footing. The website itself may be regarded as part of a running democratic discourse on the curriculum such as has rarely been attempted before by academic researchers in Switzerland.

The question of the effectiveness of political governance was vehemently debated in the 1980s, not only in Switzerland, but internationally. What had been a typical government planning and control model, at least for continental Europe, was replaced by new *output*-oriented processes and tools for political management. The belief that schools could be governed in this way and, accordingly, *should* be governed and developed in this way, was based essentially on a discourse stamped by economic concepts and organizational principles that was attempting to establish itself in most areas of life—not just in education, but in culture and health care as well. At its heart, this way of thinking can be summarized in terms of "decentralization and privatization, choice and accountability, testing and assessment" (Carnoy and Rhoten 2002, p. 2). With "educational governance" organized according to the principles of the *New Public Management,* school performance was to be improved overall in order to provide globally competing national economies with the required human capital for the new "knowledge-based" economy (Münch 2009, p. 33). Since the 1950s, this view of the role of schools has been disseminated by experts in numerous disciplines as well as international organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD (Resnik 2006). In this discourse, however, education is not only understood in terms of human capital but also as a human right. In its quality as a human right, education is conceived of primarily as an individual good rather than as a public good. Education as human capital and education as a human right are thus compatible, since both concepts are oriented mainly to the individual rather than to the common good. Considering the fact that public schools originally have been established to forge citizens oriented on the common good, this is a major shift in the societal role of schooling.

As the planning euphoria of the postwar era became ever more elusive beginning in the 1980s, the ground was fertile for establishing "educational governance" with the instruments of the New Public Management. Aside from the discursive shifts already described, the fact that public investments had not achieved the desired rates of growth made questions about their benefits ever-more virulent in the face of declining government resources. This resulted in a wide- spread reform movement, which gave birth to New Public Management (Drori 2006, p. 91ff.). However, the consequences of the failed promise of planning not only affected political actors but also the field of social sciences, which was rapidly expanding during this period. As the "child of disappointment" (Haas 2005, p. 28), the social sciences took the step of developing "implementation research," which remains focused on assessing the future chances of success for political action in an interventionist state. This research attempted to illuminate, both empirically and theoretically, the chasm between reform intentions and outcomes (Mayntz 2008, p. 43f.; De Vincenti and Geiss 2012). New Public Management prepared the way for an upsurge in the empirical sciences, such as educational economics, which were given responsibility for monitoring the achievement of goals, and sometimes even for developing goals.

Since at least the 1990s, the top-down approach to political management was more and more openly criticized as having failed; instead, reliance was placed on cooperation with societal actors as well as social self-regulation and the term "management" was replaced by "governance." The notion of *governance* is no longer based upon the image of a powerful bureaucratic state that plans and controls, but instead, employs a conception of the state as being much more of a cooperative entity, which no longer relies on explicit planning or management, but rather on negotiation and partnership (Mayntz 2008, p. 44).

One of the first cantons to introduce "educational governance" in the form of New Public Management to the educational arena was the canton of Zurich in the mid-1990s. An effort was made to modernize the schools, relying upon the concept of schools as learning organizations, as described earlier. The schools envisioned in this way were granted a certain degree of autonomy owing in part to the ambivalence surrounding the term governance, but a school principal was instituted at every school in order to indirectly manage schools by means of target goals and accountability (Eigenmann 2011; De Vincenti, Grube, and Rosenmund 2011).[23] In keeping with the new discourse of quality assurance, these schools, now conceived of as organizations, could be assigned performance standards and their achievement could be systematically monitored (see Ozga 2008). The idea was that not only schools as organizations should be managed this way but also the performance of individual students, especially as student performance had been brought to public attention by international school performance tests such as TIMSS and PISA. Because achievement tests had made transparency regarding educational opportunities, parents and teachers welcomed the promised comparability of student performance. Instead of making further reform efforts through the curricula, there was now an attempt to undertake the scientific development of national educational standards. This was seen as part of a package of measures for quality assurance, but also as a step toward further national harmonization of the public school system.

Later, there were attempts to steer selection and performance measurement politically, which transformed internal school matters into objects controlled from outside the school (Künzli 2002, p. 226). Conversely, matters of educational reform that were previously handled by the authorities, such as the substance and methods of instruction, now played a subordinate role in the new system, so that work on *Lehrpläne* in the traditional sense could be largely delegated to individual schools and the teaching staff working there (Ibid.). Keeping in mind the local cantonal mission statement for its schools, each individual school now worked out its own school profile or school mission statement in collaboration with the public school boards, students, parents and the school authorities. The process of developing these mission statements captured and documented public expectations for schools, so that further school policy and administrative decisions could be oriented in the direction set by the mission statement.

Following the era of educational planning, the nature of educational governance allowed educational policy-makers and administrators to return at least some measure of sovereignty over system input to schools and to teaching staff, but they took on for themselves sovereignty over performance measurement and selection, thereby placing their own focus on the achievement of goals set as part of the "discourse on quality" at all levels of the educational system. Despite the dominant logic of output-management, new *Lehrpläne* are still being developed in the name of harmonizing the public school system.[24] In Switzerland, this is typically taking place not at the national but at the language-based regional level. Accordingly, there are three more or less parallel projects being undertaken, in which Italian-speaking Switzerland will be limited to the canton of Ticino, even though there are also Italian-speaking areas in the canton of Grisons.[25]

In French-speaking Switzerland, we can detect parallels between these efforts at coordination and earlier attempts, namely the process of creating an *Ecole Romande.* Yet within the French-speaking part of Switzerland as well, cantonal particularities have played an important part from the very beginning. Thus, it has been criticized that there is something inherently incoherent in the diverse projects since the 1970s that have worked out unified *Lehrpläne* for different grades in the public schools, because they did not constitute a "major" project for curriculum reform, but were only single and partial projects, spread out over a period of 20 years, and worked on and implemented by different project teams. From this experience came the decision, through the project "*Plan d'études cadre romand*" (*PECARO,* Framework Curriculum for the Swiss Romande), to create a genuinely "integrated" *Lehrplan* for the *Suisse Romande* (Marc, Maradan, and Emery 2007, p. 8). However, not a completely harmonized but only a framework *Lehrplan* was attempted,[26] with the idea that it would provide the cantons with a general orientation as they developed their own *Lehrpläne*. At the same time, several cantons were already busy working out a coordinated *Lehrplan* for French-speaking Switzerland. The remaining western cantons successively joined the working group, so that the PECARO project became superfluous, and, after 2007, a formal French-speaking Swiss educational area was established, which could pursue *Lehrplan* reform on a solid legal foundation. The project was ultimately completed under the name "*Plan d'études romand*" (*PER, Lehrplan* for French-Speaking Switzerland), and was introduced into the schools in French-speaking Switzerland in 2011. The PER is not a framework *Lehrplan*; rather, it sets guidelines for both knowledge and competencies.[27] It is interesting that the consolidation of the French-speaking Switzerland educational area overlapped in time with the national efforts at harmonization but pursued mainly regional interests.

About 10 years following the inception of coordinated planning in French-speaking Switzer- land, there is now a project under way to develop a language-based regional *Lehrplan* for German-speaking Switzerland known as *Lehrplan21*, but political resistance against unification of the cantonal school systems has deep roots in some of the cantons in this area and in certain political parties. Despite this, the quite explicit aim of *Lehrplan21* is to align itself with the national educational standards set by *HarmoS*, the project described earlier for harmonizing the public schools. In this way, *Lehrplan21* aims to accomplish the long-sought goal of nationwide unification of the Swiss public school system, at least for the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Unlike the *Lehrplan* for French-speaking Switzerland (PER), the Swiss German *Lehrplan* affirms to confine itself to describing competencies and to related competency teaching. The development of these competencies is conducted in so-called specialty teams, which are composed of equal numbers of teachers and educational content specialists. Such curricular work in *Lehrpläne*—at least in German-speaking Switzerland—is not in contradiction to the logic of output management, as curriculum content is not really challenged or changed by the reform. It is rather part of the tendency, described earlier, on the part of educational policy makers to shift attention away from subject content and toward student, school, and school system performance. This begs the question, in view of experiences with "teaching to the test," of how the output management of officially formulated competencies and educational standards, as well as the unofficially set standards by international student's assessments, will work alongside the still-valid traditional *Lehrpläne*. It is conceivable that the competencies and standards will develop into an actual substitute for curriculum, insofar as they implicitly influence or even control the setting of content focus and the distribution of internal school resources.

Because of these changes, it is no longer an alliance of teaching staff and the interested public that design and manage the schools. Instead, academics and educational experts increasingly take over this function. They play an especially prominent role with regard to the development of educational standards, and to a lesser degree, the development of competencies for the Swiss German *Lehrplan*. Particularly with respect to the Swiss school system, traditionally under public control, this combination of curriculum development as a research topic and the increasing influence of the research community involved in curriculum research raise questions about the relationship, in a democracy, between the public, educational administrators, academics and experts. The establishment of universities of teacher education, along with the increased academization of teacher training that has come along with them, has created a new force in curriculum research and development. The universities of teacher education in the future could take over some of the tasks previously performed by educational offices and thus by educational administrators themselves. This could also be the chance to reformulate these tasks in an academic context.

In addition to the involvement of academics in the research and development of *Lehrpläne*, in school reform and in issues of school governance, during recent years there have been a few relatively small research projects conducted that relate, from an analytical standpoint, to various other aspects of the curriculum. On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Zurich Publishing House for Teaching Materials (*Lehrmittelverlag Zürich*), a compendium of historical research on teaching materials examined selected teaching materials used in the public schools in order to study the practices of the publishing house and the dissemination of knowledge through teaching materials (Tröhler and Oelkers 2001). The study showed that the production of teaching materials in Switzerland has and continues to take place in the school context, and, at least in part, attempts to fill the large gaps left open by discussions concerning the *Lehrplan*. A recently completed dissertation looks more deeply at the introduction of new teaching materials as a kind of school reform (Bosche 2013). Over the next few years, two larger research projects will be conducted in the area of curriculum research. The research project titled "Transformation of School Knowledge since 1830" is being undertaken at the University of Zurich in 2012–14. Sponsored by the Swiss National Science Foundation, it intends to examine the processes and the participants in the accreditation of teaching materials in all three language regions of Switzerland. The second research project, "Educating Future Citizens: Curriculum and the Formation of Multilingual Societies in Luxembourg and Switzerland" is housed at the Universities of Luxembourg and Lausanne and is using a comparative approach to study the array of possible curricular strategies for citizenship education in multilingual countries. A goal of this study is to enlarge the currently rather narrow understanding of citizenship education, and to integrate this new understanding into the school curriculum.

Conclusion

The curriculum movements of the 1970s and 1980s and the change in direction from input- to output-oriented management of the educational system within the framework of New Public Management not only changed the work on *Lehrpläne* but also academic thinking about them. On the one hand, school educational policy management no longer regarded a school education in terms of a "cultural good" or "specific areas of knowledge" (Münch 2009, p 39), but rather, as individually acquired competencies that are in their quality of human capital also in the interests of the state. This altered conception of a school education has also had effects on curriculum development and on academic involvement with it. Within the scope of the academic development of educational standards and competency models, academics and educational experts themselves became important players in school governance, and now play a significant role in formulating and monitoring performance standards for schools as well as for students. In view of the broad societal consensus regarding the quality assurance discourse, the introduction of the instruments of New Public Management to the educational world has aroused little public controversy, such that there has also been no recognition of the need for research in this area. Instead, academics are called upon to be partners of educational governance and to focus their attention on the data required for an educational policy conceived of as "evidence-based policy." The measurement of education has morphed into a core mission, and the measured data are used to justify the next educational policy steps. Neither the general public nor the teachers traditionally involved in working on the *Lehrplan* play an important role in this arrangement.

The current situation bears a certain resemblance to the beginnings of humanistic *Lehrplan* theory, since it is not the actors who are actually involved in the schools and in instruction, but specialists from academia who dominate the discourse regarding questions related to the curriculum. However, today, the academic specialists are not devoted to an internal logic of the educational setting, but rather to the internal logic of the numbers, and the expectation is not that these logics are to counter-balance one another. It is still remarkable that the written documents related to discussions of the *Lehrplan* and the curriculum in Switzerland from the nineteenth as well as the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries have originated for the most part from educational policy-makers and administrators, and that the sometimes substantial contributions of teachers to *Lehrplan* development have been so poorly documented. Academic research typically considers the process of curriculum development from a subject-based and instructionally focused perspective and, as a result, mainly addresses issues of planning and governance. We do find only rarely analytic or historical discussion concerning the subject of curriculum—that is, perspectives that would enable us to characterize the relationship of the curriculum to the public in a democratic society, as well as to teachers, educational administrators, academics and experts, without having to resort to moralistic or normative arguments.

To be sure, the "continual curriculum discourse" between experts and the interested public as proposed by Robinsohn appears to have become a reality at the concrete level of the schools. Yet the goal of superseding the humanistic *Lehrplan* discourse, something that was anticipated to result from the curriculum movement in the 1970s, must be given a failing grade. It is precisely in this thematic area that curriculum research has the opportunity to establish itself as a competent interlocutor in questions that relate to education, schooling and the future of our society, without the need for a moralistic discussion or one that is confined to the logic of numbers.

Notes

1. We would like to thank Anna-Verena Fries, Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon, Rudolf Künzli, Moritz Rosenmund, and Daniel Tröhler for their comments and suggestions regarding a first draft of this text.
2. 63.7% of the Swiss speak German, 20.4% French, only 6.5% Italian, and a mere 0.5% Romansh (Lüdi and Werlen 2005, p. 7).
3. In a study about the history of education in Switzerland, Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly examined the relationships between different language regions of Switzerland to France and Germany. They came to the conclusion "that the system in German-speaking Switzerland had developed in close approximation to German tradition." They see a somewhat different relationship between French-speaking Switzerland and France. In their judgment, the basic difference between the centralized French system and the highly decentralized development of the Swiss educational system precluded significant opportunities for alignment (Hofstetter and Schneuwly 2011, p. 223). However, in his research on the reception of Herbart in nineteenth-century Switzerland, Peter Metz showed that the dividing line was not exclusively between language regions but rather along political and historical boundaries. Thus, the canton of Bern, which had included large French-speaking areas prior to the Helvetic Revolution of 1798, was oriented to the two exponents of Herbartianism in Jena, Karl Volkmar Stoy, and Wilhelm Rein (similar to French-speaking Switzerland), whereas Herbartianism in Eastern Switzerland mostly was referenced to Leipzig with Tuiskon Ziller as its key representative (Metz 1988, p. 81). For a comparison of the two language regions in the area of civic education in the nineteenth century, see Horlacher 2013.
4. The German language distinguishes between culture and civilization, where culture is seen as predominant to civilization, which is understood to be only external. "Culture (*Kultur)*, the quintessential German term for intellectual activity and its benefits in secular fields, is a difficult term to translate. It is not adequately covered by civilization, sophistication, *Bildung* or even work. All of these terms are too down-to-earth, flat or formal, or perhaps 'occidental,' or associated with another sphere. They lack the gravitas, the pregnant fullness, the soulful pathos associated with this word in 19th and 20th century German consciousness and which makes understandable its frequently empathetic application" (Plessner 1935, p.57).
5. The fact that this discrepancy between theoretical-academic reflection and concrete school development is not only a phenomenon of Swiss curriculum research, but a more general historiographical problem, has been shown by Joachim Scholz using the example of the management and reform of Brandenburg's elementary school at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Researchers typically focused on concepts and ideas from the "classics" whereas they largely paid no attention to the "schoolmen" and local administrations, with the consequence that "trendsetting developments in the organization and profession of the school system" were neglected (Scholz 2012, p. 41). Stefan Hopmann in turn showed the critical role played by the implementation of a state-run curriculum process in the institutionalization of the teaching profession since the beginning of the nineteenth century. "With the differentiation between central curriculum planning and local instructional planning, a broad field opened up for pedagogical interpretation, which linked the legitimacy of school policy to the capabilities of the teaching staff, in order to be able to interpret and represent every aspect of their instruction as an expression of central expectations" (Hopmann and Riquarts 1999, p. 11; Hopmann 1988a).
6. The term subject-based pedagogics also subsumes the idea of teaching methodology, which remained a relevant term well into the twentieth century for the design of teaching processes in the school context.
7. Our attention will focus on discussions about curricula and *Lehrpläne* for compulsory public primary schools. We will not take into consideration *Lehrpläne* for secondary or vocational schools, let alone university curricula. The curricula for teacher training will be considered to the extent that they can be regarded as a critical element for public school curricula. Similarly, we will not include *Lehrpläne* for the Gymnasium in our considerations, since in Switzerland, the Gymnasium is not considered as part of the public school system. This is in contrast to Germany, where Gymnasia belong to the public school system and as such, are also a part of curriculum development at the public school level.
8. The presentation of the German classics is also important for a presentation of Swiss curriculum theory insofar as academic engagement with the *Lehrplan* also took place in the form of the specifically Swiss reading of the theories developed in Germany.
9. This is not to suggest that the word curriculum had not been used in the German-speaking context before. In fact, the Latin term had been common in learned European discourse in the sixteenth century to designate a person's individual life history (Curriculum

vitae), as well as for a (scholastic) organized educational program that one had to pass through (Curriculum academicum) (Künzli, 2009, p. 134). Both of these variant meanings have been preserved to the present day. The organization of subjects included in the *Lehrplan* is still referred to as the "curriculum," but when used in this way, the term does not resonate either with the hopes for pedagogical salvation nor the concept of integrating textbooks and teaching methods during the Baroque era (see Dolch 1959; Hamilton 1989).

10. In the draft proposed by Scherr, the text referred instead to "morally good human beings" (Scherr 1832, p. 3).
11. These no longer familiar terms require a brief explanation: for Scherr, teaching of language arts meant "instruction in the clear understanding of spoken and written language, then, correct and fluent speaking, writing, reading." Arithmetic meant performing both mental calculations and blackboard arithmetic, while formal theory referred to drawing and elucidating geometric lines, angles, and figures; penmanship; and linear drawing (Scherr 1831a p. 7). Scherr always accorded the greatest importance to the teaching of language arts. Language, according to Scherr is "the main subject of instruction, the most excellent means of education" (Scherr 1831b, p. 1).
12. In a postscript added to this text in 1968, Wilhelm more specifically expressed his own opinion that he no longer thought of the idea of *Bildung* as the "appropriate foundation for modern didactics" and instead, would replace it with "scientific anthropology *and the encyclopedia of academic discourse*" (Wilhelm 1968/1970, p. 385). Thus, he removed the concept of *Bildung* from discussions of the *Lehrplan*, and with the reference to anthropology, tried to set a new basis for the theoretical discourse. However, this perspective could not be maintained for long, because it was clear that the notion of *Bildung* was indispensable when discussing pedagogical phenomena. The term still finds application in German-language discussions, as for example in the term "*empirische Bildungsforschung*" (empirical research education) though, as in this case not intended as a theoretical concept. However, it should not be avoided simply because of public opinion (Jürgens 2004, p. 63).
13. Robinsohn, who grew up in Jewish household, emigrated from Germany in 1933 and studied history, sociology, philosophy, and education in Jerusalem. In 1959 he was named as director of the UNESCO Educational Institute (today the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning) in Hamburg before he changed positions in 1964 to become Director of the Max Planck Institute.
14. The notion of *Deutsche Bewegung* (German Movement) has its roots in a book of Herman Nohl *Die pädagogische Bewegung in Deutschland und ihre Theorie* (The Educational Movement in Germany and its Theory, 1935) and labels different young and popular movements struggling for a new content of life between 1770 and 1830 (Nohl 1935, p. 12).
15. Research on textbooks in Germany is organized by its own professional association and also has its own non-University institute for textbook research, the Georg Eckert Institute in Brunswick.
16. This was the case even though Switzerland had long refused to take part in international comparison studies and even today, likes to point to the singularities of its educational system, which at least partially preclude comparability.
17. The Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) was founded in 1897 and until the 1960s was mainly a site for sharing information and experience. After the foundation of the Swiss Center for Educational Documentation (*Schweizerischen Dokumentationsstelle für Schul- und Bildungsfragen; Centre Suisse de docu- mentation et d'information en matière d'enseignement et d'éducation* CESDOC) in Geneva and the conclusion of the Agreement on the Coordination of Education (*Schulkonkordat*), which sought to counter the hegemonic ambitions of the federal government, the EDK became the coordinating body for cantonal departments of education (see Criblez 2008). It represented their interests at the national and international level and has been oriented toward a program of activities that is continuously updated by the cantonal department of education.
18. In recent years, this structure has changed in quite a number of cantons through the introduction of professional school supervisory authorities, but management of the schools by a lay committee with the function of public control has still been retained for some areas. It is primarily the didactic and pedagogic functions of the teacher that are professionally led and assessed by the school supervisory authority.
19. The institution of the education council goes back to a recommendation by the Minister for Science and Art, Philipp Albert Stapfer, who established it in 1798, following the French model. The members of the educational council were to be appointed by the government, but various interest groups also had the right to make recommendations. According to Condorcet's ideal, this institution would be able to organize the public school system independent of the government and the administration (Condorcet 1794/1963, p. 71). In many Swiss cantons, the institution of the educational council has remained as one of the few innovations from the Helvetic Republic that has persisted to this day.
20. Similar regional cooperation objectives also existed in German-speaking central Switzerland, but these failed, and the efforts in French-speaking Switzerland also failed at first. Only the opening of Switzerland to international developments toward standardization changed the context and ultimately made it possible to successfully pursue harmonization efforts in Switzerland (Hutmacher 1982).
21. In 1970, a legal framework for collaboration between the cantons for educational issues was set up through the Agreement on the Coordination of Education of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK). The agreement obligated the cantons to collaborate and empowered the EDK to issue non-binding recommendations to the cantons.
22. www.lehrplanforschung.ch
23. The typical school, as a loose aggregate of different classes, was difficult to address as a single unit and thus very hard to manage (Rosenmund 2011, p. 104).
24. In 2006, several articles were adopted in the Federal Constitution, which were aimed at permitting the creation of a more unified Swiss educational space by obligating the cantons to cooperate. According to the Harmonization Agreement (*HarmoS-Konkordat*) that was concluded in 2007 and came into force in 2009, instructional goals would be formulated for constituting a primary education system. School structures would be harmonized, and quality and systems development established, in part through educational standards, *Lehrpläne* and teaching materials and through evaluation instruments and a national system of educational monitoring. Despite national educational standards, the harmonization of the *Lehrpläne* and coordination of teaching materials in this process was intended to take place at the language regional level (http://edudoc.ch/record/24711/files/HarmoS_d.pdf).
25. However, work on the *Lehrplan* for Ticino is still in its earliest stages.
26. Both the term "framework *Lehrplan*" and the term core curriculum suggest curricular activities that are limited to the basic essentials—whether as in the case of the core curriculum, this is the core element of a *Lehrplan,* or in the description of benchmarks: beyond the core or within the framework, there is free space left for designing the curriculum.
27. In 1997, the OECD started the *DeSeCo Project* (Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations) under Swiss direction, which has as its goal "to analyze the theoretical foundation, the rationale of the definition and selection process of key competencies and their relationship to the social and economic environment" (DeSeCo 2001).

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A Review of Curriculum Study in Taiwan

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Background and Development

Curriculum study is not only the foundation of curriculum development and innovation, but it could also serve as a watchdog over the quality of education. There is a close connection between curriculum study and the social context of a country. On the one hand, the outcomes of curriculum study may lead to social change and promote human qualities; on the other hand, the issues and approaches of curriculum study are also influenced by the sociopolitical situation.

The R.O.C. (Taiwan) government, established on Formosa Island in 1949, has been Westernized in its education system, regarding which there was never a lack of discussion or experimentation with the school curriculum. Yet not until the mid-1980s did the field of curriculum study appear in teacher education programs and in the top agenda of educational research. Indeed, as mentioned above, social change played a critical role.

Social and Educational Background

Social Background Encompassed by an authoritarian political atmosphere, Taiwan's society has been underneath strict surveillance, regulation, and control. Education was merely considered an apparatus for implementing political policies and maintaining Taiwan as a stable state. In 1987, when martial law was lifted, new political parties and mass media emerged and contributed to Taiwan society's moving forward to the new epoch of a genuine democracy. Shortly after, in 1991, the government declared the termination of the law: the *Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion.* After decades of suppression, societal forces began to explode. Consequently, the debates and criticisms on political, cultural, historical, and educational issues that pushed forward the development of curriculum study flourished further in Taiwan. It is significant to note that when the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) defeated the Kuomintang (KMT) regime and became the ruling party for eight years (2000–2008), the political, social, and cultural transformation of Taiwan ensued. This became known as the Taiwanese localization-indigenization movement, a term used to emphasize the importance of a separate Taiwanese culture involving the teaching of the language, history, geography, arts, and culture of Taiwan from a Taiwan-centric perspective, as well as the use of local language or dialect in the broadcast media.

Taiwan's well-known and rapid economic growth in the 1960s also raised family income. The notions of "education as investment" and "education as consumption" that were to widely circulate among the public were gradually forming. Under the influence of such notions, parents willing to invest in educating their children and to consume education as a means of promoting quality of life started to appeal for more opportunities for their children to enter high schools and universities. Consequently, it caused a great expansion in capacity at the secondary and tertiary levels of schooling. Students were thereby able to climb higher up the educational ladder; following the increasing heterogeneity of the student population, curriculum adaptation was even more urgently requested. In such a case, many research institutes related to curriculum and instruction were then quickly established to meet the desperate needs of curriculum development and innovation. However, the migrations of Taiwanese industries to China and the global recession have affected Taiwan's economic development in *the latest decade and have widened the gap between the rich and the poor.*

In the meantime, the Taiwanese political climate and economic situation were changing. The transition from the traditional society to a new one had been proceeding furtively, and this gave rise to some social problems. Some characteristics about this new society have appeared, as follows: (a) population growth decreased, the percentage of the aged rose, an extremely low birth rate emerged, and there was a rapid increase in the numbers of children in Taiwan's school system from foreign brides, primarily from China, Vietnam, and Indonesia; (b) family population shrank and the divorce rate during this time gradually increased; (c) consciousness of gender equality was suddenly awakened with its importance realized; (d) old values and traditions were deconstructed, and some new values began to emerge; (e) international exchanges happened frequently under the formation of globalization; (f) science and technology progressed rapidly, and computers and communication tools became very popular; and (g) Taiwan's ratification of the two United Nations human rights Covenants in 2009 brought Taiwan more into line with the international community (Hwang, Yu, and Chang, 1993; Ministry of Education, 2006; Ministry of the Interior, 2010; Taiwan Study Center /NCCU, 2010).

Educational Background After the lifting of Martial Law and under the influence of social change, Taiwan's society became much more democratic and liberal. People constantly demanded further participation in educational reforms. This condition accelerated the pace of reform. The 1990s became a critical age for rapid Taiwanese educational reforms. Not only was decentralization of educational policy finally put into effect, but autonomy, deregulation, and localization of education also took place.

First, the government enacted the University Law and empowered universities with curriculum autonomy; second, the local educational authorities set some projects (most importantly, school-based curriculum experiments) under local autonomy. Soon, textbook writing and publishing were open to nongovernmental publishers, and the right of textbook selection was returned from government control to the schools and teachers. Moreover, the revised curriculum standards of elementary schools (1993), junior high schools (1994), senior high schools (1996) and vocational schools (1998) began, thereafter, to emphasize flexibility, localization, and real life application. Additionally, the Nine-year Articulated Curriculum Guideline, enacted in 1998 and replacing the curriculum standards of elementary schools and junior high schools in 2001, was also undergoing an essential change in underlining (a) the articulation of elementary and junior high school curriculums, (b) the spirit of school-based curriculum, and (c) curriculum integration. Obviously, the overall tendency of educational reforms, having created a widely different academic environment, is, so to speak, an important element that will determine future curriculum study in Taiwan.

Facing the recent decline in student population due to low birth rate, quality in education has been emphasized; determining how to make the curriculum more adaptive and individualized for each student has become a hot issue in Taiwan curriculum study. The results from international comparative assessments, such as the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) concerning the educational productivity and effectiveness of different countries have sparked much interest. Therefore, the researchers in curriculum study also try to explore and present initial findings from an analysis of curricula of high-performing countries in order to develop the National Curriculum. In particular, issues of breadth, specificity, and challenge within each subject are examined in detail to assess what this might tell us in the context of devising a new National Curriculum which measures up to the highest international standards.

The Development of Taiwanese Curriculum Study According to the distinct aims and emphases of curriculum study that were influenced by the social and educational changes, Taiwan's history of curriculum study could be divided into the following three periods.

The Period of Orientation Toward National Policy and Practicality: 1949 to the Mid-1980s Curriculum study in this period was mainly affected by external elements, especially political factors. Curriculum study was focused on the introduction of principles and theories of curriculum design, which centered on formal school curriculum (i.e., national curriculum standards and textbooks).

During this period, school curriculum was thoroughly constructed by the government, along with curriculum specialists. The major issues of curriculum study were how to construct better curriculum standards, how to implement them efficiently in schools, and how to deliver them seamlessly to students. In addition, the inquiries into curriculum thoughts at that time were subject to the field of educational philosophy. Moreover, in terms of research, government officials and curricular specialists were leading researchers, and the research methods frequently adopted then were mainly philosophical, historical, comparative, or surveys. Issues related to national policies or those more pragmatically oriented were put as top priorities into curriculum study.

There were two big achievements in this period: translation and introduction of foreign curriculum study (Chang, 1968; Chinese Education Association, 1974; Chu, 1959; Huang, 1981; Sun, 1958, 1959), and investigation into consequences and problems of curricular implementation (Department of Education, 1972, 1976; Liou, 1983).

The Period of Explicating and Criticizing: The Mid-1980s to the Mid-1990s In this period, the domain of curriculum study began to expand vitally due to a relief from political control and an increase in the number of curriculum researchers (including the overseas-educated ones). Neither the inquiries about subject curriculum knowledge nor the technique in curriculum development was regarded as the hottest study topic. The main objectives of study were to react against the long-term political, cultural, and social suppression.

Then the concerns of curriculum study moved toward the relationship between curriculum and social environment, especially the ideology in textbook content across the Taiwan Strait, the operation of extra activities, and the hidden curriculum in Taiwan (Chen, 1985; Hwang, 1993; Ou, 1990). The methods of curriculum study were emphasizing theoretical analysis and document analysis, as well as in-depth interview and observation.

The critical thoughts of curriculum from Western scholars, such as Franklin Bobbitt, Ralph Tyler, Michael Apple, William Pinar, Herbert Kliebard, Elliot Eisner, John Goodlad, Henry Giroux, Michael Young, Basil Bernstein, Paulo Freire, and so on, also became an important part of curriculum study. This period was characterized as the "explicating and criticizing" period.

As seen in the research papers, the major accomplishments of this period were primarily reached by the novice researchers who had just graduated from university graduate schools (e.g., Chen, 1993; Chien, 1992; Chou, 1994, 1999; Chung, 1994; Huang, 1988; Kau, 1992; Lee, 1989; Lee, 1991; Tsai, 1992; Wang, 1992).

The Period of Localization: The Mid-1990s to the Present First, although the politics and culture of school curriculum have received sustained attention, the migration of curriculum theory was not restricted to only the United States-based Western scholars or to the educational domain. McLaren (e.g., Huang, 2006), Giddens (e.g., Huang, 2007), Queer Theory (e.g., Jan, 2008), Banks and McCarthy (e.g., Ou, 2009), and Merleau-Ponty (e.g., Chen, 2009) presented and inspired the field of curriculum development. Moreover, the research paradigm embraced by the circle of Taiwan curriculum researchers has shifted. Curriculum is teaching material, but also the interaction of all the forces, both hidden and explicit, that shape learning, including curriculum as political text, phenomenological text, autobiographical text, aesthetic text, etc. (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 2002). In particular, after 2000, more researchers have focused on curriculum aesthetic inquiry. They promote aesthetic inquiry as an alternative approach to building curriculum theory as well as a guideline for curriculum practice in Taiwan (Chen, 2005; Chen and Chang, 2008; Chou, 2006; Lee, 2002; Ou, Chen, Chou, and Fan, 2009).

Following the reconceptualization of curriculum, the main target of Taiwan curriculum research is how to localize the curriculum theories, which are borrowed from outside this country. In addition, teachers' roles were gradually considered to be that of curriculum makers or even researchers. The specific emphases in this stage on curriculum study were: (a) teachers' curriculum decision making, (b) integration and differentiation of curriculum, (c) division of labor in curriculum development at each decision-making level, and (d) curriculum implementation and evaluation requested by curriculum reform. The following text will explore these aspects in detail.

Since the 1980s, objective positivism has been gradually losing influence over the methodology of curriculum study in Taiwan. Educational researchers are now guided by qualitative and action research in their study of curriculum, with their intensive adoption occurring in this period. To make thorough inquiries into operating curriculum, especially while dealing with the microcosmic phenomenon of school curriculum, these approaches, having been extensively used, making a great contribution to curriculum study. The approaches are also broadly employed in discussions of various topics, ranging from the contents of textbooks to the implementation of curriculum and the use of textbooks in the classroom (Cheng, 2000; Ku, Lin, and Chu, 1999; Wang, 1996).

In the last decade, curriculum researchers have favored the methods of autobiographic inquiry, auto-ethnography, and narrative inquiry, and have devoted themselves to individual teacher's curriculum practices (e.g., Chou, 2004; Ho, 2009; Hung, 2007; T.Y. Lin, 2004; Ou, 2004) or to the scholar's curriculum thoughts (e.g., Chang, 2008).

The Tendency of Curriculum Study in Taiwan

All social and educational changes since the late 1980s led Taiwan's curriculum study to a more diverse state. In the first place, the analysis of hidden curriculum, already recognized as existing in schools, sparked the contestation against the Han-centered and monocultural educational environment; then it shifted the concern of curriculum study to the approach of curriculum study. Accordingly, this resulted in the founding of new organizations related to curriculum study.

The Analysis of Political Ideology in Curriculum The reviewing of ideologies in curriculum was a key issue of curriculum study in Taiwan after the lifting of Martial Law. As shown in a good deal of extensive analyses, the status and contents of subjects, including Scout Education, Military Training, Three Principles of the People and Thoughts of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (the founding father of the Republic of China), have never before been critically challenged. It is claimed that this somewhat politically related teaching subject was designed to imbue students with the KMT-led (the dominant political party, 1949-2000) governmental ideology, with a view to maintaining its stake and privilege, and to control its ruled people. Incidentally, the less politically related subjects, like Chinese, social studies, geography, music, and so on, have also been under investigation.

In addition, the former ways, through curriculum and instruction, to implement the kinds of education such as Japanese decolonization, patriotism, and anticommunism, namely, those that intended to strengthen the political control of government, were likewise being reexamined during this period (Ou, 1990; Tseng, 1994).

The Inquiry of Emerging Issues in Curriculum Study

Multicultural Curriculum and Culturally Responsive Curriculum Aroused by the awakening of local consciousness, as well as by the controversy of mainstream cultures and values during social transformation, multicultural curriculum has undoubtedly become one of the several emerging issues in Taiwan's curriculum study. The treatises and studies on multicultural curriculum are blooming. Curriculum study, particularly dealing with the multicultural issues, has come to the forefront.

At present, how to design models for multicultural curriculum from kindergarten to university, how to select and organize multicultural curriculum contents or activities, and identifying criteria of multicultural curriculum evaluation are all on the agenda of curriculum study (see Chen, 1999; Chuang, 1998; Hwang, 1995c; Wu, 2000).

In1989, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won a partial victory over the election of county magistrates and city mayors. By taking this opportunity, some DPP magistrates and mayors started to challenge the long-term mono-language policy, which had been brought into force by KMT. They undertook the new language policy of resurrecting the mother-tongue by means of issuing an executive order to all of their subordinate schools, compiling supplementary textbooks and mandating native languages to be taught in schools. Hereby, the previous Mandarin Policy, to which public opinion had long been opposed, abruptly changed its course. It was regarded as an action of educational localization and has received favorable opinion from all circles of society. As a result, the central government also shifted its exclusive language policy and adopted native language learning into the revised curriculum standard of elementary schools of 1994 and the revised curriculum standard of junior high schools of 1996.

Meanwhile, this movement also pushed forward the issues of curriculum study regarding "local studies" content, including the analyses of its teaching materials and curriculum decision making and implementation (such as Huang, 1994; Lin, 1998). In Taiwan, the issue of local studies education is always subject to political struggles; educational issues related to local studies content are commonly complicated, politicized, and at times even perverted, especially while taking the influence of localism into account. Owing to this, the evolvement, causes of problems, and improvement of local studies education, including mother-tongue language teaching, have proved to be the important issues in contemporary curriculum study. And these efforts contribute to the local culture and the mother-tongue language.

The curriculum for aboriginals is another issue and tendency of curriculum study for three reasons: (a) removal of political pressure, (b) introduction of multicultural education thought, and (c) aboriginal people's petition for the school curriculum to be more responsive to the multiethnic demography of society. As the multicultural curriculum was put into implementation, the controversies regarding this issue were: (a) what counts as worthy knowledge, (b) how to organize pertinent subject matter into textbooks; and (c) to whom it should be taught. All those questions are currently listed in the agenda of curriculum study in Taiwan.

Gender equity in education is also getting more attention, as shown in the works of Awakening Foundation (1988) and Hsieh (1990). The issues surrounding gender rights by researchers now aim to eliminate sexual stereotypes and prejudices in school textbooks. Arguably, determining how to reconstruct the whole school curriculum along with the issue of gender equity is no doubt another important topic in the present curriculum study (Hwang, 1995b; Lee, 1993).

The recent increase in the number of children born from international marriages has led to an escalation in the proportion of minority students in the public education system, and determining how to implement a culturally relevant pedagogy in a multicultural environment has emerged as a new issue in school practices. Based on the diverse ethnic groups in Taiwan society, the c*ulturally responsive education* and its curriculum research are important considerations.

ii. Emerging Social Issues Various emerging issues have thrived recently in Taiwan. These emerging issues include environmental protection, sex education, parents' education, human rights education, drug education, information education, moral education, career education, marine education, etc. Various interest groups strongly ask that those issues be included in formal curriculum of elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, while the practitioners and academia still have to confront the existing problems of heavier teaching loads with limited instruction/learning time.

iii. Curriculum Control and the Politics of Curriculum Reform Amid the deregulation of curriculum policy in Taiwan, determining how to share the responsibilities of curriculum control among the central government, local authorities, schools, and teachers, and what is the most appropriate model of curriculum development for each level of schooling are the problems that curriculum researchers often contemplate (such as Kau, 1998, 1999; Tseng, 2000). As the changes to the school-based curriculum are initiated, the distribution of jurisdiction and operating mechanisms relating to curricula at the central, local, and school levels becomes an impending issue.

The politics of curriculum reform have also been incorporated into the field of curriculum study as a weighted issue in Taiwan. As time passes, the process of curriculum decision making (see the analyses of S.F. Chang, 1994; Hung, 2000; Yo, 1992) and the politics of curriculum reform (Hwang, 1995a; C.L. Chang, 2002; Chang, 2011) are widely discussed; however, during the latest decade, the launching of several of the government-led curriculum reforms has met with little success.

There have been several vital changes in curriculum since the 1980s in Taiwan. The results of curriculum implementation, the effects of curriculum reform, and the attitudes of educators toward curriculum reforms are ongoing issues. A number of researchers focus on studying these issues (see Wang, 2000).

iv. Textbook Censorship and Selection Previously, due to centralization policy and practice, the highest authority of education, namely, the Ministry of Education (MOE), was in charge of all curriculum decision making. Previously the MOE, in conjunction with specialists, usually took charge of developing the curriculum standards on all phases of education. Later, based on the standards, the related official organizations engaged in textbook compilation helped with the compilation, publication, and issuing of official textbooks with the titles of *National Edition* or *Unified Edition.* Schools must use these specific editions exclusively. Therefore, the school curriculum knowledge has been monopolized by the government.

Several questions arise from this situation: (a) How do the official textbooks interplay with a society full of ideologies and values? (b) In what way do these one-dimensional textbooks control teachers' teaching, define school curriculum, and restrict students' learning experiences? and (c) What will be the relationship between examinations and textbooks? All of these are important topics in the field of curriculum study.

However, beginning in 1989, the government allowed private publishing companies to participate in textbook compilation. Schoolteachers, therefore, gained access to textbook writing and selection. Motivated by this new policy's potential profit, publishers soon started to invite schoolteachers to join their concerted efforts to restructure the previous, unified textbook content. Nonetheless, the investigation of how to set up a feasible textbook assessment system, what should be the reviewing standards, how the diverse content affects teaching and learning, and what constitutes proper textbook selection have been under close investigation (ACI, 1997; C. F. Chang, 1994; Chuang, 1991; Hwang, et al., 1994). Textbook evaluation also becomes a very important research topic for teachers, parents, students, and publishers. Several textbook evaluation projects have been conducted by the Association for Curriculum and Instruction, Taiwan, ROC (ACI) (ACI, 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

The textbook policy has resulted in new problems that need to be resolved. First, with the demands of high school entrance examinations and as textbooks and related materials are becoming more extensive, many pupils and their parents cannot afford the increasing costs, particularly in the recent world economic meltdown. Second, as the textbook publishers compete vehemently to win the school textbook adoption market, they provide abundant materials for teachers to use in their classrooms, which, in a way, inhibits teachers' teaching abilities and thereby standardizes teacher instruction. Third, the researching, editing, revising, experimenting, marketing, adopting, utilizing, evaluating, and improving of textbooks and related materials are very important themes for researchers to study (C. F. Chang, 1994; Hwang, 2005a; Lin 1997).

v. Curriculum Experimentation Encouraged by the trend of curriculum autonomy and curriculum reform, the local education authorities have given impetus to various curriculum experiments, which were characterized as school-based curriculum, open education, and curriculum integration.

Among the three, curriculum integration aims to improve school curriculum and to overcome the problems of over-divided subjects and disconnected contents. Based on the school-based plans, the urge for schools to invoke more autonomy in reforming and developing programs by themselves calls for schools' reflecting on their own conditions and catering to each student's specific needs. The directions of reform request reestablishing national key competency standards and implementing curriculum deregulation deviate from the traditionally centralized education in Taiwan. However, in dealing with national key competency standards, not only is the pilot test necessary but also further study is essential. Currently, how to operate the School-based Curriculum Development (SBCD) and curriculum integration are two significant issues (Lin, 1998; Tsai, 2001; Yeh, 2000).

(IV) The Establishment of Numerous Institutes for Curriculum Study Curriculum study could provide a sound foundation for action and evaluation when implementing curriculum reforms. During these years, following constant curriculum reforms, considerable quantities of forums, research institutes, and professional associations related to curriculum study in Taiwan have been created.

Now there are several institutes or centers of curriculum and instruction grounded in universities. They not only conduct curriculum research, but also train researchers who later devote themselves to the field of Taiwanese curriculum study. In 1996, the Association for Curriculum and Instruction (ACI, Taiwan, R.O.C), a national and nongovernmental academic organization, was founded by a group of scholars and educators concerned with the development of Taiwan's curriculum field. ACI not only publishes *The Curriculum and Instruction Quarterl*y, first published in 1998, but is also the only learned and most momentous journal that focuses on curricular issues in Taiwan. Other dedicated agencies include: the Institute of Multicultural Education, the Institute of Ethnic Relationship, the Center for Educational Research, the Center for Research in Curriculum and Instruction, the Center for Local Studies Education, and the Center for the Aboriginal Education. Moreover, various committees concerned with gender equity education, aboriginal education, and so forth, have also been established at schools and universities and in government offices.

III Pending Issues for Research

In a comprehensive survey of Taiwanese curriculum study for the past half century, there are patently manifold attainments. First, the field of curriculum has taken root in pedagogy and has proven to be an important part of it. Second, the research population has increased. Third, the accumulative outcomes of studies, including monographs, research reports, theses, periodicals, and so forth, are fruitful. This indeed shows that curriculum study is a powerful and significant field of educational research. Fourth, the different kinds of organizations that advance curriculum study and train researchers have been built up nationwide. Fifth, curriculum study and curriculum reform are now combined and are dealt with as a whole. Furthermore, researchers are no longer ivory-towered; they have become more and more influential over practice. However, there are still some pending issues in need of exploration when we review the development of Taiwanese curriculum study.

(I) The Range of Curriculum Reform Curriculum reform has taken place several times in Taiwan since 1949, and each time the range of reform was controversial. As we know, the range of reform involves debatable philosophical thinking. Some argue that only large-scale curriculum reform could bring on a thorough and fundamental success, whereas the disinclination of doing so only safeguards the status quo against advantageous change. What is more, educators previously resisted large-scale reforms due to their conservative attitudes, and they were often inclined to scale down a reform's ideals. Therefore, reformers often address proposals in a more radical way to hold the bottom-line while bargaining with educators. Yet others who stand for small-scale reform believe it is evolution, not revolution that could avoid incoherent reform and could provide the time needed to take deliberate action. The small-range change is more acceptable by those people involved.

In essence, both of these approaches of reform are reasonable, and determining how to choose the most appropriate one depends on the social situation and claims of the curriculum reform. Definitely, making the right decisions is not by the intuition of the decision maker, but by that information provided by the curriculum research.

(II) The Deregulation of Curriculum and the Teachers' Role in Curriculum Development Since 1949, there has been a nationally unified curriculum standard used to regulate and implement entrance examinations. However, after the lifting of Martial Law, deregulation in education has become an imperative.

Under the textbook reform policy, teachers should play roles that are more important in effectively interpreting and transforming curriculum (Hwang, 2010); however, they lack adequate training to do so. They continue to view the contents of textbooks, which students have to memorize, as the most important aspect of curriculum.

As the curriculum elasticity is magnifying, concerns such as teachers' competencies of designing curriculum, curriculum evaluation system, and other supplemental measures have been installed. Whether curriculum autonomy is implemented with responsibility, with teachers actively involved, is the interest of curriculum study (see C. S. Chang, 1994; C. Y. Chang, 2002; Chen, 2000; Chou, 1996; Lin, 1997; P. S. Lin, 2004; Pung, 1999).

(III) School-Based Curriculum Development The curriculum autonomy of schools has now become a priority in curriculum reform, and its implementation mainly emphasizes school-based curriculum development (SBCD), termed as *grassroots reform.* Yet, with the advance of the SBCD, some misunderstandings and panic among teachers and parents has arisen. Some are under the misconception that under the SBCD, teachers are solely responsible for the construction of all teaching materials (e.g., textbooks) and the development of modified school courses. For the time being, how to fulfill the SBCD concept, how to maintain educational quality, and how to justify educational equity are the follow-up issues of curriculum study (Chang, 1999; Lin, 1999).

(IV) Emerging Curricula With regard to social transition, there are some emerging issues like environmental protection, human rights, career planning, and so on, to which our school system needs to respond urgently because they contain important knowledge for cultivating good citizens (Hwang, 2005b).

As issues emerge, some questions require further study. They include the limited capacity of school curriculum and the knowledge of attending to these emerging curricula. Therefore, determining how to define emerging issues and evaluate their imperatives for inclusion into the school curriculum, and what is the best approach for curriculum development regarding emerging issues in elementary and junior high schools requires further investigation.

(V) Curriculum Differentiation and Curriculum Integration *"Teach what to whom"* is the key question about curriculum design. In our view, curriculum designers should honor two principles: education equity and adaptive development. The former, focusing on the common curriculum, aims at providing students with common experiences; and the latter, stressing the differentiated curricula, points to providing opportunities for each individual student to develop his or her potential.

We should understand that carrying out the principles is quite difficult, and bringing them into practice can even be painful. For example, we argue that special needs students should return to the mainstream while hoping that the curriculum differentiation could serve as a mechanism in providing adaptive teaching. Nevertheless, when, what, and how in terms of differentiation are the tough questions that need to be resolved.

Curriculum integration at the phase of compulsory education has been an important trend in Taiwan. Nevertheless, it is not only a complicated concept, but also a difficult task. Problems of implementation, exacerbated by resistant educators who have only vague concepts about curriculum integration, are the focus of current curriculum research.

(VI) Localization and Internationalization Since the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, the notion of whether the indigenous people in Taiwan hold supremacy has been critically challenged. This contributed to Taiwanese indigenous people striving to return to their native culture, a legitimate status in school curricula. As we can see, there are several new teaching subjects related to local studies and mother-tongue language teaching being added into school curricula.

However, there are still a few issues to address. First, although the addition of new subjects is a meaningful move, the source of qualified teachers is another question. Second, because the content of local culture is so multifarious, including many detached courses (e.g., history, geography, art, science, social studies, language, etc.), the already heavy learning load becomes even heavier, making these courses hard to integrate with other former courses and giving doubt to this new policy.

In the age of globalization, curriculum study on foreign language teaching has also become another urgent issue. In response to internationalization and globalization, foreign language teaching is expanding its scope in English teaching from the high school level down to the elementary school level, and the learning of a second foreign language has been added as an elective into the junior high school curriculum. However, finding out how to make the school curriculum more responsive to both localization and globalization is also a difficult challenge for curriculum researchers.

VI Conclusion

Curriculum study is evolving, having accumulated and localized some outcomes after many endeavors to study, emulate, follow, and join the developed countries' curriculum studies. Facing a culturally diverse society, a rapidly changing economy, and a globalized environment, curriculum research in Taiwan has struggled with many challenges.

While envisaging the future, curriculum study in Taiwan still needs to: (a) establish more responsible research organizations in charge of assorted duties respectively at the national, local, and school levels; (b) link up the efforts of existing institutes, schools, and nongovernmental agencies; (c) invite many more experts for further international and interdisciplinary collaboration; and (d) form systemic and integrated research by way of concerted teamwork. The task of curriculum study belongs to not only learned scholars, but also to teachers. The aim of curriculum study is to establish theory and improve practice.

The curriculum field needs systematic and long-term studies to support sustainable curriculum development. Appropriate curriculum decision making is necessary for effective teaching and learning, and sufficient annual budgets need to be provided for curriculum research and improvement in schools and universities. Central and local government support is also urgently needed. Since it is important for schools and universities to prepare high quality human power for society, they need more support from industries. Curriculum decision making is a highly value-oriented endeavor, which needs objective examination of research results rather than political intervention. Determining how to create an appropriate mechanism for high quality curriculum decision making will become a very challenging research theme for Taiwan's curriculum researchers.

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41

Curriculum Research in Turkey

From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic

Sümer Aktan

The history of the curriculum field in Turkey has to be studied in two periods: the Imperial Period and the Republican Period. Whereas the multicultural and multilingual imperial period stands out as a distinctive era with its unique practices, it also left a legacy to the Republican Period of the nation-state as a result of the practices carried out towards the end of the nineteenth century.[1]

The aim of this study, in the first place, is to analyze the development process of the madrasas, which were the essential educational institutions of the Islam civilization, generally in the Islamic geography and specifically in the Ottoman Empire as well as the structure of this educational program and the nature of this educational experience within the context of the factors contributing to this development process and the reflections of these factors on the early curriculum theory. Secondly, the reflections of the period of change and transformation, which began in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century and became more effective during the nineteenth century, oriented to the educational experience and the contribution of this period of change and transformation to the development process of the curriculum field, will be emphasized. In this respect, the studies carried out by curriculum commissions established under Ministry of Education especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as the reflections of the European pedagogy notion have been evaluated as primary sources.

The 1891 curriculum, which was the first example of the school curricula in Turkey, implemented in line with certain social and political trends as well as 1904 reform, will be analyzed in this perspective. Second, the 1924, 1926, 1936, and 1948 curriculum drafts will be evaluated respectively from the perspective of the new government on education following the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, and pedagogical and political opinions having an influence on the curriculum drafts will be analyzed in this study. In the third part of the study, the transition period from the Eurocentric pedagogy, which appeared in curriculum theory after the Second World War to American-centered pedagogy as well as the first generation of students sent to America during the reconstruction process of the curriculum field and curriculum development activities carried out by the modern methods in 1956, will be discussed, and the institutionalization process of the curriculum field will be analyzed at university level. The final part of the study deals with a critical assessment within the philosophical context.

Early Curriculum Theory

The factor that determined the general framework of education in the Ottoman Empire before the eighteenth century was religion (Somel, 2010). When considered in this context, it can be suggested that religion was a force that affected all decisions concerning education in the Ottoman history as well as curriculum theory and that the influence of the religion was to be perceived until the early years of the twentieth century. This case was not only observed in the Ottomans but also was observed in Islamic civilization as a whole (Watt, 1972; Hodgson, 1993; Hefner, 2009). Education in Islamic civilization accompanied the rise of Islam as a religion (Sarıkaya, 1997). The verses of the sacred scripture of Islam emphasize the importance of knowledge, wisdom, reading, intellectuality, and comprehension (The Quran, 39/9, 20/114, 16/43, 96/1). The sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, which praise reading and learning, provide rationale for the importance attached to education in Islam. Whereas, for the first time, reading and reciting the Quran provided the basis for educational activities conducted in mosques, this education process had become more comprehensive in the course of time and education became more formalized. Following the schools known as "Küttab" or "Sıbyan," the primary education stage, madrasas to be attended at the ages from 12 to 15 years have made a great contribution to the formation of Islamic civilization as institutions of secondary education and higher education to cultivate academicians (Akyüz, 2008; Hefner, 2009; Hodgson, 1993; Makdisi, 1981; Watt, 1972; İhsanoğlu, 2002; Leiser, 1986). The institutionalization of education in Islamic civilization was thus achieved in an earlier period than it was the Western universities (Halstead, 2004).

The first institutions bearing the name "madrasa" had been originally established in such regions as Bukhara, Nishabur, and Khorasan, and then they spread across Baghdad, Syria, and Andalusia (Spain) (Makdisi, 1981; Sarıkaya, 1997). It can be said that rational sciences were also taught in madrasas, regarded as institutions where theological studies were taught. Madrasas contributed greatly to breakthroughs in art and science achieved in Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus) (Makdisi, 1973). The first madrasa in the Ottoman Empire was established in the province of İznik in 1331 (İhsanoğlu, 2005; Unan, 1999). In general, the demands of those who established madrasas were influential in the formation of the curricula madrasas established during the first period of the Ottoman Empire (Fazlıoğlu, 2008). The first general regulation regarding the curricula in madrasas was introduced by law in the period of Mehmed II. In accordance with this law, the mudarrises (professors) who instructed in madrasas were listed according to their ranks and the textbooks they would instruct. Significantly, high-ranking mudarrises could determine their own textbooks (Unan, 1999). This law, constituting the curricula in madrasas, was also the most clear-cut example that the education provided in madrasas was not casual.

The most comprehensive study of the education curricula in Ottoman madrasas was the work titled *Kevakib-i Seb'a,* written at the request of Louis Saeveur Villeneuve (1675–1745), the French ambassador to Istanbul (İzgi, 1997). In this work, the textbooks studied in madrasa were classified into three stages: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. For the first time, the sciences were classified and the reasons why each of such sciences was required were explained. This work specified how each textbook would be taught, what kind of instructional method would be used according to the age of the student, and how advanced students should study. Another work focused on curricula in madrasas was *Tertîb-i Ulûm* (*Arrangement of Sciences*), written in verse form by İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi in 1752. In this work, the textbooks required in 23 courses were again classified as from beginner to advanced. The work provided guidelines for the teaching and study of each field of science. It also specified the content of these courses as well as referencing the habits required to be obtained in order to be successful in social life as an individual (Özyılmaz, 2002; İzgi, 1997).

In madrasas, where passing and failing were based on passing individual courses rather than promoting to an upper grade level, the students were at liberty to choose the courses they desired. During lectures, the students sat in a circle around the mudarris and took notes about what the mudarris explained. Afterwards, the explanations offered by the mudarris were opened to discussion. Students specialized in various subjects, composing annotated bibliographies or even new books. These activities can be considered as a kind of dissertation research.

It is clear that there was appreciation of students' opinions. The content of the courses was organized from beginning to advanced, simple to complex, peripheral to central, as if in a circular manner. There were elective courses, and two different copies of the textbooks, one for teachers and the other for students (Muallim Cevdet, 1978). The curriculum field in Turkey has deep roots in the nation's educational history as well as a rich background in terms of the curriculum theory.[2]

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, certain initiatives were untaken to improve the efficiency of the army and the navy. Mühendishane-i Bahri Hümayun, inaugurated to educate engineers and artillerymen for the navy, served as another high school. The madrasas were the high schools of the period that saw the introduction of science and mathematics in its curriculum. The educational expenses of the students were covered by the government, the textbooks were printed in the printing house of the school, and the practice of teaching was based on experiment and application. The curriculum was not static, and new courses were continuously added. This was a curriculum continuously open to change and innovation (Kenan, 2010). In the nineteenth century, curricular changes would occur more rapidly.[3]

The nineteenth century was a period accented by reforms of Ottoman social life. Reform accelerated after 1839 due to socioeconomic change (Karpat, 1972; Özdemir, 2003). Reforms spanned the bureaucracy to the military and included education. Primary and secondary schools were restructured according to socioeconomic change. Two significant developments in the beginning of this reform period were the implementation of the Lancaster Method (Monitorial System), especially in the education of the soldiers, and the introduction of compulsory primary education (Kirby, 2010; Tschurenev, 2008).

Vocational schools were opened in addition to more modern primary schools and secondary schools. A ministry of education was established. In particular, Education Regulations introduced in 1869 reflected French practices and played a crucial role in the formation of a new education bureaucracy (Karpat, 1972; Somel, 2010). The types and number of schools especially increased during the period between 1860 and 1895.[4] Many of the schools opened in that period were vocational schools and polytechnic institutes (Alkan, 2005; Ergin, 1977; Karpat, 1972; Koçer, 1991; Kodaman, 1991). This increase brought curricular problems. A curriculum commission was authorized to deal with issues such as the selection of textbooks, teaching methods, and continuous curriculum development.

It can be said that the curriculum commission was a significant milestone in the institutionalization of the curriculum field in Turkey. With the introduction of the education bureaucracy, duties such as increasing the number of schools and students as well as the determination and revision of the curricula of the schools of different levels, located across the vast Ottoman Empire—ranging from Africa, Arabia, Iraq, and Syria to the Balkans—were conducted by the curriculum commission. In an archive document dated May 22nd, 1888, it was emphasized that the extant curriculum would continue in place until the publication of the revised curriculum for secondary schools, and that any problems of implementation be reported to the commission (BOA, MF. MKT- 98/27: 1305). The curriculum commission also monitored the efficiency of education activities. The results of the activities and operations of the curriculum commissions increased especially towards the end of the nineteenth century. The reforms implemented in 1891 and 1904 introduced significant changes to extant curricula. These reforms could also be regarded as a significant indication that the government made ideological use of the schools.

The main feature of the new primary school education program implemented between 1891 and 1892 was the Islamic emphasis. The duration of study was four years for rural schools and three years for urban and town schools; all courses except for mathematics and the alphabet were religious courses in rural schools. The same applied to the urban and town schools with certain exceptions. Besides religious courses, grammar, history, geography, spelling, mathematics, and calligraphy were included. Regulations introduced in 1892 based on the 1891 curriculum emphasized the Islamic curriculum and included directives for the implementation of the curriculum. According to new regulations the duties of the teacher were not restricted to instruction; the teacher was also required to serve as a role model to the students. The teacher was responsible for teaching that obedience to and respect for the sultan and the state as well as for one's parents, the elders, and teachers were the most fundamental duties. The students were also instructed to help their coreligionists and other people. Another directive of the Regulations was the recitation of short sections of the Quran by the students and to offer prayers for the sultan, the state, and the nation everyday just before the end of the class. Another directive concerned school discipline. Corporal punishments and other expressions of rage were strictly forbidden. The teachers were responsible for treating their students equally and professionally. Among the punishments to be given to students included having them stand on their feet for a certain period of time and forbidding them to visit the garden during breaks (Mahmut Cevat, 1920).

The 1891 primary school curriculum and the Regulations issued thereafter reflected the Zeitgeist. After the Ottoman-Russia War (1877–1878), the government began to struggle against separatist-nationalist movements by means of emphasizing religious and authoritarian values in education. In fact, the 1891 primary school curriculum may be regarded as a reflection of the struggle of the government with these separatist movements by means of the schools. The 1891 primary school curriculum may also be thought of as a reflection undertaken by the government against the liberalization requests from foreign countries (Fortna, 2000; Somel, 2010).

A new curriculum reform was implemented in 1901, and this reform became more comprehensive with new additions in 1904. The Ministry of Education began to further increase the number of religion and ethics courses in school curricula and opened technical schools in the provinces. Accompanying this new program was an emphasis on Turkish language courses. The publication of novels which did not comply with national traditions was forbidden, and the translation of the scientific studies into Turkish was encouraged. Turkish was emphasized in regions where Turks were less numerous. This reform showed the coexistence of practical-secular education with social disciplinary approaches (Somel, 2010).

The predominant force in curriculum theory through the end of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century was Islam. The answer given to the canonical curriculum question of "What knowledge is of most worth?" was religious values. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, religious values began to be used as a means of indoctrination, and so the education system became an ideological means to increase individuals' faithfulness to the government. The curriculum commissions monitored curriculum, textbooks, and teaching methods so as to exclude from the schools any opposition to the government. The increase in the number and types of schools introduced towards the end of the nineteenth century also required increased examination by the curriculum commissions. Also during this period, the Western pedagogical concept became familiar.

The period of the Ottoman Empire came to an end in 1922, making way for the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey in 1923. A period of 600 years came to an end. The intellectual heritage of the Ottoman Empire Period was highly influential in the formation of the curriculum theory of the Republican Period. The positivist philosophy introduced into the intellectual life of the Ottomans in the nineteenth century was key to the modernization endorsed by the intellectuals and the government officials of the Republican Period. Teachers became voluntary practitioners of this philosophy. The answer given to the curriculum question "What knowledge is of most worth?" changed, now informed by positivism and secularism.

Republican Period Curriculum Theory

The most predominant factor in the curriculum theory of the Republican Period has been positivism.[5] And positivism has informed the intellectual foundations of education policy more generally during the years following the proclamation of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Atatürk) was elected as the president upon the proclamation of the Republic on October 29th, 1923.[6] The main objective of the new government was to create a modern and secular society (Berkes, 2003). Schools would play a crucial role in the realization of this objective.[7]

Although Western-style schools had been introduced during the Ottoman Empire, a Western perspective in education was radically implemented following the proclamation of the Republic (Kafadar, 1997). On the other hand, the analysis of the educational views of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first president of the Republic of Turkey, is essential to understanding the education policy of the republican government, the formulation of curriculum theory, and the school curricula actually implemented. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was influenced by many philosophers, including Gustave Le Bon, Durkheim, Büchner, Huxley, and Pittard[8] (Hanioğlu, 2011). Nationalism and positivism converged in Atatürk's version of "political education." The role of teachers in this political education process was very important.

> Teachers! You, devoted teachers and educators of the Republic, will educate the new generation; the new generation will be your legacy. . . . The Republic calls for guardians who are mentally, scholarly, scientifically, and physically mighty and having high morals. . . . Teachers, your success will be the success of the Republic. The military, political and administrative revolutions of the New Turkey realized in a couple of years will be confirmed by your success in social and intellectual revolutions (Atatürkçülük, 2001, 302).

The teachers were regarded as a scientific and cultural army, considered more important than the military during the years following the foundation of the Republic. This likening of education to military training would be reflected in the curricula and textbooks (Kaplan, 1999). In Atatürk's point of view, the main objective of education was to fulfill its indoctrination function in the construction of a new nation.[9] Consequently, the new generations to be educated would undergo a process of political education and adopt a secular as well as nationalist point of view. In addition, education was also required to be based on practical application. In order to achieve this, a curriculum would be developed to enable students to make use of the knowledge obtained from the school in the practical life.

> The method to be adopted in education was to transform the knowledge into a tool which is practical and applicable to achieve success in the material world rather than an excessive ornament, a means of domination, or a civic pleasure. Our Ministry of National Education gives importance to this principle. (Atatürkçülük, 2001, 298)

The first major project of the Republican government was to invite John Dewey to write a report about the education system. Dewey came to Turkey on July 19th, 1924, and left the country after his analysis for about a period of four months. Later, he sent the comprehensive report he prepared for the Ministry of National Education (Ata, 2001). In his report, Dewey listed his recommendations for such subjects as teacher training, curriculum, and ministry organization (Dewey, 1939). Among the views of Dewey, who explained the fundamentals of a comprehensive education policy in the report, his ideas on such subjects as the risks of centralization and of the contribution of the local administrations were not accepted. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe the effects of Dewey's ideas in the primary school curricula and in the system of teacher training (Turan, 2000; Uygun, 2008).

In 1924, one year after the proclamation of the Republic, new primary school curricula were implemented. In 1924, curriculum was developed separately for boys and girls. Whereas a tailoring course was included in the timetable devised for the primary schools for girls, it was not included in the curriculum for boys. The curriculum introduced new concepts related to the new regime: history and geography were included in the curriculum starting in the third grade, and a *musahabat-ı ahlakiye ve vataniye* (ethical and nationality conversations) course, which was about citizenship, was included starting in the fourth and the fifth grades (İlk Mekteplerin Müfredat Programı, 1924). In general, the 1924 curriculum allowed teacher-centered instruction. But the 1924 curriculum did not last, as another curriculum, more contemporary and much more influenced by the pedagogical developments of the period, was prepared in 1926.

The most significant aspect of the 1926 curriculum was the introduction of social studies to the curriculum and the fact that social studies, together with Turkish courses, were designed to allow for the designation of an extensive field of study. The new curriculum expressed its basic philosophy in the following sentence: "The main purpose of the primary schools is to cultivate good citizens by means of actively adapting the young generation to their environment" (İlk Mekteplerin Müfredat Programı, 1926). The inclusion of such concepts in the curriculum can be attributed to the influence of John Dewey as a result of his visit in 1924 (Uygun, 2008). The emphasis on the relationship between schools and the society was significant in the 1926 curriculum. Schools were regarded as a powerful instrument for the development (through reconstruction) of the society. Imagining the school as an institution closely related to social life was a legacy from the intellectuals of the Second Constitutionalist Period to the Republic (Üstel, 2004). As a matter of fact, cultivating citizenship was the main objective of the primary school education. The implementation of the curriculum in schools, which reflected the ideological trends of the government, ensured that the schools served as ideological instruments. Another dimension of the 1926 curriculum (and important in terms of the curriculum theory) was its emphasis upon curricular integration:

> In the previous curricula, the courses in all classes used to be instructed as if they were completely independent and separate subjects, paying less attention to the connections and relations among them. In the new curricula, relations were given an extreme significance in addition to knowledge. Especially, a "collective" teaching principle

> for all courses in the primary period around the center of life and society was accepted. For this reason, although "Natural sciences," "Musahabat" (Ethical Conversations), "History" and "Geography" courses used to be instructed separately in the previous curricula, these courses have been combined together under the title of "Social Sciences" in the new curricula for the primary period. Indeed, this course will be the backbone of the whole education and other courses will always be based upon this course. (1926 Müfredat Programı, 2)

The third curriculum of the Republican Period was implemented in 1936. The new primary school curriculum was to establish social and cultural reforms more efficiently. The most basic characteristics of the new curriculum were its expression of the nationalist ideology in part as an ethnocentrist discourse as well as its incorporation of a corporatist perspective. A commission assembled by order of Ministry of Culture in August 1935, which began working to review the existing primary school curriculum and to determine its shortcomings. The first criticism directed towards the 1926 curriculum was the fact that the objectives and principles of primary schools were inadequately reflected in the curriculum. Significant changes for the new curriculum followed from this analysis.

> The objectives and principles of the primary school activities have been determined explicitly, conclusively and comprehensively, always taking into account the new values introduced by the party programme, advanced movements in the pedagogy world and especially the reality of our country. Thus, "Republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secular, revolutionary" characters required to prevail in the curricula of Turkish education and teaching have been explicitly indicated. (Kültür Bakanlığı Dergisi, 1937, 162)

The 1936 curriculum claimed to maintain a pragmatist perspective alongside the ideological discourse, but the truth is that the "pragmatism" employed was more ideological than democratic (as Dewey would have defined the latter concept). As a result, rather than educating the individuals as citizens "who will actively adapt to their environment," the new curriculum focused on educating citizens who would unconditionally accept the party program (Üstel, 2005).

Another aspect overemphasized in the curriculum was the efficient use of school knowledge in real life. The progress of the nation, it was thought, depended on technical and scientific developments—this was the basis for the 1936 curriculum. Science and scientific knowledge were regarded as the only constant element of the new reality. Provided that schools showed students that the scientific knowledge was the sole savior, graduates could play the necessary crucial role in the progress of the country. Another significant aspect of the 1936 curriculum was its emphasis on loyalty to the government and the army as well as to the supremacy of the "Turkish Nation." The new curriculum asserts that

> Children should be able to contemplate the concept of the nation and character, supremacy as well as power of the Turkish Nation. They should love and respect Turkish nation as well as Turkish soldiers and Turkish Army, and the importance of the military service for us should be understood. (1936 İlkokul Programı, 103)

While it remained in force during World War II, the 1936 curriculum failed to address the needs of the postwar period. Designated in accordance with the single-party ideology, this curriculum was far from meeting the expectations of the postwar period during which democracy began to flourish. Turkey became closer to the United States against the threat of the Soviet Union; this alignment precipitated certain shifts in the domestic politics. In addition to the introduction of the multi-party system, a new curriculum was developed for primary schools in which the discourse of democracy replaced the ideological emphasis of the 1936 curriculum. The implementation in 1948 focused on four broad themes: social, individual, human affairs, and economic life, respectively. This perspective, which had not appeared in the curricula of 1924, 1926, and 1936, was first articulated in the 1948 curriculum for primary schools. The 1948 curriculum continued the pragmatist emphasis from the previous curriculum. It was strongly emphasized that schools would teach practical knowledge and skills. In certain respects, the curriculum reflected the views suggested by John Dewey in 1924, emphasizing that the school should be life itself rather than a preparation for life (1948 İlkokul Programı).

World War II became a turning point for the curriculum field in Turkey. During the first years of the Republic, curriculum concepts originating from Continental Europe had been dominant. Especially German concepts dominated thought in the ministry of education and in teacher training schools. Halil Fikret Kanat, the first doctor of educational sciences in Turkey, had taken his doctorate from Leipzig University in 1917. İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, an influential official, was well versed in German curriculum thought. German influence was not limited to curriculum theory but extended throughout many fields, including philosophy and various scientific fields. The influence of Germany on the intellectual history of Turkey became even stronger by virtue of the German professors instructing in Istanbul University, established after the University Reform in 1933 (Gencer, 2003; Turan, 2000a).

In the period after 1945—as noted above—the Turkish Government began to adopt a foreign policy in favor of the United States due to the Soviet Union's policy against Turkey. The United States initiated foreign assistance and supported the Turkish economy. This relationship was also evident in the field of education. A U.S. Education Commission was established in Turkey in 1949, and Fulbright Commission in Turkey began its activities in the same year. Another important step was the invitation of education experts from the United States. Kate V. Wofford, Lester Beals, Ellsworth Tompkins, Roben J. Maaske, and Watson Dickerman visited Turkey during the 1950s and submitted reports for village schools, adult education, and teacher training (Akyüz, 2008). Twenty-five students were sent to the United States for higher education in the field of pedagogics at the end of 1940s and the beginning of 1950s (Ünder, 2008; Yıldırım, 2005). Activities initiated between 1953 and 1954 focused on developing the curricula of secondary schools significantly contributed to the establishment of the American perspective in the curriculum field in Turkey.[10] With these activities, American experts participated in curriculum development pursuant to the agreement signed between the Ministry of Education and the Ford Foundation that allowed Turkish experts to conduct research in the United States.[11]

When Turkish students returned to Turkey, they began to work in the institutes of teacher training. The names of the departments of pedagogy were changed to educational sciences. These U.S.-trained students assumed crucial roles in the reconstruction of the curriculum field in Turkey. However, their impact was not restricted to the curriculum field; they influenced the education field as a whole. Positivist philosophy of science played a primary role in educational surveys, whereas historical and philosophical studies were removed from the curriculum field. A perspective focused on curriculum development and curriculum assessment, as well as on teaching methods became dominant in educational research. These trends were evident in the Faculty of Educational Sciences established towards the end of 1960s, and education history and education sociology, as well as curriculum development were revised as separate subfields of science. Interdisciplinarity was minimized, and a field without history and philosophy emerged, as observable in textbooks and doctorate studies in education. [12]

Conclusion: From Curriculum Development to Understanding Curriculum

When the history of the curriculum field in Turkey is analyzed, two different theoretical trends related to two historical periods become discernible. Educational decisions taken in the Ottoman Empire Period were based on religious grounds. When the curricula of the madrasas in the Ottoman Empire Period are analyzed, it is clear that the courses and required textbooks were based on progressivity from beginner to advanced.

Introduced in eighteenth century and accelerated in the nineteenth century, change and transformation accented the field of education. By means of the decisions they made, the curriculum commissions established towards the end of 1870s contributed to the transformation of the education system throughout the Ottoman Empire.

A key contribution of the curriculum commissions was the designation of the curriculum of the schools. Comprehensive curriculum reforms implemented in 1891, 1901, and 1904 construed schools as ideological apparatuses. The generous intellectual legacy of the Ottoman Empire became the basis for the curriculum of the Republican Period. The positivist concept of science developed towards the end of the Ottoman Empire became a stable foundation for education in the Republican period. The curriculum commissions of the Ottoman Empire Period were undertaken by the Head Council of Education and Morality in the Republican Period. On the other hand, using education as an ideological instrument in later periods of the Ottoman Empire continued through the Republican Period. The ideological character of the school curricula in the Republican Period was strong and these curricula aimed at the reconstruction of the society.

Relations with the United States were improved during the years following World War II. Students were sent to the United States for specialization in the field of education. Furthermore, U.S. experts coming to Turkey contributed to further improvement of these relations. The employment of the students returning from the United States in teacher training institutions revolutionized pedagogics in Turkey as pedagogics based on positivist social and behavioral science became prevalent. The Faculty of Educational Sciences was founded in 1964; it adopted this philosophy of science as the exclusively recognized method in education research. Curriculum became a technical field composed of curriculum development and assessment rather than an academic field of study. Whereas the tradition of quantitative research became established, history, philosophy, and sociology were excluded from curriculum research. They were segregated as courses in teacher training programs. No macrocurricular approach was formulated; on the contrary, microcurricular perspectives accompanied by technical-scientific-rationalist concepts became prevalent in curriculum research. Whereas many research projects focused on schools, the learning-teaching process, the learning environment, education technology, and curriculum assessment, other issues—such as gender discrimination, ideology, curriculum history, and the role of government—became the province of other academic disciplines, not the field of education. Those working in the curriculum field excluded macrocurricular problems from their research.

This exclusion remains the case in the curriculum field in Turkey today. Courses in curriculum theory and practice are predominantly based on technical and scientific approaches closely related to curriculum development.[13] In other words, Tyler's rationale and its variations remain the predominant paradigm. Graduate studies in Turkish universities contribute to the reproduction of this paradigm as academicians remain loyal to a microcurricular perspective. One reason the curriculum field in Turkey is construed as curriculum development in Turkey is the positivist and scientific legacies of those first generations sent to the United States for education. For these students, indoctrinated by the idea that the science is composed only of mathematics and physical sciences, educational research based on Tyler Rationale and comprised of statistics was quite appealing.

Appearing as a new paradigm in the curriculum field since the 1970s, the movement for the reconceptualization of the curriculum field has introduced a macrocurricular perspective. Despite its potential, such a perspective has not been realized in curriculum studies in Turkey. In other academic fields, however, including political science, history, and philosophy, questions of curriculum history, of the relations between ideology and the curriculum in Turkey, have been studied.[14] Unfortunately, this crucial intellectual resource has yet to be integrated within curriculum studies in Turkey.

Recently, new developments in the fields of curriculum and education have drawn attention. Until today, the problem of the institutionalization of the field has been intended to be addressed to a certain degree by the Turkish Curriculum and Instruction Association founded in 2009. Furthermore, specifically the emergence of criticism of the educational sciences in Turkey should be regarded as a significant development. Criticism of the educational sciences in general and the fields of curriculum and teaching in particular, may provoke a reconstruction of the curriculum field in Turkey. Such a reconstruction would include a redefinition of curriculum as a multidimensional field rather than regarding it as a subspecies of the school and of teaching. Thus, the curriculum has to be reconstructed as a historical, philosophical, phenomenological, hermeneutic, political, and sociological text. In this context, the analysis of international studies on the curriculum field in Turkey is of great importance. The analysis of the reconceptualization movement in the United States, which experienced almost the same problems, e.g., curriculum as a form of social engineering, may contribute to the emergence of a new multidimensional curriculum field in Turkey.

Notes

1. The Imperial period describes the Ottoman Empire ruling over the period between 1299 and 1922; the Republic Period describes the Republic of Turkey established in 1923 on the grounds of the Ottoman Empire. With regards to the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic Period, see İnalcık and Quataert, 1997; Quataert, 2005; Abou-El Haj, 1991; and Karpat, 2000. For the late period of the Ottoman Empire and early republic period, see Hanioglu, 2008, and Findley, 2011. For the Republic Period, see Park, 2012, and Ökten, 2011. . In relation to the effects of different interest groups in Turkey on education and school curricula, see Kaplan, 2006.
2. The variety of the curricula of the madrasas and the implemented education concept attracted the attention of education historians and the scientists who conducted research in the field of Ottoman history more than those working on the curriculum field. On the other hand, it was observed that different views existed in the assessments in the direction of the madrasas. The existence of an orientalist perspective in which madrasas were regarded as old-fashioned institutions dominated for a long period. For a different and comprehensive evaluation criticizing this orientalist view, see Sarıkaya, 1999.
3. For the development process of the technical schools of the military in the Ottoman Empire and reconstruction of the navy in parallel with the changes in their curricula, see Zorlu, 2008
4. Especially for the political and social evaluation of the period between 1867 and 1909 as well as a comprehensive evaluation of the role of education in this period, see Deringil, 2004. Additional research was conducted by Benjamin C. Fortna to analyze the period between 1876 and 1909 with regards to the development process of secondary schools and the construction of the ethical dimension of the education on religious grounds as well as indoctrination. Whereas Fortna's research was conducted within the scope of a general and comprehensive perspective, analyzing the political and social elements having an impact on the development of the education system of the period, it also shows how this general line of development of the education system was reflected on the level of schools and classrooms (Fortna, 2002). .
5. For reflections on positivism in Turkey, especially in education, see Kenan, 2003.
6. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and the first president of Turkey, was given the surname Atatürk in 1934 by The Grand National Assembly of Turkey.
7. School curricula were deemed an effective instrument in the process of modernization and Westernization. Courses such as reading and language especially played a crucial role in the transition period from the Ottoman Empire towards the Republic. For a comprehensive evaluation that analyzes the roles of the mother language and reading courses in this modernization period, see Fortna, 2011.
8. For the systems of thought that came into play in the formation of the worldview of Atatürk and a comprehensive evaluation of these systems of thought, see Hanioğlu, 2011. For the influence of Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, ranked among the people who were influential in the formation of Atatürk's world of ideas and views, see Creel, 1978.
9. School curricula stand out as political texts that exactly reflected the ideological discourse of the government during the period between 1923 and 1938, defined as the Early Republican Period. The ideological discourse was also significant in social studies textbooks. (The *"Social Studies in primary schools" course integrated several subjects, such as natural science, health and hygiene, history, reading, and civics into one course*). For an essential work analyzing the correlations among indoctrination, curricula, and schools in the Early Republican Period, see Childress, 2001.
10. Among these, curriculum development activities applied especially in the Secondary School of Istanbul Atatürk Kız Lisesi between 1955 and 1956. The new curriculum was tested in the Secondary School of Istanbul Atatürk Kız Lisesi as the Pilot School. Students did very well on assessments. A similar study was applied to a high school in Ankara in 1958; however, a comprehensive evaluation of this study was not performed.
11. Experts were sent to America on the following dates: 1953–1954 First Illinois Group 10 educators; 1954–1955 Second Illinois Group 15 educators; 1955–1956 Third Illinois Group 10 educators; 1956–1957 eight educators in the fourth group to specialize in various fields; and 1956–1957 four educators from senior officials from the Ministry of National Education. (Varış, 1994).
12. When the history of the curriculum field in Turkey is evaluated in the context of textbooks related to the field, it is evident that the field was considered only as curriculum development. The first textbook about the education curricula and teaching was written by Fatma Varış in 1971. Varış completed her doctorate study under the surname of İncediken with a dissertation titled "Proposals for Improving the Curriculum of The Turkish High School" with her advisor, Arno Bellack, in Teachers College, Columbia University in 1959. Varış wrote her book with a functionalist perspective. The book was composed of five sections that included the following: introduction, theoretical fundamentals, development principles, research and development, and guidelines for curriculum development. Although the general overview of the work was based on

schools, it also referred to the factors having an impact on curriculum development. In the book, a rationalist and linear perspective is prevalent in the curriculum development and a chapter composed of 23 pages is included about curriculum studies in Turkey. Another important and prevalent textbook was written by Selahattin Ertürk. The impact of this work, whose first edition was published in 1972, on the curriculum concept in Turkey can be compared to the place of the work of Ralph W. Tyler in the curriculum field. In the preface of this work, which was highly influential, insight into the book and thus the curriculum field was explicitly given as follows: "*This book was written as a book of behaviour engineering oriented to the principles of redirecting the normal but unfavorable human behavior towards the favorable direction, and especially with an aim to guide* '*curriculum*' *development activities in education.*"(Ertürk, 1998). . Efficiently maintaining a perspective in favor of Tyler, Selahattin Ertürk was granted his doctorate degree from New York University in 1961 following his dissertation titled "Discovering the Most Common Weaknesses in the Current Practices of the Public High School Teachers of Turkey as Basis for Teacher Improvement."

13. The Division of Curriculum and Instruction was for the first time initiated in the Faculty of Educational Sciences in Ankara University, and the training programs in Hacettepe University in Turkey. When studying the recent curricula of the departments providing graduate and doctorate studies under the Division of Curriculum and Instruction in the prominent universities in Turkey, it can be seen that the curriculum focuses on courses based on quantitative and qualitative research, the process of learning and teaching, curriculum development, curriculum assessment, in-service training programs, and comparative education. The Doctoral curriculum of the academic year 2011–2012 of the Department of Curriculum, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, Faculty of Educational Sciences of Ankara University is as follows: Teacher Qualifications, International Educational Research Projects, Multiple Intelligence Theory and Curriculum, Research of Human Rights Education, Educational Innovations in the European Countries, Curriculum Assessment Research, and Curriculum Development Seminar (http://egitim.ankara.edu.tr/?bil=bil_icerik&icerik_id=103). The Doctoral curriculum of the academic year 2011–2012 of the Division of Curriculum and Instruction of Hacettepe University, which is another long-established university in the field of Curriculum and Instruction, is as follows: Special Topics, Problems of Contemporary Turkish Education System, Curriculum Development Application in Different Countries, Learning and Teaching Processes II, Curriculum Assessment, Curriculum Development Application, Instruction: Theory and Research, Research Methods II, Curriculum Seminar, Qualitative Research Methods, and Curriculum Development Field Study (http://www.sosyalbilimler.hacettepe.edu.tr/Jtr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=35&Itemid=52).
14. For a recent study analyzing the instruction of Citizenship and Social Studies in ideological and sociopolitical aspects especially during the process from the final periods of the Ottoman Empire towards the Republican Period in Turkey, see Üstel, 2004. For another recent study analyzing the relations between geography courses and the ideology in the Early Republican Period, see Durgun, 2011. For another important study analyzing the relations between ideology and education in early republic era, see Öztan, 2011. What these three works have in common is that both authors are experts of either political sciences or international relations.

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42

Curriculum Studies in Turkey Since 2000

F. Dilek Gözütok

The population of Turkey exceeded 70 million at the beginning of 2000. This population increase has been accelerated by families with the lowest income and education levels. Illiterate mothers have five or six children, while mothers who have completed higher education have one to three children. In 2000, 79.3 percent of women were literate, and in 2005, the literacy rate of the total population was 88.3 percent (www.tüik.gov.tr). In 1997, increasing the length of compulsory education to eight years, the enrollment rate, especially among girls, to 6th grade began to soar. The expansion of compulsory education to eight years required an eight-year unified curriculum. Being among the bottom of the list of OECD countries in terms of international examination results such as TIMMS, PISA has been declared as justification to prepare the new curriculum.

In 2004, the curriculum of grades up to fifth grade was prepared for life studies, Turkish, mathematics, social studies, and science and technology lessons. In the 2004–2005 academic year, the curriculum was piloted in nine cities and 120 schools. Textbooks were written for the trial period, and in 2005 and 2006, the curriculum was implemented.

The curriculum implemented in 2005–2006 for Life Studies 1st through 3rd grades and Turkish 1st through 5th grades was canceled by the state council. Legal grounds for stopping the execution of the curriculum were based on the decision that the curriculum didn't serve the objectives of Turkish National Education, and it was insufficient in improving national values and a democratic culture. For the first time in the history of Turkish education, the implementation of the national curriculum was canceled for such reasons.

The implementation of the curriculum for the 1st to 5th grades at the same time was criticized harshly by education experts. The curriculum for grades 6, 7, and 8 was incrementally made widespread in the three years following the year of pilot study for each. The curriculum for primary education, which began to be implemented in 2005–2006, was presented, claiming that a reform had been made. It has been stated that instruction moved from being teacher-centered to learner-centered, and constructivist learning replaced behavior-based learning. In addition, it has been claimed that the curriculum took individual differences and multiple intelligences theory into account. It has been maintained in the curriculum that integration with the world has been achieved, and EU standards have been taken into consideration. In all courses, improvement of skills such as critical thinking, creative thinking, researching, communication, problem solving, the use of ICT, entrepreneurship, and using Turkish accurately and effectively has taken place.

Eight cross-curricula, including sports culture and Olympic training, health culture, guidance and psychological counseling, rising career awareness, entrepreneurship, disasters and secure living, special training, human rights, and citizenship are placed in the Primary Education curriculum. Entrepreneurship, which is defined as a necessary skill, is also characterized as a cross-curriculum subject. Previous curricula did not include the concept of cross curricula. Instead, the first five grades included the concept of the "core subject," with which the subjects of all other courses were to be harmonized. "Teachers failed in finding out how to teach the cross curricula some of which required subject matter pedagogy" (Gözütok and Alkın, 2008; Taş, 2010)

There is no explanation as to why these eight cross curricula were selected in the curriculum guide. Prior to preparing the curriculum, a scientific needs analysis study was not conducted. It was stated that some sources were analyzed; the opinions of teachers were sought, and the curricula of some countries were analyzed during the preparation stage of the curriculum. The curriculum was debated in a meeting held at Ankara, Başkent Öğretmenevi, on May 4, 2004, during the preparation stage. "Instead of universities which are experienced in the field of

Curriculum Development, Education Reform Initiatives which included the Open Society Foundation (Soros), Sabanci University and the Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) participated in this meeting" (Canerik, 2006, p. 141). In 2003, the Project of Human Rights in Course Books was conducted with the help of the Open Society Foundation by Soros, the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA), and the Foundation of History. With this project, the aim was to "nurture generations which Turkey will need in the future" (Silier, 2003, p. XIII). The concepts such as country, nation, Mustafa Kemal, military service, love of country, nationalism, etc., which were found in the books analyzed in the scope of the project, were considered to be inconsistent with human rights (Çotuksöken, Erzan, and Silier, 2003).

When all these data are integrated, it was understood why there was no place for teaching national values in the curricula of 2005. The National Curricula of the Turkish Republic has earmarked to teach citizens the national values from the first years of the Republic. Every curriculum aimed to teach citizens the principles of Atatürk and the Turkish Revolutions. For the first time in history, the curricula of 2005 were criticized severely. At the time this criticism was made, an addition titled "Topics of Kemalism" was included. These additions, which were made afterwards, could not be successfully integrated into any subjects.

The 2005 curriculum suggests that both learning outcomes and the teaching process be assessed and evaluated. In addition to written and oral exams, it includes sample forms of assessment tools such as observation, self-assessment, peer assessment, performance assessment, and rubric.

The Education Reform Platform, or ERG, (2005) has reached certain conclusions regarding the program as a result of its evaluative studies.

- The curriculum has an innovative point of view.
- The curriculum is student-centered.
- One concept (such as constructivism) is presented using different vocabulary in each lesson.
- It is skills-based.
- Sample activities are provided.
- Multiple intelligences theory has been utilized.
- Different measurement and evaluation techniques have been used.
- The curricula of certain courses are parallel with those of other countries, such as the United States, Ireland, Canada, and Singapore. (For example, the subjects of "Social, Environmental and Scientific Education" in Ireland, and "Science and Technology" in Canada very much resemble the curriculum of Turkey so much so that it can be seen as a translation.)
- It gives an active role to the student in acquiring knowledge.
- The teacher has been given a facilitator role rather than teaching role.
- Association within the lessons is insufficient.
- It lacks the development of aesthetics.
- A comprehensive and well organized teacher education is required.
- It is not stated how to benefit from education technologies (ERG, 2005, pp. 4–8).

The Board of Professors for Curriculum and Instruction has criticized the curriculum on certain grounds as a result of an evaluation meeting (EPÖ, 2005, pp. 3–8):

- Curriculum changes do not result from Turkey's philosophy, needs, or experiences.
- Previous experiences in curriculum development have been ignored.
- The outcomes and feedback for the evaluation of the previous curriculum haven't been utilized.
- The curriculum has only been dependent on constructivist theory.
- Instead of developing the previous curriculum, adaptation of curricula of different countries has been preferred.
- The curriculum has been prepared in a short period of time.
- The pilot study was insufficient in terms of time and scope, and a comprehensive and objective evaluation was not made.
- The curriculum has not been adequately explained to the teachers.
- Curriculum development specialists were ignored in the process of curriculum development studies. Instead, different specialists in other fields were utilized during these studies.

Çelenk (2005, p. 121) criticized that, in the teaching of reading and writing, the changeover to sound-based sentence methodologies had been applied without pilot and evaluative studies. The curriculum was supposed to serve the general objectives of Turkish National Education in alignment with the education philosophy of the country, the general objectives of the program, and the specific objectives of the course. With an analytical observation of the structural dimensions of the 2005 curriculum, it can be observed that a needs analysis has not been made (Arslan, 2005, p. 74). The objectives of the courses do not appear in the curriculum, and the outcomes fail to serve the general objectives of Turkish National Education.

For the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic, the national curriculum was prepared while faculty members of curriculum and instruction were excluded. This program, in which competent members in curriculum development and instruction had provided no input, has been criticized in terms of teaching principles, techniques, instruction methodologies, and the technical parameters that a program requires.

Research results indicate that the suggested methods, techniques and strategies employed by teachers in classes are problematic (Uysal, 2010). The 2005 curricula—which failed to comply with the principles of curriculum development but were said to be suitable for EU standards—were presented as a reform in the education system. With the 2005 curricula, concepts such as nation and nationalism are expressed with condemnation. The attitude of condemnation of the language, history, culture, and existence of the Turkish nation through the concept of globalization has unfortunately been prevailing in the Education Ministry circles. It has been revealed today that the focus of studies related to education, no matter which globalization process we are experiencing, must be the basic qualities of the nation and principles and revolutions of Atatürk (Erdoğan, 2008, p. 108).

The curriculum—which began to be implemented in 2005 with grades 1 to 5 and the following years with grades 6, 7, and 8—and the secondary education curriculum lack a sound evaluation model. All curricula need to be evaluated and developed according to the principles of curriculum development. One can only hope that the results that are anticipated suspiciously by academics and the nationals will turn out to be satisfactory.

On March 30, 2012, the eight-year continuous compulsory education period was transformed to a 4+4- year system with an education law that was passed under pressures from the governing party. In addition to this, the starting age for primary school was lowered from 72 months to 60 months. As a result, children who are enrolled in the primary school at five years of age will graduate from the 4th grade when they are eight, and at this age they are able to be enrolled any vocational elementary school. It is stated in this law that the compulsory education period was lengthened to 12 years, and if the student wishes, with the option of enrolling in an open elementary or high school. It is also stated in the law that the Koran and the life of Prophet Muhammad will be covered in the curriculum as elective courses.

This law, which was passed by the government using repressive methods, was harshly criticized by academics of educational sciences, teacher associations, and the Opposition party. Lawmakers were unable to offer scientific and rational explanations regarding such questions as to why they lowered the starting age for primary school to 60 months, why eight-year-old children were led to choose a profession, and why they increased the number of religion-related courses in a secular country. It is feared that this transformation, which has no scientific rationale, has been made to transform the secular and democratic system of the country.

On September 14, 2011, the government made changes to the national education organization law by a decree law. Some departments were closed down, and some were linked with this law; however, a notable change was that the name and principles of Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, were removed from the law.

Turkey has had experience in teacher education for over 160 years. Many different models of teacher education have been applied during this period. Some unique models have included former teacher training institutes that prepared villagers to be teachers in village schools, higher teacher training schools, and teacher training institutes for women in villages. Teacher education delivered by the Ministry of Education until 1982 was then handed over to universities. Since universities were not sufficiently experienced in teacher education, it could be stated that by 1998 there was a decline in the quality of teacher education. In 1997, the Turkish Council of Higher Education (YÖK) started a new Project to reconstruct the teacher education programs at universities with contributions from the World Bank. Furthermore, accreditation and quality improvement studies have been made within the scope of this project.

Based on the needs analyses, new education faculties were opened and studies were carried out on quotas. New models were applied to educate teachers for eight-year compulsory basic education and high schools. In addition to the four- to five-year education faculty programs, teacher education programs were reinforced with M.A. programs without a thesis.

In the 2005–2006 period, teacher education programs were updated and professional knowledge of teaching courses was expanded into five-year teacher education programs. However, opening universities without sufficient experience and basic facilities, and as a result of political decisions requiring an increase in student enrollment (mandating the opening of evening education faculties), resulted in a decline in quality. That the government did not provide adequate positions for teachers and attempted to meet the need with temporary teachers resulted in unemployment among faculty graduate teachers. Today, there are 350,000 teachers waiting to be employed by the government. The budget for special and religion-based courses that prepare teachers for the government teachers' examination and students for their enrollment in secondary and higher education programs that are considered to be of high quality is approximately equal to the Education Ministry budget.

From 1998 to 2008, although inconsistent implementations were carried out in teacher education programs, teacher education improved overall. Professional courses in teaching were increased to 39 credits in the Faculty of Education and M.A. programs without a thesis. "From 2008 onwards," Eşme, (2009, p. 5) points out, "the improvements started to be abandoned." One abandonment was the closure of education faculties that trained teachers for vocational secondary education institutions. The second one was an increase in the quota of education faculties. In particular, a number of students exceeding capacity were accepted to the education faculties now inadequate in physical infrastructure or in number of faculty members. The third change resulted in employing faculty of literature and science graduates as teachers with only a 24- hour teaching formation certificate while a great number of education faculty graduates were waiting to be appointed. The teacher education programs that had been improved with great efforts was demoted to certificate-level as a result of an arbitrary political decision.

The preparation and improvement of curricula in the Turkish Education System has significantly weakened in recent years. In Turkey, bachelors, masters, and PhD degrees have been provided in the "Curriculum Development" field since 1965. Today, there are 30 professors and the same number of associate professors teaching in the field of "Curriculum Development." By 2000, these academicians had been contributing to the studies of Curriculum Development at the Ministry of Education. The studies from 2000 onwards are in the direction towards the adaptation of other countries' programs as well as the insertion of religious values into the program. The inability to prevent these developments leaves scholars uneasy.

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Developing Curriculum History

A British Perspective

Ivor F. Goodson

The need for curriculum history arises from the view that recent modes of curriculum reform and curriculum study commonly share interlocking inadequacies. Both modes tend to share an obsessive contemporality allied with a belief that past curriculum traditions could, given conviction and resources, be transcended. One reason for the antipathetic relationship between curriculum reform strategies, curriculum studies, and history (whether as a mode of study, as artefact, as tradition, or as legacy) relates to the historical period of growth.

The great period of expansion both for curriculum reform initiatives and curriculum studies as a discipline ran from 1960 to around 1975 (Rubinstein and Simon, 1973, p. 108). This was a period of economic expansion and social optimism, of rapid reorganization into comprehensive schools, and increasing public expenditure on schooling and universities. A period, in short, where previous traditions and legacies were subject to major challenges, where a common assumption was that a new world of schooling (and curriculum) was about to be constructed.

The documents and statements of the curriculum reform movement inaugurated in the 1960s reveal a messianic yet widespread belief that there could be a more or less complete break with past tradition—a belief that history in general and curriculum history in particular could somehow be *transcended.* Besides the all-pervasive term "innovation," there was common reference to "radical change in education," "revolutionizing classroom practice," and "redrawing the map of learning." For instance, writing in 1968, Professor Kerr asserted that "at the practical and organizational levels, the new curricula promise to revolutionize English education" (Kerr, 1971, p.180). Retrospectively, there may seem something admirable, however misconceived, about such belief in contemporary possibility that history seemed of little relevance.

So, at a time when traditional curriculum practice was thought to be on the point of being overthrown, it was perhaps unsurprising that so many reforms paid scant attention to the evolution and establishment of traditional practice. In the event, radical change did not occur. Curriculum study now requires strategies that allow us to examine the emergence and survival of the "traditional" as well as the failure to generalize, institutionalize, and sustain the "innovative."

The *transcendent view* of curriculum change infected many of those involved in researching schools and curriculum. The irony is supreme, but for the best of reasons. Particularly "infected" were those researchers involved in evaluation and case study work. Reflecting the participants' perceptions, their transcendent bias is therefore partly explained by an historical climate of opinion where curriculum change was considered the order of the day. Yet, if many of those employing qualitative methods in evaluation and case study took a transcendent view of history, they were not alone. By a peculiar convergence, many contemporary interactionist and ethnographic studies were similarly a-historical.

The experimental model of sociological investigation, with its emphasis on single studies to test preselected hypotheses, whilst for long dominant, neglected participant perspectives and interactional processes. Paradoxically, the interactionist and ethnographic models that were conceived in reaction to this model have often focused on situation and occasion with the result that biography and historical background have continued to be neglected. Interactionist studies have focused on the perspectives and definitions emerging through interaction and have stressed situation rather than background and history. In this work, the backcloth to action is often presented as a somewhat monolithic "structural" or "cultural" legacy that constrains, in a rather disconnected manner, the actors' potentialities. But in overreacting to more deterministic models, interactionists may be in danger of failing to present any clear connection with historical process. Of course, "any process of interaction is never fully determined by social, structural or cultural forces" and" socia1 structures and cultures emerge out of, and are sustained and changed by social interaction."

But the danger of such stress on personal potential—"actors always possess some degree of autonomy"—is that historical linkages will remain undeveloped or, at any rate, underdeveloped.

In studying the relationship between prescribed curriculum content and practice, the dangers of such an approach have been clearly evidenced in the past two decades. Classroom practice, a crucial and often neglected area, can be interactionist overreaction, presented as the exclusive and essential context wherein patterns of curriculum knowledge are defined. One unfortunate side effect of this focus is that when attempts to reform classroom practice fail, the teacher, who is the immediate visible agency of that failure, may be presented as exclusively culpable. We need a strategy that is curative of the classroom myopia exhibited in such accounts and that develops a historical perspective on the constraints beyond the classroom.

In much of their work on curriculum, philosophers have taken the curriculum as a given. Hence the historical environment in which knowledge is socially produced has been ignored. This a-historical aspect of philosophy has defused its capacity to act as an antidote to the transcendence and immersed immediacy we have noted above.

Hirst (1967), for example, has talked about school subjects "which are indisputably logically cohesive disciplines" (p. 44). In fact such a philosophical perspective is rooted in particular and rather contestable educational convictions. Most notable is the assertion that "no matter what the ability of the child may be, the heart of all his development as a rational being, I am saying, intellectual" (Hirst, 1976). In accordance with these convictions, Hirst and Peters (1970) argued that "the central objectives of education are developments of mind" (pp. 63–64). These objectives are best pursued by "the definition of forms of knowledge" (later broadened to include "fields of knowledge"). These forms and fields of knowledge then provide "the logically cohesive disciplines" on which school subjects are based.

The philosophy of Hirst and Peters, therefore, provides an explanatory basis for the school curriculum as trying to promote the intellectual development of its pupils. In their model of school subject definition, it is often implied that the intellectual discipline is created by a community of scholars, normally working in a university, and is then translated for use as a school subject. Phenix (1964) defines the intellectual discipline base in this way:

> The general test for discipline is that it should be the characteristic activity of an identifiable organized tradition of men of knowledge, that is of persons who are skilled in certain specified functions that they are able to justify by a set of intelligible standards. (p. 317)

Once a discipline has established a university base, it is persuasively self-fulfilling to argue that here is a field of knowledge from which an "academic" school subject can receive inputs and general direction.

The problem is that this version of events, by virtue of its a-historicality, simply celebrates a *fait accompli* in the evolution of a discipline and associated school subjects. What is, therefore, left unexplained are the stages of evolution towards this culminating pattern and forces that push aspiring "academic" subjects to follow similar routes. To understand the progression along the route to academic status, it is necessary to examine the social histories of school subjects and to analyse the strategies employed in their construction and promotion.

Of course, the manner in which philosophical studies offer justification for the academic subject-based curriculum has been noted by sociologists. A major development in sociological studies, the sociology of knowledge, has sought to elucidate more fundamental patterns. Knowledge is seen as evolving in response to the promotional and presentational agency or particular subject groups who act to defend and expand their "interests." Similarly, knowledge patterns are viewed as reflecting the status hierarchies of each society through the activities of the dominant groups. Very often, however, such work has not presented the evolutionary, historical process at work. Studies have developed horizontally, working out from theories of social structure and social order to evidence of their application. Such an approach inevitably obscures, rather than clarifies, those historical situations in which "gaps," discrepancies, and ambiguities are created within which individuals can manoeuvre. More worrying where history has been considered, it has often been "raided," in Silver's (1977) elegant phrase, to prove a contemporary point (p. 17). I have evidenced elsewhere a "raid" on David Layton's (1973) study *Science for the People* and the use of his work to prove a contemporary political point about school science. In this case, a disembodied historical snapshot is used in an attempt to further our understanding of certain basic assumptions about contemporary school science. I argued that, without direct parallels and with no evidence produced or continuities, it is difficult to move to any understanding of the basic assumptions of contemporary school science from the specific historical evidence presented from Layton's work. Clearly, the danger of "raiding" history is that such moves can span centuries of change at all levels of content and context. A more systematic evolutionary understanding of how the curriculum is negotiated is therefore needed (Goodson, 1983). As we have noted, historians of education have provided an important antidote to the a-historicality of much curriculum study, yet paradoxically, a refined awareness of some of the problems cited above has led to an often overreactive posture to the sociological abuse of "raiding" for contemporary of theoretical purposes.

Writing of the work of curriculum specialists with respect to historical perspective, Marsden (1979) judges that they "have often been deficient and can roughly be divided into those which are*a historical and unhistorical,* in so far as the categories can be isolated from one another." He defines an a-historical approach as

> one which disregards the historical perspective, the writer perceiving it to be irrelevant and/or uninteresting. . . . Thus work proceeds, almost naively, in a temporal vacuum. (p. 81)

An unhistorical approach is characterized

> as one inconsistent both in gross and in refined terms with the accepted canons of historical scholarship, purveying inaccurate, over-simplified and otherwise distorted impressions of the past. Attention is drawn to the past, not for its own sake but as a means of sharpening a particular contemporary axe. (p. 82)

Alongside this "misuse" of history, Marsden places those curriculum studies "in which the past is scanned for support of some broad socio-political interpretation or theory" (p. 82).

Historians have rightly reacted to the misuse of history for "sharpening contemporary axes" or "supporting broad socio-political interpretations or theories". In my view, that reaction has gone too far (understandable though if it is placed in historical context). The result is that history of education has often become rigidly "periodised"; it has often pursued a policy of "splendid isolation" from the messy and unresolved contemporary situation. This is to limit both its aspiration and its importance. History of education should clearly obviate any concern with "sharpening contemporary axes." But such a correct reaction should not be taken as disbarring concern with contemporary events. By my view, history of education should set as an important criteria a concern, where possible, to elucidate the precedents, antecedents, and constraints surrounding contemporary curriculum and practice. Likewise, the reaction to theoretical enterprises should be conquered. Historical study has a valuable role to play in challenging, informing, and sometimes generating theory. This role should not be emasculated through a fear of theoretical misuse by others.

Beyond the ambivalence to contemporary situations and theoretical enterprises, much history of education shares a further characteristic that argues for a growing dialogue between historians and curriculum specialists. In many ways, history of education has taken an "external" view of curriculum focusing on political and administrative contexts and on general movements in education and schooling. Partly, this is a reflection of the documents available that often relate to central regulations edicts or commissions on education and curriculum. This is a long way from curriculum as enacted, transacted, realized, and received. Rudolph (1977) warned that:

> The best way to misread or misunderstand curriculum is from a catalogue. It is such a lifeless thing. So disembodied, so unconnected, sometimes even intentionally misleading. Because the curriculum is a social artefact, the society itself is a more reliable source of curricular information. (p. 6)

If an understanding of curriculum and curriculum change is given priority, then a mode of study that focuses on and analyses "internal" issues is of paramount importance.

Partly the crucial nature of internal factors results from the way education and schooling are structured and relate to the broader economy and society. As Webster (1976) has pointed out: "Educational institutions are not as directly nor as essentially concerned with the economic and social welfare of the community as, say, factories or hospitals. They are, therefore, particularly well equipped to weather any crisis that may be going on around them" (pp. 206–207). This relative autonomy explains the peculiar force of historical traditions and legacies in curriculum change. As a result, as Waring (1985) reminds us, "it is hardly surprising that originality always works within the framework of tradition and that a totally new tradition is 'one of the most improbable of events.' " Hence developing a sense of history will modify our view of curriculum. Instead of the transcendent expectation of basic change, we look for alteration followed by regression, for change attempted and aborted in one place to emerge unexpectedly elsewhere. Through history, we develop a longer view and with it a different timescale of expectations and presumably, range of strategies.

Studying the Social History or School Subjects

The important work by sociologists of curriculum in defining research programs for studies of school knowledge led on then, to an acknowledgment by some of them that historical study might complement and extend their project and that school subjects should provide a focus for study. Initial work in the early twentieth century has provided some important precursors to our work; the sociologists of knowledge have subsequently played a vital role in rescuing and reasserting the validity of this intellectual project; in the process however, some of the necessary focus on historical and empirical circumstances has been lost. The task now being undertaken is to re-examine the ro1e of historical methods in the study of curriculum and to rearticulate a mode of study for carrying further our understanding of the social history of the school curriculum and, in this work, particularly school subjects.

In School Subjects and Curriculum Change, first published in 1983, I looked at the history of three subjects; geography, biology, and environmental studies (Goodson, 1993). Each of the subjects followed a similar evolutionary profile, and this initial work allowed a series of hypothesis to be developed about the way that status and resources, the structuration of school subjects, push school subject knowledge in particular directions: towards the embrace of what I call the "academic tradition." Following this work, a new series *Studies in Curriculum History* was launched. In the first volume, *Social Histories of the Secondary Curriculum* (Goodson, 1985), work is collected together on a wide range of subjects: classics (Stray, 1985, English) or science (Waring, 1985, who had written an earlier seminal study on Nuffield science), domestic subjects (Purvis, 1985), religious education (Bell, 1985), social studies (Franklin, 1985; Whitty, 1985) and modern languages (Radford 1985).

These studies reflected a growing interest in the history of curriculum, and besides elucidating symbolic drift of school knowledge towards the academic tradition, raise central questions about past and current explanations of school subjects whether they be sociological of philosophical. Other work in the series *Studies in Curriculum History* has looked in detail at particular subjects. In 1985, McCullock, Layton, and Jenkins produced *Technological Revolution?* (1985). This book examines the politics of school science and technology curriculum in England and Wales since the Second World War. Subsequent work by Brian Woolnough (1988) has looked at the history of physics teaching in schools in the period 1960 to 1985. Another area of emerging work is the history of school mathematics: Cooper's book *Renegotiating Secondary School Mathematics* (1985) looks at the fate of a number of traditions within mathematics and articulates a model for the redefinition of school subject knowledge; and Bob Moon's (1986) book *The 'New Maths' Curriculum Controversy* meanwhile looks at the relationship between Maths in England and America and has some very interesting work on the dissemination of textbooks.

Scholarly work in America has also begun to focus on the evolution of the school curriculum studied in a historical manner. H. M. Kliebard's (1986) seminal *The Struggle for the American Curriculum 1893–1958* discerns a number of the dominant traditions within the school curriculum. The book also comes to the intriguing conclusion that, by the end of the period covered the traditional school subject remained "an impregnable fortress." But Kliebard's work does not take us into the detail of school life. In this respect, Barry Franklin's (1986) book *Building the American Community* provides us with some valuable insights in a case study of Minneapolis. Here we see the vital negotiation from curriculum ideas, the terrain of Kliebard's work, towards implementation as school practice. In addition, a collection of papers put together by Tom Popkewitz (1987) looks at the historical aspects of a range of subjects: early education (Bloch, 1987), art (Freedman, 1987), reading and writing (Monagha and Saul, 1987), biology (Rosenthal and Bybee, 1987), mathematics (Stanic, 1987), social studies (Lybarger, 1987), special education (Franklin, 1987 and Sleeter, 1987), socialist curriculum (Teitelbaum, 1987), and a study of Rugg's textbook by Kliebard and Wegner (1987).

Canadian curriculum history has been launched as a field most notably by George Tomkins' (1986) pioneering work *A Common Countenance.* This studies the patterns of curriculum stability and change in a range of school subjects over the past two centuries throughout Canada. The book has stimulated a wide range of important new work on curriculum history, for instance, Rowell and Gaskell's (1988) very generative study of the history of school physics. The Rowell and Gaskell piece provides one important case study in a new book *International Perspectives in Curriculum History* (Goodson, 1988) that seeks to bring together some of the more important work emerging in different countries on curriculum history. Besides some of the work already noted by Stanic, Moon, Franklin, McCulloch, Ball, and Rowell and Gaskell, there are important articles on Victorian School Science by Hodson (1988), on Science Education by Louis Smith (1988), on English on the Norwegian Common School by Gundem (1988), and on The Development of Senior School Geography in West Australia by Marsh (1988).

Importantly, new work has begun to look beyond traditional school subjects to look at broader topics. For example, Peter Cunningham's (1988) book looks at the curriculum change in the primary school in Britain since 1945. P. W. Musgrave's (1988) book *Whose Knowledge* is a case study of the Victoria University Examinations Board from 1964 to 1979. Here, historical work begins to elucidate the change from curriculum content to examinable content, which is such an important part of understanding the way that status and resources are apportioned within the school.

Recent work has begun to explore gender and racial patterns in curriculum history. William Pinar's work is inspirational in this regard (Pinar, 2001; Pinar, Slattery, Taubman, and Reynolds, 1995). Jane Bernard Powers' (1992) excellent study *The Girl Question in Education* is a pioneering work in this regard. Likewise, work is beginning on the modernist construction of curriculum as a world movement. The work of Meyer, Kamens, Benavot, Cha, and Wong (1992), *School Knowledge for the Masses,* provide a path-breaking study or national primary curricula categories in the twentieth century throughout the world.

New directions for the study of school subjects and curriculum will require a broadened approach. In particular, this work will have to move into examining the relationship between school subject content and form, and issues of school practice and process. It is now vital in England and Wales to also redirect this work to an exploration and critique of the National Curriculum, for the resonances, certainly at the level of class, to previous patterns are overwhelming. The comparison between Bernstein's (1971, 1975) work on the curriculum and the current state of the art of curriculum analysis in the United Kingdom is a salutary reminder of the changes in political climate and responses within the academy.

There could be no clearer indicator of the general climate of withdrawal and deference within the academy. For the National Curriculum cries out for the kind of social analysis epitomised by Bernstein and first called for by Foster Watson (1909). To paraphrase: It is high time that the historical facts with regard to the National Curriculum were known, and known in connection with the social forces which brought them into the educational curriculum.

In terms of what I have called social constructionist study of the curriculum (Goodson, 1990, 2005), this lacuna in studying the National Curriculum is little short of astounding. As I have detailed, work on the history of school subjects has been sustained, particularly in Britain itself, for over a decade of intensive scholarship. We now know a great deal about the class, gender, and racial biases of school subjects. Yet in recent years, scholars close to these developments, with a few dignified exceptions, have virtually ignored this legacy in their work on the National Curriculum. The effect is to conspire with the neoconservative view that the National Curriculum is a new and compelling revolution in educational provision.

In fact, curriculum history indicates that nothing could be further from the truth. As I have argued elsewhere (Goodson, 1994), government policy and pronouncements have encouraged this amnesia (and a failure to present academic challenges has the same effect):

> The obsessive presentism of many of the current government initiatives has successfully obscured this deeply-embedded connectedness which is of course relevant to the present and future of the UK as a class society. (Goodson, 1990b, p. 231)

Curriculum histories then should provide a systematic analysis of these ongoing social constructions and selections that form the school curriculum, pointing up continuities and discontinuities of social purpose over time.

It is important to note that the prevailing paradigm of curriculum study focusing on implementation is devoid of such sociohistorical perspective, but more importantly, so too is the more “radical” focus on curriculum that studies school-based resistance to new national directives. Not only is such work without sociohistorical range, but it focuses only on the reaction. To quote Fredric Jameson (1992), “The violence of the riposte says little about the terms of the engagement.” So it is with school resistance to the national curriculum. The social construction of the national curriculum sets the terms of the engagement and does so in ways that link to a history of social purposes.

Curriculum histories can elucidate and analyze this ongoing process of the social construction of curriculum. Such histories provide a new terrain of study where the school subject might again be employed as an entry point for social analysis.

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Curriculum Research in the United States

Crisis, Reconceptualization, and Internationalization

William F. Pinar

Curriculum research in the United States is a field structured by three moments: 1) the field's inauguration and paradigmatic stabilization as curriculum development (1918–1969); 2) the field's reconceptualization (1969–1980) from curriculum development to curriculum studies, an interdisciplinary academic field paradigmatically organized around understanding curriculum (1980–2001); and 3) most recently, the field's internationalization (2001–). I start this historical narrative near the end of the first historical moment, at, in fact, its theoretical culmination, an event that occurred just before its descent into crisis.[1]

The Crisis of Curriculum Development

> The main thrusts in curriculum development and reform over the years have been directedat microcurricular problems to the neglect of macrocurricular problems.
>
> Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner (1975, ix).

The culminating event of the first paradigmatic moment was the appearance, in 1949, of "the Bible of curriculum making" (Jackson 1992, 24): Ralph W. Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction.*[2] In his introduction to the 1992 *Handbook of Research on Curriculum,* Philip Jackson (1992, 24) asserts that "a more influential text within the field of curriculum would be hard to name." Within the academic field, however, criticism of the Tyler Rationale became voluminous and, finally, decisive (see Kliebard 1992, 153ff.), in spite of efforts to rescue it (Kridel and Bullough, 2007). Despite its intellectual fate, versions of Tyler's protocol remain in wide circulation in U.S. public schools (Taubman, 2009; Pinar, 2012, 2013).

The 1950s were a decade of intensifying criticism of U.S. public schools, but it was a specific event that politicians exploited to mobilize public opinion against what right-wing critics would later stigmatize as the "education establishment." The launching of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957 cast doubt on the quality of the U.S. educational system. Despite the irrationality of this charge, politicians would make it stick. Sputnik launched a persisting curricular obsession with science and technology. To impose such curricular standardization meant wresting curricula from schoolteachers and from curriculum development specialists located in universities.[3]

This political agenda became evident at a 1959 invitational conference held at Woods Hole on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and which was attended by psychologists, scientists, and mathematicians; educators and curriculum development specialists were conspicuously absent. The Woods Hole Conference was organized by the National Academy of the Sciences and supported by the National Science Foundation, the Air Force, the Rand Corporation, the U.S. Office of Education, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Carnegie Corporation. What followed was a curriculum manifesto to frame the National Curriculum Reform Movement of the early 1960s, Jerome Bruner's (1960) *The Process of Education* (Tröhler, 2011b).

In this widely read book, Bruner sketched a curriculum theory based on the notion of disciplinary structure. Bruner argued that understanding a discipline's structure enabled any student to understand how a discipline worked: how it understood its problems, what conceptual and methodological tools it employed to solve those problems, and what constituted knowledge in the discipline. A decade later, Bruner (see 1971, 21) would do an about-face. The social, political, and racial crises of the 1960s had persuaded him that the curriculum must address issues other than those associated with the structure of academic disciplines.

The most systematic attempt to elaborate the structure of the disciplines was made by Joseph Schwab (1978 [1964], 10), who asserted that there were "major but related sets of problems which define . . . the structure of the disciplines." First was the problem of determining the membership and organization of the disciplines, including the identification of particular disciplines and their relations to one another. Second was the problem of identifying the particular structures and limits of the disciplines, structures Schwab term "substantive." Third was the problem of the "syntactical structure of the disciplines," which included the "canons of evidence and proof" and "how they can be applied" (1978, 14).[4]

Astute critics of the 1960s' national curriculum reform movement understood that not only academic, but military and nationalistic objectives animated endorsement of the structures-of-the-disciplines approach to curriculum development. Despite its academic patina, the long-range purpose "was neither personal development nor social reform but national power. We were a warfare state seeking international supremacy in military-related scholarship" (Tanner and Tanner, 1990, 178). As they do today, astute curriculum critics lacked political influence in the 1960s, and in the avalanche of money and prestige accompanying the structure-of-disciplines bandwagon, curriculum specialists' critiques of the structure-of-the-disciplines movement were ignored.

In retrospect, the early 1960s was the high-water mark of positivism and structuralism in U.S. curricular theory (see Cherryholmes, 1988). The marginalization of curriculum scholars as a consequence of 1950s assaults on the public schools, led first by arts and sciences scholars (Bestor, 1953; Hofstadter, 1962) and, later, by military and political leaders (Rickover, 1959), precipitated the paradigmatic crisis in the field—it was, then, curriculum development—that led to the field's Reconceptualization. No longer the major players in curriculum development, curriculum scholars needed "something to do," the title of a 1983 essay by Schwab. Despite Jackson's effort to give retrospective credit to Schwab for the reconceptualized field (see 1992, 34), it was James B. Macdonald (1995), Dwayne Huebner (1999), and Maxine Greene (1971) who laid the theoretical groundwork for the intellectual events of the 1970s.

From Curriculum Development to Understanding Curriculum

> Understanding sets free what is hidden from view by layers of tradition, prejudice, and even conscious evasion.
>
> Patrick Slattery and Dana Rapp (2002, 96)

With its traditional *raison d'être*—curriculum development—hijacked by politicians and their academic allies, the field went into crisis, forcing a "paradigm shift" (Kuhn, 1962). Bureaucratized curriculum development—associated with the Tyler protocol—was replaced by a multi-discursive 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 post-structuralism (see Pinar et al., 1995). In the reconceptualized field, there were obvious links to earlier moments: theological curriculum studies can be linked to Dewey's articulation of a common faith (Dewey, 1968; Slattery, 2006 [1995]; Huebner, 1999) and political curriculum theory recalled the earlier interests of the social reconstructionists (Stanley, 1992). Despite these continuities, the field was unrecognizable to many scholars who had come of intellectual age during the first paradigm (Tanner and Tanner, 1979).

Reconceptualized curriculum theory incorporated literal and institutional meanings of the concept of curriculum, but it was now by no means limited to them. Curriculum became a symbolic concept. Curriculum is an extraordinarily complicated conversation (Pinar et al., 1995, 848). Through the curriculum and our experience of it, we choose what to remember about the past, what to believe about the present, and 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 studies is a field defined by its historicity.

Curriculum History

> The deintellectualization and ahistorical nature of education make the future devoid of a past.
>
> Petra Munro Hendry (2011, 209)

To understand curriculum requires historical consciousness (Toews, 2004, 417). The ahistorical posture of the traditional field meant that "curriculum [had been] practiced with urgency in a crisis atmosphere that excludes contemplation of its evolution" (Hazlett, 1979, 131). The traditional field was complicit with this presentistic capitulation to the "reform" *du jour*. The ahistorical and atheoretical character of traditional curriculum development disabled teachers from understanding the history of their present circumstances (Kliebard, 1986).

History is central to the contemporary field (Baker, 2001, 2009; Kliebard, 2002; Kridel and Newman, 2003; McKnight, 2004; Winfield, 2006), and not only in itself, but a curricular occasion for working through historical trauma (Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert, 2000; Morris, 2001; Morris and Weaver, 2002) as well as the political battleground for defining the present (Ravitch, 2000; Hirsch, 1999; Biddle and Berliner, 1996; Taubman, 2009; Pinar, 2012, 2013). The very concept of curriculum history itself has been questioned (Baker, 2009; Munro Hendry, 2011).

New discourses—such as complexity and chaos theory—are careful to situate themselves within the history of the field (see Doll, 1998, 2004; Doll et al., 2005; Trueit, 2012). Distinguished twentieth-century theorists and practitioners have been remembered (Crocco, Munro, and Weiler, 1999; Kridel, 1996, 2002, 2006). More specifically, the essays of key figures have been collected (Macdonald, 1995; Huebner, 1999; Pinar and Irwin, 2005; Trueit, 2012), and collections of essays focused on the significance of their work have appeared (Ayers and Miller, 1998; Pinar, 1998a); essays important to the Reconceptualization have also been collected (Miller, 2005; Reynolds, 2003; Pinar, 1994, 1999), an indispensable bibliographical record (Schubert et al., 2002) has been revised and reissued; a collection of key curriculum documents issued (Willis et al., 1994), essays appearing in the *JCT*—the key journal of the 1970s Reconceptualization—have been collected (Pinar, 1994, 1999); and a series of important synoptic texts and handbooks have appeared (see, for instance, Schubert, 1986; Marshall, Sears, and Schubert 1999; Malewski, 2010). Even collections of representative essays are organized, at least in part, historically (see Flinders and Thornton, 2004; Cuban and Shipps, 2000).

Power is Primary: Political Curriculum Theory

> The hidden curriculum deals with the tacit ways in which knowledge and behavior get constructed, outside the usual course materials and formally scheduled lessons.
>
> Peter McLaren (1994, 191)

The ahistoricism of the traditional field had disabled teachers from understanding curriculum as political. The hidden curriculum refers to those unintended but real outcomes of schooling. The concept became widely cited by those who argued that the curriculum reproduced social stratification (Apple, 2004 [1979]). This conservative function of the school curriculum was termed correspondence or reproduction theory (see Pinar et al., 1995, chapter 5). Schools, it was asserted, reproduced the status quo, and not only socially, but economically and politically. Sensing the passivity this totalizing theory entailed, political theorists welcomed Willis' (1981) concept of resistance, in which the process of reproduction was then theorized as contestable (Anyon, 1988; Giroux, 1983). In this swift shift from reproduction to resistance theory, scholars emphasized the agency of teachers and students (Pinar et al., 1995, 253). Carlson (1987) insisted that teachers could enable transformative change in the schools. Goodman (1992, 2006) studied an alternative school that had, he argued, institutionalized this teacher-led transformation. The emphasis upon pedagogy and agency recalled, for many, the work of Paulo Freire (1968), as several collections testified (see, for instance, McLaren and Leonard, 1993; McLaren, 2000), on occasion, negatively (Bowers and Apffel-Marglin, 2005).

"Critical pedagogy" emerged as an umbrella term for resistance-inspired political curriculum studies (Kincheloe, 2004; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2007). Often associated with Peter McLaren, the term followed Ira Shor's (1980) concept of "critical teaching." Critical pedagogy encountered strong criticism as "voyeuristic" (Ellsworth, 1989, 312), as modernistic (Bowers, 1980), as ahistorical (Wexler, 1987), and as failing to address the interpellation of the subject (Pinar, 2011a, 26–38). Political theory has been relocated in cultural studies (for brief histories, see Edgerton, 1996, 16ff.; Wright, 2004, 64 ff.). Cultural studies enabled political scholars to retain a synthetically "political" perspective without Marx (see Carlson, 2002). It has also informed efforts to understand curriculum as racial and multicultural.

Identity is Central: Race, Gender, and Multiculturalism

> The old Marxist and neo-Marxist orthodoxies of class and economic primacy in education debates are rapidly being replaced by the new pan-ethic-cultural orthodoxies of racial origins and racial identity.
>
> Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow (1993, xiv)

While theory in this sector focuses broadly on the educational experience of Native Americans (Krall, 1981, 1994; Spring, 1996; Krupat, 1994; Krupat and Swann, 2000; Grande, 2004), Asian Americans (Park and Chi, 1999; Li and Li, 1990; Nakanishi and Nishida, 2002), Latinos/Latinas (Valenzuela, 1999; Darder, Torres, and Guitierrez, 1997); and Chicano/Chicana Americans (Tejeda and Martinez, 2000; Valencia, 2002), here I will focus upon race and gender, given their centrality to struggles over the U.S. school curriculum (Castenell and Pinar, 1993; McCarthy, 1990, 1998; Taubman, 1993; Zimmerman, 2002; Pinar, 2007c). Separated from the effort to understand curriculum politically (during the Reconceptualization dominated by Marxism, as the epigraph records), where it was initially subsumed, race moved to center stage by the 1990s (Banks, 1997; Grant, 1999; Gay, 2000; Pinar, 2001, 2006a, 2007b). Among the indices of this centrality were reviews of race and related issues included in the 1992 *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (Fillmore and Meyer, 1992; Strickland and Ascher, 1992) and numerous collections of essays (McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993 [revised and reissued in 2005]; Sleeter and McLaren, 1995; Castenell and Pinar, 1993).

Multicultural curriculum research has often been restricted to studies of ethnicity and, more particularly, of race (see Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). African American cultural knowledge, Gordon (1993, 265) argued, was "born out of the African-American community's historic common struggle and resistance against the various oppressive effects of capitalism and racism." Gordon provided an abbreviated history of this knowledge, emphasizing the significance of Washington, Du Bois, Woodson, and Fontaine, and called for a common intellectual heritage that would give leadership and direction to the African-American community (see 1993, 275–276; see also Brandon, 2004, 2010; Berry, 2010). Multiculturalism has reached its excess in contemporary identity politics (Pinar, 2009, 21–26). Other identity-focused discourses—perhaps most prominently women's and gender studies (see Pinar et al., 1995, 358–403)—remain intellectually vibrant but are undergoing significant conceptual change as the stamp of political theory—reproduction and resistance—fade and hybridization is underway (Pinar, 2013, 58).

Since its beginnings, organized schooling in the United States has also been concerned with gender (Tyack and Hansot, 1990), although the scholarly appreciation of this historical fact is rather recent (see Pinar et al., 1995, chapter 7). Janet L. Miller (2005) was among those who broke the silence. Miller (1990, 2010) focused on feminist issues of voice, community, and selfhood, including those contradictions that emerged in feminists' attempts to develop collaborative and dialogical relationships with their students and colleagues.

Accompanying feminist curriculum research was attention to gay and lesbian issues, most prominently in the work of James T. Sears (1990, 1992, 1997, 2001). Queer theory has joined gay and lesbian studies (Pinar, 1998b; 2001, 2006a; Silin, 1995; Tierney, 1997; Britzman, 1998a, b, 2000; Evans, 2002; Kumashiro, 2001, 2002; Loutzenheiser, 2005; Rodriguez and Pinar, 2007). Masculinity has been problematized (Lesko, 2000; Pinar, 2006a), and elementary education and straight teachers have been "queered" (Letts and Sears, 1999; Rodriguez and Pinar, 2007). Like the political sector, women's and gender studies have also become dispersed into other sectors, such as history (Crocco, Munro, and Weiler, 1999; Sadovnik and Semel, 2002; Miller, 2005), autobiography (Miller, 1998) and race (Pinar, 2001, 2006a).

Discourse is Determinative: Postmodernism and Post-structuralism in U.S. Curriculum Studies

> [Postmodern curriculum theory is] a fascinating, imaginative realm (born of the echo of God's laughter) wherein no one owns the truth and everyone has the right to be understood.
>
> William E. Doll, Jr. (1993, 151)

After summarizing the ideas of Foucault, Barthes, Derrida, and other post-structuralists, Cleo Cherryholmes (1988) employed them to critique traditional curriculum discourses. "Structuralism shows meanings to be decentered and external to the individual," Cherryholmes (1988, 61) explained. In contrast, "poststructuralism shows meanings to be shifting, receding, fractured, incomplete, dispersed, and deferred" (1988, 61). Cherryholmes incorporated aspects of post-structuralism into what he termed "critical pragmatism" (1988, 150ff.). "Critical pragmatism", he writes, "results when a sense of crisis is brought to our choices, when it is accepted that our standards of beliefs, values, guiding texts, and discourses-practices themselves require evaluation and reappraisal" (1988, 151). Note the link with a still influential antecedent discourse—American pragmatism—but that it is "discourse" that structures reality.

Also linking the new emphasis on discourse with antecedent discourses, William E. Doll, Jr. (1993, 176) argued that the postmodern curriculum should be rich, recursive, relational, and rigorous. Other scholars making significant contributions to postmodernist and/or post-structuralist curriculum theory included Block (1988), Lather (1991), Martusewicz (2001), Egéa-Kuehne (Biesta and Egéa-Kuehne, 2001), and Roy (2003). Postmodernism and post-structuralism became discernible in feminist theory (Miller, 2005), science education (Weaver, Appelbaum, and Morris, 2001), teacher education (Britzman, 2003 [1991]), special education (Brantlinger, 2005; Skrtic, 1995), and in higher education (Ropers-Huilman, 2003). Like political curriculum research, postmodernism and post-structuralism have dispersed into other discourses (see Reynolds and Webber, 2004; Alba, 2000), prominent among them complexity and chaos theory-inspired research (Doll et al., 2005), early childhood education (Cannella, 1997; Cannella and Viruru, 2004), and historical research (Baker, 2001, 2009). Next I will sketch how these once "contemporary curriculum discourses" are now being reconceptualized into hybrid[5] forms as a second paradigmatic shift gets underway.

Internationalization as the Ethical Engagement of Alterity

> Where is the conscience of curriculum theory?
>
> Keith R. B. Morrison (2004, 490)

Like the first paradigm shift—a reconceptualization triggered by the 1960s national curriculum reform that removed curriculum professors from the public schools where they had before practiced their trade (institutional curriculum development) that had created the field—external circumstances now are also lacerating, but they constitute no single-edged event, despite the intensification of Bush's *No Child Left Behind* and Obama's *Race to the Top.* The school reform debacle that has followed Kennedy's curriculum reform—punctured by that brief end-of-the-1960s moment when the scandal of the schools was that they (presumably) lacked imagination (Silberman, 1970)—has dragged on for five decades, a cascading series of assaults, now reaching toward its final immolating outcome, the very destruction of the public school in the United States. No longer a public trust, schools are being downgraded into privatized businesses, teachers demoted from public to domestic servants. Curriculum is no longer a complicated conversation among ideas, facts, and actually conversing persons; it is an "interactive" video, not knowledge of most worth developed in deliberation,[6] but a product sold by profit-seeking predatory corporations (Spring, 2012; Pinar, 2013, 2–9).

While the privatization of public education in the United States occurs in tandem with the globalization of assessment, within curriculum research critiques of both—as well as theorizing of qualitatively different, more democratic modes of international comparison—is now well underway. Scholarly interest in the international study of curriculum is no new phenomenon in the United States. In the early decades of the twentieth century, internationalism—associated with political movements on the

Left—was advocated by U.S. progressives. Despite calls (see Rogan and Luckowski, 1990; Rogan, 1991) for U.S. scholars to attend to international developments, not until 1995 did a synoptic textbook devote a chapter to the subject (see Pinar et al., 1995, chapter 14). The events of September 11, 2001 intensified the long-standing sense that U.S. scholars must attend to curriculum research worldwide. Since then, developments have been rapid, accented by the publication of an *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* (Pinar, 2003)—here in its second edition—and the establishment of the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies and its U.S. affiliate, the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies.

In intellectual as well as chronological terms, Internationalization follows Reconceptualization. Internationalization promises a third paradigmatic shift, the outlines of which are just now coming in view. Internationalization invites cosmopolitan curriculum research, challenging the disabling provincialism of American exceptionality. Through the academic study of particularity—the intellectual histories and present circumstances of curriculum research in one's own and in other nations (see Pinar, 2010, 2011b, 2011c)—one labors to extricate oneself from submersion in contingency, e.g., one's own history and present circumstances (Pinar, 2007a). Internationalization incurs an ongoing ethical engagement with alterity, resulting in the reconstruction of one's own self-understanding and social relations.

The meta-theoretical concepts that once reconceptualized the U.S. field—power, identity, and discourse—have played themselves out, signaled by tendencies toward totalization, reductionism and self-referentiality. Like the positivism they displaced, this well-worn constellation of concepts somehow exempts their practitioners from their own embeddedness in the reality they purport to depict. Faced with excruciating external circumstances—the privatization of public education—and having inherited a series of totalizing assumptions—that power is primary, identity is central, and discourse is determinative—severed from the singularities of the present historical moment, the U.S. field is living through a "next moment"[7] that is indeed uncertain and difficult. Progress—what one day will be, I suspect, retrospectively characterized as a third reconceptualization[8]—is, will be, slow, even halting.

It *is* underway, however, and there are clues in the 2010 *Curriculum Studies Handbook.* That landmark volume suggests that the new paradigm, at least in its initial phases, represents no sharp shift from the second (as was the second to the first). In fact, this shift to the third moment may prove to be somewhat continuous with the second moment, perhaps even consolidating its theoretical gains. Indeed, the function of the U.S. field may remain "understanding curriculum" even while its efforts to do so look rather different—decidedly dialogic, often hybrid even, like the Mexican curriculum field, "polysemic" (see Pinar, 2011c, 40)—from those described in *Understanding Curriculum* (1995). As Madeleine Grumet (2010, 409) has noted, rather than "post-reconceptualization," the phrase "to be continued" may be more appropriate, as she is struck by the continuation, not the termination, of efforts to understand curriculum. The questions Nina Asher asks, Grumet (2010, 404) points out, are those "we asked 30 years ago, yet we hear them and answer them differently today."

Grumet's observation occurs at the end of her commentary on Nina Asher's 2010 *Handbook* chapter on decolonization, an example of a somewhat new concept—one incorporating class and culture while focused on the moment *after* political calamity—that functions to reconceptualize previous efforts to understand curriculum as political, racial, and internationalized. While the key concepts of the Reconceptualization are now the background of what is being thought today, they have not disappeared. They are discernible in Asher's (2010, 397) question: "How, then, do we decolonize curriculum so that it enables us to deconstruct such binaries as self and other, margins and center so that the self unlearns the internalization of the oppressor?" Note the juxtaposition of terms associated with each concept: "deconstruct" and "binaries" reiterate the post-structuralist emphasis upon discourse, and there is a reincorporation of the autobiographical concepts of "self" and "other," but this time linked with postcolonial ideas of "margin" and "center" that recast historically political analyses of power (e.g., as "oppression").

That the coming paradigmatic shift may represent in its first phase both consolidation of its antecedent moments and an effort to exceed them is also evident in the recent research of Petra Munro Hendry, wherein what had been before distinct discourses—efforts to understand curriculum as historical, as gendered, as post-structuralist—become hybridized. "To focus solely on gender analysis suffers like all other theoretical constructs in that it is a closed system," Hendry (2011, 206) concludes at the end of her *Engendering Curriculum History.* "Woman" remains as a concept, if now as "nonunitary, situated, and always in flux" (Hendry, 2010, 496). If the "flux" that Hendry identifies is historical and not a presentistic reshuffling of opportunities occasioned by injury, then Hendry is indeed providing passage to a next moment wherein the specificity of subjectivity and situation can be threaded through politics. Certainly such passage is evident in her recovery of Jane Addams' engagement with questions of race (see Munro, 1999, 42). Through that groundbreaking research, Hendry anticipated the current fascination with "public pedagogy" (Sandlin, Schultz, and Burdick, 2010). "In extending educational sites to settlement houses and women's clubs," Munro [Hendry] (1999, 43) concludes, "these women sought to promote a vision of education that was community-based, lifelong, and directed toward social equality." What now risks devolving into a slogan—"social justice"—is rendered here in historically specific and gendered terms that affirm that the past is where we might find the future.

As the scholarship of Bernadette Baker suggests, studying the past discloses the present, particularly its focus on the public school and "childhood-as-rescue" (2010, 345). The former can be a decoy concept, substituting an institution for the process it presumably houses, while the latter restates a Christian condemnation of infancy as wicked and requiring redemption. The emphasis on the concept of "school" has meant an endless tinkering with organizational matters—scheduling, testing, assessment—and an apparently unconscious incapacity to attend to the educational experience of these forms. There is a conflation of "molds" and "spirit" (Pinar, 2011a, 77). Baker's undertaking—informed by post-structuralism and postcolonialism, as well as history—is more ambitious, showing how "animal magnetism, mesmerism, and hypnosis infused the production of scientific objects, including belief in mind as a legitimate site of engineering; [and] the classification of children" (Baker, 2010, 344).

Baker reminds us that William James devoted twenty years to the study of "psychic phenomena" such as mediumship, telepathy, and automatic writing (2010, 351–352). What this research reveals, Baker (2010, 362) explains, is that curriculum history itself cannot be confined to the history of a "particular institution," and that a "new series of questions" present themselves that require reconsideration of our historic devotion to the public school and to childhood-as-rescue, as these two categories may have less to do with engineering social democracy and more to do with convoluted residues of nineteenth-century preoccupations with redemption, asserted through therapy and imperialism (2010, 362; see also Baker, 2009, 38).

As does Baker's, Annie Winfield's (2006) research emphasizes how the past structures the present, in this instance, how eugenics remains today. Winfield's research is at once curriculum history, political critique, and racial analysis. Emphasizing Franklin Bobbitt's early and—Winfield (2010, 151) argues—continuing acceptance of eugenics, Winfield (2010, 153) asks: "How far have we come? To what extent does ideological residue coat our own imaginings and filter the light that might be?" She identifies an "ideological throughline" (2010, 154) that shows that the "sorting, testing, and tracking developed by eugenicists is rooted in the melding of scientific efficiency with educational objectives" (2010, 152). The racist genesis of U.S. curriculum studies, Winfield insists, persists, most prominently in Tyler's rationale, forefronting objectives as a "basic principle" of curriculum development, and linking "objectives" with "assessment." The prominence of race in the Reconceptualization of the U.S. field may, then, have not only been a complex consequence of changes in society (e.g., the civil rights movement), but an internally prompted ethical demand to divest the field of those traces of eugenics that remained.

Efforts to understand curriculum racially have intensified and proliferated in focus and function (McCarthy, Crichlow, Dimitriadis, and Dolby, 2005; Hill, 2009), but there remains, as Denise Taliaferro-Baszile (2010, 484) reminds, a "lack of Black voices" in U.S. curriculum studies. Few, I think, would disagree that Carter Woodson[9] is among those Black "voices" who has been marginalized in the mainstream field. Few would disagree that he is a more apt icon of the "racial subject" (Taliaferro-Baszile, 2010, 484) than Marcus Garvey, as LaVada Brandon's scholarship makes plain. Remembered as a "reconceptualist, a historian, and a profound education philosopher" (Brandon, 2010, 126), Woodson sought through the study of African American history a "*real education* [that] would elicit a new consciousness to arise in African American people" (2010, 125). Facts engender consciousness, a curriculum of decolonization (see Brandon, 2010, 130) requiring subjective reconstruction. "Woodson held," Brandon (2010, 131) explains, "that self-determination and democratization of one's own psyche were critical components of real education." Contemporary scholars such as Cornel West, Angela Davis, Patricia Hill Collins, Darlene Clark Hine, and Vanessa Siddle Walker, Theodora Berry (2010, 141) points out, "can all trace their roots as organic intellectuals to this particular period of African American scholarship." Acknowledging the founding roles that Woodson, Du Bois, and Washington played, Berry (2010, 140) emphasizes the centrality of Mary Church Terrell, Mary McLeod Bethune, Anna Julia Cooper, and Pauli Murray as key "contributors of African American educational thought." The scholarship of Nichole Guillory (2010), like that of Brandon and Taliaferro-Baszile, sheds the incapacitating passivity reproduction theory had installed.

Missing still in the U.S. field is adequate acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge and wisdom[10] as well as commemorations of the genocide—the effects of which still resound today (Ng-A-Fook, 2007; Grande, 2004; Spring, 2003; Reyhner and Eder, 2004; Conn, 2004). And the important work conducted by Asian American and Latino/a, Chicano/a, and other minoritized scholars remains split off from curriculum studies' conception of itself (Tejeda and Martinez, 2000; Darder, Torres, and Gutierrez, 1997; Chabram-Dernersesian 1997; Rendon 1971). Cosmopolitan curriculum research reactivates in the nation's past in its efforts to understand the present, a present increasingly technological.

Karen Ferneding (2004, 2010, 173) situates technology[11] historically, citing the railroad as the "predecessor" of information and computer technologies (ICT), as also "infrastructure" that renders "space superfluous." Space[12] is nowhere and everywhere, and virtuality replaces experience (2010, 174). In the technological acceleration of time, the future is already past, as Ferneding's (2010, 175) reference to Ernest Jünger (and mine: 2012, 168–170) implies. Ferneding (2010, 175) acknowledges the arrival of the posthuman, but (like me) she does not welcome it, characterizing it (after Baudrillard) as the "perfect crime," in which technoculture discards the human *and* any evidence of having done so. "The technological system," Ferneding (2010, 176) concludes, "becomes a tautology that initiates the end of mystery." Returning to her initial association of technology and transcendence, Ferneding (2010, 180) wonders what can be the "meaning of transcendence within postmodern technoculture?" Does it devolve into "perpetual virtual self-reconstruction?" (2010, 182)

In addition to innovative research in curriculum history, technology, race, and gender studies, there are other discourses influential now, sustainability studies perhaps primary among them (see Hensley, 2011; Riley-Taylor, 2002, 2010; Bowers, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2005). Arts-based research has become increasingly important.[13] The recurring question of the human subject—culturally variable, politically interpellated, historically situated, and regionally placed—is being inventively reformulated in the United States by Hongyu Wang (2004), Ugena Whitlock (2007), and Brian Casemore (2008). Complexity theory (see Trueit, 2012; Doll et al., 2005) may well compete for center stage in the "next moment," as may psychoanalysis (Taubman, 2011; Britzman, 2003, 2006, 2009, 2011; Pitt, 2003).

With current concepts collapsing due to their widespread and uncritical acceptance, new concepts are required. Americans cannot find the future in their present. It is not in the United States but elsewhere: in the past, in Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa. It is in Canada, China, India, Germany, and France. Each nationally distinctive field has its own intellectual history, its own particular set of present circumstances, internal and external, often intersecting spheres (Yates and Grumet, 2011). Through the reformulation of ancient concepts,[14] we can convey what we now experience but cannot yet adequately articulate. The internationalization and reconceptualization of curriculum studies in the United States are reciprocally related. It is the former that will enable the latter.

Conclusion

> Disciplines can be seen as in the process of always becoming other, of multiplying, of undoing their own limits, of fracturing, and even of collapsing. Seen in this way, a discipline, whether robust or fragile, is indeed always a transitory thing. Amariglio, Resnick, and Wolff (1993, 151)

Studying the intellectual histories and present circumstances of curriculum research elsewhere—as this second edition of the *International Handbook of Curriculum Research* allows—enables us to appreciate just how local the U.S. situation is. With current concepts collapsing due to their widespread (and now uncritical) acceptance, new concepts are required. As the preoccupation with "power" fades, ethics may replace politics as curriculum studies' primary category. That has already occurred in the important work of Alan A. Block (2007, 2009), research which names the repression of Jewish thought in U.S. curriculum studies with its uncritical adoration of progressivism, that secular form of Christianity (Tröhler, 2006, 2011a) decades of Marxism and neo-Marxism have failed to surpass. Reproduction and resistance theory reinscribed the dialectic of damnation and salvation structuring the eschatology of Christianity. Teaching[15] became inflated as the secular form of witnessing to the afterlife, e.g., schools as laboratories of democracy reconstructing society, testifying to the historical inevitability of democracy. The canonical curriculum question—*what knowledge is of most worth?*—devolved into instrumentality: how do we get from here to there? Methodologies (especially ethnography) substituted for intellectual substance, but the worst was yet to come, as the failure of social engineering and the triumph of capitalism in education (now neoliberalism) spelled an endemic cynicism we called politics. Everything was political we complained, and with that "realism" the curriculum question reached its wretched residue. No longer could we ask *what* knowledge is of most worth, as all knowledge was now tainted by its political character. Instead, the politically preoccupied only wanted to know "*whose* knowledge is of most worth"? (Pinar, 2009, 148, n. 3)

In Alan Block's *oevure*—which began in Marxism (1992)—the collective and the historical remain but are now sacralized as reverence for humanity and history. Politics remains but as subservient to ethics. Teaching remains indispensable but is no longer triumphant. Teaching is the humble companion of study. "Study," Block (2004, 2) asserts simply but powerfully, "like prayer, is a way of being—it is an ethics." While not new (see Tom, 1984), ethics' time may have come when, in technoculture, virtuality substitutes for actuality. In such circumstances, it may be time to juxtapose the contingent with more durable forms of engagement, including those associated with Jewish traditions of thought (see Block, 2004; Morris, 2001, 2006). As expressions of embodied subjectivity in the world, ethics restructures subjective and social relations, away from the cynicism an exclusively political perspective compels to one focused on what is right in specific situations: what knowledge is of most worth.

In her chapter in the 2010 *Handbook,* Hongyu Wang (2010, 374) gestures toward the coming cross-cultural historically informed moment of U.S. curriculum research by juxtaposing Kristeva's concept of "intimate revolt" with Laozi's conception of yin/yang. That juxtaposition, Wang (2010, 374) suggests, might provide "multiple bridges" toward the "new generation's task." How? In Kristeva, Wang (2010, 375) explains, the etymology of the word *revolt* reveals "circular movement" and "temporal return" in its Latin antecedent. The ethical engagement of alterity requires such temporal complexity, such attunement to the past and contemplation of the present, not submergence in it through the endless distractions the cell phone and computer screen install.

The U.S. obsession with the political substitutes *struggle* for the *resolve* ethical conviction compels. Wang notes that the political meaning of revolt—with its connotation of a complete and even violent break with the past—did not appear until modernity. In contrast to a history of aggression and rupture, Kristeva, working psychoanalytically, locates revolt in both oedipal tension and regression to the archaic (see Wang, 2010, 375). "Revolt" becomes "open," "transformative," and "creative," Wang (2010, 375) explains, and "simultaneously" stimulates cultural, political, and psychic "working through" and "renaissance." Considerations of power, identity, and discourse will remain crucial in curriculum research in the United States, but their subsumption in a more worldly cosmopolitan concept of professional ethics signals a second reconceptualization of curriculum studies in the United States.

Incurred by internationalization recoded as ongoing ethical engagement with alterity, the reconceptualization just underway in the United States will recuperate past preoccupations, reconfiguring them into concepts that affirm agency[16] as they address the degraded present moment. Given the authoritarian assertion of private profit over public trust in U.S. school "reform," our professional ethics encourage "intransigence" (Pinar, 2012, 238). It is true that public-school teachers are contractually obligated to the school districts that employ them. Superseding these obligations, however, are teachers' professional obligations to the children with whom they work. As in other professions, the ethics of education supersede contractual obligations.[17] Educators are ethically obligated to act in accord with the best interests of the children they teach, interests disserved by school deform. Professional conduct is grounded in ethics not "evidence." Only in the ethical exercise of professional judgment can teachers contemplate the compelling curriculum question—what knowledge is of most worth?—and communicate their academically informed subjectively animated answers to the children in their care. Curriculum research enables understanding of what is at stake in the complicated conversation such contemplation and communication stimulate.

Notes

1. It almost goes without saying that historical narratives are composed in the present and are hardly independent of the writer's own life history and present intellectual commitments (Popkin, 2005). Rather than smudging the mirror reflecting reality, lived experience illuminates the landscapes in which it is situated (Bauman, 1978; Greene, 1978).
2. Tyler's (1941, 1) Rationale consists of "four fundamental questions which must be answered in developing any curriculum and plan of instruction." Kridel and Bullough (2007, 94) tell us: "Tyler lore describes a lunch occasion in the 1930s when 'Mike' Giles, Hilda Taba, and Tyler were discussing curriculum development and the 1949 Rationale's legendary questions were conceived by Tyler and written on a napkin." Taba (1962, vi) tells a different story: "The idea that there must be a system of thinking about curriculum planning occurred to Dr. R.W. Tyler after a rather confusing meeting on curriculum planning in the 1930s in which conflicting proposals for curriculum designs were being debated. Following this meeting: Dr. Tyler and the writer began to elaborate a scheme for a sequence of questions to be asked and an order of steps to be taken in planning curriculum. The writer tried these out in the next workshop held by the Eight Year Study. Over a period of years, working as a curriculum consultant in several school systems and teaching courses in curriculum development, the author has continued testing and refining the scheme and building a theoretical rationale for it." The Tyler Rationale is in fact a misnomer. The infamous four questions had been already asked by Taba in 1945; they appear in her 1932 book (see page 246).
3. For a succinct histories, see Pinar, 2012, 102–132; Tröhler, 2011b.
4. Despite Schwab's caution (see 1978 [1964], 29) against dogmatic adherence to disciplinary structures in curriculum development, his association with the 1960s structures-of-the-disciplines left him rejected by those scholars who—after Schwab himself pronounced the field in crisis in 1969—reconceptualized the field. Jackson (see 1992, 34) alludes to this development. Alan A. Block's (2004) insightful study of Schwab's concepts—emphasizing their Jewish antecedents—has helped to repair Schwab's damaged reputation. Key to Block's brilliant rereading of the canonical curriculum theorist is his insight that "because Joseph Schwab spoke, too, from a silenced and invisible Jewish tradition" (Block, 2004, 7). Indeed, Block (2004, 9) argues that "the Rabbis' methods that serves as a context for Schwab's prescriptions and that it is the Rabbis' methods that Schwab urges as the basis and methods of curriculum." For a full account, see Block, 2004; for its relevance to contemporary curriculum studies in the United States see Pinar, 2013.
5. Hybridity is not only a theoretical term. As South African scholar Crain Soudien (in Pinar 2010, 235) points out, "the hybrid that emerges takes its most expressive form in everyday life."
6. Deliberation is a term associated with the work of Joseph Schwab. "Polyfocal conspectus, the term Schwab gave to the multiplicity of theoretical views, derives," Alan A. Block (2004, 178) explains, "from a curriculum based in deliberation." As "both means and ends," Block's (2004, 51) deliberation denotes "the employment of a variety of lenses and discourse to effect practice. A polyfocal conspectus—deliberation—might also be understood as the method of Talmudic discourse in which the intricacies and problems of everyday life were interrogated and discussed in public discourse."
7. The subtitle of the 2010 *Curriculum Studies Handbook,* this phrase points to the moment in U.S. curriculum studies after the paradigmatic reconceptualization detailed in Pinar et al., 1995.
8. "Fifteen years ago it might have been appropriate to identify discourses by way of gender" [etc.], Erik Malewski (2010, xiv) points out, acknowledging the shift I am suggesting is now just underway. He continues: "Since then much has changed. Cultural studies, critical race theory, and critical geography have entered the field. Discourses that might in the past have been distinguishable have made their way into hybrid spaces that make their unique characteristics undeterminable. Queer theory, place, autobiography, and Southern studies combined to make the work of Ugena Whitlock, for example" (2010, xiv). Hybridity—a key concept in curriculum research in Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa—is a key marker, as Malewski suggests here.
9. "Education as archival text," Marla Morris (2006, 76) points out, "is an active engagement with digging—digging through one's multifaceted registers of self-understanding—ironically through studying the lives of others." In addition to these instances—Woodson and Garvey—there are others: see Salvio 2007; Crocco, Munro, and Weiler 1999; Pinar 2009.
10. Wisdom is concept James Henderson and Kathleen Kesson have recuperated for curriculum studies (see Henderson 2001; Henderson and Kesson 2003). Its indigenous forms are central to curriculum research in Canada: see Smith (this volume) and Ng-A-Fook and Rottmann, 2012.
11. For another historically informed analysis of technology emphasizing the educational potential of so-called open access, see Willinsky, 1999, 2006.
12. The very tendency toward totalization that accompanied the metatheoretical acceptance of power, identity, and discourse in the U.S field is at times reinscribed in the contemporary concept of "space." For Robert Helfenbein (2010, 306, emphasis added), "space constructed through discursive, interpretive, lived, and imagined practices *becomes* place." This assertion acknowledges that history, culture, and lived experience structure a "place," but

does not the particularity of place disappear in the assertion that "space is everywhere" (Helfenbein, 2010, 308)? The notion of "third space" (see Wang, 2004) Helfenbein (2010, 309) depicts as "those spaces that speak, those spaces that lead and those spaces of possibility." That last concept suggests the reinstallation of "agency" (2010, 314), a concept Lisa Cary (2006, 135) never uses but which seems implied in her assertion of "an ethical turn toward responsibility in research."

13. As John Weaver (2010, 192) appreciates: "There is no other field within education that is more artistic than curriculum theory." Arts-based (and focused) research has become influential during the "next moment" and it, too, is registered in the Malewski *Handbook* (see Carpenter and Tavin, 2010) as well as in recent work by Tom Barone (2012, with Elliot Eisner), Philip Jackson (1998) and Margaret Latta (2012), Gene Diaz (and McKenna 2004), Marla Morris (2009) and Donald Blumenfeld-Jones (2012).
14. In addition to "wisdom," myth (2011) may be another reverberating example; so may the body (Morris, 2008; Blumenfeld-Jones, 2012; Doll, 2005; Springgay and Freeman, 2010).
15. There are important exceptions: see Mayer, 2012.
16. Agency occurs in acts of translation, as "existing events can be the bearers of alternative possibilities," Lesley Le Grange remarks (in Pinar, 2010, 235). During Apartheid, Le Grange (in Pinar, 2010, 234) recalls, agency was enacted "for teachers by teachers." Evidently, authoritarianism can inspire "creative solidarity" (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2010, 79) within "communities without consensus" (Miller, 2010, 97).
17. As the American Medical Association (AMA) recently reminded its members, contractual obligations (in the physicians' case to the hospitals that employ them) cannot exceed ethical obligations to patients. "A physician's paramount responsibility is to his or her patients," the Association reminded its members in recent statement. Doctors, the AMA asserted, should have an "unfettered right to exercise independent professional judgment" in caring for and advocating for patients (quoted passages in Pear, 2012, December 27, A16).

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