

LEADERS IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Leaders in Curriculum Studies

Intellectual Self-Portraits

Edmund C. Short and Leonard J. Waks (Eds.)

SensePublishers

Leaders in Curriculum Studies



LEADERS IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Series Editor:

Leonard J. Waks
Temple University, Philadelphia, USA

Scope:

Leaders in Educational Studies provides a comprehensive account of the transformation of educational knowledge since 1960, based on rich, first-person accounts of the process by its acknowledged leaders.

The initial volume, *Leaders in Philosophy of Education: Intellectual Self Portraits*, contains personal essays by 24 leading philosophers of education from North America and the United Kingdom. The current volume, *Leaders in Curriculum Studies: Intellectual Self-Portraits*, contains similar essays by 18 leading curriculum scholars. Subsequent volumes are planned for history of education and other fields of educational scholarship. The series provides unique insights into the formation of the knowledge base in education, as well as a birds-eye view of contemporary educational scholarship.

Until the 1950s school teachers were trained for the most part in normal schools or teacher training colleges. The instructors were drawn from the teacher corps; they were not professional scholars. In the late 1950s plans were made to bring a higher level of professionalism to teaching. In the United States, the remaining normal schools initially became state colleges, and eventually state universities. In the United Kingdom, the training colleges were initially brought under the supervision of university institutes; eventually teaching was transformed into an all-graduate profession.

Commentators on both sides of the Atlantic argued that if education was to become a proper field of university study then educational scholarship itself would have to be transformed. Scholars were recruited into educational studies from social sciences and humanities disciplines to contribute to teacher education and to train a new generation of educational scholars in contemporary research methods. Under their influence the knowledge base for education has been completely transformed. In addition to major accomplishments in philosophy, history, sociology and economics of education, interdisciplinary work in educational studies has flourished. The series documents this transformation.



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Editors:

Edmund C. Short

University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA

Leonard J. Waks

Temple University, Philadelphia, USA



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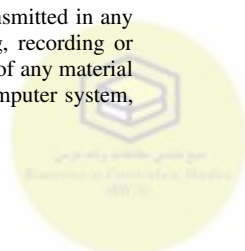


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Foreword <i>Reba N. Page</i>	ix
Introduction: In Anticipation of these Essays <i>Edmund C. Short</i>	xvii
On Being a Scholar/Activist in Education <i>Michael W. Apple</i>	1
My Journey in the Curriculum Field: Looking back with Hope <i>Miriam Ben-Peretz</i>	15
Curriculum Studies: Inward Journey, Disciplined Inquiry, and Creative Linkages <i>Louise M. Berman</i>	27
Bridges from Then to Now and from Them to Us: Narrative Threads on the Landscape of 'The Practical' <i>F. Michael Connelly</i>	39
The Path Stumbled Upon <i>Bill Doll</i>	55
Growing up Urban <i>Elliot Eisner</i>	67
Connecting Action with Research <i>John Elliott</i>	77
Personal History and Curriculum Study <i>Ivor F. Goodson</i>	91
The Scenic Route <i>Maurice Holt</i>	105
Pivotal Events and People in my Career <i>M. Frances Klein</i>	117



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chance Encounters and Consequential Choices <i>Herbert M. Kliebard</i>	129
The Primacy of the Particular <i>William F. Pinar</i>	143
Life is a Curriculum <i>William A. Reid</i>	153
What's Worthwhile? Playing with Ideas in Loving Company <i>William H. Schubert</i>	165
What's Worth Recalling? <i>Edmund C. Short</i>	179
"It Sounds Like a Good Idea, But will it Work?" <i>Malcolm Skilbeck</i>	189
Luck, Flow, Remarkable Creatures and Me: Life in the Golden Age of Curriculum <i>Laurel Tanner</i>	203
Curriculum Theory and the Problem Of Knowledge: A Personal Journey and an Unfinished Project <i>Michael F. D. Young</i>	219
Afterword: Reflections on Curriculum Studies Since 1960 <i>Leonard J. Waks</i>	231
APPENDICES	
A. In Appreciation <i>Edmund C. Short</i>	237
B. In Memoriam <i>Edmund C. Short</i>	255



PREFACE

This volume, the second in the series *LEADERS IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES*, brings together 18 personal essays by established scholars in curriculum studies, detailing their early life experiences, first encounters with teaching, curriculum work and scholarship, periods of graduate study and early work in curriculum studies, and emergence as leaders, followed by summaries of their bodies of mature work and reflections on the current challenges and opportunities in the field.

A few words must be said about how these particular authors were selected for inclusion. The General Editor of the series, Leonard Waks, contacted the co-editor of this volume, Edmund Short, in 2006 while the volume on *LEADERS IN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION* was being prepared and asked whether he would be interested in editing or co-editing a companion volume in Curriculum Studies. Short replied that he would be pleased to co-edit the volume as an equal partner. The two co-editors had both been on the board of editors of *Curriculum Inquiry* and had been colleagues at Penn State in the 1980s and early 1990s. Waks provided the initial vision of the volume. Short, a founding editor of *The Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* and a compiler of an on-line database of significant work in curriculum studies, brought to the task his comprehensive knowledge of its literature.

As co-editors we first agreed upon criteria for selection. We restricted ourselves to scholars in general curriculum studies that have been active in the field for at least thirty years and are now either retired or nearing retirement. We agreed to show partiality for senior scholars who have retired from teaching but are still intellectually active, understanding that if we did not acquire self-portraits from these authors now we might not have another opportunity. We each then prepared an initial list of possible authors based in North America, The United Kingdom and Australia for the volume and after several modifications these lists were combined. After much discussion we then selected a small first group of authors to invite. We made some inquiries to determine whether those were all in sufficient good health to prepare intellectual self-portraits, in the process eliminating two proposed authors. We then invited these initial authors to contribute and also to suggest other contributors. Most of these scholars accepted the invitation promptly and made useful suggestions about other possible contributors. These were added to our combined list, from which, after much discussion, the remaining authors were selected. In the course of the project reasons of health or conflicting obligations compelled a few authors to withdraw. The resulting volume can not be considered a comprehensive list of *THE* leaders in general curriculum scholarship since the 1960s. All of the authors of these self-portraits have, however, made significant and widely acknowledged contributions and the volume provides much new insight into the development and contemporary state of the field.



PREFACE

The contributions of other retired or nearly retired curriculum scholars who deserve to be recognized but could not be included as authors in this volume are highlighted in an Appendix, IN APPRECIATION. Another appendix, IN MEMORIAM, pays tribute to still other curriculum scholars from the past.

The contributions of those scholars providing leadership to the field today while remaining in the prime years of their careers also deserve attention, although it has not been possible to provide it in this volume. The editors express the hope that at some time in the future a second series of these intellectual self-portraits shall be devoted to these contemporary leaders. The editors also want to express their deep appreciation to Reba Page for contributing the Foreword to this volume.

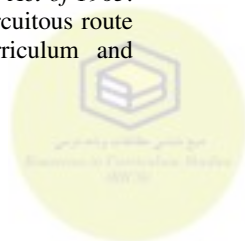


FOREWORD

Curriculum studies seems to have always had something of an identity problem. In its early years, the identity problem was simply that not much attention was given to the field's identity. For the most part, curricularists took for granted that they were to assist schools in crafting curriculum programs, objectives, and the content of specific school subjects and, in the meantime, alternative traditions within curriculum studies were forgotten. Later, when the nature and purpose of the field were put in question, the identity problem was elaborated in a rich proliferation of theories, methods, and discourses. But it was then exacerbated by uncivil wars and/or eerie silences that arose among the competing camps. The identity problem has also always been inflected by external developments, including broad societal shifts and, more recently, increasing intervention in curriculum by formal government (local, state, and federal) and by a growing number of informal interest groups. I can recall encountering the identity problem as a doctoral student in the early 1980s. What exactly was entailed in declaring an interest in curriculum? Was one signing on to “do” curriculum? To work with teachers to design the school subjects, whether singly or as a whole? To consider all educative experiences, both in and out of school? To advise policymakers intent on curricular reform? To criticize scholarly work in curriculum studies, with a view toward contributing to it?

This collection of eighteen “intellectual self-portraits” written by “leaders in curriculum studies,” along with sketches composed by the editors of the contributions of fourteen other leaders, casts a bright light on the identity of the field and its evolution in the recent past. All of the scholars were born around the time of the second World War and came of age during a expansive period for school curriculum and curriculum studies—roughly 1960 to 1980. The essayists trace the often oblique avenues by which they became interested in curriculum; their significant contributions to understanding it; the impact on the field of both its internal dynamics and external conditions; and speculation about the field's future. Whether readers are new to curriculum studies, experienced veterans, or members of other “tribes” who nevertheless work in curriculum, they will find considered reflections on the nature of a field that, as all the essayists suggest, is *both* theoretical *and* practical.

By age, I am a member of “the WW2 generation” represented in this volume. Like the authors, I experienced the high hopes and energetic interest that educators and American society invested in curriculum, as expressed, for example, in unprecedented infusions of federal dollars through *The National Defense Education Act of 1958* and *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965*. However, unlike the authors, I took a longer and somewhat more circuitous route into curriculum studies, beginning my doctoral studies in Curriculum and

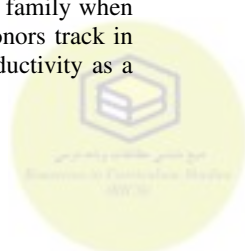


Instruction at the University of Wisconsin, Madison in the summer of 1980. Only then did I learn that there was a long-established field of study that made curriculum its object, and that the burst of innovations in curriculum design and discourse from the mid-1950s through the mid-1970s was historically unusual. Given my later entry into curriculum studies, I read the essays in this volume appreciatively, with deep interest in the intellectual, practical, and professional developments these authors initiated and sustained. I also read them for their insights into the evolution of the more complex political situation within and surrounding the field, specifically the worrisome evidence of the field's limited ability to influence practice and policy. But learning more about where curriculum studies has been, as this volume makes possible, we in the field may better re/cognize where and what it is today.

THE ESSAYS

The autobiographical essays in this volume, both individually and as a collection, make for wonderfully accessible and engaging reading about curriculum studies. The authors write like Nina Totenberg speaks on National Public Radio—with distinctive accents that, above all, are personable, intelligent, and aimed at making contact with an audience. Deftly, the authors weave together memories of their lives, emotions, developing ideas, and the field of curriculum studies. Their accounts *invite* our engagement with curriculum studies—that amorphous, variegated, hard-to-discern terrain. To paraphrase Geertz writing about ethnography (1973, p. 19), these essays “fix” fleeting curriculum discourse into an “inspectable” form so that we can re/consider the field's enduring questions and our answers, most centrally, what knowledge is worth teaching and learning, and why?

The essays appeal because each offers a novel account, replete with fascinating, even quixotic anecdotes and musings. For instance, who would guess that Elliot Eisner, now Professor Emeritus at Stanford, learned the art of persuasion at the young age of nine, while working in a salaried position selling shoes? I love that Mick Connelly points to geography as a source of inspiration, when he notes that the ranch he grew up on in western Canada fed his imagination and, in later visits, restored it. I am amazed to learn that Bill Doll and I fall into the category of “six degrees of separation”—we were both studying at The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in the late 1960s and early 1970s when Derrida and deconstruction arrived from France, although Bill was a doctoral student in philosophy while I was taking one course a semester [Mom's night out] in Hopkins' extraordinary night-school. I have some trouble imagining Maurice Holt, Bill Reid, and Michael F. D. Young working in the corporate sector—in computer design, bank management, and Shell Oil. Their eventual “flight to” curriculum studies is surely our gain. I am particularly moved by John Elliott's story about a brother from whom he was differentiated because the brother did not pass the 11+ exam and was ineligible to attend grammar school—a distinction also created in my family when my youngest sister, unlike an older sister, was not chosen for the honors track in middle school. I am also struck by Elliott's speculation that his productivity as a

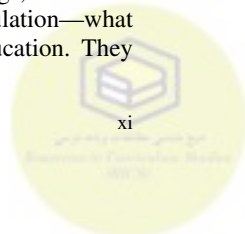


scholar may be an effort to make his world less insecure—an idea Miriam Ben-Peretz also expresses. I find myself cheered by Louise Berman’s devotion to the education of young children and by the professional autonomy she was able to exercise in teaching, in part because principals and superintendents not only allowed but encouraged her to develop innovative courses. As a grandmother, I can only hope there are still such talented and brave educators working in schools. And Malcolm Skillbeck’s marvelous work in Australia, aimed at managing a curriculum that was simultaneously centralized and local, reminds me of my own interest in the paradoxes of community and individualism expressed in the school curriculum in the U.S.

If the essays are intriguing in their idiosyncracies, they are even more impressive in the fluency with which the authors use their individual histories to illuminate the field of curriculum studies they eventually joined. For example, Bill Reid links his first day of kindergarten, when the Froeblich-inclined teacher respected his right to refuse morning prayers rather than insisting on compliance, with his much later interest in teaching, education, and political activism—all of which, “in their various ways, provoked me into thinking seriously about curriculum questions.” Ivor Goodson displays excerpts from early personal journals and from a newspaper report based on observations and interviews in his classroom to convey how he developed his ideas about the kinds of curricula with which working-class “lads” might engage. Laurel Tanner describes her many conversations with some of the older statesmen in curriculum and education (e.g., Cremin, Goodlad, Jackson, Tyler) and their significant influence on her research and professional activities. Michael F. D. Young connects his path into curriculum studies through his checkered relationship with Basil Bernstein, including his recent move away from phenomenology and social constructivism to social realism and “powerful knowledge.” Herbert Kliebard confounds vocationalism and vocational counselors by noting that he never knew what his life would be like and that he never had a life plan, much less a plan to become a professor of curriculum. Francis Klein tells of finding curriculum studies through the influence of the director of the small elementary school in Florida where she taught—none other than John Goodlad. And Michael Apple asserts that “something happened to me at Columbia. I found a way, a ‘vocation,’ that enabled me to combine my interests in politics, education, and the gritty materialities of daily life in schools.” His first of many books would examine curriculum and ideology.

COMMON THREADS

If readers also consider the essays as a collection, not just as separate pieces, they will discern a number of commonalities, indicative of shared disciplinary experiences. I will mention several I noticed. The first is generational. As a cohort, the authors share a particular historical moment—the Great Depression, World War II, the Bomb, and the post-war economic boom with, among other things, its broad extension of schooling to previously excluded segments of the population—what Young calls the “massification” of education, including higher education. They



encounter and then inhabit newly available selves produced by the times, including university-professor-as-mere-mortal, in contrast to born-to-the-manor. Some readers will notice that all but four of these leaders are men, and that all are white. All move away from their home communities to take distant jobs, and all make international associations. Imagine the culture shock involved in leaving New York City for the Midwest—or vice versa! Most describe middle-class origins, several describe growing up in poor families, and no one describes an extraordinarily wealthy family. Yet all found their way into academic positions and illustrious careers at prestigious universities. Several write about university life in the early 1960s, casting it as a time when professors were not pressed to publish-or-perish, and therefore could spend time developing not only fine research agendas, but curricular programs in the university and in K-12, collaborations with their local as well as national and international colleagues, sustained engagement with students in and out of classes, and active participation in the events of the culture.

A second thread is that all eighteen authors began the journey toward curriculum studies by working for a time, and several for many years, as K-12 teachers. The experience marked them. Several tell of initially entering teaching for instrumental reasons, because they needed to support themselves or avoid the draft; a few also note that, wanting to be of use, they had lost interest in pursuing a strictly academic discipline that had been compelling when they were undergraduates. Many describe spending their first years simply learning how to teach—"watching the veterans," one says. In time, however, K-12 teaching proved a rite of passage. The authors developed commitments to transforming schools, school knowledge, and practices in education. In the process, they themselves were transformed, particularly by a desire to obtain better knowledge about education and to put it to good use, in and out of schools. Turning to graduate studies in education, they learned they had intellectual talents and ambitions they had not suspected. In their graduate studies, usually without plan, they happened upon a course in curriculum studies—and, as the phrase is, the rest was history.

A third thread common to the essays is that the authors became active participants in and constructors of a social network. In a sense, they *are* the field of curriculum studies—people who demonstrated that curriculum could be an object of inquiry and a practice. Their work must be reckoned with by anyone learning about and acting in curriculum.

The social network is dense, reflecting both institutional genealogies and relations originating in scholarly and professional projects. A repeated motif described by the essayists is the deep care with which established professors advised them when they arrived in their classes. A professor might start off with a new student but, at some point, recognize that the student's interests would be better served by another professor, and then, in an extraordinarily generous and attentive act, would refer the outstanding student to the other professor.

The social network was significantly expanded through the steadfast efforts of this cohort of scholars. They founded and then sustained journals specific to curriculum, such as *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, and *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, and thereby provided hitherto unavailable outlets for research about



curriculum. They also developed book series focused on curriculum with outstanding publishing houses. They contributed to the growth of professional organizations, including Division B (Curriculum Studies) of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI), the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, Professors of Curriculum, the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (IAACS), and so forth.

Seen as a social network, curriculum studies also seems to reflect and re-create a shared worldview or discourse across members (despite the field's many discourses). Expressed tacitly and sometimes explicitly in the essays, it may distinguish the field from other subspecializations within educational studies, such as educational psychology, educational administration, or policy analysis. For example, all of the essayists in this volume seem to assume that curriculum studies is a theoretical *and* practical field, not a pure or basic science, even as they differ on what is meant by theory or practice (cf. Schwab, 1969), how theory and practice are related, which of the two should be foregrounded, and how either is best taken into account. Similarly, the authors seem to take as a given that predetermined objectives, standards, activities, and assessments of curriculum are futile, if not downright miseducative (particularly if they are structured to give little attention to how or whether “emerging,” local lessons, however relevant or student-centered, build on one another and develop depth and a direction). Many of the authors indicate an egalitarian or democratic stance rather than the stance of an expert, but they leave open the issue of the authority their own work about curriculum should command. All of the authors indicate, directly or indirectly, that curriculum is a political and moral endeavor, although not all theorize politics or virtue. And most of the essayists are “utopians,” as Miriam Ben-Peretz puts it, who despite evidence documented in their own research of the difficulties of implementing school reforms or reaching curricular decisions, “run away from the insecurity of life . . . and from injustice and ignorance *to* the vision of a better future” [my *emphasis*].

A last common thread in the essays is the oft-noted lack of consensus within the field about how curriculum is best conceptualized. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were a theoretically vital period—“fertile,” Berman says—and a variety of theoretical perspectives were developed: Bill Reid and Decker Walker’s elaboration of Schwab’s emphasis on the practical and deliberation; Bill Pinar’s reconceptualism; the “new” sociology of curriculum of Michael Apple and Michael F. D. Young; the turn to curriculum history, made by Herb Kliebard, Laurel Tanner, and Ivor Goodson. Debate about the new theorizations was joined, and revived the central questions of the field—what educative experiences should a curriculum include and why; should different curricula be provided *to* different groups of students; what should be the scope of a curriculum and how should it be organized; how should a curriculum be taught, and how evaluated; and who should determine a curriculum?

Notably, the divisions and debates of the past are muted in the present essays. Lingering oppositions are voiced, to be sure, but off-handedly, even back-handedly. Robust debate seems to have been displaced by a dull, but perhaps safer or more politic live-and-let-live distance in which speakers take turns stating their



diverse positions but then fail to engage with each other to explore the differences or to locate possible common ground. Instead of embracing its diverse orientations as evidence of the multifaceted nature of curriculum, the field seems caught in slow splintering. Sharing a deep concern for curriculum and curriculum studies and holding many and diverse ideas about them, how *will* we pursue civil engagement with each other and with others outside curriculum studies over significant educational issues?

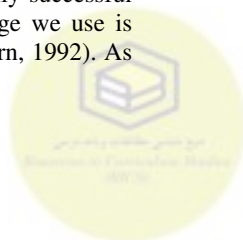
LESSONS FOR THE FIELD

Considering the future of curriculum studies, we in the next cohort of the field might take a page from this cohort's essays about their experiences, ideas, accomplishments, and sometimes explicit advice. A central concern today is that the influence of curriculum studies in regard to curriculum practice and policy is waning. To address the concern, we might reflect on both the internal developments and external influences that the essays suggest were important in the past and how they bear on the field today.

As a simple example, an internal feature of the field is the somewhat haphazard paths many of these leaders followed to eventually arrive at curriculum studies. We today might more explicitly and actively recruit students to curriculum. Once they are recruited, we might treat them as generously as did the advisors of these leaders (and as these leaders treated *their* students). Then new recruits may grasp the complex geography of the field they are joining, contribute to it, and guide *their* students into it.

We might also consider strengthening the social network of curriculum studies by developing stronger links with scholars and associations outside the field but who study and support curriculum. Thus, we might extend our research into levels of schooling and education outside of K-12, such as higher education or informal education, where research is more often focused on issues of access rather than questions about what—what curriculum—students will gain access to. Such linkages might support a web that can both enhance and display the field's intellectual resources. An intriguing comparison of curriculum formation, status, and authority in physics and gender studies suggests that the high status, abundant resources, and professional autonomy enjoyed by physics is not due simply to the "hard" knowledge it produces, in contrast to gender studies, but to its social organization within a thick web of long-standing, powerful associations that bridge to government, business, the media, and social movements (Slaughter, 2002). Curriculum studies might work to sustain and "thicken" its web.

If members of curriculum studies would have anything meaningful to say in ongoing discussions over education and curriculum, they might address the field's long-standing internal divisions as well as the shared, often tacit assumptions, both voiced in many of the essays. This could entail reflecting on our own discourse(s) and the ideology it instantiates, as well as analyzing more politically-successful rhetorics. At bottom, careful, self-conscious attention to the language we use is crucial to scholarship that is both excellent and persuasive (cf. Milburn, 1992). As



Berman cautions, “hopefully, curriculum workers have learned to value civility so that conversation is not only critical but also encouraging.”

Graduate schools of education may be a seriously neglected point of contact between scholarship in curriculum studies and practice and policy in schooling and education. As the essayists recount, they were practitioners who turned to schools of education in search of tools they might use in addressing the questions they had about schooling and education. Currently on the minds of many of my students is what they describe as their inability to escape policy dictates, particularly those established in *The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*. One class explained to me that they are frequently “palmed” when teaching, that is, observers from the front office or the district office enter their classrooms carrying Blackberries to collect and record information about the classes. One tool I’ve offered in response is anthropological and social theory that clarifies the relationship between structure and agency. For instance, Ortner (2006) tracks the evolution of theory from the 1950s, when emphasis was placed on large sociocultural forces that determined human action, to the development of practice theory in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in which the focus shifted to how people “make” their worlds, and then a few years later, to the turns to history, politics, and culture that saved practice theory from becoming simply another story about the reproduction of the social order. As Ortner puts it:

Culture (in a very broad sense) constructs people as particular kinds of social actors, but social actors, through their living, on-the-ground, variable practices, reproduce or transform—and usually some of each—the culture that made them . . . [in practice theory] neither ‘individuals’ nor ‘social forces’ have precedence [but] there is a dynamic, powerful, and sometimes transformative relationship between the practices of real people and the structures of society, culture, and history. (p. 133)

With such a tool, my students can begin to look for and find themselves as culturally-constituted, “acting subjects,” rather than as simply subjected by “the system.” The structures will bear down, but their sensibilities about it and about themselves will be altered.

Finally, I join the essayists in suggesting the need for more sophisticated theories of educational politics than the field has used in the past, particularly in order to avoid a victim mentality not unlike that my students sometimes express. In this regard, I have found the work of historian Carl Kaestle (2003) particularly interesting. Kaestle argues that the role of the federal government in the U.S. is certainly larger and more intrusive than in the late 1950s. However, it has also experienced abrupt shifts in its focus, scope, and rationale since the mid-1970s, particularly in regard to curriculum, and those shifts are likely to continue, making the job of assigning responsibility for the direction of schooling and education a less certain endeavor than in the past. Complicating matters further, Kaestle suggests that informal but national interest groups have proliferated, and promote a variety of educational reforms. Such groups include traditional professional associations of educators, single-issue and multi-issue groups (e.g., homeschooling;



Business Roundtable), school-based groups (e.g., Coalition for Essential Schools), task forces and commissions, think tanks, foundations, and for-profit organizations. These groups cross-cut the formal structure of local, state, and federal governance so that what Kaestle terms the educational polity in the U.S.—the nationwide system by which education is governed—now has many entry points, is made up of shifting alliances, and includes groups that preach fervently to their specific choirs. The system, he concludes, allows for entrepreneurial as well as formal, governmental influence. If correct, Kaestle’s ideas suggest that we, in curriculum studies, might better comprehend the complexity of the educational polity and the greater difficulty in mobilizing and tracing its influence. At the same time, the complex polity may be propitious for curriculum studies if it would seek to locate strategies and positions from within the vast array where it might contribute to on-going debates and practices over what knowledge is valuable and why. In short, the times may be right for curriculum studies to “reclaim a voice,” as Linda McNeil once put it, and thereby sustain and extend the vital accomplishments of its recent past.

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Reba N. Page
University of California, Riverside



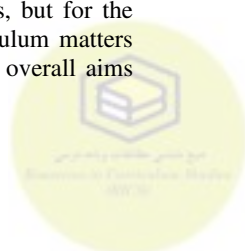
EDMUND C. SHORT

INTRODUCTION: IN ANTICIPATION OF THESE ESSAYS

The essays in this volume are first-person accounts of the lives, the careers, and the intellectual contributions of eighteen leaders in curriculum studies who have been active in this academic field within Education in the period between the 1960s and today. Their intimate, fascinating stories are as diverse as the individuals themselves. Sometimes their stories traverse similar ground, as one would expect of people sharing the same academic specialty, but each story clearly turns out to be unique reflecting not only the specific background each one brings to that work but also the special focus within curriculum studies that each one chose to pursue.

Some, you will discover, have devoted their attention in curriculum studies to work in the “trenches” of ordinary schools and colleges, attempting to help make curriculum decisions that reflect sound knowledge of curriculum principles, processes, and practices. Some have taken “activist” roles in attempting to affect change in the systems and policies of curriculum and education more generally, reflecting in their work new knowledge that they and others have generated about how such change can be facilitated. Some have been engaged in the “stratospheres” of creating better theoretical and ethical models for possible adoption by curriculum practitioners and policy-makers, taking into account previously overlooked purposes, content, kinds of students, philosophical perspectives, and ways of teaching that would better encompass the ultimate educational needs of students. Some have focused primarily on producing “useful research” of various kinds that can inform curriculum practice and policies, frequently striking out in new paths of inquiry unknown or unused by their predecessors. Some have adopted formal research agendas within specific “disciplinary fields of inquiry” (historical, sociological, philosophical, humanistic, critical, etc.) that are more distantly related to curriculum policies and practices but which may ultimately influence them as well. And, some curriculum leaders represented in this volume, as might be expected, have engaged in a mixture of these various kinds of intellectual work at various times in their careers. All have made esteemed contributions to the field of curriculum studies.

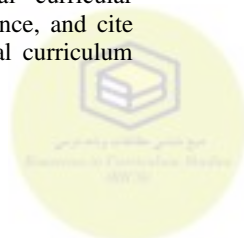
All of these writers are considered to be generalists in curriculum studies. That is, they have chosen to make the broad issues and problems of curriculum the focus of their attention rather than the more narrow issues of some specific subject matter area or grade level concerns. Admittedly, some of these curriculum leaders have also at times given their attention to these related curriculum topics, but for the most part they identify themselves with more comprehensive curriculum matters that are concerned with the “whole” curriculum—such topics as its overall aims



and purposes, the place and kinds of knowledge and human experience within the educative environment, the design and structure of the components of the curriculum over the years students matriculate the curriculum and over the time span of given segments of the structured curriculum, assessment and accountability issues related to the entire curriculum, issues of access and equity among various student constituencies, out-of-school influences on student learning and the educational institution's ability to engender true learning, and the like. The leaders in curriculum studies that discuss their lives and work in this book clearly have specialized within this wide range of generalist curriculum topics, for no one can adequately attend to all of these at once. So, as you read these essays, look to see what kinds of intellectual problems in the curriculum field each of them undertook to work on at various times in their careers.

For those who have known these eighteen curriculum leaders or have read their works over the years, it will not be surprising to see recited in these essays many familiar ideas and studies with which they have been associated. What may be surprising are the personal touches they provide on the background and challenges of doing this work, the early influences that led them into the field of curriculum studies, the previously unknown bits of information they offer about their personal commitments and hopes for curriculum studies, and the modesty with which they assess the significance of their own contributions to curriculum studies. While each of these essays is a very brief introduction to these topics by their authors (sometimes they cite lengthier treatments of their lives and work published elsewhere), the essays do provide in relatively few words a wonderful look inside the minds and activities of these individuals, and collectively the essays offer the opportunity to review the contributions of eighteen curriculum leaders within a single volume. For the younger and future generations of curriculum scholars, the book will be a "gold-mine" of a record of a generation of leaders in curriculum studies, what they were like and what they did, that can be delved into for historical perspective on the field, for inspiration from thoughtful and highly motivated contributors from the past, and possibly for overlooked precedents and future possibilities for the future of curriculum studies.

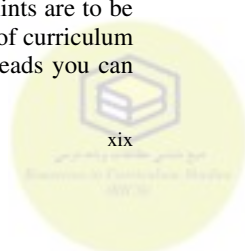
These intellectual self-portraits of leaders in curriculum studies are a part of a tradition in educational scholarship for which antecedents exist in curriculum studies. Biographies and autobiographies of curriculum thinkers have appeared from time to time in the literature of the field. Mary Louise Seguel (1966) wrote about the professional and intellectual contributions of the McMurrays, Dewey, Bobbitt, Charters, Rugg, and Caswell, probably the earliest attempt to record the facts about any of our leading curriculum scholars. Kridel, Bullough, and Shaker (1996) included in their book of profiles of professors of education several who are associated with curriculum studies, among them, Tyler, Taba, Eisner, Alberty, Stratemeyer, Miel, Caswell, Rugg, and Macdonald. Pinar, et al. (1995), in their compendium *Understanding Curriculum*, classified portraits of self and experience (curriculum vitae) as one form of autobiographical/biographical curricular scholarship that has long had both personal and historical significance, and cite several examples. Kridel presented a series of articles about several curriculum



scholars that appeared in eight issues of *JCT* in 1996-1997; Macdonald, Huebner, Taba, Miel, Eisner, and Klohr were among those portrayed there. Marshall, et al. (2007), in their memoir of the curriculum field, employ both excerpts of writings and short vignettes about themselves written by leading curriculum theorists, including Foshay, Berman, Apple, Schwab, Janet Miller, and Giroux. The present collection of essays, *Leaders in Curriculum Studies: Intellectual Self-Portraits* (2009), is the first of which we are aware where such scholars have themselves written extended autobiographical accounts of their lives and intellectual contributions to curriculum studies. The limited number included in this volume suggests that future volumes of similar self-portraits by other leaders in the field would be desirable, for this and other accounts of significant contributors to curriculum studies provide both helpful models and enduring lessons for future leaders in the field.

While this volume does not include all the leading thinkers in curriculum studies, it does include many from the United States and the United Kingdom, one from Australia, and one from Israel, and thus presents a rather wide range of persons who have been leaders in curriculum studies during recent decades. From whatever country they originate, they have had to face very similar circumstances and challenges over this span of time, as you will note as you read about the historical contexts within which each of them has been working. The post-Sputnik period of the 1960s brought a burst of energy into the curriculum field with the rise of new discipline-centered curricula world-wide. The turmoil of the 1960s and 1970s over the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement, with student protests and demands for minority rights in curriculum, were not limited to the United States, as you will see. Cold War issues of the 1970s and 1980s prompted shifts in political ideologies in many countries, and numerous attempts at reform in curriculum and more broadly in education brought into existence more centralized control and standardized curriculum than had been customary in earlier eras. By the 1980s and 1990s, the Reagan/Bush neoconservative dominance in the United States and the similar Thatcher/Major era in the United Kingdom had brought about a virtual absence of influence by most of the experts and scholars in the curriculum studies community (except perhaps in Israel). This community was left to doing scholarly criticism or international status reports or serving on high-level commissions to advise central authorities (which only occasionally seemed to act on such advice). Despite this marginalization of curriculum studies and its scholarly resources, many of our writers have kept quite busy in various domains of research and advocacy. And, we think, they have kept remarkably hopeful and determined to keep the voice of curriculum studies alive and productive, if not as audible in the policy realms as they might wish, at least in the province of students who study with them and read their research and writings.

It is probably not possible to grasp from the reading of the essays in this book what the current status of curriculum studies as an academic field actually looks like at the present time or what directions it will take in the immediate future. Not enough scope is represented here to determine that. However, some hints are to be found in what our authors say on this topic. For the sake of the future of curriculum studies, it would be well to take notice of any such assessments or leads you can



find in what these writers discuss. If you can do this and can extrapolate ideas of the same order from other sources in curriculum studies, it may be well to put your conclusions into the context of some previous “state-of-the-field” assessments from the past. Some of these historical sources that are perhaps worthy of looking up and attending to include the following: Mary Louise Seguel’s final chapter in *The Curriculum Field: Its Formative Years* (1966); Ralph Tyler’s “Recollections of Fifty Years of Work in Curriculum” (1986); Geoffrey Milburn’s “Do Curriculum Studies Have a Future?” (1992); the last chapter in Pinar, et al. (1995), “Understanding Curriculum: A Postscript for the Next Generation”; and Chapter 10, “Imagining the Postmillennial Curriculum Field,” in Marshall, et al. (2007). These sources give a glimpse into where the field has been going over the last several decades and where it is likely to go in the next few years, at least in the view of some of its scholars. The writers in this present volume add some perspective to this tradition in what they say; none attempt a definitive statement on this.

We think you will enjoy reading these essays. We appreciate the effort each of these authors has made in providing these stories for public view.

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MICHAEL W. APPLE

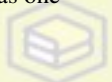
ON BEING A SCHOLAR/ACTIVIST IN EDUCATION

GETTING THERE

It was late in the evening and I had just come home after a day of teaching, filled with the combination of exhaustion, tension, and sometimes pure joy that accompanies working in schools. There was something waiting for me, a letter from Teachers College, Columbia University. I opened it with much trepidation. But the news was good. I was admitted to the Philosophy of Education program there. I had been accepted elsewhere, but this was the 1960s and in my mind “TC” was the place to be if one was deeply interested in challenging the taken-for-granted assumptions and practices of schooling. To tell the truth, I was surprised that I had been admitted. I had gone to two small state teachers colleges at night for my undergraduate degree, a degree that was not yet finished since I had to complete some required courses that summer. And while working full-time as a printer before my part-time undergraduate career was interrupted by the army, my grade point average was, to be honest, pretty horrible. Luckily, Teachers College focused on my post-army last two years of college work.

The army had “trained” me to be a teacher and many urban schools were facing a very serious teacher shortage. Thus, I began teaching without a degree in the inner city schools of Paterson, New Jersey, schools I had attended as a child, and then moved to teach in a small rural and strikingly conservative town in southern New Jersey for a number of years where I predictably had some run-ins with ultra-conservative and racist groups (see Apple 1999). I had also been a president of a teachers union, a continuation of a family tradition of political activism. I loved teaching; but I was more than a little distressed by the ways teachers were treated, by curricula that were almost totally disconnected from the world of the children and communities in which I worked, and by policies that seemed to simply reproduce the poverty that surrounded me. Having grown up poor myself, this was not something that gave me much to be happy about as you might imagine. Taken together, all of this pushed me toward applying for a Masters degree, with the aim of returning to the classroom. But something happened to me at Columbia. I found a way, a “vocation,” that enabled me to combine my interests in politics, education, and the gritty materialities of daily life in schools. I ultimately continued on for a doctorate.

Going to Teachers College during the late 1960s was a remarkable experience in many ways. It treated intellectual work seriously and pushed me and others to the limits of what was possible to read and understand. For me, coming from night school at small places, aside from a family tradition of radical literacy, this was one



of the first times I had been treated as if I could deal with some of the most complicated historical, economic, conceptual, political, and practical issues surrounding education. I loved it and was dismayed by it at the very same time. The reason for the dismay was because TC (and Columbia University as a whole) was basically next to Harlem and yet its relations with impoverished schools and with the Black and Latino communities nearby were spotty at best. This very fact provided students like me with a bit of kindling for the gritty anger that many of us already felt. This of course was complemented by the reality that Columbia was a deeply politicized environment at the time. The fact that I had already been an activist in anti-racist, anti-corporate, and anti-war movements meant that the pressure cooker of studying at Columbia had to be balanced with the demands of political action. Somehow I and others did it.

In philosophy of education, I worked with Jonas Soltis, a fine analytic philosopher and teacher and someone who recognized that there might be something worthwhile in my rough and not yet polished conceptual abilities. But Jonas also recognized that whatever my growing conceptual talents (and they were growing since he was indeed a good teacher), I was chafing at the lack of connection between the world of analytic philosophy and the struggles over curricula, teaching, and community participation in schools. He knew almost before I did that my real interests were centered on the politics of curriculum and teaching.

PERSONAL FAVORITES

Ideology and Curriculum, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2004)

Education and Power, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 995)

Teachers and Texts (New York: Routledge, 1986)

Official Knowledge, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2000)

Cultural Politics and Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996)

Educating the "Right" Way, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006)

The State and the Politics of Knowledge (New York: Routledge, 2003)

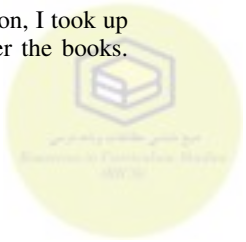
Democratic Schools, 2nd edition (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2007).

The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education (New York: Routledge, 2009)

Near the end of my first year at TC, he sent me to see Alice Miel, the Chair of Curriculum and Teaching and someone whose contributions to democratic curriculum have not been sufficiently recognized. And Alice sent me to see Dwayne Huebner. Her suggestion had a profound impact on all that I have done.

Very few doctoral students had finished with Dwayne. He was demanding (of himself as well as his students) and he was among the

most creative critical curriculum scholars in the history of the field. He said that we needed to rethink all that we thought we knew about society, about schooling, about nearly everything. Dwayne sent me away with a list of more than fifty books to read—in philosophy, social theory, literature and literary theory, and curriculum history. For some this would have been off-putting. But for some reason, I took up the challenge and we met again—and again and again. I poured over the books.



It was a bewildering array and yet I began to see a pattern, a set of ways in which our common-sense must be and could be challenged. My political and pedagogic commitment to understanding and interrupting common-sense that was so much a part of my political and educational activity earlier and that became the central focus of my work as a scholar/activist throughout my career later on was given direction. If this was a test, I guess I passed it. Dwayne and I spent hours discussing the material. He questioned me; I questioned him. And a mutual bond was built that has lasted for a very long time.

Working with Dwayne Huebner was a deeply formative experience, as was becoming his teaching assistant. Dwayne sent me to the New School to take courses in phenomenology and critical social and cultural theory. He insisted that I get to know Maxine Greene well, a person who also had a major influence on me. In essence, I did a joint degree in curriculum studies, philosophy, and sociology under the direction of Dwayne, Jonas, and Maxine. This combination led to a dissertation that brought these traditions together, “Relevance and Curriculum: A Study in the Phenomenological Sociology of Knowledge,” at the same time as it provided both the foundation and many of the guiding questions for much of my later work on the relationship among education, knowledge, and power.

COMING TO WISCONSIN

Dwayne had done his PhD at Wisconsin. He and his close friend, the noted curriculum theorist James MacDonald, told stories of Wisconsin and of their experiences there, compelling stories that documented its excellence, its political tradition, and the ways in which it provided a space for critical work. As I was finishing my degree in the spring of 1970, there was a curriculum position open there. Dwayne and Jim’s major professor, Vergil Herrick—originally a colleague of Ralph Tyler at Chicago and one of the leading curriculum scholars of his time—had died and his position needed to be filled. Herbert Kliebard was the other curriculum studies person at Wisconsin. Herb had studied at TC under Arno Bellack, a person with whom I too had taken a number of courses, in the generation before mine. Herb’s work on curriculum history had already made a significant impression on me and others. When he called and an interview was arranged, I was more than a little happy—and filled with a bad case of nerves.

My first experience of Madison, Wisconsin was arriving in the midst of a large anti-war demonstration. The power of the demonstrations (and they continue today), the intellectual and political openness of the Departments of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies, the quality of the students there, the progressive political traditions of the state and the community, all of these combined to make me feel that I had found a home. No place is perfect, but Wisconsin continues to be a special place, an institution where I have spent nearly four decades.



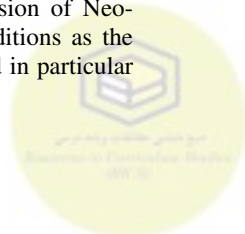
KNOWLEDGE AND POWER—FIRST STEPS

Wisconsin provided the space for truly serious critical work, work that could be *engaged*. It was an ideal place to be a “scholar/activist.” In the early 1970s, in addition to the other writing I was doing on teacher education, on critical studies of curriculum and evaluation, and on student rights, I began the initial work on a volume that was to take nearly five years to complete, *Ideology and Curriculum* (1979/1990/2004).¹ (Luckily, I had gotten tenure in 1973 after only three years at Wisconsin, and was promoted to full professor after only three more years, so the pressure was off.) The aim of that early book was not only to revitalize the curriculum field, but also to challenge both “liberal” educational policies and practices and the reductive and essentializing theories of the role of education that had become influential in critical analysis, books such as Bowles and Gintis’s *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976). In *Ideology and Curriculum*, I argued that education must be seen as a political act. I suggested that in order to do this, we needed to think *relationally*. That is, understanding education requires that we situate it back into both the unequal relations of power in the larger society and into the relations of dominance and subordination—and the conflicts—that are generated by these relations.

Others had said some of this at the time, but they were all too general. I wanted to focus on the connections between knowledge and power. Thus, rather than simply asking whether students have mastered a particular subject matter and have done well on our all too common tests, we should ask a different set of questions: Whose knowledge is this? How did it become “official”? What is the relationship between this knowledge and who has cultural, social, and economic capital in this society? Who benefits from these definitions of legitimate knowledge and who does not? What can we do as critical educators and activists to change existing educational and social inequalities and to create curricula and teaching that are more socially just?

During the writing of *Ideology and Curriculum*, I came into contact with a number of people in England who were doing similar critical work on the relationship between knowledge and power. The “New Sociology of Education” in England had nearly exactly the same intuitions and used many of the same resources as critical curriculum studies did in the United States. As my analyses became popular there, international connections were cemented in place. This led to my first set of lectures outside the United States in 1976 and created a set of intellectual and political bonds that continue to this day. I am certain that *Ideology and Curriculum* would not have been seen as such a major contribution without the political and academic influences of these colleagues in England.

A moment ago, I mentioned the kinds of questions that *I&C* raised. Yet, it is important to state that the volume was grounded in a large array of issues and literature. Indeed, *I&C* enabled me to synthesize a considerable number of the influences that had been working through me for many years. Let me note them here, since many people see such early work as simply an expression of Neo-Marxism. It is this, but it was so much more. It rested in such traditions as the following: cultural Marxism and Marxist theory; phenomenology and in particular



social phenomenology; the sociology of knowledge; analytic philosophy inside and outside of education; European critical theory; the philosophy, sociology, and history of science; aesthetics and the philosophy of art; political economy and studies of the labor process; the new sociology of education in England and France; and last but certainly not least, the critical and literary traditions within education and curriculum studies.

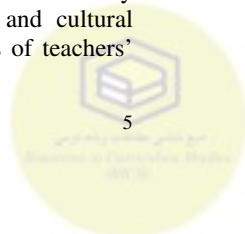
Thus, *Ideology and Curriculum* was meant to speak to a much larger array of educational, social, cultural, and political issues than some might have realized. And it certainly could not be captured by overly simplistic slogans such as curriculum “reconceptualization,” a term with a very weak empirical and historical warrant. I fully recognize that *I&C* bears the mark of its time. It devotes most of its energy to unpacking the role that curriculum and pedagogy play in cultural reproduction. It spends much less time than it should on a more dialectical understanding of knowledge and power and because of this is not as adequate in understanding transformations and struggles (see Weis, McCarthy, and Dimitriadis 2006). But this is taken up in the many books that followed. Yet, even with its limitations and silences, the fact that it has gone through multiple editions and has been translated into a very large number of languages means that I must have gotten something right.

EXPANDING THE DYNAMICS OF POWER

I&C was the first step on what became a long journey, for other books regularly followed as I understood more and as I was taught by the criticisms of other scholars and activists throughout the world and certainly by my doctoral students from all over the world at Wisconsin. (There is a reason I regularly thank the Friday Seminar in each of my books. The Ph.D. and Masters students in that group have been more than a little influential in my development and keep my honest at all times.).

Two other books followed—*Education and Power* (1982/1995) and *Teachers and Texts* (1986). That set of books formed what somehow came to be known as the first “Apple trilogy.” The two additional volumes both corrected some of the errors and spoke to some of the silences in *I&C* and expanded the dynamics of power with which we had to be concerned to include gender and race. They focused on the power and contradictions of resistance and struggle both inside schools and in the larger society. They critically examined what was happening in curricula and in teachers’ labor through a process of deskilling, reskilling, and intensification. They illuminated the political economy of the “real” curriculum in schools—the textbook. And they analyzed the spaces where possible counter-hegemonic action could take place.

The path I was on now was even more involved and the relations and realities I was trying to understand were even more complex. These issues demanded more attention. But looking back on the first set of volumes, I can now see more clearly that they led me from a largely neo-Marxist analyses of social and cultural reproduction, to an (unromantic) emphasis on agency, to treatments of teachers’



work and lives, to an enlargement of political and cultural struggles to complement (but definitely not abandon) my original focus on class, and more recently to sustained critical analyses of how powerful movements and alliances can radically shift the relationship between educational policies and practices and the relations of dominance and subordination in the larger society, but not in a direction that any of us would find ethically or politically justifiable. All of these efforts over the years have been grounded in a sense of the significance of cultural struggles and of the crucial place that schools, curricula, teachers, and communities play in these struggles.

UNDERSTANDING CONSERVATIVE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN EDUCATION

Another series of books followed—this time four volumes—these focusing much more directly on the ways in which power worked currently and on how we might interrupt these relations. In volumes such as *Official Knowledge* (1993/2000), *Cultural Politics and Education* (1996), *Educating the “Right” Way* (2001/2006), and *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (2003), I spent a good deal of time showing that it is social movements, *not* educators, who are the real engines of educational transformations. And the social movements that continue to be the most powerful now are more than a little conservative. In essence, I have claimed that if you want to understand how to engage in a successful large scale pedagogic campaign that changes people’s common-sense about legitimate knowledge, teaching, and evaluation—indeed about schooling in general—examine those people who have actually done it. I hadn’t abandoned my previous concerns with knowledge and power, but I now had better tools. And the politics were now even more pressing since educators all over the world were facing a set of conservative attacks that were deeply damaging to any education worth its name.

For exactly these reasons, over the past decade and a half I have been engaged in a concerted effort to analyze the reasons behind the rightist resurgence—what I call “conservative modernization”—in education and to try to find spaces for interrupting it. My aim has not simply been to castigate the Right, although there is a bit of fun in doing so. Rather, I have also sought to illuminate the dangers, and the elements of good sense, not only bad sense, that are found within what is an identifiable and powerful new “hegemonic bloc” (that is, a powerful set of groups that provides overall leadership to and pressure on what the basic goals and policies of a society are). This new rightist alliance is made up of various factions—neo-liberals, neo-conservatives, authoritarian populist religious conservatives, and some members of the professional and managerial new middle class. These are complicated groups, but let me describe them briefly.

This power bloc combines multiple fractions of capital who are committed to neo-liberal marketized solutions to educational problems, neo-conservative intellectuals who want a “return” to higher standards and a “common culture,” authoritarian populist religious fundamentalists who are deeply worried about secularity and the preservation of their own traditions, and particular fractions of the professionally oriented new middle class who are committed to the ideology



and techniques of accountability, measurement, and “management.” While there are clear tensions and conflicts within this alliance, in general its overall aims are in providing the educational conditions believed necessary both for increasing international competitiveness, profit, and discipline and for returning us to a romanticized past of the “ideal” home, family, and school.

I have had a number of reasons for focusing on the alliance behind conservative modernization. First, these groups are indeed powerful, as any honest analysis of what is happening in education and the larger society clearly indicates. Second, they are quite talented in connecting to people who might ordinarily disagree with them. For this reason, I have shown in a number of places that people who find certain elements of conservative modernization relevant to their lives are not puppets. They are not dupes who have little understanding of the “real” relations of this society.

My position is very different. I maintain that the reason that some of the arguments coming from the various factions of this new hegemonic bloc are listened to is because they are connected to aspects of the realities that people experience. The tense alliance of neo-liberals, neo-conservatives, authoritarian populist religious activists, and the professional and managerial new middle class only works because there has been a very creative articulation of themes that resonate

deeply with the experiences, fears, hopes, and dreams of people as they go about their daily lives. Worries about economic insecurity, about the destruction of communities, about feelings of powerlessness, about a lack of respect, about bureaucratic inaction and intransigence—all of these are based in real things that very many people experience in their daily lives. The Right has often been more than a little manipulative in its articulation of these themes. It has integrated them within racist nativist discourses, within economically dominant forms of understanding, and within a problematic sense of “tradition.” But, this integration could only occur if they were organized around people’s understanding of their real material and cultural lives.

PUBLICATIONS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

- Dwayne Huebner, “Curricular Language and Classroom Meanings,” James B. Macdonald and Robert R. Leeper, Eds. *Language and Meaning* (Washington: ASCD, 1966), pp. 8-26.
- Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961)
- Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (New York: Oxford University press, 1979)
- Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers Volumes I-III* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962-1966)
- Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963)
- Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936)
- Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983)
- Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes, and Control Volume III, 2nd edition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977)
- Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971)
- Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor* (New York: Columbia University press, 1981)



The second reason I have stressed the tension between good and bad sense and the ability of dominant groups to connect to people's real understandings of their lives—aside from the continuation of the profound respect for Antonio Gramsci's writings about this that was so visible even in my early work—has to do with my belief that we have witnessed a major educational accomplishment over the past three decades in many countries. The Right has successfully demonstrated that you need to work at the level of people's daily experiences, not only in government policies. The accomplishment of such a vast educational project has many implications. It shows how important cultural struggles inside and outside of schools actually are. And, oddly enough, it gives reason for hope. It forces us to ask a significant question. *If the right can do this, why can't we?*

I do not mean this as a rhetorical question. As I have argued repeatedly in this next set of four books, the Right has shown how powerful the struggle over meaning and identity—and hence, schools, curricula, teaching, and evaluation—can be. While we should not want to emulate their often cynical and manipulative processes, the fact that they have had such success in pulling people under their ideological umbrella has much to teach us. Granted there are real differences in money and power between the forces of conservative modernization and those whose lives are being tragically altered by the policies and practices coming from the alliance. But, the Right wasn't as powerful thirty years ago as it is now. It collectively organized. It created a decentered unity, one where each element sacrificed some of its particular agenda to push forward on those areas that bound them together. Can't we do the same?

I believe that we can, but only if we face up to the realities and dynamics of power in unromantic ways. And this means not only critically analyzing the rightist agendas and the effects of their increasingly mistaken and arrogant policies in education and so much else, but engaging in some serious criticism of some elements within the progressive and critical educational communities as well. Thus, as I argued in *Educating the "Right" Way*, the "romantic possibilitarian" rhetoric of a good deal of the writing on critical pedagogy is not sufficiently based on a tactical or strategic analysis of the current situation nor is it sufficiently grounded in its understanding of the reconstructions of discourse and movements that are occurring in all too many places. The often mostly rhetorical material of critical pedagogy simply is unable to cope with what has happened. Only when it is linked much more adequately to concrete issues of educational policy and practice—and to the daily lives of educators, students, and community members—can it succeed.

This, of course, is why journals such as *Rethinking Schools* and books such as *Democratic Schools* (Apple and Beane 1995; Apple and Beane 2007) that connect critical educational theories and approaches to the actual ways in which they can be and are present in real classrooms become so important. Thus, while I may have been one of the originators of critical theory and critical pedagogy in the United States, I also have been one of its internal critics when it has forgotten what it is meant to do and has sometimes become simply an academic specialization at universities.



The story of how the book I mentioned above, *Democratic Schools* (Apple and Beane 1995, 2007), came about may be a good way of showing what I mean here. Along with other people, I've argued that it is essential that critical educators not ignore the question of practice. That is, we must find ways of speaking to (and learning from) people who now labor everyday in schools in worsening conditions which are made even worse by the merciless attacks from the Right. This means that rather than ignore "mainstream" organizations and publications, it's important to occupy the spaces provided by existing "mainstream" publication outlets to publish books that provide *critical* answers to teachers' questions about "What do I do on Monday?" during a conservative era. As I hinted at earlier, this space has too long been ignored by many theorists of critical pedagogy.

This is where *Democratic Schools* enters as an important success. One very large "professional" organization in the United States—the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD)—publishes books that are distributed each year to its more than 150,000 members, most of whom are teachers or administrators in elementary, middle, or secondary schools.

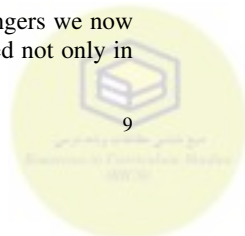
At first I emphatically said "No"—not because I was against such a project, but because I believed quite strongly that the best people to do such a book would be those practicing critical teachers and administrators who were now engaged in doing what needed to be done "on Monday." In essence, I felt that I should be their secretary, putting together a book based on their words, struggles, and accomplishments. If ASCD was willing for me to play the role of secretary, then I would do it. But I had one caveat. It had to be a truly honest book, one in which these critical educators could tell it as it really was.

After intense negotiations that guaranteed an absence of censorship, I asked Jim Beane to work with me on *Democratic Schools*. Both of us were committed to doing a book that provided clear practical examples of the power of Freirian and similar critically democratic approaches at work in classrooms and communities. *Democratic Schools* was not only distributed to most of the 150,000 members of the organization, but it has gone on to sell at least an additional 100,000 copies. Thus, nearly 250,000 copies of a volume that tells the practical stories of the largely successful struggles of critically-oriented educators in real schools are now in the hands of educators who daily face similar problems.

The publication and widespread distribution of *Democratic Schools*— and the recent publication and translation into multiple languages of the enlarged 2nd edition—provides one practical and strategic instance of making critical educational positions seem actually doable in "ordinary" institutions such as schools and local communities. Not unimportantly for me personally, it keeps me connected to the realities of curricula and teaching that sent me to Teachers College in the first place.

LEARNING FROM OTHERS

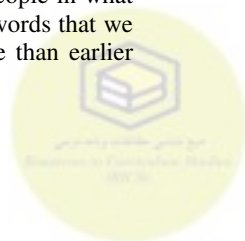
My understanding of these political and educational issues, of the dangers we now face and of what can and must be done to deal with them, is grounded not only in



my early political experiences, in the gritty realities of working with children in urban and rural schools, in the research I've carried out on what schools do and do not do in this society, or in my and Jim's work with practicing educators on building more critical and democratic curricula and teaching strategies. It also has been profoundly affected by the extensive international work in which I have been fortunate to engage in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and elsewhere. For example, beginning in the mid-1980s, I began to go to Brazil to work with the Ministry of Education in the southern city of Porto Alegre and to give both academic and more popular lectures at universities and to teacher union groups. Most of my books had been translated there. Because of this, and because of similar theoretical and political tendencies in the work coming out of Brazil and my own, I developed close relationships with many politically active educators there. This also meant that I developed not only an ongoing relationship with activist educators and researchers in the Workers Party throughout Brazil, but just as importantly an even closer relationship with the great Brazilian critical educator Paulo Freire grew as well.

Oddly enough, unlike many critical educators in the United States I actually had not been strongly influenced by Freire. While Freire's arguments were indeed poetic and powerful, they had less of an impact on me. As we became friends over the years, our conversations were less those of teacher and taught—although I respected him immensely. They were more those of relative equals who often agreed but sometimes disagreed. For example, I believed that Freire was much too romantic about the question of content. He seemed too easily to assume that almost automatically oppressed people would discover what was crucial to know. I wanted much more attention to be paid to the *what* of the curriculum. It was only later that I realized that my ongoing public and private discussions with Freire had indeed had a lasting effect on me.

These international connections were—and continue to be—crucial in the development of my work. Later on these were to be joined by intellectual and political connections in Japan, Korea, China, and elsewhere in Asia, in Spain, Portugal, Norway, and other nations in Europe, and especially in Latin America. Thus, the international discussions, debates, and co-teaching, and the academic and political activity in which I engaged in these nations, always have had a powerful impact on me and have led me to develop what I hope are more nuanced understandings both of the ways in which context and history matter and of the multiple kinds and forms of dominance and politics that exist. Thus, for example, I am now much better able to think through what roles different kinds of government/economy relations and histories (strong or weak, capitalist or state bureaucratic socialist, strong or weak labor movements) play. I also am now much more aware of how different traditions of religious impulses and movements with their varying strengths and weaknesses operate. Furthermore, the significance of histories of racial subjugation and gendered realities—and similar dynamics—are now clearer than they were before. Finally, I have come to have an immense amount of respect for the creative resiliency and political and educational courage of people in what we in the North somewhat arrogantly call the “Third World.” Thus, words that we tend to treat as nouns—housing, food, education—I now even more than earlier



very much recognize as *verbs*. They require constant effort, constant struggle and constant organized and personal action.

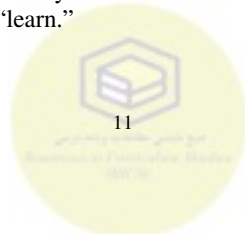
These ongoing and deepening international relations and experiences provide some of the reasons that in these more recent books I have argued that the North needs to be taught by the South, with the development of the Citizen School and participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre for example being more than a little significant in this regard. Similar things could be said about my involvement with the struggles of the once banned but now legal teachers union in Korea.

FURTHER PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

In the previous section of this chapter, I tried to be honest about complex issues that I've attempted to understand and about how much I have learned from others internationally. Of course, no person, and certainly not me, can ever be fully aware of what drives her or his intellectual and political efforts. What I do know is that it is more than a little important for me to remember how my work was formed out of the time I spent teaching in one of the poorest communities in the United States and then in a very conservative rural area. I think that this has acted as a reality check, as did my role as a president of a teachers union.

But this is not all. The fact that I had grown up poor, but in a strongly politically active family, was significant, as was my activity while still a teenager in anti-racist mobilizations. Added to this were the years I spent working as a printer before and then during part of the period of time I was going to night school for my initial college degree. Coming from a family of *printers*—that most radical bastion of working class struggles over literacy and culture—meant something. It demanded that literacy and the struggles over it were connected to differential power. Theory and research in education, hence, was supposed to *do something* about the conditions I and many other people had experienced. As a result, this has also meant for me that I have never felt totally comfortable within the academy or with an academic life. Indeed, if I lose the discomfort, I fear I will lose myself.

What does this mean to those people who still want to affix an easy label to me and my work. To be honest, I am not one who responds well to labels. I am not in a church, so I am not worried about heresy. I am not simply a “neo-Marxist,” a “sociologist,” a “critical curriculum scholar,” or someone in “critical theory” or “critical pedagogy.” Nor am I someone whose roots can be traced simply to something like “phenomenology meets Marxism.” As I showed in the list of my early influences, a commitment to the arts—written, visual, and tactile—and to an embodied and culturally/politically critical aesthetic, have formed me in important ways as well. It may be useful to know in this regard that the “W” in Michael W. Apple stands for Whitman—the poet of the visceral and the popular, Walt Whitman, who like me came from New Jersey. Furthermore, as a film maker who works with teachers and children to create aesthetically and politically powerful visual forms, this kind of activity provides me with a sense of the importance of the very act of creation, of knowledge being something people can *make*, not simply “learn.”



When I look back over the most recent books I've written at this stage of my career, it now seems that I still am attempting to deal with the same questions about the relationship between culture and power, about the relationship among the economic, political, and cultural spheres, and about what all this means for educational work, with which I started more than three decades ago. And I still am trying to answer a question that was put so clearly by George Counts when he asked "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" Counts was a person of his time and the ways he both asked and answered this question were a bit naïve. But the tradition of radically interrogating schools, of asking who benefits from their dominant forms of curricula, teaching, and evaluation, of arguing about what they might do differently, and of asking searching questions of what would have to change in order for this to happen—all of this is what has worked through me and so many others throughout the history of the curriculum field and education in general.

I stand on the shoulders of many others who have taken such issues seriously and hope to have contributed both to the recovery of the collective memory of this tradition and to pushing it further along conceptually, historically, empirically, and practically. If we think of democracy as a vast river, it increasingly seems to me that our task is to keep the river flowing, to remove the blockages that impede it, and to participate in expanding the river to be more inclusive so that it flows for everyone.

NOTE

- ¹ Many of my books have gone through multiple editions, with revisions to the original arguments and the inclusion of what is often a good deal of additional material. I've employed the "/" symbol to indicate the varying dates of each edition, but the reader should understand that each edition may have very significant changes. When a new and expanded edition has been published by a different publisher, I have listed it separately. In addition, I have edited a large number of, books that have also been important to the development of my arguments. But in the interests of space, I haven't listed them here.

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Michael Apple
University of Wisconsin, Madison



MY JOURNEY IN THE CURRICULUM FIELD: LOOKING BACK WITH HOPE

My writing an intellectual self-portrait reflects several premises:

- In practical domains, like education, psychology, and social work, there exists an intricate relationship between theory and practice. On one hand, theory informs practice; while on the other hand, practice affects and modifies theory. Shulman, whose ideas and work are a central influence on my intellectual development, wrote extensively about the wisdom of practice and practioners. He quotes David Hawkins (1966) who maintained that:

... science has never started in a social vacuum, but has grown typically out of the interplay of Theorizein and those practically achieved mappings of nature embodied in the working arts. (cited in Shulman, 2004, p. 257)

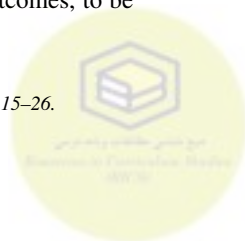
In light of this premise, I describe further on my own practical experiences in curriculum matters.

- The development and growth of knowledge, in all disciplines, depends, among other things, on interactions and personal associations among scholars, nationally and internationally. Hirst claims that:

...we become who we are only by the exercise of our individual capacities in relating to others and by participating in, or reacting to, all manner of socially constructed practices of which we are the heirs. (Hirst, 2005, p. 8)

The work of scholars does not take place in a void; it depends to a large extent on personal and societal context. Akkerman et al (2006) claim that “collaboration in work settings allows professionals to come into contact with ideas and approaches of other professionals, enabling them to reflect on their own ideas and approaches and to consider alternative ideas and approaches” (p. 146). One of the accompanying effects of this general phenomenon is the transfer of ideas from generation to generation through teaching. An example of this history of ideas is the ongoing influence of Schwab on his students, Shulman and Fox, and through them on researchers like me. I include the story of interactions with colleagues in the account of my empirical and conceptual work.

- My own work was shaped by my personal experiences. Moving from country to country, and living in times of war and insecurity, made me distrust any possibility for fixed and prescriptive curricula, which have pre-determined outcomes, to be



valid in the reality of the world. Moreover, living in a multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural country has convinced me that curriculum materials have a double role in society; they have the power to shape a communal ethos, but need to be flexible so that they can serve, as well, the needs of diverse communities. This is the basis for my notion of “curriculum potential”, which I extended to “policy potential”, and will focus on further in this chapter.

- It is possible to discern an “inner logic” in the development of themes of inquiry. In my case, there was a movement from a focus on curriculum development, and the nature of curriculum materials, to interactions between teachers and curriculum, to teacher development, teacher education, and, finally, to policy-making. My empirical studies and publications reflect this inner logic.

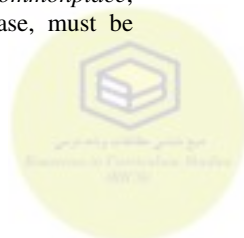
The description and analysis of my journey in the curriculum field starts in the present, stopping at various stations on the way back to finish at the beginning – my early years, my family roots, schooling. The reason for this change in the usual chronological order is my belief that describing my present involvement in curriculum and educational inquiry uncovers the synthesis between curricular practice and theory, between personal experiences and ongoing study, between autobiography and external events and influences.

THE PRESENT

My book on *Policy Making in Education: A Holistic Approach Responding to Global Changes*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield (in press) has its roots in my experiences in curriculum development and policy making, on the one hand, and my studies in the areas of curriculum, teaching, and teacher education, on the other. This book is related, as well, to my role as a biology teacher in high school long ago, and to my intensive involvement in the development of curriculum materials for the Israeli junior high school in the area of biology and ecology.

The book reflects where I am now regarding policy-making and the role of curriculum in this endeavor. I build on some of Schwab’s notions concerning the commonplaces. By “commonplaces,” Schwab (1964; 1973) means those topics and parameters that require attention by planners involved in curriculum development. Schwab suggests the following “commonplaces” for curriculum development: subject matter, learner, teacher, and milieu. Schwab argues that all of these topics must be coordinated so that none is passed by in the process of planning curricula. In my present book, I suggest the following commonplaces for policy-making: scientific background, agents, learners, milieu, and media. The *scientific background commonplace* concerns the knowledge base for making decisions about a policy in education that adequately responds to the current effects of globalization.

The *agent or stakeholder commonplace* covers several important players in the policy field: executives, bureaucrats, educators, parents, as well as organizations like teacher unions and other interest groups. Their interactions, motivations, and power relations are essential determinants in policy-making. The *learner commonplace*, referring to students’ cultural background, age, and knowledge base, must be



accounted for in the process of policy-making. The *milieu commonplace* is an important component in any attempt to plan and implement policy. Milieu is a composite of various parameters in the social and physical realm. The milieu of policy-making includes the economic situation and the political climate. The cultural environment, as well, is meaningful for policy-making. The *media commonplace* constitutes a novel commonplace in educational planning. In the changing world of the 21st century, media are an active player in policy-making. Written, oral, and visual texts voice a range of concerns, critiques, and proposed agendas, thereby demanding the attention of policy-makers.

As in curriculum development, it is essential to co-ordinate considerations of all four commonplaces, so it is my claim that representatives of the commonplaces of policy-making have to be involved in the deliberations of policy makers. My model of policy-making uses another curriculum concept, namely, Bruner's notion of "spiral curriculum". The spiral curriculum, according to Bruner (1996), is built upon previous learning experiences and eventually reaches the highest level of abstraction. At the spiral stage the policy reaches the highest level of specification of goals and strategies for policy in education, building on the previous phases of deliberation.

My present book expounds the essence of some of my own writing in curriculum, teaching and teacher education. I have always viewed these three domains of education as interwoven and closely linked, in theory as well as in practice. Without teachers and the act of teaching curriculum and curricular materials remain deserted books on shelves. Many of my publications have dealt with this relationship.

Relating to curriculum materials, I contend that they are more complex and richer in potential that can be expressed in any list of preconceived goals and objectives. Teachers might use the curriculum potential embedded in the materials in ways which go beyond the explicit intentions of the developers, for different goals, adapting them to their own educational context, using the curriculum potential embedded in the materials (Ben-Peretz, 1990). In analogy to "curriculum potential", I suggest the term "policy potential" in my book on policy-making. The notion of "policy potential" means that policy statements may be adapted to fit specific local contexts. For instance, the general policy recommendations of the matriculation reform committee in Israel to reduce the number of external examinations required adaptation to the needs of religious communities, where specific religious subject-matter disciplines had to be added to the list of compulsory matriculation examinations.

In the following parts of this chapter, I'll relate to some major influences on my work, and will dwell briefly on several stations on my journey, as practitioner in curriculum development, and as researcher in the curriculum domain.

At the end of this autobiographical chapter, I mention my home background and its influences on my development as scholar and teacher. The chapter concludes with my view of the field, its opportunities, and reasons for optimism.



CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

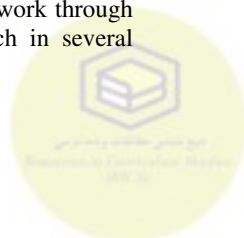
In my case, curriculum practice came before theory. Once one knows how curriculum development progresses in naturalistic circumstances (Walker, 1971), the ground is ready for conceptual and empirical studies. This was my experience. In the year 1967, a phone call introduced me to the practice of curriculum development. At that time, the Ministry of Education in Israel initiated a Center for Curriculum Development to respond to the curricular requirements of the newly established junior high school. About a dozen highly regarded teachers in different subject matter domains were sent to the University of Chicago for a year to study curriculum.

One person in the group was Moshe Silberstein, who was a biology teacher. The phone call came from him, he had heard about me, a biology teacher at a high school in Haifa, and asked me to join the first curriculum development team in biology in the new Center. Our team consisted of five biology teachers with diverse experiences. Moshe Silberstein chaired the team as expert in curriculum development. Our task was set by a group of scholars in biology who decided on the content and scope of the biology curriculum for the first grade of the new junior high school (the seventh school year). The scholars had chosen to adopt an ecological, system approach in biology for the whole junior high school. The first grade students in junior high-school were supposed to focus on: “animals and their environment”; the second grade students on: “plants and their habitat”; and the third grade students on: “people in nature”. I was involved in all three parts, first as a member in the team chaired by Moshe Silberstein, and later as chair of the team developing the “people in nature” materials. I soon became involved in the various components of the curriculum endeavor, development, implementation and evaluation. This work lasted several years and was influential in my work as a curriculum scholar.

CURRICULUM RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS – INTERACTIONS
AND INFLUENCES

For personal reasons, I returned to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem rather late, after years of teaching and curriculum work. My good fortune led me to become the doctoral student of the late Seymour Fox, himself a student of Schwab. Through his lectures and mentoring, Seymour Fox provided me with a framework for doing and studying curriculum. He introduced me to Schwab’s notions of the commonplaces of curriculum development, emphasizing the role of the practical in this process. The four commonplaces: subject matter, learner, teacher, and milieu became the basis for my doctoral thesis, the development of a scheme for curriculum analysis. This scheme was used for analyzing curriculum materials in science education and for analyzing teacher guides.

I would like to emphasize the importance of meetings and interactions with scholars in different parts of the world and their impact on my own work through sabbaticals, conferences, as well as invitations to lecture and teach in several



universities in North America and Europe. International links are the soul of academic development in all fields of knowledge, providing the basis for collaborations and co-operations. Hermans (2001) states that “cultures and selves are seen as moving and mixing and as increasingly sensitive to travel and translocality” (p. 243) and emphasizes the importance of dialogical relationships. I feel that I have been extraordinarily blessed in this respect.

I returned to the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) for several years for summer semesters, and started there an ongoing professional cooperation with Mick Connelly, who used to be chair of the Curriculum Department at OISE and was for many years the editor of *Curriculum Inquiry*. The work and writings of Connelly were a highly significant influence on my own work. Back in 1972, Connelly had already argued that teachers have a role in curriculum development besides central developers (Connelly, 1972). Several studies carried out by myself, or in collaboration with Connelly, Silberstein and Tamir, showed that teachers tended to use curriculum materials in different ways, as choice makers, adaptors or creators (Connelly & Ben-Peretz, 1982; Ben-Peretz, & Silberstein, 1982; Ben-Peretz & Tamir, 1981).

My interest in teachers, as users and implementers of curriculum materials encountered in their daily teaching, led me finally to propose the term “curriculum potential” for the manner in which teachers moved beyond the boundaries of the curriculum prepared externally to school realities in the curriculum department at the Ministry of Education, or at curriculum centers in universities. The notion of curriculum potential meant that curriculum materials, though they express the intentions of their developers, do not prevent their manifold use by teachers for different purposes. This approach reflected the reality of classroom practice, and opened possibilities of adapting centrally prepared materials to specific educational situations, “freeing teachers from the tyranny of texts” (the subtitle of my book: *The Teacher-Curriculum Encounter*, 1990).

After several years of going to OISE, my connection with Michigan State University started in 1987. At that time Lee Shulman was a leading scholar at MSU.

I learned from Lee Shulman, and continue to learn from him since then. His influence on my work expresses itself in several ways. Shulman’s view of teachers as wise professionals whose knowledge about teaching is highly valuable, and whose studies of teaching deserve the status of any scholarly work (Shulman, 2004) has been the focus of much of my work with teachers. My book: *The Teacher-Curriculum Encounter* (1990), as well as my book on *Learning from Experience* (1995), reflect the approach that teachers are autonomous and thoughtful decision makers, developing professional knowledge. Lee Shulman is a role model in many ways. He succeeded in establishing schools of research in education, based, for instance, on his idea of “pedagogic content knowledge”, and has shown time after time that scholars in education have a commitment to society, to withdraw from the ivory tower of university life into the realm of practice and policy making.



Another scholar who was influential on my thinking and writing is Marilyn Cochran-Smith of Boston College who represents similar approaches, and I have learned much from her writings and from personal meetings with her. Marilyn

PERSONAL FAVORITES AMONG MY OWN WORKS:

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- Ben-Peretz, M. (1995). *Learning from Experience: Memory and the Teacher's Account of Teaching*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ben-Peretz (2008). *The Lifecycle of Reform in Education from the Circumstances of Birth to Stages of Decline: Causes, Ideologies and Power Relations*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Cochran-Smith wrote extensively on teacher research (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Cochran-Smith, 2001, 2006). She argues persistently for social change and social justice and for the role of teachers and teacher education in this process. Some of my own studies and publications reflect

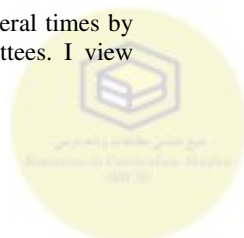
these orientations (Ben-Peretz & Steinhardt, 2001; Ben-Peretz, 2001; Ben-Peretz, 2003; Eilam & Ben-Peretz, 2006,).

Several colleagues at Michigan State University (MSU) became close colleagues and friends, among them Sharon Feiman-Nemser, whose work on teacher education and mentoring enlightened me, and led to some of my publications on teacher education. Our professional and personal connection continues until today. Sharon Feiman-Nemser is currently Mandel Professor of Jewish Education at Brandeis University, and we share an interest in research in Jewish education.

In my work I was influenced by several European scholars, among them I'll mention Sally Brown from the University of Stirling, Scotland, and Friedrich Wilhelm Kron from Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, Germany. I first met Sally Brown at a conference on science teaching in Israel, we became good friends and did some collaborative work; our major joint project was the Routledge International Companion to Education (Moon, Brown, & Ben-Peretz, 2000). Together with Friedrich Kron, Sally Brown and I collaborated in planning and implementing ongoing international symposia on schooling, teaching, and curriculum that moved from Mainz, to Cambridge, to Haifa and to Stirling (Ben-Peretz, 1990a). Several publications emerged from these symposia. Friedrich Kron and I shared, as well, an interest in teachers' reactions to their teaching contexts, and published a joint paper on a study of teachers' professional self-images in different contexts (Ben-Peretz, Mendelson & Kron, 2003). Being motivated by an egalitarian ideology, we also studied the implementation of gender-related curriculum materials in German high schools (Ben-Peretz, Kron & Giladi, 1988).

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN POLICY-MAKING

As part of my involvement in the world of practice, I was asked several times by the Ministry of Education in Israel to chair policy-making committees. I view



policy-making in education as being strongly related to curriculum issues, and I see some commonalities between the process of curriculum development and policy-making. One of these committees concerned the reform of matriculation exams, and one the reform of teacher education. The committee on reform in the Israeli matriculation examinations was appointed by the Minister of Education in 1993 in order to examine a possible reform in the matriculation policy, a central facet in Israel's national secondary school assessment program. It is important to note that matriculation certificates are required for acceptance into Israeli universities and colleges (except for the Israeli Open University). Thus, matriculation examinations are high-stake exams, creating stress for students, teachers, and parents.

The committee, chaired by me, operated for one and a half years. Members of the committee represented different stakeholders and interest groups concerning matriculation reform, such as teacher unions and university representatives. In the process of deliberations, several dilemmas and conflicts arose. One dilemma concerned cultural knowledge. Should all students share a common core of knowledge, or should the emphasis be placed on the cultures of diverse and heterogeneous student populations? Conflicting interests led committee members either to call for policy that met personal and societal needs by promoting excellence, or to press for a commitment to equity and social integration. The new assessment policy included in the final report, *Bagrut [Matriculation] 2000: The report of the committee to examine matriculation examinations*, submitted to the Minister of Education in 1994 represented ideological and practical compromises (Israel Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport, 1994).

The impetus for appointing a committee on reform of teacher education was the current state of teacher education in Israel. One of the reasons for re-examining the nature of teacher education was the growing awareness of the unique challenges involved in educating citizens of the 21st century, in the face of globalization trends. The main expectation voiced by interest groups outside the committee was that the initiation of a change in teacher education would spark change in the education system as a whole.

Some of the final recommendations of the committee presented to the Minister of Education concerned the curriculum of teacher education programs. Teachers are perceived, first and foremost, in the widest sense, as educators. As such, they should possess intellectually wide horizons in many disciplines, expertise in their discipline of choice, as well as a solid knowledge base about the various cultural heritages of society, and a commitment to democratic values. The committee outlined these needs and recommended both the inclusion of a liberal arts education and the nurturing of cultural heritage as part of recommended curricula for teacher education programs.

As can be seen in this brief overview of my activities in policy-making in Israel there is a strong connection between policy-making in education and curricular themes. Some of these issues were treated in my publications, linking theory with practice (Ben-Peretz, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2004).



MY ROOTS: EARLY YEARS AND THEIR INFLUENCES

I grew up in a family that was deeply committed to study and teaching. My father was an ordained Rabbi in a small town in the Ukraine, where his father and forefathers were Rabbis of the congregation. When he moved to Germany he became the Head of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. Study and teaching were his passion. When we were forced to leave Germany as refugees, and came to Haifa, he found a position as principal of an elementary school, but, still, continued his Biblical studies. My mother was born in Germany and was one of the few women who earned a Ph.D at the University of Breslau in 1913. She studied literature and art history. Our home was filled with books and it was taken for granted that both my brother and I would find our vocation in academic life, which we did. While at high school, I was fascinated by biology, but also attracted to education. At the age of fifteen, I even tried to write a book on the "Ideal School".

It might well be that my childhood experience as an immigrant in a new country, without mastery of the Hebrew language made me aware of the problems

PERSONAL FAVORITES AMONG OTHER SCHOLARS:
Shulman, L.S. (2004). *The Wisdom of Practice: Essays on Teaching, Learning, and Learning to Teach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Westbury, I. & Wilkof, N.J. (Eds.) (1978). *Joseph J. Schwab Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

of creating positive and constructive classroom situations. These issues continued to preoccupy me in my professional life. My first choice of studies was biology. Only at the Master

and Ph.D level I turned to education. I started as a biology teacher, became involved in curriculum development in biology, and finally entered academic life. The circle closed, from my first attempt to write a book on education, to my present book on policy-making in education.

My personal story had another deep impact on my scholarly work. Judaism pays paramount attention to memory; Jews are commanded to remember their ancient, as well as recent history. From the Exodus from Egypt and the momentous event of receiving the Ten Commandments in Sinai, to the horrific experiences of the Holocaust, Jews hallow memory. At home, my mother taught me the importance of memory as a way to gain insight into the present and future (Rabin, 1975).

This background raised my deep interest in memory and its role and function in the professional lives and development of teachers that led to my study of the memories of retired teachers (Ben-Peretz, 1995). The collection of stories of retired teachers in Israel provides a mode of reconstructing the history of practice over time. The book analyzes the manner in which teaching experience is transformed into professional wisdom. It found that different teaching situations influence the content of retired teachers' memories regarding their practice. This finding is in line with Cornbleth's (1990) argument concerning the impact of context on curriculum:



The relevant socio-cultural context of curriculum consists of those extra-systemic demographic, social, political, and economic conditions, traditions and ideologies, and events that influence curriculum and curriculum change (p. 31)

An interesting finding of my study of teachers' memories concerns the central role interpersonal relations with colleagues, students, administrators, and parents play in their professional lives. An echo of the centrality of interpersonal relations in professions can be found in my own intellectual self-portrait.

I believe that my most important contributions to curriculum scholarship are my publications concerning curriculum and policy potential, as well as my work connecting research on teaching to theories of memory. In the frame of studying teaching, I edited, along with Rainer Bromme, a volume on time in education (1990). This book relates to the instructional, curricular, sociological, and personal aspects of time. These publications express my conception of curriculum and its role in society.

CONCLUSIONS AND A LOOK TO THE FUTURE

I called this chapter "My Journey in the Curriculum Field: Looking Back with Hope". All human lives are a journey, whether short or long, and each person goes his or her own route. James Thurber has a wonderful saying:

All men should strive
to learn before they die;

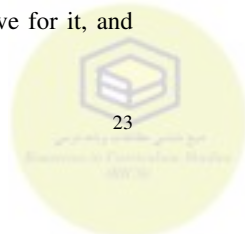
what they are running from; and to; and why (cited in: Charlton, 1994)

Writing an autobiographical essay is a good opportunity to ask oneself these questions. It is not easy to understand what one is running from. In my own case, I believe that in my professional life I am running away from the insecurity of life in Israel, on the one hand, and from injustice, and ignorance, to the vision of a better future, on the other hand.

The curriculum field has known many transformations and upheavals, from the time that Schwab wrote about its moribund state (Schwab, 1969). We have learned much. We know how difficult it is to implement innovative curricula (for instance, Cohen and Spillane, 1992). We are aware of the political nature of the curriculum domain (Apple, Kenway, Kenway & Singh, 2007). We are much wiser concerning the role of teachers in the curriculum endeavor (for instance Schwab, 1983; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). Yet, throughout the decades, the curriculum enterprise continued to look forward with hope. MacDonald (1975) claimed that: "Curriculum design is a form of 'utopianism'" (quoted by Beyer and Liston, p. xvi), namely, a deep desire to change and improve the world, according to certain theories and ideologies. This motto strikes a special note for me as, at one time, I used to start my curriculum courses with a recording of a Hebrew song that says:

"You and I are going to change the world. Many have said this and failed,
and still, You and I are going to change the world."

As we all know, utopia is unattainable, but we still continue to strive for it, and curriculum is one of our ways.



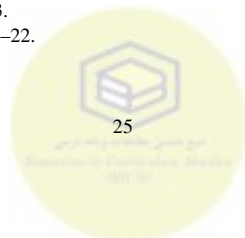
Bruner defined curriculum as “animated conversation” (cited in Ben-Peretz, 2008, p. 73). I like this definition. It involves both learners and teachers actively in the process of teaching and learning while implementing curriculum materials. It might also be understood as relating to the ongoing interactions between curriculum and society. Society plays an essential role in developing and implementing curricula and has also long been viewed as one of the sources of curriculum objectives. There always has been hope in society, and among curriculum developers, that curriculum is a vehicle for improving the quality of life. This hope continues to the present. The animated curriculum conversation, which gives hope for a better future for mankind, must not cease.

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BEN-PERETZ

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Miriam Ben-Peretz
University of Haifa, Israel



LOUISE M. BERMAN

CURRICULUM STUDIES: INWARD JOURNEY, DISCIPLINED INQUIRY, AND CREATIVE LINKAGES

Memories, perceptions, significant events, yearnings, decisive moments, reflections—from these each person creates a childhood, a young adult, a professional person, a mature individual. Life experiences, thoughtful people, and inner readiness to deal with the contexts in which people find themselves shape the ways persons think, feel, and create. And so scattered remnants of past learnings, expectations, and dilemmas help form persons at all stages of life searching for life's meaning and grateful for fresh insights along the way.

LIFE AS A YOUNG CHILD

A period of upheaval, financial depression, followed by World War II meant that many North Americans as well as peoples from other countries did not live life as usual. The collapse of financial institutions, as well as wars, brought about displacement of persons as families and individuals sought refuge with others who were often strangers. During that period of instability, I was born in 1928 in Hartford, Connecticut. My father had a small law practice. My mother, his former secretary, became his significant telephone adviser as she raised their four children. When I was two years old, my parents and I moved to West Hartford, where two brothers and a sister arrived.

A little one-room schoolhouse was within a few blocks from our house, but as a young child I watched from the backyard a large school being built to house kindergarten through grade nine. Suburbia was arriving. We children all attended Sedgwick Elementary and Junior High School. The curriculum at Sedgwick School and later at Hall High School was classical in its orientation. I especially enjoyed musical events, plays, and certain of the more creative aspects of school.

Even though our immediate surroundings were friendly to families raising their young, the larger world entered our setting through newsreels, newspapers, radio, telephone, and networks of persons concerned about life in troubling times. My young brother who delivered *The Hartford Courant* would have much of the paper read by the time most of the family arose. He would give us daily briefings of what was happening in various parts of the world, particularly Germany and surrounding areas. My father, each evening, would explore the neighborhood to insure that each home had enough window covering so that no lights were evident from the outside.

In addition, my parents sought to assist strangers and relatives from war-torn Europe arriving with little but the clothes on their backs and minimal luggage.

In addition to their heartaches, they brought many gifts and talents. As a child I was saddened by their plights, but in many ways saw the indomitable human spirit. For example, a concert pianist who shared my bedroom and sometimes awoke me at night with her nightmares, soon continued her piano career in a new land. Another time two young women arrived, the one with a large hope chest which was stored in our attic. Shortly after coming to the USA she received word that her fiancé was killed in action.

The stories, heartaches, yearnings, comings, and leavings of people I did not know made their impact upon me. In retrospect, these experiences of being with strangers who through no fault of their own felt they had to leave their countries to save their own lives were quite formative for me. I expect that my focus, both in my life and in my profession, upon ethics, values, world cooperation, justice, caring, decision, and other human process skills came about as a result of these poignant personal encounters early in my life.

LIFE AS A YOUNG ADULT

Following my graduation from high school, I attended Wheaton College, Illinois. The war having recently ended, my class was made up primarily of veterans with their young families. Textbooks were difficult to obtain. In certain classes where I could not get the text, I got through by studying class notes and using the library. My adviser, after seeing my grades were not what she expected, inquired as to the reason. When she heard my dilemma, she inquired among faculty and obtained the necessary works.

My early classes in English literature were taught by thoughtful, wise persons; so I decided to major in that area. I graduated with a broadly-based degree in arts and science. Among my electives was a course in philosophy of education which included study of John Dewey (Dewey, 1956). Since the bulk of my education was heavily based upon memorization, I found compelling his ideas on experience, on thinking, on investigation, on schoolrooms as mini-communities. In the back of my mind I stored a desire to attend Teachers College, Columbia University, where Dewey had taught. Upon graduation from Wheaton College, I had a call from a small private school in northern New Jersey. The school had a half-day opening for a kindergarten teacher. Would I be interested? I answered to the effect that I did not have the qualifications. But after a moment's reflection, I said, "I am the oldest of four children." I was hired. Concurrently with my first teaching job, I began a master's degree in Curriculum and Teaching at Teachers College.

I learned as I started working with children in the context of a big old house that children's hopes, fears, and gifts did not have much bearing on the planned curriculum which included teaching horizontal and vertical lines on the first day of school. The gaze of each child made me realize that I had to have the courage to try different approaches.

Teachers College permitted, even encouraged me, to consider alternative approaches to teaching. The crowds at Columbia, the immensity of New York City, the numbers with which professors were dealing, the diversity of the student

population, the exciting ideas considered in conversations all were energizing. I was passionate about teaching and learning. Roma Gans, my adviser, opened up the many-faceted dimensions of teaching for life in a democracy. In her class, "The Work of the Teacher," she and others urged studying our contexts as foundation for making curriculum decisions. Daily reading of the *New York Times*, an all-night trip around New York City, numerous encounters with persons like and unlike me caused me to realize that teaching could be a fascinating and worthwhile vocation.

After a year in the private school, I returned to my home state of Connecticut and spent seven years teaching in four different schools, two of them laboratory schools associated with what is now Central Connecticut State University. During that time I completed my master's degree and took further study at Teachers College.

I also chaired a curriculum committee which was composed of about 50 representatives from the laboratory school and various units of the University (then a college). Hardworking and eager to bring about change, the committee started with Social Studies. As chair I was feeling overwhelmed with the challenge of the job and being under-prepared. A colleague suggested I take some work at Teachers College with Alice Miel, who was a leader in curriculum development. She became my adviser and has been a teacher, lifelong colleague, and friend until her death.

In *Changing the Curriculum: A Social Process*, she describes how clinging to what may have been a good arrangement may become "crystallized" "or a good beginning that has turned in upon itself" (Miel, 1946, p. 1). She wrote and taught how such school procedures as departmentalization, textbooks, the graded school, top-down curriculum development, and other school practices deter vibrant ongoing curriculum change which involves all the players including teachers and students. Curriculum is *not just* a course of study but rather the "result of interaction of a complex of factors, including the physical environment and the desires, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and skills of the persons served by and serving the schools" (Miel, 1946, p. 10). From my first encounters with curriculum work, I resonated with the importance of involving all the persons concerned with curriculum. Ongoingness, context, human relations, and modes of thinking and feeling as major components of any curriculum activity were critical to Miel. I accepted the essence of her views, although we might disagree on minor points.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PEOPLE

Since I was blessed with persons along the way who encouraged me to explore my sometimes discontent with things as they were, I owe much to principals and supervisors who early in my career permitted me, indeed often encouraged me, to try out ideas that were not necessarily in the written curricula. For example, feeling strongly that students needed to have broader purposes in learning to read and write than giving attention to series of detached assignments, I requested permission to teach communication through self-written materials and self-selected books that related to themselves or their larger community. My unhappiness with things as they were was mitigated by publishers' generosity in donating books and by

principals' willingness to let me use my judgment in implementing ideas seemingly energizing for students. I found most of the supervisors and principals accepted reasoned judgments and plans.

During my doctoral program I worked closely with Alice Miel on a number of projects. For example, she had a large group of students from other lands. These students wanted to learn to develop textbook devices. Miel asked me to bring together examples of questions and activities found in the texts of the USA. I did not find many that built upon her notions of thinking, valuing, and creating; so I presented a proposal to which she agreed. The working paper for the students was later published as *From Thinking to Behaving* (Berman, 1967).

In Miel's course on Social Learnings in the Elementary School, which I sometimes co-taught with her, she dealt with the responsibility of the public to prepare the young for life in a democratic society. She listened thoughtfully to teachers' interpretations of their classroom experiences and then skillfully wove what she heard into mini-lectures. Democratic problem-solving, creating "socially useful meanings," extending "life space," and feeling good about one's self were threads that appeared frequently (Miel & Brogan, 1957). Practicality, vision, encouragement, and vision-expansion ordinarily invited students to be better able to make effective curricular decisions. Miel stressed the importance of starting with gnawing problems, expanding vision, and being open to new insights as fundamental to teachers and students. That people needed both encouragement and criticism were part of her thinking and being.

William Alexander, a summer visiting professor from the University of Florida, gave me pause to reflect on the work of the curriculum supervisor or leader. Alexander practiced skills in human relations which he considered integral to curriculum development. Like Miel, he stressed the importance of persons.

Although TC's Department of Curriculum and Teaching had a number of subspecialties, I felt the need for certain philosophical underpinnings which would bring together people who had a variety of educational functions. Margaret Lindsey, a specialist in teacher education, was helpful to this young, naive, shy idealist on certain of the subtleties of higher education.

Florence Stratemeyer and Arno Bellack, although they approached the field of curriculum in different ways, both tried to apply some order to the field. In a work over 700 pages in length, Stratemeyer and her associates developed "A Proposal for Designing Curriculum in Our Times" (Stratemeyer, et al., 1957, Chapter 5). Based on the concept of "persistent life situations," the work recommended experiences and learnings people need to live well. Stratemeyer's work is prescriptive and full of suggestions for implementing the basic learnings advocated. Miel tends to description and analysis of actual teacher experiences. Both individuals had much experience in schools with teachers, children, and curriculum developers.

Arno Bellack articulated the need for curriculum workers and theorists to have strong statements of psychological and social underpinnings congruent with proposed activities and learnings. He was interested in building a series of research questions that might be utilized by other researchers in the field. For example, curriculum questions might be stated: If you want _____ to happen, then do or try

_____. By having a strong knowledge base through utilizing common questions, we might move toward more exacting theories of curriculum.

In a different vein, I was also a student of Dwayne Huebner who, as a new assistant professor, had a joint appointment with Teachers College and Union Theological Seminary across the street at 120th Street and Broadway. Huebner held an existential perspective on life and curriculum. Drawing upon such philosophers as Martin Buber (1958), Jean-Paul Sartre (1956), and Paul Tillich (1952), the underlying themes had to do with the proposition that what a person makes of himself or herself is what matters, that assuming responsibility for self while caring for others is important, that form is created by self for self. Temporality, reverence, personal ethics, and valuing are critical to the creation of self.

When I graduated from TC in 1960 and went to teach at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, I had a head full of varying perspectives, files of class notes of these and other professors, and a mind full of questions about what I should teach in graduate curriculum classes. I felt a need not only to share the knowledge of the "greats" but also to develop a perspective of my own on the field that was emerging as curriculum studies.

AN EXPLORER AND PROFESSOR OF CURRICULUM

I resonated with Dewey's emphasis upon experience. I also felt that persons needed to communicate meanings of what they were undergoing and their changing

insights. While I was at TC I worked on an annotated bibliography for a book on creativity in teaching which Alice Miel and others were writing (Miel, 1961). As I was in contact with many who were conducting seminal research on creativity, I found it very much influencing my interest

SELECTED PERSONAL WRITINGS

Creativity in Education (1963)

From Thinking to Behaving (1967)

New Priorities in the Curriculum (1968)

Supervision, Staff Development and Leadership (1971)

Curriculum: Teaching the How, What, and Why of Living (1977)
with Roderick

Normative Inquiry: Dimensions and Stances (1991)

Toward a Curriculum for Being (1991) with others

Teacher as Poet (1999)

in processes, such as perceiving, communicating, loving and caring, knowing, decision making, patterning, and valuing. All of these processes could be learned, implemented, and communicated in more or less creative ways. Because in real life situations people do not ordinarily think in terms of separate subjects, I felt that these processes could be the basis of fresh ways of considering what school programs might look like.

In addition to my teaching, I worked on the implementation of process-oriented curriculum through a joint project with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee Public Schools, and the city's educational television station. The

project involved my being in classrooms of 50 different teachers selected by the schools as being among the more creative, the visiting of six university campuses where creativity was being studied, and the selection of six professors to work with all parties involved in the preparation of videotapes to be used in in-service programs. The consultants were Alice Miel, Teachers College, Columbia University; E. Paul Torrance, University of Minnesota; Marie Hughes, University of Utah; Arthur Foshay, Teachers College, Columbia University; Frank Barron, University of California, Berkeley; and Harold Anderson, Michigan State University. Each videotape involved an interview with the professor interspersed with classroom teachers giving examples of how the concepts developed early in the tapes might be implemented in classrooms. With the consultants and teachers I prepared a handbook to accompany the various tapes (Berman, 1963).

Toward the end of my five years at UWM I was invited to write a book on my developing ideas about curriculum. I wrote a draft of *New Priorities in the Curriculum*. With youthful zest and dreams, I envisioned schools working toward more process-based priorities as bases for curriculum and teaching. On the other hand, I wanted schools to develop curriculum as the processes seemed appropriate to them. My work was not a blueprint but rather a systematized alternative to prevailing curricula. The priorities of the separate subject curricula remain even though many schools and school systems rethink their curricula in terms of increased attention to decision-making, patterning, knowing, and other process skills.

In the early years of curriculum work, many experienced curriculum theorists and researchers enriched my life as a newcomer to the field. Through organizational networks, compelling authors in curriculum and other fields, and a network of persons who cared about the field and about me, I realize I had a rich heritage in the field.

In 1965 I had an invitation to become Associate Secretary for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in Washington, D. C. and was responsible for recommending to the Executive Committee possible program thrusts. This was accomplished primarily through meeting with Councils, Committees, Commissions on such topics as elementary education, secondary education, current curriculum developments, teacher education, supervision, and curriculum theory. ASCD was housed on 16th Street in Washington in the building of the National Education Association. The close proximity of ASCD to other educational organizations made for relatively easy access to persons in other groups, for the cross-fertilization of ideas, and for building a more united profession. I was enriched by knowing what was happening in curriculum in other areas of the country. My interest in ASCD continued after my leaving the staff in 1967.

That summer I decided to rescue my draft of *New Priorities in the Curriculum* and get it ready for publication (1968). I also wrote a small volume for supervisors as a guide for implementing *New Priorities* (1971).

During the 1960s intense activity interacting with curricularists, researchers, students, and teachers were interspersed with two periods when I took time to

reflect and write. The rich experiences I had with persons of various ideas about knowledge, ethics, values, communication, creativity, schooling, the relation of various forms of inquiry to school curricula, and related topics formed a normative base for much of my work in curriculum studies.

REACHING FOR MATURITY (AND STILL REACHING!)

From ASCD I went to the University of Maryland, College Park, where Vernon Anderson was Dean of the College of Education. The College had a Nursery-Kindergarten which occupied much of the first floor of the College. I went to UMCP as Professor and Director of the Nursery-Kindergarten, later named The Center for Young Children. The Nursery-Kindergarten was formerly under the leadership of James Hymes, a foremost thinker in early childhood education. In light, however, of changing aspects of colleges of education, the Center for Young Children was to be a research center. Although the Nursery-Kindergarten had the reputation of being a quality program, now the Center had the expectation of producing writing and research. Much time was given to teachers individually and collectively working out plans for the diverse children they served. Interests of teachers seemed to coalesce as we spent time together. Time spent with children was adjusted to accommodate to meet expectations of conducting research with faculty or alone, of explicating curricular plans, and of meeting with student teachers, parents, and the many visitors who observed classrooms through one-way vision facilities. A research advisory council composed of faculty of the various university units encouraged, advised, planned with teachers, and assisted in the dissemination of research findings. A series of Occasional Papers in addition to articles in refereed journal grew out of the work of the Center. Teachers frequently focused upon decision-making skills in young children. A major thrust was the study of children's involvement in their own learning (Berman & Roderick, 1977). The instruments designed in the Center were also used in other school and non-school settings.

After eight years with the Center for Young Children, I left it to engage more fully in other activities integral to university life. No matter what others tasks I undertook, I ordinarily advised graduate students and taught classes, such as "Principles of Curriculum Development," "Curriculum and the Future," "Scholarly Thought and Contemporary Curriculum," "The School Curriculum and Instructional Supervision."

I enjoyed teaching large classes in which the interplay of students' ideas added zest to conversation. Teaching smaller advanced classes and mentoring doctoral students invited the advancement of knowledge. Doctoral students came from diverse fields and therefore brought a wide range of topics for their dissertations. A number of students were nursing educators. Certain of them later compiled summaries of their studies into an edited book, *Being Called to Care* (Lashley, et al., 1994). Teaching, research, writing, mentoring, and consulting reinforced each other.

CROSS-NATIONAL EXPERIENCES AS A MEANS OF GROWTH

Throughout my career I had an interest in how people from other lands and settings made sense of their lives, having absorbed the concept that meaning making is an internal process. From Dwayne Huebner, Alice Miel, Philip Phenix, Arthur Combs, and others, I gathered that the imposition of knowledge from outside sources does not necessarily produce its intended results either with teachers or students. My contacts with persons from other lands reinforced that understanding.

While I was at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, I had the opportunity to develop with an interdisciplinary team a community development project based in Northeast Brazil. Despite the economic poverty of most of the region, the people had a resilience and sense of caring that needed to be considered in developing plans with the community and its leaders. I learned much about the necessity of involving those for whom change is intended in the change process, both in educational and social endeavors.

During a period of teaching and serving as an educational consultant at the University of Puerto Rico, I learned to appreciate the serious and yet playful natures of those with whom I worked. Hospitality and friendship accompanied the exploration of rich ideas. Conversation on curricular matters did not necessarily have to take place in an office or classroom.

At the University of British Columbia, Jessie Roderick and I co-taught a large workshop for those not yet possessing full teacher certification. I learned of the diversity of Canada's population and of the talents and strengths of those living and working in parts of northwest Canada. The significance of context for those whom education is intended came out sharply in working with Canada's teachers and administrators.

Several weeks teaching at a summer institute sponsored by American Professionals in Partnership with Lithuanian Educators (APPLE) made me realize how eager oppressed people from many parts of the world are to learn democratic principles. Lithuanians, a people with a rich heritage, were eager to regroup after a period of domination. How do we USAers sensitively work with people who desire to change when we may be so aware of our own shortcomings and deficiencies?

My interest in other cultures and their meanings for curriculum development was a major reason for my having a sustained involvement in the creation and development of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI). It started when I was working at ASCD. The Association had a small group of people interested in international education. Through letters from these people and a small grant from a foundation, we were able to gather at an ASCD national conference persons interested in expanding ASCD's role in cooperation across nations on curriculum matters. The work of the small group eventuated in a proposal to hold a conference at Asilomar, California, to which representatives from all parts of the world would be invited. The purpose of the meetings was to exchange ideas, enlarge perspectives, and elaborate on the meaning of world cooperation in education rather than grand designs for world curriculum.

The conference was held in 1970 with about 350 participants (Miel & Berman, 1970). The groups soon broke its ties with ASCD in order to ensure its being a

world organization rather than a USA one. Through the years the predominant membership changed as a result of where in the world the former triennial and currently biennial conferences are held. Publications include topical bulletins, conference proceedings, and newsletters. Meeting with persons who share their curriculum interests energizes participants. On the other hand, the importance of dealing with conflict has been a learning for many of us.

WCCI has been a major professional interest. Other professional organizations have provided spaces in which to share ideas, hold leadership positions, serve on publications committees, and other working groups. ASCD, the American Educational Research Association, Kappa Delta Pi and its Laureate Chapter, and Professors of Curriculum were important to me. In addition to contributing to my professional growth, these organizations were bases for friendships for students with whom I worked and for me.

Through the interaction with students and colleagues from around the world, I feel that my chosen field, currently called Curriculum Studies, has invited me to see a plethora of possibilities.

At the local level a group of five women has been meeting for many years to consider viable forms of inquiry for knowledge generating in curriculum. Francine Hultgren, at the time with a new doctorate from Pennsylvania State University, provided perspectives on interpretive research. Mary Rivkin, Diane Lee, Jessie Roderick, and I were also members of the group. The meaning of interpretive research for the questions we were raising caused us to invite Ted Aoki, Professor at the Universities of British Columbia and Alberta, to join us in our curriculum considerations. Aoki was a congenial guide, friend, and mentor. Particularly helpful to me were his orientations to thinking about curriculum inquiry: empirical analytic, situational interpretive, and critical. He gives systematic attention to these orientations in *Curriculum in a New Key* (2005, Chapter 1). Certain products of the work the group and Aoki did together are in *Toward Curriculum for Being* (Berman, et al., 1991).

PERSISTENT QUESTIONS, THOUGHTS, AND WONDERINGS

I am happy to have been a professional educator during a very fertile time in the history of Curriculum Studies. Reflection upon the field suggests that the nature of curriculum questions persists. Practices are in many ways similar, but new opportunities are available through technological possibilities. How can we better deal with the poetic, yet the murkiness of human nature with the tools we now have available? What are the best ways to teach about and utilize these tools in the creation, utilization, and evaluation of curricular orientations? What attitudes, values, and priorities must be continuously taught in a time of rethinking democratic practices? How do we provide settings where teachers and students learn worthwhile commitments when knowledge is frequently not linked to larger wholes? How do we develop a sense of compassion and caring in persons and communities when overload of activity is common?

FAVORITES BY OTHER AUTHORS

- Aoki (2005) *Curriculum in a New Key*
 Buber (1958) *I and Thou*
 Combs & Snygg (1959) *Individual Behavior*
 Darrock & Silvers (1982) *Interpretive Human Studies*
 Merleau-Ponty (1964) *The Primacy of Perception and Other Essays*
 Miel (1946) *Changing the Curriculum*
 Moyers (1995) *The Language of Life: A Festival of Poets*
 Phenix (1964) *Realms of Meaning*
 Pinar (1975) *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists*
 Ricoeur (1976) *Interpretation Theory*
 Rilke (1990) *Selected Poems*
 Sartre (1956) *Being and Nothingness*
 Short (1991) *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry*
 Sternberg (1988) *The Nature of Creativity*
 Stratemeyer (1957) *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*
 Tillich (1952) *The Courage To Be*

As I think back on my career, it was an evolutionary process. I started teaching in a small school in 1950. Most recently I served in an advisory capacity in an expanding private school. I started work in Curriculum Studies at a time where modes of inquiry were those derived primarily from the scientific model. I now realize that the use of metaphor and the poetic is given place in Curriculum Studies and in teaching (Berman, 1999). We not only codify what is, but we have opportunities to use language and

ways of thinking to open the mind to new possibilities. It seems that we are at a place when persons with different orientations to exploring an idea can come together to share our diverse studies. Hopefully, curriculum workers have learned to value civility so that conversation is not only critical but also encouraging.

I realize I am energized when I share a vision with a small group of people. I am energized when a spark ignites a small fire into flames of passion. I may become lethargic when an end toward which I am working does not seem worthwhile. With Maxine Greene, I want to see the possible rather than to be deterred by the negative. I want to see and hear the poetry of people's souls.

I am not ecstatic about systematizing and passing on organizational schemes, but I have done so. I appreciate those who encourage some structure and commonalities in our thinking about Curriculum Studies. I also resonate with persons excited about new ideas that stimulate the imagination. I like to see pathways being cut and perhaps sharing in the labor of cutting them. I want to see the faces and hear the voices of those who are co-creating curricula for compassionate learning communities. I want to delight in living and having others join me in the process.

In one of my first books, *New Priorities in the Curriculum*, I set the stage for much of my future thinking. I still hold to the central themes of that work although I think differently and perhaps more fully about certain topics and issues. The journey continues rooted and grounded in basic but perhaps changing orientations toward the field, education, people, and life.

T. S. Eliot's words have much meaning for me.

... we die to each other daily
 What we know of other people

Is only our memory of the moments
 During which we knew them. And they have
 changed since then
 To pretend that they and we are the same
 is a useful and convenient social invention
 Which must sometime be broken. We must
 also remember
 That at every meeting we are meeting a stranger.

T. S. Eliot, *The Cocktail Party*

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Louise Berman
University of Maryland

F. MICHAEL CONNELLY

BRIDGES FROM THEN TO NOW AND FROM THEM TO US:

NARRATIVE THREADS ON THE LANDSCAPE OF 'THE PRACTICAL'

Writing this portrait I am aware of crafting a view of myself which could have, faithfully, been written quite differently. As Joe Schwab taught, 'things in the practical world can always be otherwise.' Moreover, the set of chapters in this book constitute a meta-level narrative of the field; one that might appear differently if we authors chose different narrative threads for emphasis, or if different authors were chosen. The portrait of educational philosophy in *Leaders in Philosophy*, this volume's predecessor, may be read as a panegyric for analytic philosophy. Scheffler wrote that "The book before us ... destroys this myth" (of a tired analysis) by exhibiting the widespread accomplishment of analytic methods." Still, working at the same time as the book's authors, other philosophic influences were important to my thinking – Schwab, Dunkel, Dewey, Bentley, Aristotle, Plato, Buber, McKeon, Kuhn, McDiarmid, McIntyre, Johnson, Crites, Polanyi, and a group of philosophers of science important to how I thought about science curriculum, none of whom easily fit the analytic philosophy narrative. I believe that Confucius will be added to the list if my current Sister-School Network thinking continues its current direction. Because I graduated in philosophy, and spent my academic life in curriculum, one of my first thoughts was to write this portrait as my engagement with these two domains. But, if *Leaders in Philosophy* is the authoritative voice my philosophic influences have been slightly askew, perhaps iconoclastic, and I abandoned this plan. I have, however, held on to the idea of the intellectual ferment of the times and its connection to my practical school-based curriculum work.

I have made various reflective passes at crafting a portrait: a teacher narrative in my retirement Festschrift book (DeCarion, et al, 2003), a conceptual narrative of my career long inquiry into Schwab's "the practical" (Connelly, with Xu, 2007), and a narrative of curriculum studies in the final chapter of *The Sage Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, (Connelly and Xu, 2008). Being aware of these and other portraits that might be created for this volume I found it challenging to craft an appropriate narrative thread.

My uneasy solution is to focus on the practical school curriculum changes I experienced since growing up on a cattle ranch in western Canada. *From then to now* references my transition from a one-room rural elementary school, to my

work in Toronto schools, and to my research and development Sister-School Network activities with Toronto and Shanghai schools. *From them to us* highlights the narrative thread of cultural diversity in the time between *then and now*. My one-room school was entirely European. I now work in a city where virtually every country in the world is represented and where over half the school age children came from homes where English is not the first language. Long Him, who owned the general store in Lundbreck, the small railway stop hamlet nearest the ranch, was the only Chinese, indeed the only "foreigner," in my world. Chinese students are the majority in Bay Street Community School in Toronto where I now work; and the Sister School Network Project is designed as a study of Chinese and Canadian cultural curriculum bridges, an idea lifted from Xu's (2006) research.

I treated the task as an inquiry into what links might be established between my rural background, my undergraduate and masters' level studies in agriculture and transmission genetics, the various topics that have occupied my academic attention—science education, teacher education and development, personal practical knowledge, narrative inquiry, cross-cultural educational links between China and Canada—and the influences of my teachers, my students, and the times. Because there are so many intersecting narrative threads I have, for now, dropped several. Here are four which have been so central to my curriculum journey that I need, at least, to name them. *One* is the teaching thread where the key figures are my mother (my one-room school teacher), Joe Schwab (my dissertation supervisor), and one hundred or so thesis students I have supervised. My mother and Schwab were polar opposites and their juxtaposition set up an endless unresolved puzzle of how to teach (Connelly, 2000). These teachers shaped my teaching and my students shaped the inquiries I pursued. Because students have been so influential in my work I have cited several, restricted to those who worked as graduate assistants in my various projects. I owe much to those not mentioned. A *second* thread is *Curriculum Inquiry*, on which I began working shortly after arriving at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), and which provided a career-long window on curriculum studies.

The *third* is my UNICEF-CIDA supported work during the 1990's on the *Egyptian Community Schools Girl-Child Project* and my discussions with Joe Farrell, a comparative educator who worked with me on the project, on community education, culture, and school reform. This work circled my interest back to one-room schools, the vehicle for reaching rural Egyptian children. This work also gave me a different perspective on community schools from the one where I spend so much time in Toronto, a perspective in which the community takes ownership of the school from its construction to its curriculum which is oriented to community work rhythms and values. I am 'at home' in these schools where I see the narrative unities connected to my one room country school. There the community maintained the softball field, the swings and teeter totter, the horse barn for the children who rode to school, and the wood and coal sheds, and where community meetings and dances were held. These are images that guide my reading of works such as Dewey's *The School and the Curriculum: and, The School and Society* (1956). Of course, my reading of this work reshaped my memories and altered their significance for

Egyptian one-room schools. One of my Egypt accomplishments was to play a key role in the creation of the recently established *Professional Academy of Teachers*.

The *fourth* undeveloped thread is the influence of Gerry Connelly, my wife. She is a former science teacher, science department head, school administrator, curriculum/program coordinator for the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), Director of the Ontario Ministry of Education's Science Curriculum Policy Reform, Director of the Curriculum Branch for the Ontario Ministry of Education and, now, Director of Education for the TDSB, Canada's largest school board. Somewhat like my ranch conversations described below with my brother, Douglas Connelly, on changes on the ranch landscape, our conversations are about the practical, concrete, landscape of curriculum: how and what science to teach, its place in the overall curriculum, policy, program, politics, and public debate. These practical curriculum matters also have an international dimension as the school system is visited by people around the world interested in how diversity is treated in the first country to have a multiculturalism policy. There is even foreign government curriculum intervention to discuss in response to globally sensitive issues such as are found in the board's genocide curriculum. Just as *Curriculum Inquiry* was a window on curriculum studies, my conversations on these curriculum matters are a window on the practical *labyrinth* of connections between classroom practice, public interest, politics, policy deliberation, and world affairs. For me, this labyrinth defines the ground for the field of curriculum studies and is the proper source and target of its inquiries.

THE TIMES

I reflected on the times in *Life in the Foothills of Curriculum* (2000), and in a 2008 AERA Curriculum Studies Vice Presidential Session on Joe Schwab's legacy. When I joined OISE in 1968, it was three years old and in the midst of a staffing and program development boom. Its faculty were products of the 'ban the bomb,' 'get out of Vietnam,' student protest generation. The same year, 1968, *Living and Learning*, an Ontario Ministry of Education report aimed at a sweeping overhaul of public education, was published. The authors were aware of the educational reforms and new institutions of higher education – centers, laboratories, and research, development and teaching places like OISE – springing up around the world. OISE was a product of its times. Kuhn's (1962) *The structure of scientific revolutions* was published shortly before I began working with Schwab in 1964 and I was struck by the intellectual compatibility of Kuhn's ideas on the growth of scientific ideas and Schwab's (1960) notions on "fluid inquiry". Working with Schwab and then at OISE had the feel of being in touch with an exciting, expanding, intellectual world. The expansion of social science and humanities theory, legitimized in curricular studies by Schwab who "changed the conversation" (Null, 2008), was the intellectual context of the times. OISE gave support and expected big things. Everybody expected big things in those days. It is not now the same. As the intellectual world tightened its boundaries Carl Bereiter one time stood up at an OISE meeting where faculty appointments were being discussed and

said that given the proposed criteria John Dewey could not be hired. There is little doubt that intellectual ferment in the social sciences and humanities provided the context for the changes that took place in curriculum studies. All of us in this book have our own stories to tell of our experience of this attractive time. But the paths we chose differed. My own path took the *labyrinth* world of practice as the starting point, creating and adapting theory as needed.

A 1909 DIARY OF RANCH LIFE

My entire academic life following Chicago has been spent at OISE where I worked in four areas: science curriculum and science student achievement, personal practical knowledge and the study of teacher practice and reflection, narrative inquiry, and cross-cultural studies. Though not immediately obvious these are related inquiries, connected, I believe, by narrative threads originating on the landscape of my rural, cattle ranch, place of birth. My father was a life-long diarist. His diaries, the scrapbook of his Polo playing days in Western Canada and the North-Western United States, and his Irish music facility with the mandolin and harmonica took up many childhood evenings.

PERSONAL FAVORITES

- The functions of curriculum development. (1972)
- Conceptual bases for curriculum thought: A teacher's perspective. (1980). (with Elbaz)
- Personal practical knowledge and the modes of knowing. Relevance for teaching and learning. (1985) (with Clandinin)
- Teachers as curriculum planners: Narratives of experience.* (1988). (with Clandinin)
- Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. (1990). (with Clandinin)
- Shaping a professional identity: Stories of educational practice.* (1999). (with Clandinin)
- Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research.* (2000). (with Clandinin)
- The Sage handbook of curriculum and instruction.* (2008). (with He and Phillion)
- Narrative inquiry and teacher development. (2008). (with Xu)

His diaries were descriptive accounts of how he spent his days and of the weather as he went about his duties. One of the hardest lessons novice field-based researchers learn is how to record descriptive field notes, notes that tell a reader more about the situation than they do about the writer. Part of the reason untutored field notes are often mainly accounts of the novice re-

searcher's prejudices and feelings is due to the sacred (in the Stephen Crites sense) Western story that theory preempts practice and, by its application, is the source of positive practical change (Dewey, 1929), a story that Johnson called "the God's eye view" and Schwab called a "flight from the field." In his "practical" essays on curriculum Schwab (Westbury and Wilkof, 1978; Schwab, 1983) argued that curriculum professors could usefully turn their attention to the practical (which he defined theoretically), and to a description of what went on in schools. My father's diaries provided such a description of ranch life in the early decades of the 20th century. But there are losses in pure description, for curriculum as well as the

ranch, and his diaries would have been strengthened by his keeping descriptive records complemented by a separate personal journal record. To simplify matters my students often used a page divided down the center: descriptions on the left; reflections and theoretical memoranda on the right. My father's diaries, like descriptions of curriculum practice written in the light of theory, would have been richer and more meaningful had he studied colonialism, exploration, and world history and let those readings shape scribblings on the right.

Here are several entries from my father's 1909 diary. There is no mention of his birthday in the January 18 entry when he turned 17. My grandfather who settled the land had died and my father was running the homestead.

January 1 Friday – Fixed fence and fed calves in morning Went to Burns Stayed all night.

January 18 – Went to Lundbreck after coal got ½ ton fed calves in evening

February 12 – 30 below got all horses in drove 1 team of broncs up home fed and drove back took another went to Lundbreck then to dance at Gunns

March 7 – went to the school put benches in stable brought map back and drove to P.O. went home fed.

April 12 – did chores went to Durrants took steers over to stacks then drove horses to stack came home took buggy to Burns went to dance at Mastermans

May 30 – got in horses rode one had lunch went to polo hunted horse came back to Burns

June 30 – rode after cattle all day went to Pincher

July 2 – stayed in town all day went to polo there came out home got home at 1:30

July 18 – Mick Macneil and I rode to polo played until 3 chucker then got hurt horse fell on me carried home in Gunns democrat

August 3 – mowed brome and timothy all day

September 18 – took Mother and all to station went to Durrants set posts around timothy stack

October 18 – cut out beef put them back in Rat Lake field. Beef buyer came. There were 600 steers in the field

November 24 – went to Lundbreck got winter supply of goods 4 sacks of four 2 of sugar came home hauled load of manure out fed calves

December 25 – did chores took Farrels cattle up the road went to Baxters then to Burns for supper came home fed

December 31 – snowing hard from north I went to Lundbreck to see if Ernest or Fred Connelly came then I came home fed

The portrait threads I propose to discuss show up in this diary.

THE RATIO EQUATION

To be a student of Schwab was to expose one's thought processes with the understanding that Schwab saw his teaching task as the molding of his students' ways of thinking. He named intellectual tools. One such was proportionality expressed as the *ratio equation* (a is to b as c is to d ; $a/b \cong c/d$ or, perhaps, $a/b \propto c/d$), an equation which helps connect the raw physical landscape of the diary to curriculum studies: *theorizing rural pioneer life is to rural pioneer life as theorizing curriculum is to curriculum*. My movement from ranch life to Bachelor and Masters study of agronomy and then genetics at the University of Alberta where I wrote an M.Sc. thesis on *Dietary Protein Utilization in Two Inbred Strains of Rats and their Reciprocal Crossbreeds* defines the first half of the equation. It would have made little sense to me, and even less to my father, to have had an abstract, textually and theoretically oriented, agriculture and genetics disconnected from cattle prices, haying technology, animal nutrition, acreage carrying capacity, rates of gain, and annual profit per cow-calf unit. Crossbreeding and protein utilization made sense to my father though he would, no doubt, have preferred cattle to rats. It turned out I was on the right track because genetics has been immensely influential in plant breeding and animal husbandry. My father's once beautiful herd of purebred red Hereford's became a multicoloured patchwork as high performance bulls imported from Europe provided the foundation of a carefully planned cross breeding program.

Curiously perhaps, my doctoral dissertation with Schwab was a textual analysis: a philosophical analysis of the plant ecology literature beginning in 1892 with Tansley's work on plant ecology ecosystem theory, and ending in the 1940's. The last dissertation chapter was a brief application of that analysis to a hypothetical ecology curriculum. I wrote this thesis during the time Schwab was influential in the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study which was associated with dramatic changes in the biology curriculum (itself a part of the disciplines reform movement triggered by Sputnik), and while he was formulating his ideas on *the practical*. I learned things about the nature of disciplinary knowledge that anchored me throughout my academic life. Nevertheless, I am unsure I would have advised a student like myself to follow the route Schwab encouraged. Schwab's advice remains a puzzle. I came to Chicago as a Staff Associate Fellow, a fellowship that provided extraordinary access to the mysteries of academic life. At the end of my first year I was offered a lectureship in the biology department at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus. Roald Campbell, then University of Chicago Dean of Education, said not to take it since I was already well supported and accepting the job would take me away from my studies and back into science. Schwab said take it and I did, returning to the University of Chicago for the fourth and final year of my doctoral program to direct the science component of the Master of Arts in Teaching program while Leo Klopfer took a sabbatical. Would I have given myself Joe Schwab's advice?

I cannot say that the ratio equation is a reference point for my activities, but I do think it helps account for the narrative threads connecting my rural cattle ranch landscape, and my studies in agronomy, genetics and education and is the basis for my research pursuits and work with students. My reading in education at Chicago was almost entirely philosophical and I graduated in philosophy of education. My dissertation reading was in plant ecology with a heavy dose of philosophy of science. I continue to read abstract, philosophical work and I think of myself as having a theoretical turn of mind. Yet I have not been part of the movement to text and post-modern theorizing that has come to characterize curriculum studies. I have not entered the debate that Jackson (1992) described as tormenting the field even though, according to him, my school based studies helped define the debate in its contrast with the field's abstract turn to text. My lack of engagement with these debates is mildly principled on the grounds that there is little to be gained for the practice of curriculum, the *d* part of the equation, by mere discourse at the *c* level. However, I am rather sure that the principle is not so strongly held that it would override interest, if interest were there. Mostly it hasn't been. Moreover, as editor of *Curriculum Inquiry* I had a ring side seat to *c* level discourse and whatever conceptual steam I occasionally felt I needed to blow off was readily vented every second Friday morning as our quick minded, ironically oriented, editorial board met to discuss submissions.

It might be fair to say that my attitude towards the turn to text in curriculum theory has more or less been similar to what I imagine my father's attitude might have been to an agricultural and/or genetic theory disconnected from ranch life and the world of organisms -- interesting, entertaining, and mostly irrelevant to the *labyrinth*. Though I feel fortunate to have been able to work at a time when ideas were in the air and curriculum theory came into its own, my narrative construction is that I have been in it but not of it, certainly not part of what others think of as the transformative magic of curriculum theory. Of course, I believe I have been doing curriculum theory connected to the practical landscape of curriculum, and in a way that equates with my father's side of the equation. Alas, those branded with the curriculum theory label mostly view the ratio equation differently by assuming that discourse about the field, *c*, and discourse about discourse, *c*², is preferable to being in the field, *d*, and I rarely find myself in their company.

FIELD BASED INQUIRY THREAD

While my adventures in ecology, and biology at the University of Illinois, would seem to be diversions from the equation, when I took up my OISE position I began a lifetime of field-based inquiries in curriculum studies. This didn't happen overnight. I started by developing a set of enquiry into enquiry (spelt just so for the reason, articulated by Schwab, that the work should not be confused with psychology) secondary school science curriculum materials. Characteristic of every step I can think of in my work over the years, I had a student, Menachem Finegold, who played a key role in my turn from textual analysis and curriculum materials to classroom practice. Finegold (1974) did his doctorate on the use of the materials in

secondary school physics instruction. That thesis, perhaps more than any other single event, returned me to the denominator part of the equation.

We were grappling with Herron's (1971) finding that National Science Foundation (NSF) teachers, educated in the theories and principles of the new discipline based NSF curricula, fluently talked the language of the new curricula, while teaching pretty much as always. This took the curriculum theory-curriculum practice divide a step further. It wasn't only that what theorists said had little impact on practice, what a teacher said had little impact on his or her own practice. What were teachers actually doing? How did they know their practice? Was there a language to talk about what they knew and did? How might one conceptualize a workable, useful, link between *c* and *d*? Dewey had said that theory, and therefore people like me, were needed when the facts failed to fit one another in the practical world. But what to make of the NSF teachers? I found McKeon's ideas on the different forms of relationship between theory and practice useful in thinking about these questions and on the events that unfolded over the years as first one and then another grand effort at reshaping North American education and ushering in new egalitarian, internationally competitive great societies, came and went with pretty much the same limited result seen with the NSF teachers.

My thinking about curriculum was, from that point on, pretty much always from the point of view of empirical classroom studies. Grants from OISE, The US National Institute of Education (NIE), The Province of Ontario, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada supported a long-term series of studies as my work moved from science education to education more generally. Studies of teachers' personal practical knowledge begun with Barbara Dienes (Connelly & Dienes, 1982) following Freema Elbaz's (1980) work on practical knowledge were based on long-term, in-classroom, empirical participant observation. The ideas behind the notion of Teachers as Curriculum Planners (1988) grew out of this work as did the ideas on narrative inquiry, developed with Jean Clandinin (1983) and in student theses too numerous to note. The NIE grant was on school reform and one of my pursuits since then has been to grapple with the relationship of teacher knowledge to school reform, in effect to try to understand *c/d*. Much of my writing has been on how teachers experience their practical life, *not* on how they say they experience it in interview studies of one sort or another. With enough time and patience a researcher may, working side by side with teachers, slowly begin to see the narrative knowledge forms that shape and inform daily life. I have learned that the NSF teachers took on the NSF language as a kind of public dress. But underneath, inside, in their practical souls, long established narrative ways continued to play out. One does what one is. There are writers on curriculum implementation and school reform who continue to hold the view that with the right institutional and contextual tweaking, combined with sensitivity to teacher autonomy, reform may yet become a predictable science. I say 'good luck.'

CROSS-CULTURAL BRIDGE THREAD

My work with culture in curriculum has a similar history beginning with Carola Conle's (1987) MA thesis analysis of the linguistic use of the word "justice" by a police state refugee as he negotiated the Canadian legal and social support system while showing reluctance to expect what we call justice. Just as Adler and Van Doren's (1972) *How to Read a Book* showed how words become terms in the context of text, Conle showed how words became terms in the context of personal narrative histories. Justice, she showed, was not merely a Western word to be understood in terms of legal definition and theory; like the *d* part of the *ratio equation* its meaning depended on the practical, on the user's particular narrative history of the experience of justice. This cultural narrative thread re-appeared in various research proposals and in a series of dissertations associated with my research program – JoAnn Phillion (1999); Angela Chan (2000); Vicki Fenton (2002); Elaine Chan (2004); C.K. Lau (2004); Candace Schlein (2007). The cultural thread morphed into a cross-cultural thread while working with international students, especially those from China. Xin Li (1998) and Ming Fang He's (1998) narratives of the *Chinese Cultural Revolution* were important. I directed an OISE/UT doctoral program for Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIED) faculty who were upgrading for the transitions facing Hong Kong education following the handover to China. Hong Kong education is culturally fascinating because of its special position at the nexus of Mainland Chinese and British cultural influence. My Hong Kong students' theses are a rich source of insight into how culture and curriculum intersect. My conversations with Ruth Hayhoe, comparative educator, China scholar, and HKIED Director, sharpened my interest in cross-cultural matters, particularly as they applied to China. The most influential thesis in my current focus on cross-cultural curriculum is Shijing Xu's (2006) study of the curriculum of newcomer Chinese families. She showed that the newcomer Chinese family-school system tensions and dynamics that bedevil education was best understood in terms of the intersection of family cultural narratives reaching back to the time of Confucius, and the narratives of host country educators. When speaking of this work I often say that if one is sufficiently aware of how these newcomers enter our world, they can see Confucius walking the halls of Bay Street Community School where the research was done. These newcomers know their world through narrative knowledge threads altogether unlike those of their new world hosts. As Xu writes, this meeting of cultures is the intersection of different ways of knowing and being in the world. Our Sister School Network project is designed as a connected *c* and *d* level study. At the *d* level there are a set of school to school, school board to school board, and university to university collaborations between Shanghai and Toronto. These collaborations involve visitor exchanges and an array of school to school links between teachers and students. The *c* level intention is to explore the theoretical cultural qualities and reciprocal learning in the cross-cultural educational bridge established in *d*. These studies, while informed by narrative inquiry, are knowledge studies as people of different cultures meet. This cross-cultural thread is the focus under study in my current grants with Shijing Xu and Lingqin Feng and Ye Lan.

HISTORICAL THREAD

Waks observed that few *Leaders in Philosophy* authors commented on their predecessors. The situation is somewhat different in curriculum where there are organizations devoted to curriculum history and where writers tend to define themselves by historically invoking how they depart from the field's past. Over the last half century books on curriculum theory are filled with a metaphorical language of change, revolution and reconceptualization. Returning to my rural landscape I might say much the same. My father moved about the landscape on horseback while my brother, who now runs the ranch, moves about with modern four wheel drive vehicles, aided by aerial photography and GPS technology. When I was a child our summer refrigerator was a quiet backwater in Connelly Creek and the winter refrigerator was a back room. My sister-in-law currently owns whatever modern convenience she wishes. To communicate with anyone in 1909 my father had to ride to the nearest ranch. Now, my brother sits in his home office sending high speed internet messages that travel faster than one can think.

This appearance of revolutionary change on the ranch landscape is *not*, however, my experience of the ranch, a factor that has led me to be uncomfortable with the idea of revolutionary curriculum thought. *From then to now* the ranch looks transformed. It is transformed. But this happened by practical, concrete, step after step. When my parents married they travelled by saddle horse and horse drawn democrat or buggy. By the time I was born they had a Model A Ford. In 1947 the family bought a sleek post-war Ford. Now the ranch has many high-speed, low-speed, and multi-gear vehicles, all acquired step by step, slowly over the years. I kept in touch with these changes. For as long as I have been in curriculum studies, ranch landscape change was the topic of conversation between my brother and me. *From then to now* the ranch has been transformed. But up close, in conversations this week and next, change is slow, hard won, and built out of, and on, the landscape with the practical labour that characterizes ranch life. High speed internet only arrived in 2008; dial-up a few years earlier; private phone lines a few years earlier; and party lines, which my father never mastered, turning the phone task over to my mother, not that long before. Given what is built into my bones by the changing ranch landscape of my birth I am constitutionally uncomfortable with the narratives people tell about a reconceptualized, transformed field of curriculum studies. Curriculum, of course, has been transformed, as has the ranch. But it wasn't transformed in the blink-of-a-conceptual eye sense as some would have it; it grew incrementally, each change connected in detailed, concrete, practical ways with its history. A good curriculum theorist can dream up a new idea overnight and do an exegesis of a newly discovered European philosopher the next afternoon (so to speak) thereby transforming c into c' or even e ; talk and text are transformed. But on the ground, in the denominator part of the ratio, things work gradually. Transformation does not happen in the abstract, in the talk and text numerator part of the ratio equation. It happens incrementally, step by step, in the concrete practicality of the landscapes of curriculum and of the ranch. It happens in the denominator. Texts may change rapidly, and be reconceptualized, c becomes c' by a publishers act, but the

underlying concrete practical realities of the ranch and of curriculum do not and cannot. In the final chapter of the *Handbook* Xu and I tried to give a sense of this by discussing the Chinese sense of continuity of being and by referring to curriculum studies as metaphorically unfurling historically and into the future like a Chinese landscape scroll painting unrolling to reveal the continuity of life.

METHODOLOGY THREAD

I have tried both in my work and in my student advising not to let method overwhelm substance. I was recently interviewed for a book on biographies of people influential in methodology. I said, among other things, that I was not a methodologist. I feel rather strongly about this in part, perhaps, because of my work in transmission genetics which was fundamentally statistical and which, when applied to education, became the creation of statistical tools that could be applied to any area. In effect the statistics were uprooted from phenomena and functioned as independent abstract tools. I understand this relationship, and see how it could apply to narrative inquiry as method. Nevertheless, I am uncomfortable thinking of method disconnected from phenomena. The popularity of narrative inquiry obscured the fact that narrative was our way of naming the methodology for studying practitioner knowledge. I remain conflicted on this point and wonder if more was to be gained by staying with knowledge and letting narrative inquiry be named elsewhere. The first reference in the literature to narrative inquiry, it is said (Clandinin, Pushor & Orr, 2007), appears in our first publication on narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). We appear to have coined the term and named the methodology. Though narrative inquiry has become somewhat of a darling in the formalistic outskirts of post-modernism I recently co-authored with Shijing Xu *Narrative Inquiry for School-Based Research*, an article which points the other way by connecting narrative inquiry to the *d* part of the *ratio equation*.

Nevertheless, I do have strong views on methodology. As might be surmised from my remarks about my father's Polo playing days, and his teenage diary references to playing Polo, he was a superb horseman. He not only rode like the wind, something one needs to be able to do to be an exceptional Polo player, which his scrapbook of clippings show he was, but he also understood how to work with animals: he understood how they think. One of my memorable ranch experiences is that of moving cattle to and from the spring and fall pastures. There are people who move cattle the way some people do research, by relentlessly herding them in a direction and with often aggressive methods: shouting, galloping about, setting the collie dog on stragglers, and so forth. My father said "Think like a calf;"; "Think like a horse." When we moved cattle my father would open gates ahead of time. A rider would move out far enough ahead of the animals so as to be seen by the lead cattle as a target but not as a herding threat. Other riders would be scattered far out at the back and to the sides and the dog would be kept quiet and far away from the cattle. Changes in herd direction would come by moving a horse and rider slowly this way or that. My father raised what his diaries refer to as a "string of Polo ponies," specially trained horses for the polo circuit. Modern observers whose only

connection to a ranch may be with televised rodeo performances might think that "breaking" a horse to ride involves a violent, bucking, contest between human and horse with the eventual subjugation of the horse by the rider. My father acted more as one imagines the horse whisperer acting (Evans, 1995): becoming friends with the horse, a kind of horse's companion.

These methods of working with ranch animals provide a metaphorical frame of reference for working with nature and, for we curriculum researchers, for working with our phenomena, the practical landscape of curriculum. When I studied statistics the controlled experiment tended to be in vogue. The commonly taught controlled experiment and associated statistical methodology tended to have a rodeo cowboy sense of controlling nature and subjecting it to theory and applied method. Some current curriculum theory reads as one of pent up passion, as if the writers would subdue the ornery, untamed, misguided, schools, and the evil agents and hegemonic forces controlling them, if only the gate were opened and they were let into the yard. Few of these impassioned souls, of course, actually want into the yard for fear that boots carefully polished with theory would pick up practical dust or worse. I cannot be sure, of course, that my move away from such a methodology toward trying to understand participants from their perspectives, in their own terms, and in the context of their ongoing daily practical life, came about as a constitutional result of my father and I working with horses and cattle. I do know that for the rural landscape my father's methods were effective. I also know that I have had much pleasure over the years trying to see things as my participants saw them as part of their regular life and not in terms of how I would, with applied theory, organize their lives.

Before leaving this thread, and in the spirit of making sure the portrait is adequately untidy, I need to say that about the time that I was trying to conceptualize what it meant to study people, narratively, from their point of view, I directed the Canadian component of the Second International Science Study sponsored by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). We (Connelly et al, 1985;1989) tried to narrativize our student achievement findings by contextualizing the work historically and in terms of Canadian curriculum policy documents. Still, this was pretty much an old fashioned large scale survey study.

The intellectual tension generated by having two very different projects underway at the same time, the study of practitioners knowledge and the development of narrative inquiry, and the IEA survey of science achievement, is also, I believe, related to the ranch landscape. Basically, I find myself attracted to curriculum theory and to narrative inquiry, but mostly uninterested in the *c* level extremes of postmodern curriculum theory and the personalistic excesses of narrative inquiry. I am attracted to traditional experimental research in education, but resistant to the *d* level extremes of relatively theoretically free empirical work. The ranch landscape is, again, part of the narrative thread involved in this tension. The ranch house is situated on a meadow bordering Connelly Creek which meanders through the foothills of the Livingstone Range of the Rocky Mountains. One side of the house faces the mountains where one's gaze is inevitably drawn up

the mountains to the heavens. The other side of the house faces the prairies where the landscape recedes into the distance without boundary. Perhaps it is a metaphorical stretch to think that the conceptual tension described above is a reflection of the dynamics of being able to turn one's gaze *from* imaginative flights up the mountains and into the skies, *to* the prairies and to what Lou Smith called dust bowl empiricism. Nevertheless, this landscape metaphor is personally helpful as I come to grips with the recognition that though my preference in curriculum studies is with the mountain view, and that is primarily, though not exclusively, how I have pursued my curriculum inquiries, I believe I would have been comfortable, though less satisfied perhaps, pursuing the dust bowl empiricism prairie view. Doing theoretical work in the context of school based studies, working at the intersection of *c* and *d*, has been a happy resolution of this tension.

A POSTSCRIPT ON THE FIELD

This brief end note is in response to the editor's suggestion that authors write on what they see as current problems and opportunities in the field. This topic is addressed in the last chapter of the *Handbook. From them to us* frames cross cultural curriculum issues that are arising because of high levels of worldwide circular transmigration of people, and the rapid exchange of ideas, information, goods and

services which are being merged and inter-woven like a name branded automobile composed of parts manufactured all over the world. This puts a new face on concepts like "colonialist curriculum" and "multi-cultural curriculum." In his review of the *Handbook* Boostrom (2008) wrote that

FAVORITE WRITINGS BY OTHERS

- John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (1916)
 John Dewey, *The quest for certainty: A study of the relation of knowledge and action* (1929)
 John Dewey, *Logic: The theory of inquiry* (1938)
 D. L. Hall & R. T. Ames, *The democracy of the dead: Dewey, Confucius, and the hope of democracy in China* (1999)
 Alasdair MacIntyre, *After virtue: A study in moral theory* (1981)
 W. J. T. Mitchell, *On narrative* (1981)
 Michael Polanyi, *Personal knowledge* (1958)
 Joseph J. Schwab, *College curriculum and student protest* (1969)
 Ian Westbury & Neil J. Wilkof, *Joseph Schwab. Science, curriculum, and liberal education: Selected essays* (1978)

Schwab's "forty year old criticism of the lack of the practical in curriculum work still stings." By and large, imaginatively exciting as the work is, curriculum theory now plays little role in the practical world of curriculum, in the denominator part of the ratio, at least in the English-speaking world. For curriculum studies to make a difference to how curriculum unfolds on the global stage, its academic practitioners will have to find ways of going beyond in-house abstract conversations and begin connecting with curriculum practice. The Sister School Network Project and the cross-cultural studies associated with it is our offering in this respect. One place to look for guidance is the culturally oriented comparative education literature (See chapters by Anderson-Levitt, Deyhle et al, and Farrell in the *Handbook*.). Another

is to look to the international curriculum organizations with an eye to building on their considerable strength as meeting places for *c* level discourse, in the hope of stimulating inquiry on cross-cultural research at the *d* level. Some of these organizations however are mostly extensions of North American text and talk oriented theory, harvesting new foreign fields, and it may be that new cross-cultural curriculum organizations focused on comparative cross-cultural *c/d* level studies will be needed and will emerge. In the last chapter of the *Handbook* we wrote that “curriculum is a way of bridging values across cultural, ethnic and religious borders and boundaries to provide an education that works best for all children.” To be relevant and “to embrace and reveal diverse ways of knowing and being”, curriculum studies needs to be of, not above, cross curriculum cultures as it unrolls “like a Chinese hand scroll painting”.

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F. Michael Connelly
Ontario Institute of Education

BILL DOLL

THE PATH STUMBLLED UPON

In his fine and interesting entry in *Leaders in the Philosophy of Education*, Francis Schrag entitles his essay “The Road Taken.” As a fellow Cornellian (1953), I believe my career is represented more by the title, “The Path Stumbled Upon.” Indeed, my first day at Cornell I fell asleep in the front row as the Dean was lecturing on the challenges we freshmen faced; and on my graduation day at Cornell, four years later, I managed to walk into the ceremony in the faculty procession line. In the years between, I stumbled into marvelous encounters with an amazing faculty (Philosophy, History, Literature), and a most interesting group of fellow students. Now, as a well-aged curriculum theorist, reflecting on my life and academic career, I believe such stumbling has merit.

I entered the field of curriculum theory unintentionally and by the back door, as I realized that philosophy — B.A. and M.A. — as a career was not for me. While Headmaster in a small, private school outside Baltimore, in the mid-1960s, I was fortunate enough to have on the Board of Directors, a member of The Johns Hopkins faculty. He suggested I try Hopkins to continue the graduate work I had begun in Denver where I was Director of Mathematics Education at another small, private school. In Baltimore, I went to see John Walton, the Chairman of the Hopkins Department of Education, a wonderful Kentuckian who read Latin and Greek as a hobby. We chatted for a while and I asked him what the entrance requirements were. He looked over my work from the University of Denver and suggested I start with a course in the history of education. I queried whether I was Hopkins material and he told me not to worry, the professors would be glad to make that clear. Later I realized that Hopkins had neither set entrance requirements, nor a set curriculum. Rather, one needed to take a course from at least four professors in the university and if one of them was willing to be my mentor then I was in; otherwise, I was out. My program of study would be worked out by my mentor and myself. My first mentor at Hopkins, Robert McClintock, had a joint appointment in History and Education. After a year he left to take a position at Teachers College. I asked if I could follow him there and continue my study. “Bill,” he said “TC is too professional for you; you are too much a muser to be confined to any one discipline. Stay here at Hopkins where they will honor and develop your musings.” Shocked at first, I later realized the wisdom of his comment. I did stay, I did muse, and I am grateful. Hopkins in the late 1960s was an absolutely wonderful place: Jacques Derrida for lectures in the humanities; Charles Singleton on Dante; Stephen Ambrose in history (until he was asked to leave for his anti-war protests); Victor Lowe on Whitehead (most displeased that

my dissertation on Dewey did not mention Whitehead — only years later did I see obvious connections: event/situation, context/experience); an Education Department that included Kingsley Price (an inspiration then and now); and a new mentor, John Steven Mann — Hopkins' first and only curriculum theorist — who let me spend my whole second year of graduate study reading in the history and philosophy of science. In my third year of study, I began serious inquiry into the writings of another Hopkins graduate, John Dewey. By now the National Defense Act was in place, distributing money to produce education scholars to combat the Russian threat. I along with others was generously provided monies for full-time academic study. Under the guidance of Steve Mann I read in and about Dewey (unfortunately avoiding Whitehead, whom Dewey said he could not understand) and took part in Vietnam War protests. To receive government monies, yearly I swore an oath that I was not a Communist (I was not) and regularly I protested the government's actions in Vietnam. Such protests slowly awakened a dormant political instinct, one I have honed, quietly, under Steve Mann's tutelage.

On my doctoral committee, beside Steve Mann there were: (1) the Chairman of the Chemistry Department, (2) the Chairman of the Geology and Ecology Departments, (3) a noted philosopher, Victor Lowe, and (4) the Chair of the Education Department (who admitted me four years earlier). As was the Hopkins tradition, 2 members were from the department of study, and 3 were from outside the department. Only Steve was a curriculum theorist. The Hopkins experience of immersing oneself in the study of a subject and also roaming throughout the university (with its scholars and multiple disciplines) had a definite effect upon my subsequent career as a teacher and curricularist. Breadth and depth, *context* and *situation* (to borrow key ideas from Whitehead and Dewey) have been bywords in my own work with students, graduate and undergraduate.

The sort of insight breadth and depth bring, though, was not born of my Hopkins experience, it began in my undergraduate days at Cornell. I was naïve then in my approach to philosophy and history, my chosen major and minor. Max Black, Stuart Brown, E.A. Burtt, and Gregory Vlastos, though, did have their influence on me, as did Lane Cooper in Classics and Vladimir Nabokov in Russian Literature who became a friend — he liked that I was unawed by (really unaware of) his reputation and we did share an interest in chess. While most of my Cornell professors were of serious mien, Nabokov had a playfulness about him. I responded to that. In later years, while reading Gregory Bateson (especially his work with dolphins), I began to develop, more seriously, play as a useful (indeed necessary) curriculum ingredient. Play and learning fit together nicely (as most any mother knows). Contemporary brain research is beginning to confirm this connection. On this point, one is reminded that in the history of learning it was E.L. Thorndike who pointed out that drill on the memorization of spelling words could easily become excessive, leading to diminishing test results. Those curricularists who develop textbooks with an explicit or tacit advocacy of “time on task,” could benefit from re-reading Bruner on *play*, as well as looking at the neurological research on the value of “time off task” (J. Lehrer, 2008).

Leaving Cornell in 1953, with no clear direction, I went back to Boston where I enrolled (part-time) in Boston University and took a job teaching, that I might support myself. I continued to pursue philosophy, here from a different — more humanist, less analytic — point of view. My teaching experiences, at a small, private school were eye opening. At B.U. I came across Peter Bertocci and his sense of the spiritual, a vein I have followed via Dwayne Huebner, Gregory Bateson, and now Stuart Kauffman. In teaching, uncertified and untrained, I adopted (and was encouraged to adopt) an authoritarian role. Fortunately and most serendipitously I became aware that some of my young students (those in middle school), while not always aware of it, were categorically brighter (not necessarily more knowledgeable) than I. One instance stands out. On rainy days the school had recess inside, often we played mind games. One day we played “monkey in the well” — here the monkey, down in the well, say 30 feet, climbs up 3 feet in the day and falls back 2 feet at night, how long does it take the monkey to climb out of the well? I needed to use my image-making skills to solve this, drawing a picture; one of my quieter, more introverted, students devised a formula. In Bruner’s terms he was working at a symbolic level, I at an iconic one. I began to rethink my methods of teaching, which at that time revolved around what might well be called “teaching as telling.”

The school I was at in Brookline, Mass. sent a number of its 8th grade graduates on

to Shady Hill School in Cambridge, the one Bruner used in much of his work with young people. I joined Bill Hull, John Holt and others on Friday afternoons when we “played with” mathematical relationships, often using Cuisenaire Rods, with middle school youth. These were glorious communal sessions, all of us working together, infused with the spirit of serious play. I was involved in a learning community; indeed, more than learning, with its tight focus, we were studying, creating,

SELECTED PERSONAL ARTICLES

“Looking Back to the Future,” *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies* (2008).

“Keeping Knowledge Alive,” *Journal of Educational Research and Development*

Vol 1, No.11, June, 2005, Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 27-42

“Beyond Methods: Teaching as an Aesthetic and Spiritful Quest,” in *Passion and Pedagogy*, Elijah Mirochnik and Debora Sherman eds., 2001 Peter Lang, pp. 127 – 151 (Translated into Chinese by Mingquan Yang, *Journal of East China Normal University (Education Sciences)*, Vol. 1, 2003

(July, 2001), p. 2

“Classroom Management,” in *Power, Knowledge and Education in the Global Economy*, David Gabbard ed., 2000. Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 69 - 77.

“Conversing with ‘the Other,’” *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Fall, 1999, pp. 83 - 90.

“Curriculum Beyond Stability,” in *Contemporary Curriculum Discourses*, Wm. Pinar, ed., 1988, Gorsuch Publishers. pp. 114 - 33.

“Prigogine: A New Sense of Order, A New Curriculum,” *Theory into Practice*, Winter, 1986, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 10-16.

exploring. From this experience grew my realization that teaching, not philosophizing, was for me.

Receiving my M.A. from Boston University (1960) I went west to Denver, my paternal home. Again I took a position in teaching, again in a private school, as Director of Mathematics. I also enrolled in the University of Denver's joint program in philosophy and education. Here I came in contact with my first formal, professional education courses. Regretfully, I was disappointed: I found the courses narrow, based on research that seemed artificial and stilted, and quite removed from the work the teachers, I, and the students were doing in school. At school, working with students from kindergarten to ninth grade in both mathematics and literature (a colleague and I developed a Saturday morning "Great Books" program which aired on a Denver TV station for a year or so) was a continual joy and full of surprises. Again, a community of learners (semi-scholars, maybe) was formed. The Denver High School, in conjunction with the University of Colorado, devised special mathematics courses for our middle school graduates. By now the notion of a learning community (one which created and explored) was ingrained in my psyche. I became ready for new challenges and found one as Headmaster of the small, private school, outside Baltimore.

Here, with much help from parents and faculty, I was able to bring theory

INFLUENTIAL WRITINGS OF OTHERS

Bateson, G. (2002/1987). *Mind and nature: a necessary unit*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

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Davis, B. & Sumara, D. (2006). *Complexity and education*. Mahwah, N.J: Erlbaum.

Dewey, J. (1966/1916). *Democracy and Education*. New York. The Free Press.

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Jardine, D, Clifford, P, & Friesen, S. (2003). *Back to the basics of teaching and learning*. Mahwah, N.J: Erlbaum.

Kauffman, S. (2008). *Reinventing the sacred*. New York: Basic Books.

Pinar, W. (2006). *The synoptic text today and other essays*. New York: Lang.

Reiss, T. (1982). *The discourse of modernism*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

Serres, M. & Latour, B. (1995). *Conversations on science, culture, and time*. R. Lapidus, Trans. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Whitehead, A.N. (1929/1978). *The aims of education and other essays*. (New York: Free Press.

and practice into harmony, into a seamless unit. Literature (a roving library in the hallways, as well as my reading to the students during lunch hour), Art (works by local artists graced the hallways and classrooms) and Physical activity (handstands in the classrooms, rope courses outside) were all integrated with the usual 3 R's. Our young 4th grade teacher brought her guitar to class and the students sang songs (in French). We established a Transition class between Kindergarten and First grade allowing for flexibility in social and intellectual development. This latter drew the attention of Frances Ilg and Louise Bates

Ames at Yale and was written up in the Baltimore Sun. A relationship was established with Goucher College, which sent some of its teacher trainees to work with us – for those volunteering we asked for a full year commitment (but not for every day). Again, we built a community.

On the intellectual side monthly seminars were established, meeting in my rented rooms (in a Ante-Bellum mansion). Graduate students from Hopkins, professors from Goucher and Hopkins, and teachers from the school (as they wished) discussed issues in curriculum, learning, and pedagogy. Both professors and graduate students put forth papers on which they were working. Attendance was usually 6 or 7. As a graduate student I had the opportunity to come in contact — in a wonderfully conversational and friendly manner — with a side of behaviorism (Skinnerian) I had previously shunned. While I did not adopt this view, too rigid and manipulative for me, I did begin to acquire the art of listening to and negotiating with those of another persuasion. This skill has served me well for over 40 years, as both a teacher and administrator. [Too many of us — teachers and administrators — do not, I fear, listen to our students.] Marriage, and encouragement from my Board of Directors to pursue academia, brought me to Hopkins as a full-time graduate student.

After Hopkins (Ph.D. '72) I looked for a position in academia. My mentor at Hopkins advised against calling myself a curriculum theorist, as no such identification existed at that time. I was told to advertise myself as a “foundations” person. Steve Mann came to Hopkins from Wisconsin, where he worked James MacDonald, who with Dwayne Huebner, was beginning to break away from the traditional curriculum view espoused by the Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development. I joined both ASCD and AERA and attended conferences, made presentations and published. After a number of interviews, I chose to work at SUNY-Oswego. The department there wanted someone with a background in John Dewey (at least one Education Department in the mid-west told me flat out they wished not to have anyone on their staff who was associated with “that Commie”). My dissertation at Hopkins was on John Dewey’s Concept of Change.

My first summer at Oswego, a professor of curriculum became ill and was unable to fulfill his teaching obligation. I taught my first curriculum course. I found the textbook chosen shallow and others of the curriculum ilk the same. [In recent years I have studied a bit of the history of this phenomenon — going back to Peter Ramus in the late 16th century — and now understand better the textbook tradition that emanates from his pedagogy.] Instead I turned to the developmental writings of Piaget and Bruner, the deschooling ones of Illich, Holt, Kozol, Neil, etc., the traditional curriculum development ones of Tyler, Popham, Ausabel etc., and the theoretical ones of Steve Mann, which at that time were most confusing to Oswego teachers and teachers-to-be. My intent was to develop a conversation among these various strands. Various students read various authors and a network of ideas and issues emerged. The notion of each of us being on the same page at the same time was quite antithetical to the richness of the conversations we had. I saw myself then, as now, utilizing Dewey’s notion of the teacher as a *prima inter pares* (first among equals). It was my task to keep the conversations Rich (full of possibilities),

Recursive (looping back on themselves), Relational (building networks of ideas), and Rigorous. At this time these 4 R's, later developed to distinguish me as a curriculum theorist, were hardly dawning on my consciousness. I quickly became aware, though, that the "same page" mantra led to a rather boring class.

As a curricularist-by-default (and an organizer by nature) I, over a period of 15 years, helped Oswego develop its teacher education program and its university-wide, first two years of General Education. I also worked weekly with the laboratory school at Oswego and the Sodus, N.Y. School District on mathematics education. Being with the same students over a number of years was a joy and by now was a *modus operandi* for my work in the schools. Sharing an interest in both Piaget and mathematics, Nel Noddings and I started a lifelong friendship. On one of her visits to Oswego — we did, under my encouragement as Department Chair and Chair of the College Curriculum Committee, establish education conferences (really more conversations) — Nel pointed out to me that the success the students had in mathematics under my auspices was probably more idiosyncratic than "methodized."

I took Nel's comment seriously and (1) began a study of the methodization movement, and (2) in my own work as a curriculum theorist tried to encourage others to develop their own (idiosyncratic and situational) methods and not follow mine. In studying methodization I found it had, not surprisingly, a long history, going back to the Greek Sophists and their personal, often secret, methods. What did surprise me though was the bursting forth of this "methodization" (*the way*) movement in conjunction with the Protestant reformation, especially Calvin's use of the word "curriculum" (path or course) in *curriculum vitae* (path or course of life.) Followers of Calvin, notably Peter Ramus, applied the word *curriculum* (as a set method) to education, and in the early 1600s the universities of Leyden and Glasgow instituted sequential courses of study they labeled curricula. The methodization movement, and with it Ramus' concept of curriculum design and instructional pedagogy, swept across Protestant Europe and inhabited Colonial America. Harvard College in the century 1650 to 1750 used *only one* method to teach, indeed to reason, that of Ramus (Triche and McKnight, 2004). The methodization movement dominated virtually all intellectual thought in northern, Protestant Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. John Bunyan, in *Pilgrim's Progress*, says:

For having now my Method by the end,
So it pulled, it came, and so I penned,

René Descartes, in *Discourse on Method*, says:

I have formed a Method, by whose assistance . . . I have the means of gradually increasing my knowledge.

Gottfried von Leibniz, in *On the Method of Universality*, says:

Nothing can escape our method . . . it spares the mind and the imagination; the latter, above all, must be used sparingly.

I believe it possible to see, if not a methodological through line, then at least a set of family resemblances, starting with Peter Ramus' concept of curriculum ("placing first which is first, next which is next, and so on, in an unbroken progression from general to particular"), moving to Johann Amos Comenius' *Great Didactic*, to the four steps of René Descartes "chain of reasoning," to the four steps inherent in Ralph Tyler's *Basic Principles of Curriculum*. As an alternative to this curriculum history, dominant for the past four and a half centuries, I developed a set of guidelines — the 4 R's of Richness, Recursion, Relations, and Rigor — designed not to produce a model for others to follow but to act as a guide for each curricularist (teacher, supervisor, developer) to use in his or her own idiosyncratic and situational way (Doll, 1993; 2005; 2008a; 2008b).

The most important aspect of my time in Oswego, though, was the serendipitous meeting of William Pinar. He was at the University of Rochester, I at SUNY-Oswego, about 90 miles apart of Lake Ontario in New York State. His friendship, maintained over 35 years, has meant more to me personally and professionally than any I have had outside my marriages, first to Mary Doll (producing son Will), and now to Donna Trueit. Bill and I both moved from Upstate in the early 1980s, he to Louisiana State University, I to the University of Redlands, in California. After a few years I followed Bill to LSU where for over two decades we were suite mates. There we formed the LSU Curriculum Theory Project (1995) and the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (2000). We are now near one another in western Canada, he at the University of British Columbia, I (with Donna) at the University of Victoria, with occasional forays to UBC. Being around Bill, whose knowledge of curricular issues is prodigious, has inspired me to study further the history of curriculum, to develop an alternative frame to the Tyler Rationale, and to move into chaos and complexity theories, infusing these with a sense of Spirit.

At Oswego (Chair of the Education Department) my academic time was devoted to the study of Piaget and Bruner. At Redlands (Director of Teacher Education), I became serious about studying the emerging *new sciences*, particularly as represented in the works of Ilya Prigogine. My introduction to Prigogine was sheer serendipity. In one of my last weeks at Oswego a colleague remarked to me that if I was interested in Piaget I might also like to look at Prigogine. [In the latter years of Piaget's life he and Prigogine did correspond and each wrote supportive comments about the other's work.] In his (with Isabel Stengers) *Order out of Chaos* (1984), Prigogine draws heavily on the philosophy of A.N. Whitehead. Down the road from Redlands, in Pomona California, is the California School of Theology with its renowned (Whitehead) Center for Process Studies. There, again serendipitously, I was introduced, via John Cobb and David Griffin, to the word and concept "post-modern." Here I finally found a frame for bringing forth my ideas on curriculum, which up to this time had been fermenting, but not coalescing. Unbeknownst to me, in my last year at Redlands (1988) I began work on my first book, *A Post-Modern Perspective on Curriculum*.

That year, along with various articles on the utilization of chaos (and complexity) theory in the classroom, I sent a longish article into Teachers College Record. A

postal clerk at TC put the long article not in the box for the Record (which subsequently turned down the article) but in the box of Jonas Soltis for his *Advances in Contemporary Educational Theory*. Jonas liked what I had written and asked for more. I wrote more chapters and sent the manuscript off. Reviewers liked what I said (really more what I was attempting to say) but wanted a last chapter on practical applications. Thus the 4 R's were created, and it is they that have carried this book and its ideas into different languages, many classrooms, and curriculum readers. Since the first drafts of the book did roam a bit over the intellectual landscape, as is my (musing) want, I was assigned an editor to work with me, chapter by chapter. His comment as we neared the end of this project, about 4 years later, was that the book would either be seminal or a bust. Fortunately, the former has been the result. The 4 R's, most popular in China, have kept the book alive for 15 years now.

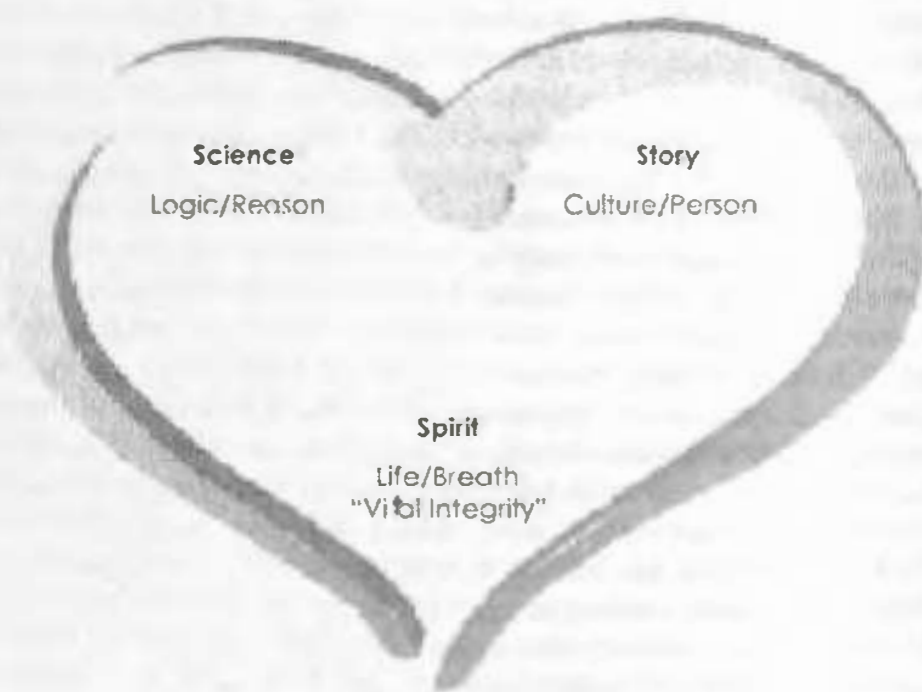
The 4 R's, like much in my career, came from a union of necessity and playfulness. The editors wanted practicality. I thought I had suggested such throughout the text. I knew not more to do. The 3 R's of the 19th century – Readin', 'Ritin', 'Rithmetic, seemed an interesting play but too gimmicky. On a trip back to Oswego to give a talk at the N.Y. State Foundations of Education Society, which I had played some part in founding, I suggested, quite tentatively, a 4th R, that of Rigor. I explained that politically this was a fine word to use, it would "get off my back," those who would/were accusing me of being an effete white tower academic, having no knowledge of the schools. The latter was, of course, a false accusation — since, at the time, I had been working in schoolrooms for over 35 years — but it was an accusation, nonetheless. More important, though, the notion of rigor, taken from a French poststructuralist point of view, had to do, not with exactness or hard, close analysis but with the purposeful looking for unseen, or hidden, or yet-to-emerge connections, relations, alternatives, combinations. In this sense, *Rigor* was a fine fourth R to bring out the possibilities inherent in a Rich, Relational, Recursive curriculum. With these four I felt I had an alternative frame (not a model) to Tyler's Rationale. [In recent years, as I have looked at the history of Modernism, I have seen the Rationale not so much as a model to be challenged but rather as an expression of a particular time, a modernist time, one now past.]

By the time the post-modern book was finished I had joined Bill Pinar at LSU. Here, working with doctoral students, ones who could study full-time, Bill and I formed a marvelous cadre of students and professors, all involved in the Curriculum Theory Project. These colleagues — after a few years of study the doctoral students were colleagues — inspired me to study curriculum as I had not studied it before. Patrick Slattery encouraged me to develop even further my curricular thoughts on the post-modern. With Stephen Triche, I delved into the history of curriculum and its origins. Molly Quinn (and Prof. Petra Munro Hendry, with whom I co-taught many "pragmatism" classes), helped me bring forth my interest in spirit and the spiritual, which I now characterize along with Science and Story, as one of the 3 S's. Prof. Nina Asher, following Prof. Wendy Kohli, joined with me in administering a small, experimental teacher-education program integrating professional school experience (a full year of Internship in the schools) with solid academic study.

Sarah Smitherman Pratt, Laura Jewett, and Donna Trueit, helped me appreciate Gregory Bateson's sense of play, difference, contextualization, and the spiritual. In working through Bateson's ideas, I began to envision a new epistemology, one based on reflexivity (Doll, et al., 2005; Doll, 2008a). Fridays were teaching days for me: In the morning I, along with others — at times we had almost as many professors as students with us — studied philosophers, historians, anthropologists. Then we went to lunch together — Friday Friends it was called. In the afternoon Wendy, then Nina, and I would work with the Holmes Interns, helping them connect the ideas of Dewey, Gadamer, Heidegger, Homi Bhabha, Serres, etc. with their own teaching practices (Monday – Thursday), thus enriching those experiences as well as gaining new insights into concepts of curriculum. By now I had now expanded the 4 R's to include the 5 C's of curriculum as: *currere*, complexity, cosmology, conversation, and community. [Obviously one can think of curriculum in a number of ways, I chose 5 to produce a 3:4:5 right triangle, most Euclidean and modernist, hence reminding me of the arbitrariness of my own work]. The richness of the Holmes experience has proved invaluable to a decade of Interns who have gone on to solid teaching careers. With Hongyu Wang (and professor Denise Egéa Kuehne) I was introduced to French intellectual thought, particularly Jacques Derrida, Michel Serres, and Bruno Latour. Hongyu, a student of Prof. Qiquan Zhong and a colleague of Prof. ZhangHua of East China Normal University, also started us – myself, Donna, the LSU Curriculum Theory Project — on our journeys to China. Sarah (Smitherman) Pratt with her interest in mathematics prodded me to delve deeper in chaos and complexity theories. With Sarah's help and that of our newly arrived Dean, Jayne Fleener, our AERA Special Interest Group: Chaos and Complexity Theories flourished, and led to my editing, along with Jayne, Donna Trueit, and John St.Julien, the book, *Chaos, Complexity, Curriculum, and Culture* (2005).

Donna Trueit, a superb scholar, one of LSU's best, had already encouraged me to co-edit (with Noel Gough, of Australia) a previous book, *Curriculum Visions* (2002). Now she, along with strong encouragement from Bill Pinar, provided the impetus to continue the international thrust, taking the lead in co-editing (with myself and Hongyu Wang), *Internationalization of Curriculum Studies* (2003). I readily joined Bill and Donna in their interest in looking at curriculum from an international perspective. Donna and I traveled to Finland twice (2002, 2005 — the latter as a Fulbright Senior Scholar), and to China three times (2000, 2003, 2007). These two countries provide interesting contrasts to American school education. Finland continually ranks high (often highest) in international school competitions but does not emphasize such — reading, and even science, seem to be part of the fabric of their culture. China, of course, is noted for its ability to turn out students who rank high on all sorts of tests, a part of their culture for over a thousand years. Neither culture though involves *conversation* (one of my 5 C's) as part of its curriculum or instructional modes. Repetition and recitation yes, recursion and conversation, no. As Donna and I strive to develop the notion of conversation as essential for a curriculum oriented not toward testing but toward developing creative thought, two nations strong in testing have the greatest interest in our

work. This is not to say good test scores are neglected but rather that a primary focus on test scores (as in “No Child Left Behind”) limits creative potential. Finland and certainly China, recognize this.



Mysterium Tremendum

My work now is focused on developing an epistemology that integrates Science, especially the new sciences of chaos and complexity, with Story, especially narrative inquiry, and with Spirit, that ineffable quality which gives vitality to any situation. These three are represented in the diagram below.

Science has been the guiding paradigm in western culture since the time of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. The new sciences of chaos and complexity show us a different world, indeed a different universe, from that seen by these past thinkers. Order is no longer seen as set, simple, imposed; rather order is seen as being entwined with a bit of chaos and emerging from the interactions of elements present in any situation, especially a dynamic, on-going, changing one. Teaching (and curriculum design) from this perspective becomes one not of imposing set material in a unilateral manner (a manner Whitehead called “barren” because of its non-contextualization) but of exploring, creating, developing with students and other faculty, indeed *studying*, an issue, experiment, idea.

Story with its origins deep inside a culture, represents that culture in a way science with its more formal, rational, and logical way of seeing never can attain. Story has a personal truth to it, it strikes one not as provable but as verifiable in one’s own experience. As experience it is always interpreted in light of who and what we are. Such personalness brings into play the hermeneutic tradition — articulated well by Ted Aoki and now by David Jardine, both of whom draw on Heidegger and Gadamer. Reading these two philosophers and their educational

interpreters brings forth a new way to look at curriculum and instruction. Asking students to articulate what they see, hear, and read, and to listen to the interpretation of others opens a dialogue (Trueit would say conversation) that provides an opportunity for the *new* to emerge. If we ask where the *new* comes from, the answer lies in interpretative inquiry; inquiry where we and the “other,” no matter what or who the “other” may be (person, idea, fact, culture) come into interactive play.

Spirit is the hardest to frame, yet in many ways is the most important of the 3. At a somewhat superficial and elemental level, one can associate science with the quantitative in education and story with the qualitative. This dichotomous split, even when combined to minimize the split (a qualitative-quantitative research project), lacks a sense of spirit. It is Spirit as the breath of life, that gives force, passion, and commitment to an event. It is something one feels, not something one defines or frames. Spirit (along with the spiritual, the sacred — not necessarily the religious) is what gives a situation, as George Santayana points out, not only its vitality but also its integrity, its honesty, its truthfulness. Personally I find spirit in John Dewey’s sense of *situation*, in Joseph Schwab’s of *deliberation*, in Stuart Kauffman’s of *order*, in Gregory Bateson’s of a *difference which makes a difference*, and in Michel Serres’ of *teaching as an act of humility*.

I hope in the years I have left as a scholar of curriculum to stumble along in search of an epistemology wherein Science and Story are infused with the Spirit of the Yet-to-Be.

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William Doll
Louisiana State University

ELLIOT EISNER

GROWING UP URBAN

Growing up on the west side of Chicago during the 1940s was no cake walk. The neighborhood was populated by immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Poland, and the economic level of the community was none too high, although you would never know it from those who lived there. It is interesting how a community becomes a kind of natural setting in which everybody is thought to be of average wealth. The idea that one was poor was not an idea that was widely shared in what was a poor neighborhood.

The poorness of the neighborhood was an economic condition, and only then justified by comparison to those immigrants who made it big time and who moved to Glencoe or Winnetka, two prosperous suburbs on the North end of the city. In other ways the community was quite rich. It was rich in relationships, it was rich in shops of one kind or another, it was rich in people sitting on the stoop engaged in argument about how the second World War was going or, more pointedly, how workers were not getting their fair share of the economic benefits of their labor. What characterized the community was a sense of *communitas*. It was a sense of belonging and striving and hoping that if I don't make it as an immigrant from an economic perspective, my son or daughter surely will.

The socio-political values of the community were largely socialist in orientation and debates about the relationship between capital and labor or between the republicans and the democrats were always ongoing. One of the striking features of the community was the way in which a flush would come to the cheeks of the debater and a glint in the eye would soon appear. These people liked to argue! They liked, no – loved!, intellectual engagement. And it was in this setting that I first discovered that people do take great pleasure from engagement in ideas about political issues, economic issues, social issues, and racial issues. I can just hear my mother saying to my father, “Louie, don't argue!” He would reply, “Eva, I am not arguing, I am discussing!” (He was arguing.) So what we had in the north Lawndale district of Chicago was a vital community that was able to sustain, from an economic perspective, a bakery, a delicatessen, a restaurant, a laundry, and within two or three blocks of where I lived, even more stores and shops, this time of a slightly larger and more expensive level.

The sense of *communitas* that the community possessed was related, in large measure to the architecture of the neighborhood. On each block there were apartment buildings that were three story buildings which had three apartments in the front and three apartments in the back. Six apartments times three people per apartment comes out to eighteen people residing in a block of flats. There were

twenty four flats on each street and each street faced another street that had the same number of apartments. Thus forty eight apartments times four square blocks yielded a population of almost 200 people. And that was for one square block.

In addition, the houses did not have, in the main, a garden or a back yard in which to play. As a youngster I played with people who lived on the block and we played in the street. There were no "play dates" and little activity inside of a flat; it was too small. So population density made for much interaction among the inhabitants of the community and made it possible for small shop owners to make a living.

Thus, when you traveled the streets of the North Lawndale district in Chicago during the time I was growing up, you saw people engaged in life. It contrasted sharply with the environment that exists at the present time in most well-heeled suburbs and quasi urban areas like Atherton, Woodside, and even Palo Alto. It has been said that if someone was struck down with a heart attack on the street in Palo Alto at 9:00 in the morning, he or she wouldn't be discovered and treated until 5:00 in the afternoon. In wealthy suburbs the houses open to the back; there are few people who walk the streets.

Thus far, I have tried to present a broad and general picture of the culture in which I grew up. It was a culture of ideas, of arguments, of intense human interactions. It was an environment in which children could find soul mates virtually by crossing the threshold of their front door. The age heterogeneity that one encountered playing on the street was enormous. There were fifteen year olds and there were six year olds and they played, if not together, adjacently. This afforded the younger among them to encounter role models for all kinds of activities, not all virtuous. Whatever its limitations, it afforded students a sense of continuity with the older and the younger playing jointly. But if the climate of the community provided one basis for understanding the practices and values that shaped my view of the world, it was my early school experience that shaped the other.

There was one event during the course of my childhood which had special significance. I liked to draw as a child, and one day my third grade teacher mentioned to my mother, who happened to be in the school at the time that, "Elliot has talent in art." What this meant was that a new door of opportunity was to open, this time not to provide access to public school, but to provide access to the children's art program at the Art Institute of Chicago. The Art Institute of Chicago is arguably one of the world's great museums. The opportunity to walk through the galleries for what turned out to be several years provided me with experience that could be had in no other setting. Art became increasingly important to me and this importance was expressed in what I was able to accomplish as "an artist". I had, for example, a one man show given to me by my fourth grade teacher. I received recognition for being the class artist. These recognitions were extremely important because I did not do well in school in the standard academic subjects. Mathematics was always an enigma to me – it still is. My handwriting was not particularly good, and my spelling was even worse. I felt none of the intellectual excitement in school that I felt observing my parents and relatives argue about social policy. There was a gap between these two constellations. What was clear was that my parents and relatives

cared very much about matters of social justice, as I have already indicated, while the activities undertaken in school were often housed in large gray books devoted to world geography. Little from my angle could have been of less importance.

So the first major distinction I drew as a child was between meaningful work in the realm of ideas and something close to coerced compliance with academic tasks that had little significance or meaning. I voted for the former and had problems because of the latter.

My time at the Art Institute of Chicago was a long one. I began the program at age eight and remained a student in the Art Institute of Chicago through elementary school and then once again as a high school graduate who decided to become a fine artist. I was in residence, one might say, from eight years of age to twenty-one years of age.

It might seem strange to think about work in the arts as being intellectual. I can assure you that nothing is more intellectual than trying to decide what the content of an image is going to be and how it is to be realized on a canvas or a sheet of ninety pound watercolor paper. Making such judgments in the absence of recipes or formula or fixed methods was something that I and my peers in the School of the Art Institute of Chicago experienced almost on a daily basis. Learning to paint is one set of tasks. Learning to see is a related but somewhat different set of tasks. Someone who can see what they look at from an aesthetic perspective need not possess the technical skills needed to create a compelling image.

It may seem strange to talk about *learning* to see. But learning to see was what I learned to do. I will never forget a response that I received from a teacher at the Art Institute of Chicago to whom I once commented that a painting of Gertrude Stein which hung on the walls of the museum, and which was painted by Pablo Picasso, did not look like Gertrude Stein. He responded by saying, "It will".

There is a deep profundity in his observation. It could mean several things. It could mean that Picasso has succeeded in penetrating Gertrude Stein's physiognomic character and that this character was revealed slowly over time. It could mean that the painting over time impacted the way we see Gertrude Stein. Gertrude Stein came to look like the way Picasso painted her. It could mean that Gertrude Stein herself would, over time, change in order to look like the characteristics of the portrait that Picasso painted.

One could go on and on with possibilities. But each of these possibilities evokes a different kind of response and a different mental set. The realization that this is the case is not trivial. After all, what could be more important than learning to see *and* learning to deliberate and debate the meaning of a form?

This same teacher, I might add, once responded to a question that I asked him, "Do you regard yourself as an artist?" He responded by saying, "I don't know if I am an artist, but I do know that I am a painter. I will let others decide whether I am an artist." When you have the faculty which is in touch with such issues on their own, the prospects of having such issues addressed and discussed in class is much greater than when people simply do routine activities that have long lost their sense of vitality. Brigs Dyer was a man of great intellect who provided the answers, tentative though they be, to the questions I raised. This gave me some insight into

the possibilities of reflection in art, and over time, had an effect on the way I thought about myself within the field of art.

Upon reflection, two environments emerged during the course of my childhood. One of these was the public school which was noted more for the emotional emptiness of what was being taught and how, and the other was a familial situation in which commitment, vigor, curiosity, and, most of all, persuasive argument was salient. It should come as no surprise that I was taken more with the latter than with the former. School experience was nothing like the sophisticated arguments that would take place pertaining to political matters in my home and neighborhood. School was, as they say, dry as toast.

There was something else that was special about the community in which I grew up, in addition to the prevalence of discussion and debate and the intimacies that a neighborhood with high density population makes possible. What the community had to offer that was special was the existence of the American Boy's Commonwealth and the Jewish People's Institute, two social and cultural institutions that were at the heart of the North Lawndale community.

The ABC and the JPI, as they were called, were community centers that made a variety of activities and forms of content available to young and old alike. The ABC focused namely on students at the elementary and secondary level, while the JPI addressed its resources not only to elementary and secondary school students, but to adults as well. What was significant about these institutions was that they, too, displayed an interest in debate and discussion and in the analysis of social problems. They were both places that one came to socialize and, at the same time, places where one came to learn. I devoted a major portion of my childhood to activities at both of these institutions and they were among the most influential experiences I had.

One array of experiences that was even stronger than I found at the JPI and the ABC occurred on what is called Maxwell Street. Maxwell Street, like Orchard Street in New York, is a place where people come to sell their wares. Small shops selling second hand items proliferate and people travel miles to find a bargain, something they can take home, something that testified to their insight, their sensitivity, their ability to determine what is a bargain and what is not.

Maxwell Street is a place that was lined with stores as well as with wagons, carts, and stands which were set up for business on Saturday and Sunday. Maxwell Street was basically a two-day street.

My father has taken me to Maxwell Street many many times to find shoes and to get a good buy in the process. When I was nine, I had been going to a particular shoe store, the Sample Shoe Store, for five years. The owner of the store, during one set of interactions there, asked me if I would like to be a salesman at the store. I thought to myself, "A salesman at age nine?" Nevertheless, he offered me an opportunity to sell shoes in the Sample Shoe Store and to get paid five or six dollars a day on Saturday and on Sunday for the work that I provided. I gladly accepted and found myself taking the street car, which was what we called the trolley, on weekend mornings starting at 8 and winding up at about 6. What was particularly significant about this experience is that the shoes that the Sample Shoe

Store handled were end of the line shoes secured from purchases made by the owner of other stores in the city. There was hardly ever a complete line of shoes to be found in the Sample Shoe Store. There was this model, that model, this size, that size. If variety is the spice of life, the Sample Shoe Store was full of spice. The reasons for this will become readily apparent. First, at the Sample Shoe Store you not only had to sell the shoe, you had to sell the price. Bargaining with the salesman was a standard practice at the Sample Shoe Store as it was for most of the shops on Maxwell Street. So, you had two hurdles to jump to make the sale. Was the shoe worth the money, and how far down must the salesman go for the buyer to purchase a pair of shoes? Learning to negotiate, learning to read someone else's buying behavior, learning to talk about shoes in a way that is credible was a part of my intellectual upbringing. I say intellectual because the strategies employed were nothing to sneeze at. You had to figure out what your customer really wanted and how much you thought you could get for the shoes from the person sitting in front of you with one shoe on and one shoe off.

But because there was not a complete line of shoes in the store, variety in shoes

became the dominant quality of the environment at the Sample Shoe Store. This variety, shoes from high class establishments such as Joseph's in downtown Chicago to shoes from low end mass made shoes from Tom McCann, were characteristic features of the stock that Mr. Brayhill, the owner of the Sample Shoe Store, would secure. This meant that I had plenty of opportunity to compare shoes, their style, their fit, their color, their quality. The roots

PERSONAL FAVORITES

Books

The Enlightened Eye

The Educational Imagination

Educating Artistic Vision

The Arts And The Creation Of Mind

Instructional and Expressive Educational Objectives: Their Formulation and Use in Curriculum

Articles

The Eisner – Gardner Debates: Should a Novel Count as a Dissertation in Education

Cognition and Representation: A Way to Pursue the American Dream? *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 78, 1997

of connoisseurship, an idea that I have advanced as a tool for evaluation in education, had its roots at the Sample Shoe Store on Maxwell Street in Chicago when I was nine years old.

Selling a product requires attention to the product's features and they ways in which those features can be described to the advantage of the seller. What I had at the Sample Shoe Store in Chicago was a wide mix of lessons, lessons designed to sell the price of the shoe, lessons designed to sell the quality of the shoe, lessons designed to persuade a buyer that the shoe not only fits well, but will fit even better (should it not fit perfectly well!) once it is "broken in".

The ability to discern the often subtle and complex qualities of a painting or, for that matter, a pair of shoes, is an instance of connoisseurship. People who know a lot about paintings and a lot about shoes are able to identify those subtleties in each that often escape the more naïve appraiser. I developed some degree of connoisseurship with respect to shoes by looking at the way in which they were constructed, whether they had a stacked heel or not, whether they used split leather or top grain, whether they had a cap front or a plain front. Connoisseurship is the art of appreciation. The ability to talk about the qualities that one sees is an act of criticism, the function of criticism is to serve as a midwife to the ability to appreciate a work or a pair of shoes. The principle cuts across all forms of human activity. There is no human activity devoid of connoisseurship or criticism. But not all connoisseurs are critics. One can achieve a high level of criticism without being able to say much about what is there. For a fulsome rendering of these competencies or skills or forms of intelligence, the art of appreciation needs to be complemented by the art of disclosure.

Now nobody talked about selling shoes in the way in which I am writing about them here. But underlying the more commonsensical description of shoes selling, the processes are fundamentally alike. These fundamental features and the setting in which judgments were made had an impact on my preoccupation with quality. After all, quality has to do with the value and competence with which something is created or made. My several years serving customers at the Sample Shoe Store on Maxwell Street in Chicago helped me appreciate this process in a significant way.

FAVORITES OF OTHERS

Susanne Langer, *Problems of Art*;
 John Dewey, *Art as Experience*;
 Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education*;
 Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*;
 Raymond Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*;
 Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking*.

By the time the end of a four-year term in high school came around, I had been deeply immersed in painting. I asked my art teacher if I could spend extra time in the “studio” – for which he agreed – and began to fashion for myself an image of a successful commercial artist, someone whose work would be known by the man on the street and which would have a salary commensurate

with the social significance of the images that I would make.

I was fortunate in securing a position as an artist’s apprentice at Vogue Wright Studios in Chicago. I was approximately nineteen years of age at the time. The work that I did was largely carrying garments to artists whose job it was to create textures and colors representing the cloth used in the garment so that it could appear in the large catalogues that Sears and Roebuck and Montgomery Ward produced. I soon found that that line of work presented no intellectual challenges to me and, in fact, it had little future of the kind that I wanted. Hence, I continued with my college studies and when they were done, I had two majors that I had taken; one in art and the other in education. I decided at that time that I wanted to

be an art teacher. How did this come about? I found that my interest had developed, not unexpectedly, in matters of meaning and society and craftsmanship and the kind of world that art could bring about. As a result, I began to shift my focus from being a commercial artist (which my mother wanted me to be) to being an art educator, which provided a delicious amalgam of both the fine arts and education. My family's background and socialist leanings were reflected in my attitudes toward education, and my love of thinking was reflected in the study of images. A happier mix could hardly have been found.

The major point in this review of my past is to point out that the sources of intellectual interest for me were not found in a single lecture or in a single book, or in a single anything else. It was a melding of a variety of forces, some social, some professional, some craft oriented, some merging into the fine arts. It was the kind of place that my home was, it was the kind of school that my school was, the kind of collective social life that my friends shared with me that influenced the kinds of choices that I made and the kinds of satisfactions that I sought. Put more simply, my intellectual interests were shaped by the opportunity to associate with ideas and people that I found challenging and stimulating, which I could identify with from a value perspective. I thought that what I was pursuing was a good that was not trivial. I still do.

Although broad cultural forces found in my community and in the communities in which I was raised have had a major impact on the way I think about mind, thinking, and knowing, the sources that have influenced me extend as they do in most people's lives into the kinds of ideas they have encountered, largely in books, but also in lectures and in other forms of more formalized communication. If I were to identify the books and the ideas that have meant the most to me, that have shaped the way I have seen the world and do see it today, I would identify the following. First, there is John Dewey's work in education, and most particularly his book *Experience and Education*. This slender volume did much to shape the way I think about curriculum and teaching and the processes that go on in classrooms. It has been a mighty ally.

A second book that has influenced the way I think about image making is Rudolf Arnheim's book, *Art and Visual Perception*. Arnheim provides a compelling theoretical structure for understanding the ways in which maturity in drawing is promoted and why the images that children create look the way they do. *Art and Visual Perception* was a milestone when it was published in the 1950s. It still is.

A book whose ideas on a philosophical level have shaped the way I think about art can be found in Susanne Langer's collection called *Problems of Art*. In this book, Langer explores a variety of important issues pertaining to art, but most importantly, provides a general framework for thinking about the function of form in relation to feeling and feeling in relation to form. It was a milestone publication when it was first published and it is still extremely relevant to those who want to understand the sources of art and how they get expressed.

Jerome Bruner's *The Process of Education* and his essay "The Course of Cognitive Growth," have been extremely powerful sources of insight for me in the way of revealing how knowing is promoted through action, symbols, and image.

Bruner has a wonderful capacity to write in lucid prose about processes and ideas in education and psychology that matter. He has been something of a silent mentor to me intellectually. There is much that I owe him as there is to the others who have done such powerful work as to shape the views of another generation. Nelson Goodman, the Harvard philosopher whose interests are in logic as prepared or riddled with swift but decisive insights into the meaning of symbols and how they function, what they do and what they don't. These five authors have given the educational world a set of powerful resources for which we must all be very grateful.

How does one make the transformation from experience secured during a child's lifetime to a mature conception of how the world works? The magic through which this transformation happens is something we sometimes refer to as "culture". For me, much of the transformation of "ordinary experience" to scholarly endeavors was promoted, indeed made possible, by the institutions I attended as a student. My work at the Illinois Institute of Technology introduced me to the importance of design to the making of anything and the possibility of finding productively innovative work to pursue. My work at the University of Chicago was a rich cauldron of ideas bubbling about and made possible an environment for me that gave its highest accolades to those who had new ideas. Chicago was tough intellectually and warm interpersonally. It was, in the best sense, a culture in the way in which culture is used by those who work in biology; it was a Petri dish filled with potential ideas and something that was, for me, after all, quite familiar, not because I knew anything about biology, but I knew something about the energies that flow from genuine inquiry carried on by enthusiasts. These conditions, presence of what I have referred to as potential ideas, and the energy deeply felt among faculty and students, provided an environment in which I could thrive and which, incidentally, was not unlike the environment I encountered as a child, at least in its best moments. Intellectual work was very familiar to me by the time I got to the University of Chicago, and that familiarity was due to the overlap between my home community and that great mass of academic buildings called the University of Chicago. I am so grateful for that.

It is not possible to do justice to the task that is represented in this essay, a summing up of sources that have influenced your intellectual life. The major point I would want the reader to take away from this essay is that influence is by no means limited to the academic world, to arcane books, to obscure treatises. Influences begin at birth and they permeate the communities and general environments in which we live. To understand what influenced whom, or who influenced what, we need a broader picture than we can get by simply reading the books that people have written. We need to look at the world as a gestalt, that is, as a broad and differentiated resource through which we nourish ourselves. Our intellectual life is influenced by what we are able to secure and what we are able to secure is, in turn, shaped by how the culture in which we live is nourished. The foregoing are some of the sources that have influenced my communities.

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Elliot Eisner
Stanford University





JOHN ELLIOTT

CONNECTING ACTION WITH RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

This autobiography attempts to place my intellectual development in the context of life experiences that span a period from early childhood to 'retirement'. I have especially sought to examine the way my childhood and educational experiences have influenced my work and career. I have only briefly sketched how, in the course of my career as a teacher and then as an academic, certain groups have influenced my thinking. This was done in some detail in 'Institutions in the Mind: Autobiographical Fragments' (see Elliott, 1998, Ch.1).

In his intellectual autobiography 'Unended Quest' Karl Popper wrote:

Although most of us know the date and the place of our birth — few know when and how their intellectual life began. So far as my philosophical development goes... it certainly started later than my emotional and moral development (1976 p.8).

I think the same can be said for me.

A WARTIME CHILDHOOD ON THE OLD SAXON SHORELINE OF ENGLAND

I was born in June 1938 in a terraced country cottage near the Kentish village of Hamstreet on the old Saxon shoreline that faced south across the English channel to France. By the time of my birth the sea had receded some 10 miles and the land that I looked out on was Romney Marsh, a flat expanse of drained grazing land scattered with tiny villages and famous for its sheep, old churches, and the smuggling gangs that carried their booty at night across it to the relative safety of the wooded and rolling countryside of the Kentish weald. I was born at a point where the weald met the flatlands of Romney Marsh. In fact the boundary was marked by the Royal Military Canal that stretched from the ancient port of Rye in East Sussex to the small town of Hythe. This Canal had been built as part of the coastal defence system designed to stop Napoleon Bonaparte invading England in the early part of the 19th century. London was just 56 miles to the north of my birthplace, a great physical barrier that limited my childhood horizons.

The danger zone for me was Hitler's Nazi Germany. Although my mother still used the expression, 'If you are not a good boy Bony (Bonaparte) will come and get you' there was an omnipresent threat of invasion and of instant obliteration in the process. My childhood was a wartime one at a point just across the English

Channel where German bombers passed over on their way to bomb London and where the American and British Armies attempted to shoot them and the German fighter planes down. It was a period in which I rarely saw my father, who spent most of the war in the army overseas. It was the same for most children in our village. We were raised almost entirely by our mothers, often assisted by grandparents.

My mother didn't fraternise too much with the other villagers. Some might say that she saw herself and her family as 'a cut above the rest.' Both my parents unquestionably accepted and respected the prevailing class based social order. They belonged to that sector of British Society that was both working class and politically conservative. My father was a very keen racer of pigeons, and his champion pigeon went by the name of 'Churchill.'

My experience of early childhood was inextricably linked to a persistent fear of nothingness, and a consciousness of the contingency of my 'self'. When I started school in 1943 I spent many lessons inside the brick air raid shelters that ran along one side of the playground. Eventually mothers and small children in our village were all evacuated to Cornwall in the south west of the country. In Cornwall I went to the local school until we returned towards the end of the war. I was 5 years old before my fear of bombs left me, only to be replaced to a lesser degree by a fear of local bullies. Male evacuee children were not welcomed by the local boys in Cornwall. Interestingly earlier in the war children were evacuated to our Kentish village from London to escape the 'blitz'.

My wartime childhood was not an unhappy one in spite of the fear of bombs and bullets. Although my father was absent, he wrote frequently and sent us photographs. My mother, whom I experienced as having a warm, kind and comforting temperament, gave my younger brother and I a kind of emotional security that counteracted the physical fear of air raids. We also had very happy Sundays when the US army, camped nearby in the woods, sent their trucks down to the village to collect the village children. We were taken up to the camp and treated to all manner of goodies –candies and bananas I remember – that English children had no other access to during a period of wartime food rationing. There was one discordant note. At the age of around five I was introduced to racism. My mother helped out some evenings behind the bar of our village pub (public house). One night she came home crying. The landlord had banned the black US soldiers from drinking there, at the request of the white US soldiers.

ONTOLOGICAL INSECURITY AND THE QUEST FOR IMMORTALITY

I have often wondered how my wartime early childhood experiences influenced my subsequent development and have formed the view that they established the basic conditions for an enduring and lifelong interest in theories and ideas. At their root they engendered a great deal of ontological insecurity with respect to my physical being and tendencies to take little for granted and to treat my continued existence as a biological being somewhat unpredictable. Such insecurity was inevitably accompanied by a great deal of the fear of death.

I would argue that my academic career as an educational and curriculum theorist is an attempt to transcend the biologically situated self, which I experienced continuously as a child to be on the edge of non-being, and thereby achieve a kind of immortality. I have worked obsessively for long hours to finish writing up my ideas for publication, feeling that there may be little time to spare before nothingness replaced being. This has meant that I have tended to live much of my life inside 'my head' giving priority to that life above the immediate demands of practical everyday living. Yet as I will try to show I increasingly felt dissatisfied with certain aspects of this quest for self-transcendence. I needed to reconcile this quest with recovering the physical and emotional warmth of human relationships that my mother had given my brother (he was a little younger) and me during the war years and beyond. Hence the major theme of my adult life has been to reconcile the life of a theorist with the practical realities of contingent human existence. My basic existential dilemma has been to reconcile theory and practice. Hence, my enduring interest in developing the theory and practice of action research. This perhaps partly explains why I came to focus on the practical problems of education as a context for theorising.

Even now in my later years I am continuously reminded that the existential dilemma is ongoing. My wife allows me a great deal of space to engage with the world of ideas, being an academic herself, but there are times when it becomes all consuming, particularly now that I am partly retired from the practical demands of teaching, research, and administration in the university. The quest for immortality through the production of ideas goes on. And yet I now know that the achievement of more balance will not only make me happy but also provide a context for enriching my theoretical understanding of the existential dilemma of linking educational theory with practice.

WARTIME AND A WIDENING OF HORIZONS

My wartime childhood experiences not only left me ontologically insecure, biologically speaking, but cut across boundaries – geographical, cultural, ethnic and social class – that often restrict and limit people's social understanding in peacetime. I was made aware of unjust and discriminatory social practices, from that of the local youth bullying immigrant youth who were seeking refuge from the war zone (evacuees), to that of racial segregation, which manifested itself in my village as the banning of black soldiers from the local pub. There is a sense in which the Second World War opened up the trans-national and trans-cultural space in which I later pursued *problems, theories and critical arguments* in the curriculum field. What was happening in the British Policy context never set limits to my thinking about the problems of education, because I have always seen these problems as a manifestation of a changing world, which I experienced as a child in wartime.

SEGREGATED SCHOOLING

I can recall the day when my father returned from the war, not the exact date but I remember dusk descending and my brother and I excitedly waiting for his return by jumping around and over an upturned tin tub in the garden. I dimly remember him kissing my mother but little else after that. After the war he prided himself on his successes with racing pigeons, and became a national figure in that sporting world. It provided a context for the development of his 'ring theory', an attempt to explain why some pigeons were able to navigate their way home faster and better than others. My father focused his efforts on breeding pigeons with highly developed ring structures, and in the course of this had cause to study genetics. I now realize that he was a kind of action researcher, developing theory in the context of a hobby that was stereotypically a working class pursuit. He pointed the way to my enduring interest in linking theory with practice, but I was not self-consciously aware of this.

My interests between five and eleven years were largely confined to playing games and sports, such as cricket and soccer, with other village children, and developing a few 'crushes' on girls. At school I learned the 'Three R's' but did not experience myself to be in any way a gifted student, until my headteacher singled me out for special coaching after school with a view to passing the 11+ examinations. Those who passed these exams, were thereby deemed to be of 'above average academic ability', and they went on to the elite state grammar schools that catered for approximately 10% of the population. Those who failed in the main went to the secondary modern schools, established as a result of the 1944 Education Act that terminated all through elementary schooling from 5-14 years. Secondary modern schools catered for students of 'average' and 'below average' academic ability between the ages of 11 and 15. The 1944 act ensured that the grammar schools, many of them founded in the 17th century, now selected students strictly on the basis of test results. To the delight of my parents I passed the 11+ tests and was the only child at the school to do so directly. My success was a cause for celebration, and the national flag, was hoisted on the flagpole outside the school. My mother was so proud that she never stopped telling people. It made me feel that I was special and somewhat different from other children. Like the vast majority of children in the country my brother failed the 11+ and went to the secondary modern school. Segregation by so-called ability entered our family and spread into the social sphere. My brother and I went to different schools in the same nearby town of Ashford on different buses. So my brother and I began to move in different circles. I made new friends at the grammar school and he made different friends at the secondary modern school, although we both had the same friends from our village.

THE QUIETLY DISAFFECTED STUDENT AND THE ASPIRING NUCLEAR SCIENTIST

In my first year at grammar school I achieved very little academically speaking. My motivation to learn what was on offer in the syllabus was low, and I did not

feel at home in the classroom, although I started playing cricket and soccer games for the under- 14 school teams on Saturdays. My position in class in the first two terms as a Year 1 student was near the bottom. I had become quietly disaffected: a well-behaved ‘goodie goodie’ but disaffected from learning nevertheless. My brother by way of contrast became more overtly disaffected from an educational system that defined him at 11 years old to be an educational failure. He developed a strong rebellious streak.

During second year at grammar school I became passionately interested in nuclear physics, and also developed an interest in astronomy. Neither interest stemmed from my school lessons. Nuclear physics was not in the physics syllabus and it had little space for astronomy either, just a few lessons on our solar system. My sources of information came from the local library in Ashford. I am sure that these interests stemmed from an attempt to please my father but they were authentic and grounded in my lived experience. My interest in nuclear physics was probably stimulated by the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima five years previously and the emergence of the ‘cold war’ with Russia and the subsequent development of nuclear power. My interest in astronomy probably stemmed from the fact that I walked into and out of the village down and up a country lane under a night sky that was devoid of any light pollution. I often stood still looking up at the constellations of stars and trying to identify them – Orion, The Plough, the Seven Sisters etc. I was not only interested in the scientific content of these fields of inquiry, but also in the stories of discovery within them. All my intellectual resources were books from the library and sometimes books given to me as presents by my parents. My grammar school, in spite of some special pleading on my part, was not prepared to jeopardise examination success by departing from the syllabus to accommodate its students emerging intellectual interests. In this respect it did not differ from other mainstream schools.

Becoming a quietly disaffected student was a condition of finding time and space to engage with the ideas I was personally interested in. At home I sat at the fire-side on winters evenings (homework was usually piled up to be dealt with at weekends), especially reading books on nuclear physics. My destiny I had decided was to become a nuclear physicist. But there was just too much mathematics involved. Maths at school became a lost world from the moment I was placed in the top set. The teacher was a brilliant mathematician who couldn’t teach me. He jumped too many steps in demonstrating solutions to problems. In spite of getting lost I was kept in the top set but when the time came to take the 16 + School Leaving Certificate examinations (GCE) I was not entered. I realised too late that I needed foundational mathematical knowledge if I was to cope with applying mathematical reasoning to the problems of nuclear physics, and that good teaching at school may have laid those foundations. Existentially speaking my quest for self-affirmation, to find meaning in life, as a nuclear scientist was frustrated by my schooling. Moreover, in those days there were no consultations with parents, who may have intervened to support students like me.

However, my heroes were not only nuclear scientists but fictional characters in novels and films about the wild west, a land where it was the lone cowboy or

sheriff who brought moral order out of chaos. I won't speculate much about the psychological roots of my passion for the western genre. What is clear to me is that the western novel is about morally committed action to rectify socially unjust states of affairs in which the individual agent was prepared to stand out from the crowd. I was fantasising about being an agent for good in the world, a sign that I was beginning to feel anxious about doing the right thing in situations where some injustice was being perpetrated.

At grammar school, in addition to extra-curricula sports, I focussed on simply doing enough to pass examinations in those subjects where the syllabus largely required memory learning. It seemed to me that much of the information could be acquired through text books and dictated notes. Time spent simply listening to the teacher I did not regard as time well spent.

At grammar school I learned very little I subsequently came to value, and the process of teaching and learning was intellectually unchallenging. A grammar school education – held by policy makers then, and even now, to symbolise educational excellence – failed to make learning a personally meaningful process for me. It failed to help me discover meaning for my life in the contents of the curriculum and in the process it failed to help me love learning as a process of spiritual self-affirmation.

My experience of an education system that socially segregated me from my brother, and of a curriculum that failed to support my personal learning agenda, set a context for my subsequent engagement in curriculum development that was aimed at providing students with equal access to 'knowledge' and making their engagement with it more 'personal.'

LEAVING SCHOOL WITH NO CLEAR DIRECTION

On leaving grammar school I applied and worked in the Farms and Gardens Department of Boots the Chemists in Ashford, because I had become attracted to a girl who worked there. So much for my decision to become a police officer as a kind of moral self-affirmation. I was called for interview by the London Metropolitan Cadet Force, but did not attend. After only two years in Boots I successfully applied for a job at a nearby horticultural research station as a scientific assistant, with responsibility for maintaining an experimental trial related to magnesium and iron deficiency in apple trees. The job was better paid than the Boots job, and allowed me to call myself a scientist, albeit at the bottom of the scientific hierarchy. To progress further to make the grades of Experimental Officer and Scientific Officer I needed a university degree, and so studied in the evenings for Advanced Level GCE's in Botany and Zoology. However, endlessly looking down microscopes at cell structures didn't engage my interest and nor did the subject-matter of fruit nutrition. I did not pass the Advanced Levels. I was spiritually speaking 'stuck' as far as developing any kind of intellectual agenda was concerned, in spite of acquiring a few practical research skills relating to the conduct of controlled experiments and being able to mechanically calculate correlation co-efficients.

AWAKENING THROUGH RELIGION

I had caught religion at the age of 17 and it opened up a space in which to develop a new intellectual agenda in the area of theology. My religious beliefs were rooted in childhood experience. Neither were practising churchgoers and the local Anglican church was situated some distance outside the village, well above the old Saxon shore line. Nevertheless our parents arranged for the church warden to walk us up to matins on a fortnightly basis. We found the services incredibly boring. At the Methodist Sunday school boredom was relieved by the fact that we met many of our friends in the village there, and when we went into the sermon we were often treated to displays of histrionic posturing that never failed to attract my attention, even when I didn't understand a word of what was being said. Besides, there were all kinds of social events linked to the Sunday school.

When I was 15 my father became the landlord of a country pub a few miles further to the west along the old Saxon shoreline. The context of my adolescent commitment to the substance of Christian belief was probably the emotional turbulence – the anxiety, guilt and fear – which accompanied the awakening of sexuality and a renewed hunger for some way of addressing the ontological, spiritual and moral dilemmas I was experiencing. However, I did not simply resort to religious beliefs dogmatically as a defence against succumbing to emotional chaos and the threat of nothingness. Rather I treated such beliefs as objects of reflection and critical argument in the light of contemporary problems of living in the world. I had begun to see my own existential predicament as a reflection of the general human condition and theological reflection about the grounds of religious belief as a way of addressing them.

I was never a fundamentalist Christian or particularly evangelical. I was however, encouraged to become a Methodist lay preacher, where I experienced some problems. I had preached sermons that were sympathetic to other religions, such as Buddhism, that had attempted to redefine Christian sexual ethics, and that had detached the meaning of the Greek doctrine of immortality of the soul from the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body. I was probably being too intellectual and too liberal for my audiences. At the heart of much of it lay an attempt to articulate Christian belief in socially inclusive rather than exclusive terms. The pulpit, I concluded, was not a space for challenging the cherished beliefs of the faithful. It is the place from which they understandably seek reassurance for their faith and the confirmation of their beliefs. I needed another setting for the development of my theological interests.

BECOMING AN RE TEACHER

During the three and a half years I spent in horticultural research I joined two dramatic societies in Maidstone, one linked to the Methodist Church and the other was called 'The Country Players', which in the winter put on plays in a local theatre during the winter while in the summer there was always an open air Shakespearian production. At the age of 20 I was playing Flute the Bellows Mender in 'A Midsummer's Night Dream'. The cast included some local schoolteachers who

spent their time 'off stage' in the changing room tent marking exercise books. I began to seriously entertain the possibility of becoming a teacher for the first time, thinking that I would quite like to do 'their job.' By this time I had come to feel that I wanted a career that was both morally worthwhile and intellectually challenging. Teaching offered me a chance of reconciling a desire to engage in a form of morally committed action with a commitment to scholarly endeavor. I obtained a place on a two-year teacher training course at Portsmouth Teacher Training College, with religious studies and biology as my specialist subjects. I chose biology simply because of my recent research experience, rather than any personally meaningful engagement at the time with the subject matter. Religious studies was different. I thought it would provide a context for the pursuit of my theological interests, but I was wrong. The radical German theologians whose work I had been trying to come to grips with – Barth, Tillich, Bultmann and Bonhoeffer – did not appear on the syllabus, which largely featured a rather arid kind of biblical theology and some church history. I was back to my school days as a quietly disaffected student who went through the motions of learning what was required while personally engaged with ideas culled from books that were not required reading. Yet now I was training to be a teacher, and being inducted into a curriculum and learning process that was as alienating as my school experience. The compulsory core of the educational studies curriculum, however, did partly engage me. The educational philosophy, in particular, focused on issues about the aims of education and what values should shape it as a moral enterprise. It also introduced me to educational experiments, where those with educational ideas tested their theories in action. It was a form of educational theorising that occurred interactively with attempts to embed educational theories in action. I now see such experiments in education as a form of action research.

After two years at Training College I qualified as a teacher, but proceeded to do a further year of religious studies for a Supplementary Teachers' Certificate at Bishop Otter, a Church of England Teacher Training College in Chichester, Sussex. Here I had an opportunity to do philosophical theology with Bernard Reardon, a priest who later taught theology at Newcastle University. It was Reardon who gave me the space and time and critical feedback I needed to develop a theological agenda, which addressed the existential anxieties that characterise the human condition; what Tillich (1952) classified as the anxieties of death and fate, of meaninglessness, and of guilt. This agenda was the resource I drew on over the next five years from 1962-67, as a somewhat innovatory religious studies teacher at Senacre Secondary Modern School in Maidstone under the imaginative leadership of Norman Evans, its headteacher. It not only shaped the content of my curriculum but also the way I engaged my students with that content; namely, through discussion. It was content shaped by the enduring problems of human existence and the answers provided by the world's religions. In fact this 'inductive approach' to religious education was already emergent through the research and writing of Howard Loukes at the University of Oxford Department of Education. It involved engaging students in reflecting on and discussing 'life themes' and the relevance of religious beliefs and values to finding answers to the existential dilemmas they

posed. As a religious studies teacher I was fortunate to work in a school that did not require me to follow the locally agreed syllabus for religious education. I had space in which to innovate in both curriculum and pedagogical terms. Moreover, at Senacre I found myself working with a like-minded headteacher and a group of humanities subject teachers who were re-thinking the humanities curriculum along similar lines, for students who were predominantly working class and labelled as having ‘average’ and ‘below average ability’. We all found ourselves reorganising the content of our subject around human situations and life themes, and trying to create more space in our classrooms for discussion-based inquiry as a mode of learning. We did so to make the curriculum more relevant to our students lives, and the learning more self-directed and personal (see Elliott 2005a). In the end we developed an integrated humanities curriculum, which drew together different subject contents around life themes and opened up a pedagogical space for learning through discussion. In the process I became head of a Humanities Faculty at Senacre.

CHANGING THE CURRICULUM FOR THE YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVER

Our work in developing the humanities curriculum at Senacre coincided with the formation of a national Schools Council for Curriculum Reform and Examinations – a tripartite partnership between central government, local education authorities and the teachers’ unions – and the proposal to raise the compulsory school leaving age to 16. One of the problems that the Council addressed soon after it became established was the large scale disaffection of students approaching school leaving age from the humanities subjects (history, geography, and religious education in particular). The Council’s Working Paper Number 2 (1965) on the ‘The Raising of the School Leaving Age’, was an attempt, in the light of preliminary research, to map out the curriculum development work that needed to be done. It contained an imaginative vision of the aims of the humanities curriculum that mirrored those we were already trying to follow at Senacre, and more specifically what I was attempting in religious studies.

The aim is to forward understanding, discrimination, and judgement in the human field – it will involve reliable factual knowledge, where this is appropriate, direct experience, imaginative experience, some appreciation of the dilemmas of the human condition of the rough hewn nature of many of our institutions, and some rational thought about them. (p. 14).

In the summer of 1967 I was appointed to work on the Schools Council Humanities Project, which was based in Philippa Fawcett College of Education in South London under the direction of Lawrence Stenhouse. Stenhouse (1967) defined the fundamental characteristic of the humanities to be the study of values and argued that the content of the humanities curriculum for young school leavers should be the specific problems in the adult world they were about to enter, and about which different individuals and groups in society urged conflicting courses of action. In the absence of such agreement he believed that this implied a shift away from

instruction-based towards more discussion-based learning aimed at 'developing an understanding of human acts, social situations and the controversial situations they raised.' Stenhouse did not see the intended outcome of such discussion to be the growth of a consensus of judgements about which course of action was best. 'The development of understanding' through discussion was conceived as a process of critical reflection in which students considered 'evidence' for and against different points of view. The object of such a process according to Stenhouse was that the student should:

'come to understand the nature and implications of his point of view, and grow to adult responsibility by adopting it in his own person and assuming accountability for it'. (1967, p 160).

In the Humanities Project a more self-reflective concept of discussion operated, which was commensurate with Stenhouse's account of 'the development of understanding', inasmuch as priority was given to asking questions that helped students to reflect on their own value position in the light of other people's, rather than to arguments about whose position was superior.

A number of themes, depicting areas of experience in which controversial issues arose, were outlined as a basis for producing curriculum materials to support a classroom process of the kind outlined. My initial task was to develop curriculum multi-medial materials – depicting factual information and theories and imaginative works of literature and art – around the theme of 'war and society'. Although many of Stenhouse's ideas were not novel for me – they reflected ideas that were already embedded in the work of myself and colleagues at Senacre – the distinction between 'argumentative' and 'reflective' discussion challenged me as the first person tasked to produce exemplary curriculum materials. It implied a different conception of information handling at the classroom level. At Senacre we assumed that the role of presenting informational content was to provide a rational basis for resolving issues through discussion. Like Stenhouse, at Senacre we believed that the problem of disaffection from learning in relation to the humanities subjects was not so much a matter of the irrelevance of the 'knowledge' they consisted of to the lives of students, as of the conditions under which they were required to access it. We, believed that changing these conditions implied a curriculum that explicitly linked such knowledge with the situations students would have to handle in everyday life. However, we did not see that changing conditions of access to knowledge might entail detaching access to informational content from the authoritative instructional role of the teacher. Stenhouse felt that the way we transmitted information to students, through lectures before they broke into discussion groups, limited and constrained rather than enhanced the quality of discussion in these groups.

In the Humanities Project the material I selected therefore had to support an innovatory pedagogy that had discussion, conceived as a form of reflective inquiry, at its core rather than simply consisting of one component alongside others of equal standing. It was to be regarded as a collection of 'evidence' rather than a pack of 'authoritative documentation.'

My 'War and Society' pack, and those which followed, were Stenhouse argued, to be treated as foundation collections that enabled teachers and their students to embark on the innovation without having to find the time to gather materials according to the exacting criteria and standards set by the project. The materials produced by the project team had to stand in relation to those gathered by students and their teachers in the discussion process as 'the school library stands in relation to the personal books of teacher and pupil.'

The Humanities Project refused to dissociate the personal development of students and their preparation for life in the adult world from an engagement with the products of the human intellect and imagination. What it attempted was to establish in schools a more interactive relationship, more give-and-take, between the minds of students and the world of ideas, so that the struggle with the objects that make up this world have repercussions for the way they live their lives and in return make some contribution, however small, to it.

Participation in the project helped me to further develop my vision of a curriculum solution to the problem of large-scale disaffection from learning in schools. As a student and young adult I had forged personal learning agendas that were largely disconnected from the formal curriculum on offer at school and teacher training college. My engagement with the world of ideas was through library books and the personal books I accumulated over time. In general it was a lonely affair, just me with my books. There was little experience of learning communities at school, college or elsewhere, in which I had opportunities to engage in critical reflection with others about problems and ideas. The work on the Humanities Project, helped me to further the curriculum ideas I began to forge with colleagues at Senacre, into how students access to society's cultural resources might be mediated by teachers in a form that is experienced to be personally relevant and meaningful. Indeed I had to wait until I was 24 years old to experience membership of an authentic learning community, as a member of the teaching staff at Senacre, where we became involved in trying to find curriculum solutions to the problem of disaffected learners, and in the process seeking evidence and doing some research. After that most of my ideas about the curriculum and how to change it have developed as a result of participating in various learning communities. It was, however, my membership of the HCP team, that enabled me to significantly deepen my conception of the curriculum as a specification for an educational experiment. Moreover, during my work on the project I studied the philosophy of education at the University of London Institute of Education where I came into contact with the work of Richard Peters and Paul Hirst. This time I engaged with ideas that were personally and professionally meaningful; an engagement that in the course of time enabled me to upgrade my academic credentials. My engagement with philosophy of education was strongly encouraged by Stenhouse, who saw HCP as the first curriculum development project to be grounded in a well articulated philosophy of education.

TRANSLATING CURRICULUM THEORY INTO PRACTICE THROUGH
ACTION RESEARCH

Embedded in the design of HCP were a cluster of ideas about the nature of understanding in the human field, and its implications for the nature of learning, the teacher's authority, and the nature of evidence. Stenhouse argued that a curriculum should be designed for the purpose of helping teachers to reflectively translate ideas into practice, and in doing so to test, refine and further develop those ideas. In the process teachers not only call into question the norms that have shaped traditional practice in their classrooms but also the ideas that underpin the new curriculum. From that point onwards I focused my academic career on developing the theory and practice of educational action research as a form of curriculum experimentation aimed at translating educational ideas and theories into practice at the classroom level (see Elliott 1991, 1998, 2007a). In England changes in the education policy context during the 1980's saw central government increasingly intervening to shape a highly prescriptive outcomes-based national curriculum according to the logic of technical rationality. This gave higher education-based curriculum specialists and teachers in schools little space to engage in collaborative curriculum development work at the classroom and school level. Fortunately my academic base at CARE, and for a period at the Cambridge Institute of Education, gave me opportunities to work on projects in other countries e.g. to enhance teachers capabilities to develop the curriculum through action research in the context of the OECD's 'Environment and Schools Initiatives' programme (see Elliott 1995), and to assist with embedding action research into the curriculum reforms in post-Franco Spain and post-changeover Hong Kong. All this overseas work provided practical, yet culturally diverse, contexts for reflectively developing a theory of educational action research.

Following the Humanities Project I directed an action research project funded by the Ford Foundation. It involved teachers, who were engaged in curriculum reforms, undertaking research to translate the pedagogical aim that underpinned most of these reforms – Inquiry/Discovery Learning – into practice. The project was known as Ford T and systematically generated sets of diagnostic hypotheses about the problems of change, and practical hypotheses about possible ways of resolving them (see Elliott 2007a, Ch. 2). It attracted a great deal of international interest. In its wake in 1976, assisted by the Ford Foundation, I established the Classroom Action Research Network (CARN), as a context both for disseminating the project's work and findings and for an exchange of views between people engaged in educational action research. Later this international network connected educational action researchers working in other professional areas – e.g. nursing and social work – and was renamed 'The Collaborative Action Research Network'. To-day, over 30 years since its inception, CARN is still flourishing as a medium for sharing educational insights and methods developed through action research. In 1990 an associated international refereed journal entitled *Educational Action Research* was launched.

THE 'LEARNING COMMUNITY' AS A SOCIALLY INCLUSIVE/
DEMOCRATICALLY CONSTITUTED FORUM

More recently spaces have opened up again in England for teachers and schools to play a more generative role in curriculum development, albeit with an emphasis on partnership and collaboration with those who have a stake in the curriculum. In response I have attempted to develop a more socially inclusive notion of 'learning communities' in contexts of curriculum and educational change (see Elliott, 2005b). Such communities which I have tended to call *Forums* (see Elliott, 2007b) are *democratically constituted*, inasmuch as they are made up of individuals who belong to a variety of stakeholder groups – such as policy makers, school governors, employers, parents and students – in addition to curriculum leaders and teachers. They are also *dialogic* inasmuch as they provide a context in which different points of view regarding the aims, content, and pedagogy are exchanged and discussed with teachers and curriculum leaders who have direct responsibility for developing the curriculum. Finally, they are *developmentally oriented* inasmuch as they provide a context for informed, reflective, and intelligent action that is sensitive to a plurality of perspectives and the evidence cited in support of them. I see academic educationalists and educational researchers playing an important role in supporting the work of such forums, by mediating their access to theoretical resources and gathering evidence in response to issues that arise in the course of their deliberations.

This development of a socially inclusive notion of a learning community at the core of an educational action research process has clearly been influenced by my experience of the Humanities Project, but also by an increasing involvement in groups whose members represent a diversity of stakeholders, and which have responsibility for facilitating curriculum and educational change in contemporary policy contexts e.g. as a member of a local 'Learning and Skills Council', of a 14-19 Curriculum Strategy Group in my local government area, and of a governing body of a school operating in socially challenging circumstances. All of these practical roles in the field of education policy and governance lay beyond the formal requirements of life in the academy, but have been feeding the further development of my ideas about how to improve the quality of interaction between educational practice and educational theory and research. Underpinning it all is the enduring existential dilemma of my life; namely, how to reconcile the worlds of educational theory and practice.

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*John Elliott,
Centre for Applied Research in Education,
University of East Anglia, UK.*

IVOR F. GOODSON

PERSONAL HISTORY AND CURRICULUM STUDY

LIFE BEFORE CURRICULUM

My own vision and version of schooling in general and curriculum in particular was much influenced by my own social origins. This led me to view schooling and curriculum from a position on the margins. But as Musgrove once pertinently commented, in most social orders truth resides not in the mainstream but in the margins.

I was born towards the end of the Second World War in a small village near Reading in Berkshire. My father was a Gas Fitter and my mother was at the time working in a munitions factory. My dad was the youngest of 13 children and was preceded by 12 sisters. His father appears on most of the children's birth certificates as 'unemployed labourer', but twice, in moments of fortune, as 'railway platelayer'. He died (in the old workhouse) before I was born. The mother took in laundry and lived to be 98 years old. On my mother's side, there were seven children. Her mother and father worked in a variety of jobs and in 1929 they were running a cafe in a working class district of Reading where my mum and dad met.

Our home whilst empty of books was full of chatter and story telling. It was through stories not books that I came into the world. As a result when I first went to school at the age of six I couldn't read. But I did find school a fascinating as well as disturbing experience. In my village you did not go to school gladly. I still remember that long walk to school on the first day and seeing one of my mates, Paul Sharp, clinging to the gatepost of his house and screaming blue murder as his mum tried to detach him and take him off to his first day of 'state edification' (an uncle's phrase!).

A few years ago, I tried to summarise my 'personal points of entry' into studies of schooling. So let me continue the story with an extended quote which originally came from my personal journals:

My own parents viewed the achievement of 'their' Labour government after the war as most clearly demonstrated by the new schooling, which was offered to me and to other working people's children. Here, I was told, was the chance to learn, a chance to start to understand the world in which I was growing up.

Yet, from the beginning I experienced odd contradictions, for while I was supposed to learn, most of the questions for which I sought answers were not on the school's agenda. They were, it is true, mainly childish questions but they turned on my understanding of the world at the time. They were things that we talked about at home: Why did my father work so hard? Why did I not see him in the mornings, or until late in the evening? Why did my mother go to work to 'support me'? Why

were all the fields I played in being developed by more and larger 'council estates'? Why did we have to walk (or later, ride) more than three miles to school? Why was the school in a 'posh' village and not in my village? Why were the children from my village treated differently to the children from the immediate school locality?

These then were aspects of my world; but why did we never talk about them let alone learn about it at school?

My concerns about schooling increased when I went to secondary school. I passed the '11-plus' and was sent off to a grammar school (again, miles away from my village). All my friends now went to *our* village's school: a secondary modern. The long ride to the grammar school through the council estates wearing a blue 'Venetian' blazer and a hat with a yellow tassel cemented an incurable fascination with schooling. (The fascination lasted longer than the blazer and hat, which I took to packing in my bike saddle bag and putting on in the school's bike shed.)

FAVOURITE ARTICLES/BOOKS/CHAPTERS WRITTEN BY IVOR

Learning, Curriculum and Life Politics: The selected works of Ivor F. Goodson (Routledge: Abingdon, 2005)

Professional Knowledge, Professional Lives: Studies in Education and Change. (Open University Press: Maidenhead & Philadelphia, 2003).

Curriculo em Mudança: Estudos na construção social do currículo (Porto Editora: Portugal, 2001).

Subject Knowledge: Readings for the Study of School Subjects with C. Anstead and J. M. Mangan (Falmer Press: London and Washington, D.C., 1998).

A Construção Social do Currículo, (EDUCA: Lisboa, Portugal, 1997).

The Changing Curriculum: Studies in Social Construction (Peter Lang: New York, 1997).

Studying School Subjects: A Guide, with C. Marsh (Falmer Press: London and Washington, D.C., 1996).

The Making of Curriculum: Collected Essays. 2nd Edn (Falmer: London, New York and Philadelphia, 1995).

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At the grammar school the curriculum made my sense of dichotomy at the primary school seem churlish. Here, not only was the content alien and dull but the very form of transmission and structure (the discursive formation no less) utterly bewildering. I experienced schooling as one learning a second language. A major factor in this cultural displacement was the school's curriculum.

At the school I languished: taking nine 'O' level exams and failing eight. At fifteen I was at work in a crisp factory. Later however (through the intervention of one teacher) I returned to school and, though still burdened with a sense of alienation from the subject matter, began to perform the tests of rote learning and memory which were rewarded with exam passes.

A degree (in Economic History) and a period of doctoral work followed but in 1968 the continuing sense of dichotomy between 'life' and 'study' led me to abandon all thought of an academic career. The starting points were two articles – one by Basil Bernstein in *New Society*, 'Open Schools, Open Society'; the other by Barry Sugarman on secondary school pupil cultures (*British Journal of Sociology*, 1967).

These articles showed me that there were modes of academic study where the everyday experiences of ordinary pupils and people might be investigated, where my experience of life and my intellectual questions about that experience might be finally reconnected. But, just as before, I had had to abandon my intellectual interests to pass examinations; now once again, I had to abandon an academic career so that self and study might be reinvested with some degree of authenticity.

The decision to abandon my academic career was essentially a positive redirection. Once I had identified the kind of work epitomized in Bernstein and Sugarman, I saw the newly-organizing comprehensive schools as the place where I wanted to work. Here, my own class background and experience might engage with that of my pupils in a 'common language' of dialogue between teacher and taught. For the new generation of pupils from working homes there might be something beyond the pervasive alienation I had experienced at school.

These then, were the hopes I set off with as I left my working class home in a Berkshire village to settle in another village in Leicestershire and begin teaching in a 'comprehensive school' (Goodson 1988).

TEACHING IN LEICESTERSHIRE IN PROFESSIONAL TERMS

In September 1970 the story reaches a small village in the flat plains south of Leicester. I had seen an advertisement in the *Times Educational Supplement* and applied for the job. At the time I knew nothing of the significance of the school but Countesthorpe was a very radical experiment in state education for the 11 to 18 age group. I remember going up to the interview in Leicester with my girlfriend at the London School of Economics, Anna Bicat. I was interviewed at 2.30 p.m. by Tim McMullen and Mike Armstrong. They had obviously just had a convivial lunch in County Hall and the interview went pretty well. When Anna and I got back to our flat in Hampstead there was a telegram waiting (I still have it – historical sources, item 203!) which said 'would like to appoint you. Please telephone acceptance.' I loved their style and immediately phoned back.

As the papers about the school came through I began to realise this was an unusual and highly innovative school.

McMullen argued that the new directions in schooling needed to be conceptualised, 'these *directions* imply a re-examination of, and a change in, curriculum, methods, authority relationships and organisation' (McMullen 1970).

Two main ideas emerged in terms of kinds of development:

- The development of the college as a community in which the Upper School students, the staff – professional and others – and the adults from the local community work together rather than in compartments. This implies: 'participatory' rather than 'authoritarian' making of decisions; the blurring of the lines separating school and community and an actual mixing of adults and students in an extended school and community day.
- The re-thinking and selection of the curriculum in terms of its relevance. This may involve: different content for certain subjects, e.g. maths, physics; development of interdisciplinary problem-based rather than subject-based work in some areas – particularly in humanities and creative arts; the introduction of new specialisms perhaps as parts of interdisciplinary areas, e.g. sociology, psychology and the disappearance of – or considerable lessening of importance of – others.

As the character of the school began to emerge I could see why the references from my curriculum tutors at the Institute of Education might have helped in getting me appointed to the school. The references had been clear about strengths and weaknesses: -

Mr Goodson's great strength is his ability to make relationships with individual pupils. He treats children seriously when it is important to do so; he listens to what they say and encourages them to say a great deal, even when they would normally be reluctant. He is also capable of indicating that their standards are not what they should be without arousing antagonism. He has a strong sense of humour and can banter with pupils without losing their respect.

Although 'he was a popular student and has a great deal of charm'.

He can sometimes appear off-hand to people who 'go by the book'. He offended one or two teachers at Hammersmith (my teaching practice school) in this way: but it is worth emphasizing that the 'injured' parties felt threatened by the success of Mr. Goodson's teaching methods which had involved pupils in a manner never achieved by their own lecturing techniques (Education Tutor 1970).

This emerging pedagogy was practised in a direct grant school in Hammersmith, Latymer Upper, where I undertook my 'teaching practice' for the P.G.C.E. at the Institute of Education. A very conventional, conservative school. Yet the ingredients of a pedagogy that was more consciously defined at Countesthorpe are quite clear, I think. In fact, I am surprised at how prophetic the reference is. Moreover I had assumed that my informal style and use of humour had in a sense 'emerged' at Countesthorpe. Clearly this was not the case, although the open environment there and the general ethos must have encouraged me to 'come out' more in terms of my

working class argot and style. This was the curriculum innovation I was personally exploring at this school. Lifestyle and pedagogy became interdependent.

Early on at the school an ethnographic researcher spent some time watching a few of us teaching. He captured the essence of my pedagogy at the time with great economy. I still marvel at how quickly he could see that which so many pupils sensed but so few educators could understand:

As I watch him teaching it does seem to me that there is something about him different to other teachers, even the other jokesters like Liz. Ivor doesn't seem to *represent* school like other teachers do. He gives the impression of simply being there because it's a job. In some subtle and indefinable way he conveys a kind of insolence that pupils frequently convey, but never teachers. There is something confident, arrogant and deeply irreverent about the way he acts. He seems to carry no responsibility for the ethos and culture of teaching. It's not just that he swears, most teachers in the school do and some much more. Not that he jokes because other teachers joke. Not his dress or appearance which is conventional alongside many of the staff. It's a quality of presence, something in his total personal style (Walker 1973).

He likewise captured my lifestyle. I seem to remember the poor devil had to sleep several times on a mattress in a room he later described in his report to the Ford Foundation (so much for life 'in the field'):

Ivor shares the flat with two (?) other teachers. His room is fairly chaotic. An enormous hi-fi system (much admired by his pupils who are often found using it). A collector's collection of rock records (no jazz) of which 10 or 11 LP's seemed in more or less constant use. Magazines piled up around the room, the most used of which was *Let it Rock* which contained several of Ivor's articles. Books on local industrial history (Ivor was a joint author of one), on Russia and a scattering of sociology (Bernstein's *Class, Codes and Control*, Nell Keddie). Most of the floor space was taken up by an old mattress, the rest by socks, a tennis racquet, gym shoes (once white?), a big trunk, assorted letters (one applying for the post of 'geography teacher'). On the fading wallpaper a Beatles poster and a school report made out in Ivor's name and signed by a pupil ('Could do better if he tried harder') (Walker 1973).

But how do personal lifestyle and pedagogy interact? What of the person carries over into the teacher role? Here the theme of indivisibility emerges.

Often teachers do feel the contradictions between themselves as teachers and themselves as persons. Hence the teacher who is friendly in the playground or in the corridor but freezes in the classroom, or the teacher who allows a relaxed atmosphere in some parts of the lessons but who knows when to be serious. We detect nothing of this in Ivor and nor do those who know him better than we do. He seems the same in almost any situation (Walker 1973).

In a series of notes and letters written in 1973, I tried to spell out why I favoured such a pedagogy and what was missing in this and other ethnographic accounts.

I think you have to spell out much more about youth culture. It looks just like a red-herring that you just drop in.

Surely the important point is that for my whole generation (and yours!) youth culture was the way into a whole radical alternative lifestyle. It genuinely acted to break down class and other stereotypes.

Now given that this is so. Given that I subscribe to that lifestyle. It should follow that if teachers who have experienced youth culture carry that over into their teaching then normal stereotypes might dissolve.

Youth culture and WC (working class) culture are broadly similar in whole areas. This is particularly true, I would say, in reference to authority. Therefore a teacher who has experienced youth culture *and* carries it over into his teaching (whether he or she be a week-end beatnik or a life-styler!) should find himself well-placed and in empathy with WC kids.

You see it's interesting that you mention Lennon and Best – they typify one strand in youth culture and WC culture – the *rebel* (in this case with a cause I think!).

I find it hard to believe that many WC kids will take teachers seriously who take school seriously. I mean this solely in the sense of 'image'. Something you've not touched on – and yet it's part of the vocabulary of many WC kids.

Schools are 'hate objects' in the internal language of the WC. You go to them in much the same spirit you go to the factory – by the time you are a teenager that is. You learn to hate every hypocrisy and fallacy that they stand for. A teacher who fully identifies with the school therefore encounters a similar response (letter to Walker 1973).

Two other notes I found on old bits of paper from 1972 spell out more of the approach and pinpoint my predominant concerns at this stage in my life in teaching.

For the WC Child

- The person comes before the role in deciding if you learn from a teacher. Learning will only go on if the person is accessible and acceptable. It is the first threshold.
- The person can be adjudged at a number of levels. Certain factors seem to predispose the kids in liking teachers.
 - (a) An ability to joke and be joked with – a classic WC 'testing' mechanism (Scwartz calls it 'sounding' among black youth in New York).

- (b) An irreverence, rebelliousness like their heroes.
- (c) A general acceptance of laughs and fun as essential ingredients of life.

There are other symbols which might imply an empathy with the culture based on ways of walking and moving and acknowledgements of 'distancing' in certain defined situations (e.g. the teacher in the lunchtime disco).

Since the teachers' role is tied up with the commodity he is purveying much depends on the commodity. Most find few points of reference or relevance in his 'subject'. So the only way for the WC child to come to terms with school is through the teacher's own person divorced from his role. Only in the relationship that he has with his teacher can the child explore the alien world of the school. The teacher must exist and define a social context and relationship which the child finds sympathetic. This implies the teacher is sufficiently aware of the child's culture to include a number of familiar symbols which can render the world of classroom sufficiently familiar to the child.

- What I think one is saying is that the first stage in the learning process is the establishment of a 'knowing' relationship. The socio-pastoral threshold precedes the academic threshold. Though for most WC kids that relationship is assumed, suspended in expectation of instrumentality.
- Without this relationship, *whatever* the pedagogy, transmission or transformation, there will be undue numbers of failures. Simply because they never 'came to terms' with what the teacher was about. So what he elicits will be nothing to do with the child's potential.

But

- The relationship is not just the prerequisite for transmission. It should by its establishment affect the nature of that transmission. The critical point is that at which the child ENGAGES, from then on exploration is cooperative. Learning becomes a possibility (personal notes 1973 – 74).

The most obvious point to emerge from my journals, scribbings, and recorded conversations is what we might call my '*chronology of concern*' or '*sequence of concern*'. Quite clearly, in the first few years at the school, my concerns were primarily classroom focussed – how do we engage children in learning, particularly the majority of the children who were from working class homes. In finding my feet in teaching, in carving out a 'style', these were the first concerns. At the heart of the process of becoming a teacher for me was this question of pedagogic orientation. But I believe the question of pedagogic orientation carried an implicit amalgam of other values and positions. Pedagogic orientation clearly, I think, derived a good deal from personal strengths and weaknesses, as well as crucial matters of background such as social class and regional origins. But most importantly, I believe questions of pedagogic orientation crucially anticipate and circumscribe subsequent judgements about styles of curriculum, school governance and organisation right down to basic political judgements such as which sorts of schools, which types of pupils should be chosen and sponsored.

I should note that I am not here concerned to present evidence as to the quality of my classroom practice: about whether I was a good or bad teacher. My concern is to characterise my evolving *view* of pedagogic style and orientation and the juxtaposition of personal style and pedagogic style. The argument I wish to make is that this pedagogic orientation and interdependent sense of personal lifestyle is a crucially important consideration in the styles of curriculum, governance and schooling to which one gives allegiance. In short, in the interplay between personal lifestyle and pedagogic orientation there are many of the origins of teacher predispositions. Predispositions that are to support particular versions of subjects of syllabuses, curriculum projects, assessment procedures, as well as administrative decisions, political decisions, and issues of pastoral and community concern.

COMING TO CURRICULUM

In the first years in teaching then my major concern was clearly with 'classroom matters' – with developing a pedagogic style and orientation. But in developing this pedagogic orientation, I was implicitly developing and furthering an allegiance to styles of curriculum, assessment, and schooling.

In part, this 'coming to curriculum', this requirement to examine and question existing styles of curriculum was part of an institutional search that went on at Countesthorpe in the early years. For if the radical relationships and pedagogies pioneered at the school were to survive, new styles of curriculum and assessment were necessary. Hence even probationary teachers like myself were involved in drawing up new syllabuses for examination at Mode 3¹. A primary concern in developing curriculum was the need to *engage* students – as we have seen this was my major concern in the classroom, so it was inevitable that it would feed through into curriculum planning. In the classroom, the 'mixed ability' classroom, we sought to involve *all* students – so we sought a curriculum that reflected this 'comprehensive' intention.

Writing in November 1973, I tried out a few of my tentative ideas: for instance on the issue of student autonomy.

After these generalised prophetic justifications, a final justification is that student autonomy may serve to solve some of the educational problems facing contemporary education. The problems of teaching mixed ability groups from differing backgrounds are many and various. Most of these problems, however, are connected with the lack of motivation of students to learn and, closely allied, the questionable relevance of what they are asked to learn. As we have seen, even after new curriculum developments, teachers still consider that they should control every aspect of the student's learning situation. This total monopolisation by teachers I believe to be a major cause of the sense of alienation and disinterest among students. The Monopoly must be broken for student interest to be engaged. To take one instance: teachers are increasingly aware that 'relevance' is an important criterion for consideration in school studies. Teachers are divided from their students by a

fast-widening generational gulf and, normally, by the broad abyss of class differences. In this light it is surely manifestly absurd for the teacher to insist on deciding which things are going to appeal to the students on the basis of relevance. Relevance is only one of a number of reasons for learning but, as with many other things, students are better placed than teachers to make judgements upon it. One is not saying that the student should be given the right to decide everything about the learning situation but that the present teacher monopoly of such decisions should be broken. What is needed is a view of learning which sees it as a negotiable, collaborative exercise between teacher and student. The curriculum can then be seen as something that evolves from, on one side, the students' demand for something relevant, useful and interesting, and on the other, the teachers' demand for something which broadens the students' horizons and offers entrance to new ways of understanding (Goodson 1973 (1), p. 8).

The 'students' demands for something relevant did however lead to finite, relatively clear, clusters of interest. One area was their interest in developments within their own community. Major changes were happening in Leicester and the surrounding countryside at this time and the students were eager to know what was happening and to investigate the causes of change. This led on to series of urban and community studies investigations, which I described in some detail at the time (Goodson 1973 (2)).

My perception of matters at the time was evident in the articles I wrote. These were pioneering comprehensive schools – our chance was to define new curricula which engaged all pupils and could lead towards 'education of all'. I believed passionately (and of course still do) in the right of *all* children to a full education. I also believed the rhetoric of comprehensive schooling, the provision of equal educational opportunities for all abilities and social classes. Given this (no doubt naive) belief the task before us was clear. We had to define a new range of school curricula and new examination syllabuses that would cover content and themes which engaged all pupils. My own involvement in defining new curricula in urban and community studies was part of this optimistic project of re-definition.

When I moved to take up a new post as Head of the Faculty Humanities in Milton Keynes, I spent a great deal of time defining new curricula in this way. A new 'O' level in Community Studies was defined and accepted by the examination board in the first year. My outline plan for the Faculty was fairly explicit about my curriculum values at this time.

The prerequisite for involvement in the academic work of the faculty, or in the community within and without the school, is a sense of personal confidence and dignity. Hence we place the student and his experience at the centre of the learning process; we acknowledge that we cannot teach without him learning, cannot devise objectives without considering his motivation. (Goodson 1974)

But by 1974-5 it was becoming increasingly clear that the new curricula defined in pursuit of 'education for all' were meeting great opposition. The Black Papers,

first launched in 1969, began to work through a critique of the new initiatives and a call for a return to traditional subjects and teaching. The new curriculum initiatives were not of course without flaws and inadequacies, but by this time it was abundantly clear that we were up against major structural barriers.

In a way I believe we were pursuing the rhetoric of its 'comprehensive education', 'education for all', to its logical conclusion. But we were to learn that

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logic and politics collided fairly early on in the proceedings. Curriculum and assessment became the terrain where 'education for all' collided with 'O' levels for the top 20 per cent'. In short, when egalitarian practice collided with inherited stratifying intent. In 1976 the Ruskin Speech by a Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, made it conclusively clear that the comprehensive experiment was not to be seriously pursued. Subsequent events have of course confirmed this.

My increasing sense of personal frustration in the face of this political restructuring led me in 1975 to join a project at Sussex University concerned with urban and community environmental education. A chance in short to explore in more depth my growing interest in promoting the new curricula I had defined in the two comprehensive schools in which I had worked. But the project gave me a chance to do much more than this. It allowed me to study in detail (for a PhD) the politics of curriculum change. In the first year, I sat down to write up my beliefs about curriculum and my dawning but tentative awareness of links between knowledge and control.

My first paper derived from an article I had finished whilst teaching in 1974. In this I had still seemed optimistic about curriculum change and comprehensive education (this optimism/naivety was a strong feature in all my journal entries until mid-1974).

This paper was submitted to *The Journal of Curriculum Studies* and benefited from some wonderfully helpful comments from William Reid, the editor. This help and advice at this time was invaluable and Bill provided much needed support during the writing of this and other articles. My debt to him and Maurice Holt is considerable for at the time I was trying to develop a rather radical line of inquiry within curriculum studies into the origins of what I called 'The Teacher's Curriculum'.

In contemporary English secondary schools perhaps the most common definition of curriculum is as that 'package of courses of study offered by the school'; the curriculum is something 'evolved by the staff'. The definition of the package which constitutes the curriculum is undertaken by the head, initially influenced by a variety of factors ranging from ideologies to examinations to interest groups. The individual teacher stands as the receiver of this curriculum package: his task will normally be to teach just one aspect of the package. He is handed a syllabus, given some classes and allocated a number of periods on the timetable. In short, the curriculum plan is transmitted to the teacher who is expected to receive and carry out the decisions made about the curriculum by those above him.

This process is repeated in the way that the child receives the curriculum. He is given his 'package of courses', told when he will do what, and with whom. Similarly, at the classroom level, the child is told how each course will be organized, what content he will be asked to cover and by what method he will learn it. In the classroom we see the 'teacher's curriculum' in operation: all the decisions and definitions about the curriculum are made by the teachers before direct transmission to the child.

The assumptions upon which the teachers' curriculum are based are increasingly in conflict with a whole range of developments in contemporary society and education. At all levels of society, traditional authority figures are under question: parents, clergymen, politicians, managers, but none more so than teachers. 'No longer does student response depend upon a mutually acceptable relationship between the teacher and taught'¹. But as the comprehensive system spreads, the problems of the teachers' authority become more than just an aspect of general societal questioning. The teachers' curriculum depends upon a social contract between teachers and taught which reflects a mutual instrumentality. Comprehensive schools contain pupil populations that cover a broad range of abilities and inclinations which must be reflected in a spectrum of potential instrumental relationships. Faced with this diversity the teachers' curriculum would seem, even in theory, far too simplistic; the mutual instrumentality, the single social contract on which the teachers' curriculum depends, will never exist in the comprehensive school even if the intention were there.

Fundamentally the teachers' curriculum seems totally out of spirit with emergent patterns of authority and schooling. Moreover the very nature of the knowledge

transmitted through the teachers' curriculum is a source of further conflict because of its class-based and obsolescent characteristics. In this situation the choice would appear to be between using more repressive methods in school in an attempt to reverse the emerging patterns, and testing new curriculum models (Goodson 1975).

By 1976 this optimistic posture had been redefined to a much more defensive tone – ruminating about 'the substantial forces maintaining transmission as the dominant pedagogy'.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

The chapter begins to make links between my involvement in pedagogic and curriculum reform, my growing frustration at the more general obstruction of reform efforts and an emerging understanding of patterns of social and political organisation and control in British society in the mid-1970s. This emerging sense of the link between knowledge and control was of course partially derived from the current work in the new Sociology of Knowledge but it also, as we have seen, was driven by a strong sense of personal quest. Interestingly a review I did at the time of Geoff Whitty and Michael F. Young's book *Society, State and Schooling* speculated on this juxtaposition commenting on their contention that:

Neither the old-Left, nor the Fabian social democrats, seem to take seriously the suggestion that the educational policies they support merely provide more efficient means of maintaining the status quo. Certainly neither group seems to have recognised that we need to examine 'what counts as education', and thus the way in which prevailing definitions of it sustain just that form of society which those on the Left, albeit in varying degrees wish to change.

I wrote:

To any working-class person who has experienced grammar school and university education (in this case both as child and teacher) this contention strikes one with all the force that a statement of the obvious can muster. As Williams noted nearly two decades ago, when the University Local Examinations Boards that led to 'O' and 'A' levels were first established they were titled 'Middle class examinations'. Significantly it was this examination system which survived and that was built into the fabric of secondary education. The alternative tradition developed by the working class in the mechanics Institutes and in adult education stressed all those things that the middle class examinations of abstract and classical knowledge played down – the relation of school knowledge to contemporary life, the student's role in choosing and directing study, equality between general discussion and expert tuition.

Anyone scrutinising contemporary comprehensive schools will find this alternative tradition alive and well. Unfortunately a closer look will show that it is only the 'less able' of 'CSE and non-examination' students who receive the alternative curriculum. The 'O' level and 'A' level examinations continue

to stress precisely those traditional views of knowledge derived from the grammar school. So, if it's the working class alternative view of knowledge that turns you on take your place in the CSE and non-examination stream, otherwise take the schizophrenic route through 'O's and 'A's, BA's and PhD's away from home and kinship, away from roots and class (Goodson 1979).

My sense of biography was no doubt heightened by the teaching I undertook at the University of Sussex in 1975-77. I was asked to teach a 'contextual' course on 'working class lifestyles'. The course was optional but attracted a large number of students, mostly working class. In the course the students were encouraged to write up their reminiscences of life and schooling in line with the course rhetoric 'that the most important resource will be the life histories of course participants'. The course forced me to think long and hard about class, culture and curriculum and since I was at the time developing a scheme for my doctoral work the two tasks converged. I certainly realised that my own views about pedagogy and curriculum were projected through a prism of social class that had much in common with other working class peoples' experiences. I came across Albert Hunt's interesting book about his working class experience of schooling.

Hunt blamed above all the teacher's assumption that because he is deeply involved with a particular subject that subject must be of value and interest to everybody else. So a subject is placed at the 'centre of all education' – and a failure to make that subject come to life becomes the teachers' failure. But in Hunt's experience, as in mine and that of my students at Sussex, initially it was the subjects themselves which ensured nothing came to life:

Virtually nothing in the whole of my formal educational experience had ever connected with me in a way that involved me – me as a person. I had feelings, convictions, commitments to ideas and people. None of these seemed related to my work... Everything existed for me in fragments (Hunt 1987).

Hence I began to develop a broader sense of working class experience of curriculum. Yet the poignancy of these emerging personal insights developing in Britain in 1976-7 was in many ways too bitter to bear. For just as one grasped the full alienating potential of traditional subjects for working class students, so the political pendulum began to secure rehabilitation of these very subjects.

Again by a twist of biographical fate I was able to watch this at first hand. I had been asked in 1976 to act as Chairman of a Subject Advisory Committee for one of the main Examining Boards. By chance it was the same Board that accepted my student-centred Community Studies 'O' level at Mode 3. Yet I was an observer at a committee meeting where that very Mode 3 examination was closed down – the reasons given were twofold: it was not 'cost effective' to have so many Mode 3's and there had been a 'proliferation of subject titles' (an argument that later was used to underpin the arguments in favour of an National Curriculum). So on the grounds of such apparent pragmatism, such expediency, a whole sub-culture of pedagogy and curriculum was effectively purged.

My commitment to my doctoral studies deepened as my work on the origins of school subjects and on the fate of urban and environmental studies as an innovatory

new curriculum area became focussed. I was therefore able to re-focus my investigations on the politics of curriculum in a way that would offer illumination to my own experience of schooling and that of my class. Since that time I have spent most of my academic life searching for a more finely-grained understanding of the history and politics of curriculum.

The comments made in 1979 on the ignorance of Labour politicians were replayed in the 'Blair Years' of New Labour. Much of my writing now turns to the issue of a curriculum for the ensuing 'social future' (Goodson 2005, 2008) and on the link between curriculum and life politics and life missions.

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Ivor F. Goodson
Professor of Learning Theory
University of Brighton



MAURICE HOLT

THE SCENIC ROUTE

The observation that life is lived forwards but understood backwards seems eminently plausible if, as in my case, what is going to happen next has often been unpredictable. But eventually I embarked on a career in education, and even then there were several unexpected side trips.

Surprises began aged four when, after a few solitary years as the only child of busy parents, I found myself in a large room full of strange children. This was Arthur Street Infants School, an easy walk from my home, and I remember the Roland Hilder pictures on classroom walls and the glamorous Miss Parfitt who must have taught me to read. By the time I trotted across the playground to enter the junior school – an intimidating Victorian two-decker – I was hopeless at sums and ball games, but a promising reader.

This was the time of the phoney war, so I carried a gas mask and enjoyed watching air raid shelters being built and sandbags piled up everywhere. Later on, there were daily dog fights overhead and bombs at night, and aircraft recognition became a major pastime. And I once sang “Camptown races” in a class competition. Then came the day when I sat at a desk, in a sea of similar desks, facing a list of questions quite unlike anything I’d seen before. This was the 11-plus or scholarship examination, determining whether I would proceed to the secondary modern school for three concluding years or be selected for the local grammar school just up the hill.

The star performer in the grammar school – staffed by those too old or unfit for the armed services – was Mr Gallimore. Short and fiftyish, with cropped hair and a powerful presence, he took charge after our three patchy years of a shortened course and effected a great transformation: by the following summer, all thirty of us would matriculate with passes in both math and mechanics. He didn’t push us, though it seemed so at the time. We *pulled* ourselves through the assignments, and that, I realized long after, was his secret. We were doing the work, and liking it because we *understood* it. There were no textbooks, no experiments with inclined planes – time was short. We were into mathematical models of pulleys, elastic strings, rotating objects, while at last mastering algebraic manipulation and Euclidean geometry. Gallimore would launch a topic using the blackboard, asking leading questions all the time, and invariably finding students with the wrong answers he craved. Would he have rather fed software into an interactive whiteboard? Not for a moment. What mattered was interacting with the class, securing traction for everyone – not manipulating text. Seeing it happen is like watching a craftsman, and the medium is part of the message. Why does David

Mamet use a typewriter? "I love working on a typewriter, the rhythm, the sound, it's like playing the piano" (*New Yorker*, May 19, 2008.)

As hostilities ended I entered the sixth form, which divided into science or arts; I opted for physics, chemistry, and math. After a few months, it emerged that if we had any interest in becoming teachers, we could spend two weeks attached to another school. Sensing a pleasant break from routine, several of us signed up, and I was attached to the head of mathematics in a mixed secondary-modern school some ten miles away. It was new and glossy, with its own kitchen garden (plus ça change ...) The math staff impressed me, as did many of the students: why were they there, I I-plus rejects due to leave at age 14, when so many seemed lively and capable? The experience didn't commit me to teaching – I was now a budding physicist – but it raised questions.

Ours was a small sixth form: streamed grammar schools had high drop-out rates. But we were lively, politically aware, and used the debating society for thinly-veiled attacks on masters we disliked (cricket enthusiasts, religious bigots.) I joined the chorus of HMS Pinafore – a talented new master's first venture – and fell in love at once with musical theatre. One evening at home, I heard on the radio some numbers from the Cambridge Footlights Club May Week Revue, and I was instantly hooked. I knew I had to get to Cambridge and take part in these frivolities. I buckled down, sat for the examination, and was offered a minor scholarship to read natural sciences (math, physics, chemistry) at St Catharine's College.

But first, there was a year and a half of National Service to be negotiated. When I finally arrived in academe, the life of the prospective scientist grew less appealing as I fell into writing lyrics and music for Footlights productions. When the natural-sciences course ended after two years, I decided to switch to music for my final year. But abandoning science raised funding problems, so I settled for the math-oriented two-year course in chemical engineering, and found it interesting and accommodating. After graduation I joined a new research unit, established by a large chemical company in an Oxfordshire stately home, exploring the use of computers to control industrial processes. I spent five agreeable years there, testing theory on large-scale plant in the UK, programming digital and analog computers, and gaining insight into the world of business. I found that there was much pleasure and advantage in working as part of a team. I also learned that interpreting the numerical results of experiments and trials is a hazardous business, and that even in engineering projects, there is no royal road to success: local circumstances must be addressed, unforeseen difficulties tackled. What looks like the exercise of theory calls extensively on the arts of the practical. These discoveries were to prove enduringly useful.

Then, a surprise: I was invited to sign up for a new permanent contract with the company, despite my tendency to challenge received opinion from time to time. The offer was generous, but the prospect confining: management-speak was starting to emerge. Perhaps a career realignment was indicated? Newly married, my wife and I discussed other possibilities. What I had enjoyed a lot, over the last few years, was giving seminars on my research and explaining difficulties and solutions. Come to think of it, I had really liked those two weeks of trial teaching, all those years

ago; the idea grew increasingly attractive. I consulted the Cambridge Appointments Board and was encouraged to apply for mathematics positions.

BRADFIELD COLLEGE, BERKSHIRE

One spring morning in 1960 I cycled from our rented cottage in a Thameside village, over the tollbridge to a Berkshire hamlet for interview by the headmaster of a boys' independent boarding school. I found Anthony Chenevix-Trench to be friendly and direct, and liked the setting and feel of the place. I met the senior master, talked to the head of math, and accepted the position.

As I'd suspected and secretly hoped, little had changed in math exam syllabuses. But modern mathematics had just been launched, and I soon became involved in

PERSONAL FAVORITES

Books

The Common Curriculum (1978)
 The Tertiary Sector: Education 16-19 (1980)
 Evaluating the Evaluators (1981)
 Schools and Curriculum Change (1981)

Articles

The educational consequences of W. Edwards Deming (1993)
 Deming, Schwab, and school improvement (1995)
 The making of *Casablanca* and the making of curriculum (1996)
 Scott and Amundsen: an alternative interpretation (1998)
 Performance pay for teachers: the standards movement's last stand? (2001)
 It's time to start the slow school movement (2002)
 The slow school: an idea whose time has come? (*Ecological Literacy*, Sierra Club Books, 2005)

seminars and conferences. I started a math club, and in no time we had numerous small boys constructing polyhedra in spare moments. We were on the threshold of the 1960s and change was in the air: I staged a revue which had a few daring lines, but Trench loved it. I collaborated with a young classics master to devise a course introducing arts sixth-formers to calculus, statistics and some modern math topics. Room was made for it on the schedule, and it went down well; we later turned it into a book, *The Scope of Mathematics* (Maurice Holt and Alistair McIntosh, Clarendon Press

Oxford, 1966.) John Holt's book *How Children Fail* (no relation) appeared in 1964 and made a strong impression, as did a 1964 Fabian Society pamphlet, *New Look at Comprehensive Schools*, by Michael Armstrong and Michael Young, which argued for comprehensive education, mixed-ability teaching, and suggested ways of reorganizing existing grammar and secondary-modern schools into a comprehensive system.

Life in boarding schools is intense and unremitting, but it's a terrific way to get on the inside of education and learn how teaching works. I found (contrary to what I had supposed) that setting or tracking students by ability was deeply unreliable, even in math, and I acquired doubts about assessment in general. I noticed that placing students in rank order (part of the internal school routine) was grossly misleading if the class was going well, since few marks separated top and bottom.

When the alleged performance of schools is reduced to a single number and used to place schools in rank order as currently in England, and parents have nothing else to go on, "league tables" do nothing but generate misinformation.

In my third year, Trench suggested that I ought to think of running a school myself – an idea for the distant future until then. But a few years later, when I was head of math, had been a member of a small committee appointed to review the school curriculum and had written the schedule for the new program, I realized it was time to move to the public sector, where comprehensive reorganization was under way. My six years at Bradfield had convinced me that I could make a career in education; I was now a qualified teacher, my background in industrial research gave me a useful perspective on organizations, and I had acquired a strong interest in curriculum development, though I wouldn't have called it that at the time.

CHIPPING NORTON SCHOOL, OXFORDSHIRE

In 1966 I became deputy head and head of math at one of England's first comprehensive schools, formed by merging the grammar school and the secondary-modern school in a country town in the Cotswolds. Students aged 11-13 were placed in separate ability sets for math, French and English. At age 14 they were offered a wide range of electives alongside a core of English, math, PE and RE (religious education being a required subject in England.) This pattern owed something to the American high school model and was regarded at the time as an ideal scheme for 11-19 comprehensives. After taking exit exams at age 16, students either left for further education or employment, or continued into the sixth form.

The staff were capable and spirited – the math department particularly so. I became a critical observer of the comprehensive scene and read all I could find about it. When I heard that another comprehensive school head had declared that "Unstreaming is irrelevant," I wrote an article for the magazine *Forum* – my first contribution to the literature – challenging this view (*Is Unstreaming Irrelevant?* 1966.) At a time when objectives and content were prime concerns, it seemed to me that how students actually learned mattered more, and being both deputy head and head of a major department gave me an inside view. I had every intention of staying some years in Chipping Norton, but people kept muttering to me about headships, and I succumbed.

SHEREDS SCHOOL, HERTFORDSHIRE

The assignment to launch a new purpose-built mixed comprehensive school from scratch was hugely exciting. Sheredes School was currently under construction in Hoddesdon Hertfordshire; I was appointed head in January 1969, to prepare for its opening with first year (age 11-plus) pupils in September. As they moved up the school the school would grow with them. A parental-choice scheme operated and we would compete for pupils with two other schools close by, one converting to comprehensive status from a secondary modern, the other from a grammar school. The grammar school was Texas: smug and swaggering, secure in the knowledge

that its grammar label was as good as an oil well. The secondary modern was West Virginia: suspicious of change, inured to its lot. We were California. The name Sheredes rhymes with Pericles; the grammar-school folk called us Charades, which pleased us immensely. They were clearly baffled by our curriculum and suspected we were on to something. We worked hard on community links, and in the event we opened with 92 pupils, which was good going: three forms of entry, which I arranged into four groups, to facilitate scheduling. Thereafter we recruited our full quota of 150 every year, with a good range of ability, which became six groups of 25 thanks to the inbuilt economies of block scheduling.

The Chipping Norton curriculum catered for differences between students by building complexity into the formal structure – fine in theory, but all those different ability sets and options made scheduling a nightmare, and also constrained freedom of action on the ground. I thought it ought to be possible to reverse the system: keep the structure simple but build variety into the organization of learning. The key to that was finding ways of linking subjects together and capitalizing on all the added richness that follows from putting teachers into teams. And since the school-leaving age was to be raised to 16 in 1973, we could plan the whole 11-16 curriculum from the beginning as a five-year continuum.

Two weeks before we opened, I ran a one-day conference for our new staff. Since my appointment I'd attended a conference given by the national Schools Council, established in 1964 to support the development of curriculum and examinations, and learned at first hand about its current projects. At another event I met Malcolm Skilbeck, then at Bristol University, who took an immediate interest in my Sheredes assignment. I realized that his knowledge of the American scene gave him a unique view of the issues I had to address; if we were to make the concept of the common school work, the American literature needed attention.

I had recruited a young staff, short on experience but long on enthusiasm. We were aware, for example, of the Tyler Rationale, and also knew that it rested on assumptions that needed to be examined. Later on, Skilbeck invited me to contribute to an OECD publication, sending me a preliminary bundle of recent American papers which included Joseph Schwab's *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum* (1970). This had a profound effect on me; here at last was a voice I understood, one that chimed with my own perceptions of curriculum development. The prevailing assumption was (and largely still is) deterministic; ends could be derived from theory and achieved by separate means – the techniques of implementation. Schwab's critique of theory, and his concept of the practical as the interaction of ends and means, confirmed my hunch that the curriculum was problematic and that improvement depended on school-based deliberation linked to Dewey's ends-in-view. I also appreciated the work of Denis Lawton at the London Institute of Education, who kindly agreed to join our governing body and whose sons became our students. Other influences were Elliot Eisner's invaluable papers on expressive objectives and the importance of the arts, and the work of Paul Hirst and Richard Peters, then attracting much interest. Hirst's forms of understanding were useful to us for several reasons. They strengthened our resolve to avoid the gimcrack subjects found in nearby schools ("good grooming for girls" was my

personal favorite,) and they also validated the concept of our broad core curriculum as a program for introducing students to the culture they would inherit. Hirst's discerning critique of the conventional grammar-school curriculum didn't do us any harm, either. But his forms of knowledge were not holy writ; we saw them as a useful corrective to sloppy thinking, and in our humanities provision, for example, geography was just as prominent as history.

I had come to think that the beating heart of a comprehensive curriculum had to be the humanities – a powerful core that linked together specialist teachers in English, history, geography and RE around important themes from which to construct units of study. The Humanities faculty functioned from our first days. We launched a school council, with separate sections for every year group, so that students' complaints and proposals could be properly aired and considered. We agreed that drama should be part of the 11-16 core, and linked it to music and English in the Expressive Arts faculty. English, undivided into language and literature, thus figured in two of the core faculties. As a subject, its character is unusual: it is all-pervasive, yet depends little on conceptual structures. Linking it with cognate fields of inquiry greatly extends its range and power. By the third year, we had established a Creative Activities faculty, linking art with a wide range of such activities in the big blocks of time – two 70-minute periods – we already provided for humanities. We devised our own school-based, but externally validated, exams at age 16 based on presenting the artefacts of individual students; and the same applied to each of the three main humanities subjects.

At about this time the Schools Council sponsored the Humanities Curriculum Project, aimed at less able students and led by the late Lawrence Stenhouse. It was based on approaches Stenhouse had worked out when teaching in a secondary-modern school – of presenting some extract or artefact which would then be discussed in smaller groups. This was quite different from what we were devising and in the event had little national impact on schools. But the HCP attracted considerable funding and wide publicity, to some extent overshadowing other council projects that had a broader appeal. In due course we adopted the Classics Project for Latin as an option, and the Integrated Science Project was an excellent solution to the problem of getting all three core sciences (chemistry, physics, biology) into the space of two. By adopting common themes, the science curriculum was academically strong – one of our first pupils went on to a doctorate in chemistry. These were bold initiatives, and would not have survived were we not able to recruit our own teaching staff.

The year Sheredes School opened, in 1969, was also the year when the first of the right-wing "Black Papers" appeared in England, attacking comprehensive education in general and mixed-ability teaching in particular. The twenty years from 1960 to 1980 constituted, in retrospect, a unique window of opportunity, when teaching was left to the teachers and education enjoyed a flowering of revision and renewal. After 1980, neoliberal doctrine shifted the emphasis to the supply side – to penalties and incentives, standards and targets, managerialism and competition rather than cooperation. The result is evident in most Anglophone

countries: a disease of the spirit, a world where work is never a joy for its own sake, and policy is based on crude assessments of complex activities.

By 1976, after eight years taking the first students up to and through the sixth form, I sensed that helping other schools adopt similar strategies would be a worthwhile next step. I began to write a book about our approach and in 1977 moved to Devonshire and offered my services as an education consultant.

EXETER, PLYMOUTH, AND CYPRUS

By a happy chance, the publication in 1978 of my book *The Common Curriculum* coincided with the publication (by the same house) of *Thinking About the Curriculum*, by Bill Reid, whom I had known as an undergraduate: we were at the same college. We soon met, and realized that by different routes we had reached a firm commitment to the arts of the practical. Reid's analysis of theory, research and the problematic has greatly enriched my own understanding. In the 1980s I joined the editorial board of the *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, which he was then editing so ably. I organized courses on curriculum in various local authorities and universities, produced several more books, and wrote serious op-ed articles on page 2 of the *Times Education Supplement*. On the back page I described the comic misadventures of Dr Smellcroft at Candlewick Comprehensive.

Up to this point, commitment to the growth of comprehensive education was supported by both major parties. But in 1979 the Conservatives, led by Margaret Thatcher, came into power, and her divisive tendencies were soon in evidence. This was no time for free-thinking supporters of comprehensive education to run consultancies. But an interesting opportunity arose: I was invited to apply for a curriculum position at a college of higher education in Plymouth, the College of St Mark and St John. In 1980 I started work as a principal lecturer in teacher education, and quite soon found myself establishing a major in-service program for all Plymouth secondary schools, now scheduled to become comprehensives. The operation called for a good deal of tact, combined with powerful, tailor-made programs to help teachers absorb new ideas and structures. I wrote a book aimed at helping schools rethink their curriculum (*Curriculum Workshop: An Introduction to Whole Curriculum Planning*: Routledge 1983,) and then embarked on a doctoral thesis based on the application to curriculum of Alasdair MacIntyre's admirable book on practical knowledge, *After Virtue* (1981). In book form, my thesis appeared in 1987 as *Judgment, Planning, and Educational Change*, but only briefly: the publisher (Harper & Row) suddenly closed down its UK operation. The market economy was beginning to bite.

The 1980s was a time of anger and dismay in England for supporters of comprehensive education. As in America, a manufactured crisis was used to justify government intervention. The publication in 1983 by the Reagan administration of *A Nation at Risk* created a misconceived outcome-led agenda which still prevails, most obviously in the "No Child Left Behind" legislation of 2001. In England and Wales (Scotland wisely keeping its distance) the equivalent measure was the 1988 Act of Parliament establishing a National Curriculum and a punitive structure of

assessment and control by central government. Now 20 years old, it remains in force and a mechanistic, micro-managing policy has been pursued uncritically by the three Blair administrations. Local education authorities have been written out of the script, inspection of schools privatized, “failing schools” closed down, and a variety of new types of schools established, some using public funds to advance private interests – initiatives that will undermine comprehensive education and reinstate selection. In the US, the publication of Mortimer Adler’s *Paideia Proposal* in 1982 and Ted Sizer’s *Horace’s Compromise* in 1984 offered coherent arguments for a richer, more spacious curriculum, with “Horace” pointing the way to the estimable Coalition of Essential Schools, but few in the UK took note.

Then, in 1987, I was invited to visit Cyprus with a view to becoming the next director of the American Academy, in Larnaca: an English-speaking 11-19 mixed international school, founded by American missionaries in 1908. Its governing council had asked Denis Lawton to act as a consultant in choosing a successor, and he had been kind enough to approach me. I took up the post in the fall of 1988, my predecessor having re-established the school as a non-denominational enterprise after the 1974 Turkish invasion, and grafted the English examination system on to its American high school curriculum and organization.

The staff were very welcoming; many had lived in the UK, due to its long-standing connections with the island, and were completely bilingual. The commitment of the students to a conventional subject-based curriculum was extraordinarily high, and this was combined with a great sense of fun and boundless energy. They were all strongly motivated, aware that Cyprus was a small island, that the Academy’s graduates proceeded to good universities, and that opportunities existed overseas that rarely arose at home. I arranged for better use of existing buildings, improved links with the community, proposed further enlargement, simplified administrative arrangements and strengthened the humanities provision.

I also stayed in touch with American friends I had met at AERA and other conferences, who frequently sent me job descriptions of positions in curriculum studies that were emerging in the US. Such encouragement was hard to resist, and so, in January 1991, I joined the graduate school of education at the University of Colorado at Denver, as professor of curriculum theory.

DENVER AND AFTER

The character and aspirations of the school of education appealed to me immediately, and I found that these were matched by the quality of its students. After some eighteen months, Tom Bellamy (now at University of Washington) became dean and various new schemes emerged. My main offering in the taught master’s course became ITE 5040: *Exploring Philosophy, Ethics and Law in the Teaching Profession*. The sessions ran from 5 pm until 8.40 pm but with advice from colleagues, I came up with a varied menu for the slot which involved much student participation. Later, when we introduced a taught doctoral program, I operated a similar schedule and in both cases the university’s student-based assessment system indicated that I was on the right track.

In 1992 I discovered Dr W. Edwards Deming and his concept of quality, and recognized its importance. Schwab had drawn attention to the interplay between ends and means. The Bush administration was promoting school reform as a managerialist exercise driven by ends and taking no account of system variation. Deming at once predicted that it would fail; quality resulted from addressing means and ends together, by focusing on the entire operation and the processes that animated it. I wrote a paper for *Phi Delta Kappan*, “The educational consequences of W. Edwards Deming” (1993), which led in turn to an invitation to attend Deming’s next seminar at General Motors. Later, I addressed the Detroit Deming Study Group on applications to education, and met Deming shortly before he died. I wrote several papers developing this topic, mostly for the ASCD publication *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* with the kind encouragement of its editor, O.L. Davis, Jr., and explored its links with Schwab’s concept of the practical in “Deming, Schwab, and School Improvement,” which appeared in *Education and Culture*, the John Dewey Society’s journal, in 1995.

Our understanding of curriculum and organization can be enhanced by pursuing parallels with other activities that link learning with practice, that recognize the importance of deliberative thinking. In “The Making of *Casablanca* and the Making of Curriculum” (*Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 1996) I noted that the world’s most popular movie started without a complete script, that the ending was uncertain until the last few days, and that the process of making it involved practical reasoning to a remarkable extent: and all this at Warner Bros, a citadel in 1939 of command and control. Jack Warner could monitor the “rushes” every afternoon, but the director’s decisions were privileged by the nature of the medium. Warner would doubtless be classified as a “strong leader” – often advocated as the key to school improvement – but the success of the studio was arguably dependent on the limits to his power and the celebrated writers’ table in the commissary, where the real thinking about story lines took place.

In “Scott and Amundsen: An Alternative Interpretation” (*Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 1998) I point out that though Scott is still admired as a heroic figure and bold leader, the evidence suggests he was an insecure, aloof character, under-prepared and reluctant to discuss strategy with his team; while the Norwegian Amundsen, whose team triumphed, had prepared for possible contingencies and saw himself as an equal, deliberating constantly on the best course of action. More recently, in an unpublished paper (2005), I challenge the view advanced by a Pentagon research program that Admiral Nelson, at the battle of Trafalgar, offered “a dramatic illustration of command and control.” I argue that Nelson’s battle plan was advisedly sketchy, since battles under sail were so unpredictable. He authorized his commanders to make their own judgments as combat proceeded, and took a calculated risk by attacking the French and Spanish ships from the rear. The day was nearly lost, since his second-in-command (Admiral Collingwood) bungled the attack and failed to take Nelson’s advice to drop anchor after the battle, allowing the fleet to drift toward the shore. By then Nelson had died in action, but the day was saved by his commanders exercising the autonomy that Nelson had so wisely conferred on them.

THE SLOW SCHOOL

I resigned from my Denver post in 1998. The seven years I spent there, and the eight at Sheredes School, were my most enjoyable career experiences. In 1998 I returned to England and I continue to explore ideas that might be helpful when, as appears inevitable given the failure of market-led dogma, a measure of school autonomy is restored. In 2001, I looked into the Slow Food movement launched some years earlier by Carlo Petrini in Italy. His starting point was: if there is fast food, why not slow food? In a paper for *Phi Delta Kappan*, "It's Time to Start the Slow School Movement" (2002), I argued that there is a close analogy between producing hamburgers and "delivering" a predetermined curriculum derived from outcomes. And just as slow food is based on nourishing ingredients, traditional values, and respect for complexity, so the slow school is based on real understanding, culture and community, and the creation of moral agents. Indeed, the metaphor of "slow" has led to slow cities in several countries, and I suspect that Finland may have some slow schools, since their practices could nudge them into such an outcome. Students are not pressured to conform, the ethos is democratic, the arts are given prominence, and teachers and schools are autonomous within broad curriculum goals set out by central government. There are no separate classes for gifted children, no standardized tests, no lessons in IT; the curriculum is broad and assessed exclusively by teachers. The government depends solely on a national school-leaving examination. And yet, by a variety of international appraisals, the level of academic achievement in Finland is outstanding.

Interest continues to grow in the slow school idea, and some slow schools may emerge in the US before the end of this decade once the destructive mechanisms of NCLB have been banished. I think the main task now is to discredit the ruinous rhetoric of neoliberalism, recognise that the earth is indeed round and not flat, and restore trust and professionalism to the bleak landscape created by our political masters over the last twenty years. The current obsession with accountability and the "management of performance" is particularly harmful, since educative value lies in the way ideas and insights unfold and lodge in the student's mind and not in using numbers to attain targets. My 1976 book on curriculum was subtitled, "Its structure and style in the comprehensive school." Style – how you conceive, apprehend and animate a curriculum – goes hand-in-hand with content, and may indeed outlive it. Hence the remark attributed to Einstein, "Education is what is left after you've forgotten everything you've learned." So what is left? Is it perhaps a style of thinking, interpreting, acting, and observing, which can only be derived from knowing about our past and how we use it to determine our future? Which can throw light on character, and promote *savoir-faire*? Harold Macmillan, the former Prime Minister, once remarked that when he was an Oxford undergraduate, his philosophy professor declared: "The sole purpose of education is to know when someone is talking rot." In judging the work of a school, it is not a matter of sending in inspectors to examine checklists, but of joining in the narrative that the school is pursuing; of rendering an account, rather than seeking whatever might be meant by "accountability." Accountability, as a Deming associate has observed, is

another word for blame. And leadership, unless properly interpreted, can become another word for control.

FAVORITES WRITTEN BY OTHERS

Lawrence Cremin, *Popular Education and Its Discontents* (1989)
 W. Edwards Deming, *The New Economics* (1994)
 Timothy Fuller (Ed.), *Michael Oakeshott on Education* (1989)
 Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (1981)
 Neil Postman, *The End of Education* (1995)
 William A. Reid, *Curriculum as Institution and Practice* (1999)
 John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards* (1992)
 Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (1990)

Of the three disciplines that bear most directly on education, I have found philosophy the most helpful in deliberating about curriculum practice. I incline, though, to see it as a discipline that can be brought to bear on educational problems; whether philosophers of education are always the people to do this is a different matter. I have found the political philosopher Michael Oakeshott's views on education especially in-

sightful. Whether idealist or analytical is of no consequence – it is his grasp of the nature of teaching and learning that I find so stimulating. Psychology can throw light on relationships and conduct, but its associations with testing and behaviorism are disturbing, and recent excursions into cognition and “brain-based learning” appear inept. “Assessment for learning” threatens to be a mechanistic approach for codifying the process of teaching that will stifle intuition and create needless complexity. Sociology has been helpful in exposing inequalities, but so has social history. Sociological jargon (“Possibilitarianism” springs to mind) is often impenetrable to the outsider, and as MacIntyre has pointed out, the generalizations of social science tend to rest on flimsy foundations.

Electronic mail was not a feature of the 1970s. It's doubtful if we would have had time to practice school-based curriculum development if we had incessant emails to respond to, and if, in my almost daily tours of the school, I had a cellphone going off every few minutes. In a sensible dispensation, the supply and use of all these devices in schools would be tightly restricted, since they are more often than not a barrier to learning and reflection. The issue of computers in schools is too broad to discuss here, but I would venture that the more they become an accepted feature of life, the weaker the case for providing them in schools on an individual basis. They are useful for finding and displaying documents, graphics, and historical data, but they can easily obstruct rather than enhance the encounter between teacher and student.

I continue to believe that the most effective form of mass education is the comprehensive school; that it is the duty of the state to support it and fund it for all its citizens, as a national service locally administered, with a separate governing body for each school; and that a broad curriculum, based on deliberative judgment, can be made to work for all students, and is essential to promoting a secure, stable and prosperous society. Small size is not in itself a virtue; a school needs to be large enough to attract teachers from a variety of specialisms, but not so big that it

loses its sense of humanity and capacity to construct its own world. I think the concept of the slow school is broad and flexible enough to meet all these requirements and has virtues that can enhance the community it serves.

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Maurice Holt
5 Dale Close, Oxford OX1 1TU
United Kingdom
mjh@fixedpoint.org

M. FRANCES KLEIN

PIVOTAL EVENTS AND PEOPLE IN MY CAREER

It was easy for me to identify some pivotal events and people that had a major impact on my work in curriculum development. They are vivid even in my retirement. Some of the events were very historic and were shared with many curriculum workers at the time while others were more personal and shared with only a few. Some have concluded their activities but others are continuing fields of endeavor. Five were most significant: curriculum development in the Englewood Project, the curriculum reform era, the reign of the behavioral objectives movement, the work of a group of curriculum scholars known as the reconceptualists, and a research endeavor which became known as A Study of Schooling. The people I identify all contributed greatly to my development over the years but should not be held responsible for my ultimate views. There were two individuals and two groups of people who had much to do with my growth: John Goodlad, Louise Tyler, the staff of A Study of Schooling, and the doctoral students with whom I worked at both Pepperdine University and The University of Southern California. Each of these events and people had a very important and different impact on how I view the field of curriculum development. The chapter concludes with my hopes and expectations of work to be done in the future: the coordination and improvement in curriculum decision making and the development and use of alternative curriculum designs.

PIVOTAL EVENTS

The events discussed below are not intended to be comprehensive in their nature. My memory of them is inevitably selective and undoubtedly differs from that of others who are knowledgeable about them. I may have missed some significant aspects of these events that others would include. In addition to my selective memory, one other condition undoubtedly influenced my view of all but the first of these events: they occurred while I was working with doctoral students, administrators, and teachers in some capacity in California. With all these caveats, however, the following five events shaped in major ways my conceptual understanding of curriculum development as it has occurred and, in my judgment, should occur in our schools.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN THE ENGLEWOOD PROJECT

As a beginning teacher, I was invited to teach in a small elementary school in Englewood, an unincorporated beach community in southwest Florida. The attraction

was an increased salary and money spent on lots of supplies and consultants to the faculty. These funds were made possible by a grant from members of the Vanderbilt family in order to upgrade the quality of schooling in that small community because of their real estate holdings in the area. During my second year there, a new director was hired by the name of John Goodlad. He began his work with the faculty in Englewood by listening to what we were trying to do in our classrooms and challenging us to think about how things should be if we were to provide the best possible education for our students.

Because of John Goodlad's influence and the supporting monies for other consultants and supplies, I was encouraged to think creatively but practically about developing curriculum for and with my specific groups of students. If we needed new materials and supplies or consultants to help us in a particular aspect of our work, they were provided. We were never expected to "cover the textbook" or follow someone else's published curriculum but rather to develop our own with much student input. We had to follow very few state and county guidelines but did have to abide by some state requirements such as administering the yearly standardized tests and certain regulatory mandates.

Thus, curriculum development was considered to be a local activity and a creative endeavor, stemming from our view of the best possible education for our students.

In all our creativity, however, we were expected to articulate and justify our plans to not only the director and the principal but to the parents of our students as well. Thus, while we had much freedom to create curriculum for our students, we were answerable to some rather powerful groups for our decisions. After a few years, we began to have visitors from other school districts both near and far. There is nothing like another professional educator observing in your classroom to tighten up your thinking and efforts about the quality of the education you are providing to your students.

I took away from that project a belief that curriculum is not something to be imposed upon and "covered" by students but something to be developed with them. Our units of study often merged from one topic to another with some structure provided by the students themselves. As I reflected upon my work there in later years, despite my desire to engage my students meaningfully in helping direct their work, I fear that my influence as the teacher was quite heavy handed at times but my students worked with me in ways that excited us all.

THE CURRICULUM REFORM ERA

Shortly after I entered graduate school at UCLA in 1961, pressure on the schools came from the academic community to drastically change the curriculum in math and science. Russia had launched Sputnik and the U. S. was perceived as losing the cold war. Academicians in the colleges expressed great dissatisfaction with the way in which their respective disciplines were defined and taught in the schools. They became involved in the development of curricula for their specializations in order to help students learn the structure of the discipline and to think as scientists

do. They rejected the traditional approach to science, for example, which “covered” content and then tested their recall of it on achievement tests. Thus began what John Goodlad called the alphabet soup era of curriculum (Goodlad, J. I., Klein, M. F. and von Stoephasius, R., 1966).

It was believed that any idea, no matter how complex, could be made understandable to children of any school age (Bruner, J. 1962). The challenge was to translate complex ideas of the disciplines to their level of thinking. Initially, curricula became available in physics, chemistry, and mathematics which were so new in their approach that large scale teacher education had to be provided before teachers were considered ready to implement them. They also required new approaches for evaluation of student learning since the traditional standardized tests were not compatible with them. New tests were developed which attempted to assess higher cognitive thinking and the thought processes employed by scientists and mathematicians. This new approach to defining and assessing curricula eventually spread to other disciplines such as the social sciences, some of which had never been included in the precollegiate curriculum before.

The funding for these projects came largely from the federal government and as is often the case, as other priorities took precedence, the money for curriculum development dried up. The creative work in this period of curriculum revision was soon neglected as other mandates and approaches became dominant.

The curriculum reform era was one of the most exciting times in curriculum history for me. I found myself eagerly awaiting each new revision of the initial projects and projects in non-traditional curricular areas as they were published. Choices in the selection of curricula became available to teachers which were very innovative, both within a traditional discipline and in disciplines which had never before been a part of the public school curriculum. The intent of each of these curricula was to revolutionize both what was taught in the public schools and how the disciplines were to be taught. Even though there was some question as to how extensively these curricula were put into practice (Goodlad, J. I. and Klein, M. F., and Associates, 1970), the new approaches and challenges had greatly extended the status quo of what had been traditional in curriculum planning and practices.

In hindsight, these curricula were fairly “prescribed” for teachers in what and how they were to teach but they expanded my thinking to include much broader possibilities for curriculum than I had ever envisioned before. The idea of a single, acceptable definition of curriculum for students of any age represented impossible and highly undesirable limitations upon what children might learn.

THE RISE OF BEHAVIORAL OBJECTIVES

The concept of behavioral objectives has been a part of the curriculum literature for a long time. Ralph Tyler based his definitive work in curriculum development on them in 1949 (Tyler, 1949). In the 1980's, however, they became the doctrine in curriculum development. This new approach took the concept of specifying the behavior and content which students were to learn to unprecedented levels of rigor. The position was that behavioral objectives had to spell out very precisely with no

ambiguity what students were to learn and then straight-forwardly base the assessment of learning upon the content and student behavior as specified. This technique was advocated because the schools were once again viewed as not doing an adequate job at preparing our students for the world in which they lived and it was feared that our nation would be unprepared to compete successfully in the world. Students could perhaps engage in the thought processes of scientists and mathematicians but it was observed that they could not deal with practical aspects of science or use arithmetic in everyday tasks. Teaching and learning had become too abstract and removed from the real world and its demands. The publication, *A Nation At Risk* (1983), spelled out the concern some national leaders had for what would happen to our place in the world if our students were not better prepared to continue our role as a leader among leaders. This publication became a very powerful political document in deciding a new direction for our schools.

The only acceptable view of teaching and learning was precision and predictability. Little in teaching and learning was to be left to chance or to the creativity of the classroom teacher. School districts were expected to have lists of behavioral objectives for all grades which indicated what students would learn in each curriculum area and then to show evidence that they had, indeed, learned what was expected. Even the reduction of educational goals such as good citizenship, respect for others, and other non-cognitive goals to a series of precise behavioral objectives was thought to be possible and essential. To assist school districts in this daunting task, one enterprising firm published catalogs of behavioral objectives and assessment instruments linked to them. By selecting those which best described their curricula, the district could definitively communicate with everyone what they were about. Many teachers and administrators strongly supported the movement and based their educational practices upon it.

This movement became very entrenched in educational thought and practice but it was questioned very seriously by some. The extent to which all learning could be spelled out so precisely in advance was questioned. At the time I was consulting with a school district in curriculum development and was told of one kindergarten teacher who refused to use such a mechanistic approach to learning with her young students. She felt so strongly that this approach was wrong that she resigned in protest. She was a highly respected teacher and parents consistently wanted their young children in her classroom. To me, this was a tragic consequence of an approach to curriculum development carried to extremes. I did not believe that all of what students could want and be expected to learn could be reduced to defined lists of narrow, specific tasks. Some teachers who tried to give the conception of teaching and learning by behavioral objectives an honest try in their classrooms became frustrated and disillusioned with the approach.

THE RECONCEPTUALISTS

The reconceptualists are a diverse group of scholars in curriculum development who want to conceptualize approaches to curricula in fundamentally different ways. They are very opposed to any mechanistic, reductionistic approach to teaching

and learning. The diversity of ideas from this group was very large even at the beginning – from those who saw the school as being controlled by capitalists and big businesses (such as textbook writers and publishers) to those who wanted to give a much more personal interpretation of what schooling meant to students and to teachers. Thus, the term, the reconceptualists, as applied to such a diverse group of thinkers casts a very wide umbrella over all of them. Nevertheless, they were from the beginning, and continue to be, united in their opposition to the dominant, mechanistic, imposed curriculum on students. (See, for example, MacDonald, J. B., Wolfson, B. J., and Zaret, E., (1973), and Pinar, W. F., (1975) for early explanations of their works which challenged my thinking.)

Even though this group of curriculum thinkers operates at a level of educational thought somewhat removed from my interests, I strongly approve their efforts to think in different ways about what and how students ought to learn in our schools. I studied their literature and attended their presentations at conferences in order to become more and more acquainted with their work. Their emphases and mine, however, were not the same. They seemed to be engaged in developing alternative bases for engaging in curriculum thought while I was intensely interested in classroom practices and the types of curricular decisions that were currently being made to affect what and how students learned and how those should be improved.

Nonetheless, as a group they stimulated me to further think about new approaches to curriculum thought and practice. What if —curricula were not imposed from top-down; students had significant input into what they learned; curriculum development procedures were much more broadly conceived; there were reasonable ways for those who fund schools to have some assurance that students were, indeed, learning the essential skills they would need throughout their lives and at the same time, learning to think creatively and contribute to our society – surely, all a necessity for their future? Was it necessary to throw out the entire concept of behavioral objectives or only the practices which made learning a mechanistic and rigid imposition upon students and when that type of practice did not fit the broad objectives or goals to which it was linked? What concepts could be used to help shape and contribute to student learnings that were not compatible with behavioral objectives? These were some of the fundamental questions which challenged my thinking about curriculum development and conceptions of good classroom practices which stemmed from the work of the reconceptualists.

DEVELOPMENT OF A CURRICULUM MODEL

In the 1970's I was invited to join a group of diverse researchers who were seeking funding in order to comprehensively study the condition of our schools. John Goodlad frequently was asked to make recommendations for improving American education. He resisted doing this because he believed that a research-based knowledge of what actually was going on in our schools at that point in time was needed before such pronouncements could be made and taken seriously. To that end, Goodlad brought together a group of researchers with different backgrounds and interests in schooling and we began to conceptualize and translate our ideas

into data collection instruments for a comprehensive study of a sample of schools. This research effort became known as *A Study of Schooling* (See, for example, Goodlad, J. I., 1983.)

I was asked to serve as chairman of the curriculum group and with the help of some very competent and creative researchers, we began to conceptualize how that amorphous thing people called curriculum might be operationalized to guide data collection. This was, without a doubt, the biggest challenge of my career.

We knew there were differing conceptions of a curriculum even when it is carefully spelled out by curriculum guides or textbooks with the expectation that teachers will follow it. Even under these restrictive conditions, teachers will follow only some of the expectations and sometimes they will revise significantly what is given to them. At the same time, students learn selectively from what is prescribed for them based upon their backgrounds and interests. Teachers and students were to us the key players in determining curricula but we knew that even beyond these perspectives there were still other views of what any single curriculum is or should be. We identified an array of participants at various levels in curriculum decision making. It was clear that we would not have any one-dimensional, linear model of curriculum if a comprehensive view was to guide our research. The model had to be broad enough to allow us to record what was going on in any single classroom regardless of the source of the curriculum and the types of practices the teacher(s) engaged in. At the same time, it had to be useful in data collection by including all the many participants in curriculum decision-making. The outcome was a model of curriculum development which we believed encompassed the various participants in curriculum decision making and identified the fundamental elements of curriculum decision-making (Klein, M. F., Tye, K. A, and Wright, J. E., 1979).

Our conceptual model provided a structure for me to think about curriculum development – what is and what might be – well after the study was over. I began to work with it and think about what would happen if the essential elements were used in curriculum practice in very different but consistent ways. For example, the element of goals and objectives could take several forms, depending on what purposes were hoped to be achieved. Carefully defined behavioral objectives is one form and seems to be useful for precise learnings such as fundamental skills in reading and math. Other forms of objectives might be used for structuring learnings in the social sciences such as demonstrating good citizenship. I found the two alternative types of objectives Eisner proposed of problem-solving objectives and expressive objectives (Eisner, 1979) very helpful tools in moving away from the typical definitions of behavioral objectives. Likewise, another element we identified in the conceptual model was learning materials. One could readily identify a very broad array of learning materials needed for a rich classroom environment. Very structured materials might be desirable in learning some fundamental skills in math and reading but similar materials would do little to help in developing creative thinking in literature or problem-solving in science. To achieve a broad array of social and educational purposes, teachers need many more resources than what is found in many classrooms. The arrival of the internet and

the increasing number of computers to be found in schools should do much in enlarging the array of materials available for teaching and learning.

The other dimension of the model, the participants in curriculum decision making, allowed me to consider those who expect, and rightly so, to have a say in affecting the curriculum from parents, politicians (who fund education), academicians, central office personnel, curriculum committees at the district and school level, for example, to teachers and students themselves. It also highlighted the role of some hopeful participants who do not have so clearly a right to make curriculum decisions such as special interest groups. What could be a useful role for each group of these possible participants to have a legitimate and meaningful say in curriculum development, if any? I would not expect any group beyond the local school level to engage in any detailed work in curriculum development other than by providing a framework and resources for teachers and students. As important as teachers are in curriculum decision-making, however, should they have a blank slate as they begin planning their curricula? How should societal expectations for our schools influence their work? We have too many instances in which different participants at the various levels make isolated decisions with no attention to what other participants have done or want to do. Curriculum decision-making needs to be made at appropriate levels and coordinated among the various participants. Investigating and clarifying such questions is an important area of study which is further addressed in the next section, *Work for the Future*. Thus, the curriculum model we developed in *A Study of Schooling* became a very useful way to think about curriculum development in all its varieties and complexities.

PIVOTAL PEOPLE IN MY CAREER

Throughout all my work in curriculum development, there were some very influential people who continuously challenged my thinking and significantly contributed to my work in the field. Two individuals and two groups stand out very strongly in my recollections: John Goodlad, Louise Tyler, the staff of *A Study of Schooling*, and doctoral students at both Pepperdine University and The University of Southern California. They need to be acknowledged with much appreciation for how they shaped my work. They should not, however, be held responsible in any way for how my thoughts evolved. It was through their opportunities, questions, observations, and critiques that my conception of curriculum development evolved.

John Goodlad

John Goodlad inherited me as a young, beginning teacher in the Englewood Project. Although I would tremble when we had conferences together to talk about my efforts to provide a quality education for my students in a very deprived community, he always made me feel as though my attempts were informed, very important, and beneficial to my students. He questioned me in non-threatening ways which helped redirect, clarify, and reinforce what I was attempting to do. A beginning teacher could have no greater support system for learning than what I

received in Englewood. I continued to have such support from John throughout my career as he provided me with opportunities to expand the boundaries of my thinking. I owe John a tremendous debt of gratitude for all his patience and support in working with me.

Louise Tyler

When I entered UCLA as a doctoral student (at John's encouragement) I encountered Professor Louise Tyler in my curriculum studies. At first I wanted to minimize my contact with her because of her deep probing questions, her demand for justification for any position taken on the questions of curriculum, and her insistence upon high quality work at all times. She was a unrelenting, daunting teacher and critic. My thinking and positions on curriculum development were never allowed to be pat answers or based on sloppy thinking. I was expected to justify any opinion I expressed and base my work on the best knowledge available in curriculum development. Louise, too, became my friend and mentor as John Goodlad was, and I remained mindful of her penetrating questions and critiques throughout my career.

The Staff of a Study of Schooling

The staff of A Study of Schooling provided me close interaction with the most comprehensive view of schooling that I had ever encountered. Until I became a part of that group, an insular view of curriculum had been my exclusive focus. The work of the curriculum subgroup was open to critiques and suggestions at all times by a very experienced and insightful group of researchers from a variety of specializations in education (including visiting scholars both from the U. S. and abroad who spent time with us). Our work in the curriculum substudy, to conceptualize the boundaries of curriculum as a field of study and to operationalize that conception to guide research, was regularly examined by a very diverse and questioning group. We profited greatly from their critiques.

Doctoral Students

Another group who contributed to my work in curriculum development were the doctoral students with whom I worked at Pepperdine University and The University of Southern California. These were very successful practitioners in various fields of education and they contributed a variety of perspectives on my work in curriculum development. They represented a reality check on my beliefs about what current practices were and new possibilities that could guide future practices. They proved to be powerful critics of new ideas and how they might be shaped to contribute to the improvement of curriculum thought and practices.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

There are two areas of essential work that are fundamental to the future development of the curriculum field. One is the coordination and improvement of curriculum decision-making and the second is the need for the development and practice of alternative curriculum designs. Each area is a familiar one to students of the curriculum field but at the same time, each is in need of systematic and basic investigation and conceptualization.

Curriculum Decision-Making

As noted in the discussion of the Study of Schooling curriculum model, curriculum decision-making occurs at a variety of levels and by a wide array of groups interested in affecting what is taught and learned in our schools (Klein, M.F., Ed., 1991). Currently there is little or no coordinated effort to be sure that decisions made are not contradictory or incompatible with decisions being made at other levels. Because of this confusion, decisions made by many interested groups are not subjected to scrutiny as to whether they have the right to make curriculum decisions and, if so, at what level of generality they ought to participate in curriculum decision making.

The Study of Schooling Curriculum model identifies five levels of decision-making: societal, formal, institutional, instructional, and individual levels. At each level there are participants who want to control or, at least, influence what teachers and students in individual classrooms will teach and learn based on their beliefs and values. Their approaches vary greatly from providing ready-made curricula on subjects of interest to them to providing frameworks and/or resources for teachers to use in their planning. For example, some academicians prescribe a precise set of knowledge elementary students ought to learn about their particular disciplines. These are ready for use by any classroom teacher. One group has a ready-made Bible curriculum they want provide to schools. Others lobby to have their interests included in state or local curriculum guides so that teachers will feel obligated to teach what the interest group desires such as the teaching of creationism in the science curriculum. Others want to deny students access to books which they deem undesirable. Some governmental agencies mandate certain topics for the curriculum at various age groups and others select learning materials for use in the classroom – a very powerful strategy to affect the curriculum in many classrooms. Other agencies develop broad frameworks around which teachers or county level committees can plan their curriculum with the details left to decision-making at a closer level to the students. Parents often question or pressure a school and teachers about topics and the specifics of a curriculum such as sex education in which their child is involved. There is much activity in curriculum decision making but little monitoring occurs about what decisions are being made and whether they are appropriate for the level at which they occur. As a result, curriculum decision-making is a “free-for-all” with the most influential or best funded group likely to have the most impact on the individual classrooms.

What is needed to help clarify and improve the situation described above requires diligent attention to the variety of current participants in curriculum decision-making and the level of specificity at which they are operating. A “mapping” of all the efforts being expended to affect curriculum decision-making in every district or school would do much to enlighten everyone regarding all the attempts to influence the classroom teacher and his/her students. This would enable educators to identify existing possibilities for making the curriculum their students experience to be the very best possible one. It would also expose inappropriate and incompatible decisions and gaps where decisions are needed. Further, it would protect teachers against undue influence from interest groups or individuals who have a strong possibility to affect what the teacher does. With such knowledge available, other tasks could be undertaken to establish the level of generality at which legitimate participants in curriculum decision-making could maximize their expertise and yet not intrude into areas in which they are not prepared to address. This question of who should make what curriculum decisions is a very unexplored area that is very much in need of study.

Curriculum Design

We have a very rich history of ideas in the field of curriculum development. Some have received great attention, sometimes to the detriment of our work in my opinion. Others have hardly been given a chance to determine their potential in the education of our students. We need to have a much greater diversity of ideas and concepts to guide our work than we have used in the past.

Historically, there have been three approaches to curriculum design and each has been explored to some degree at various times (Klein, M. F., 1985): the subject matter, the social emphasis, and the personal approach. The only one which has been consistently used, however, is the subject matter design. It is apparent to me that to use this one exclusively is severely limiting to what our schools could contribute to the growth of our young people. As I reflected upon these alternative designs, each seemed to have special merit in relation to differing but persistent goals we espouse for our schools. It is time that we seriously explore how and when each of these designs can be used to guide practice, depending upon what purpose is being pursued in teaching and learning. Surely, what works well for helping students learn vocabulary is not the same as helping them develop creative thinking, problem-solving skills, and good citizenship. The expectations for our public schools are many, diverse, and essential to the well-being of our society. If the schools are going to be effective social institutions, our thoughts and practices must be carefully planned, varied, and based upon compatible curriculum designs.

There is much work to be done in furthering this comprehensive approach to curriculum development. I hope basing our work in curriculum development upon a simplistic conception of curriculum and a narrow definition of “good teaching practices” is clearly past. Future work in curriculum development must recognize the complexity of the concept. I look forward to the days when sophisticated conceptions of curriculum design and classroom practices are based upon options

which are compatibly linked to all the various hopes and expectations we hold for our schools. It presents a complex challenge to develop the needed array of new concepts and practices, articulate them to all the varied audiences who have a legitimate stake in improving our schools, and work for the acceptance of such a broad vision of what might be in our schools of the future. Until we do this, however, the hopes and promises that we have for our schools will remain limited and unfulfilled.

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M. Frances Klein
University of Southern California

HERBERT M. KLIEBARD

CHANCE ENCOUNTERS AND CONSEQUENTIAL CHOICES

When the great American sociologist, Robert K. Merton, delivered the Charles Homer Haskins lecture to the American Council of Learned Societies, he made it a penetrating reflection on the course of his life. When I first read that paper, I found myself resonating not only with the broad contours of his “life of learning,” but with his early beginnings. He grew up in a family much like my own, and his early longings and experiences revived long buried memories. Especially striking to me was Merton’s characterization of his life as being “largely shaped by a long series of chance encounters and consequential choices and not by anything like a carefully designed plan” (Merton, 1994, p. 20). I have no grand tale to tell primarily because I never have had any idea as to what my life would be like. As I have reviewed what might be counted as turning points in my life, I am struck by how ordinary my early experiences were. The decisions I made, or more accurately the choices that were thrust upon me, were precipitated by chance occurrences unrelated to any sense of destiny or life plan.

GROWING UP

My earliest memory is actually a non-memory. A signal event occurred in my family when I was only a year old and therefore is something I have no actual memory of but which became so woven into my family’s lore that I might as well have been a participant in the event. The year was 1931 when the full effects of the depression were beginning to be felt. In short, my mother, father, and I were evicted (the word in the Bronx was “dispossessed”) from our apartment for non-payment of rent. I still carry with me a virtual memory of our furniture and bedding being moved into the street, and this has left me with a longstanding sense of precariousness of the world we live in.

My mother and father were well suited to one another. Theirs was a happy marriage, but their personalities were quite different. After immigrating in 1912, my father learned the trade of millinery operator. He sewed woman’s hats on a sewing machine. In his spare time, he assumed leadership positions in Jewish welfare always without remuneration. During the Great Depression, he was able to work only sporadically. In later years, work was steadier, but still seasonal. In the garment industry, there was something known as the “slack” season, a time of year when there was little work to be had. Uncertainty about work in my family was an ever-present reality. When my father studied for his citizenship test, he was

particularly struck to discover that Supreme Court justices were appointed for life. "Supreme Court" became his synonym for job security.

My mother, who arrived on Ellis Island in 1919, was unable to work outside the home because of a chronic heart condition which had its origins when she contracted rheumatic fever as a child. My mother was intellectually ambitious. She mastered English far better than my father did and often read books in English. For years, she attended night school once or twice a week. I was already in my twenties when my mother proudly showed me her newly earned eighth-grade equivalency certificate.

By the time World War II broke out, my parents were resolute American patriots. We all became avid listeners to radio news reports by commentators such as Gabriel Heatter and H. V. Kaltenborn. Particularly after the Normandy invasion, when the news included a series of successes by the American army, my father would shake his head in admiration and say softly in Yiddish, "Ay die Americaner," Ah, the Americans. (It is sometimes forgotten that in the early years of the war the German army was considered nearly invincible.)

EARLY SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

Going to school for me was something I neither hated nor loved. It was just something I did. The main obstacle I had to overcome early on was my limited English. In my first few years of life, the language all around me was Yiddish. That began to change of course once I was enrolled in kindergarten. Miss Baldwin made sure of it.

Around the age of seven, I became a bookworm. The immediate occasion for this rather sudden turn of events was the arrival of a bus-like vehicle that fortuitously would park directly in front of my apartment building once a week. Officially, it was called the Traveling Library, and once I ventured inside, I was amazed to see what seemed like an endless array of books on shelves. Initially, my reading tastes ran to fairy tales in collections called, as I recall, something like the red or blue or yellow book of fairy tales. In time, I learned that there was also a library in the Bronx housed in an actual building (the Fordham Library it was called). The problem was that it was located well west of my home, and there was no easy public transportation that could get me there. (Neither of my parents could drive.) My best solution was to walk across Bronx Park and then a few more blocks further west to Bainbridge Avenue.

My reading habits at that time were somewhat unusual. Rather than reading a range of different authors, I would identify someone I liked, and then read everything I could by that author. Early on, when I arrived at the Fordham Library, I headed directly to the "A" section to see if there was possibly a book by Joseph A. Altsheller that I had not read. Oddly enough, I was not as disappointed as often as one would think since, as I learned later as an adult, Altsheller had written over fifty books. His specialty was historical novels, written for adolescents, and grouped in a series such as the French and Indian War series, the Civil War series, or the World War I series. From Altsheller, I moved on to John R. Tunis and Ralph

Henry Barbour (sports) and then to more well-known authors such as Jules Verne and H. G. Wells.

During my sixth grade at P.S. 96, there was one notable event. It had its inception one Sunday when I was at home listening to a New York Giants football game on radio. The broadcast was interrupted with a report that Pearl Harbor had been bombed. Not knowing where or what Pearl Harbor was, I paid little attention. Later, I realized that something important had happened. On Monday, President Roosevelt delivered his address asking Congress for a declaration of war, and his speech was transmitted to us over the public address system in our sixth-grade classroom. At the end of the broadcast, we witnessed something we thought to be impossible. Miss McLaughlin cried. We knew then that something really earth-shattering had occurred.

I neither liked high school nor disliked high school. Mainly, I struggled with the fact that my shyness had become more acute in my teen years. In fact, I can recall only one instance when I actually volunteered to say something in high school. As has been commonly observed, shyness is sometimes relieved by performing on stage. Never a star, I was still eager to participate in school plays. In one notable instance, I had a bit part in a play about Christopher Columbus in which Anne Italiano (aka Anne Bancroft) played Queen Isabella. (Herman Jampolsky had beaten me out for the role of Columbus, but, so far as I know, he never made it either to Broadway or Hollywood.) My interest in drama affected my choice of reading. I can recall reading all of Eugene O'Neill's plays in one gulp beginning with his one-act plays of the sea all the way to *Long Day's Journey into Night* and *Moon for the Misbegotten*.

On the whole, schooling interfered only minimally with my self-chosen activities which, apart from reading, consisted largely of playing playground basketball, shooting pool, softball (which inexplicably we called "indoor" even though it was played in the school yard), various versions of stickball using a "Spaldeen," a pink rubber ball made by Spalding, and just hanging out.

Here and there, certain high school experiences stand out. Miss Conn somehow found a way to teach creative writing. (It was rumored that she had written an unpublished novel with the promising title, "Chalk Dust and Scarlet," but we never got a chance to read it.) I had to struggle quite a bit in my French classes, but Madame Giraud made even verb conjugations lively. When my memory summons up her ever-cheerful *zut alors!*, I can feel my mood lightening.

GOING TO COLLEGE

My undergraduate college experiences were much like my high school's except that I needed to take the subway to get there, and this entailed two changes of trains in order to reach the 6th Avenue line. The City College of New York was located in that part of Harlem called Sugar Hill. Most important at the time was that my education was free of charge, and for that I am ever grateful. I also took some memorable courses, but more by accident than by design. I loved the two-semester course I took on Shakespeare taught by Professor Burt. (We didn't know professors'

first names in those days.) We read a new play every week over the thirty-six weeks, and somehow Professor Burt in his cool and scholarly way taught us how to appreciate them. Professor Stair, now toward the end of his distinguished career, taught the required composition course admirably, and Professor Krikorian awakened in me a strong interest in philosophy, especially in John Dewey.

Although I was not looking forward to the study of a new foreign language, my foray into the German language was surprisingly satisfying. Several members of the German Department time were recent refugees from Nazi Germany, and they brought an interesting flavor to the German Department not to mention an extraordinary level of scholarship. Vielen Dank Professors Susskind, Plant, Weinreich, and Liptzin wherever you are. My lasting image of Professor Susskind is him waving of his arms excitedly as he led us in a raucous rendition of “Du, Du Liegst Mir Im Herzen.”

At one point in my largely uneventful career as an undergraduate, I heard of a popular course taught by a Professor Richter which consisted of studying film. Getting college credit for watching movies? That was for me. Professor Richter turned out to be Hans Richter, the well-known experimental film-maker. Over time, he validated my growing conviction that movies could be something more than casual entertainment.

In my last semester, I searched the timetable for a two-credit English course since that was what I needed to round out my graduation requirements. I found a course called Critical Writing and enrolled. I did not know at the time that Professor Berall had a rather unusual teaching technique – terror. In his course, we were required to turn in a piece of critical writing every week on virtually any subject – poetry, film, novels, short stories. When he returned our first set of papers, we were all shocked to see our grades. He then announced that all those who had received an F needed to drop the course. It seemed to me that half the class got up and left the room.

In subsequent weeks, he collected our papers and then made a point of choosing one at random. The unlucky student came to the head of the class and read his or her paper aloud. For his part, Professor Berall would interrupt frequently and demand clarification of murky passages or even the inelegant use of a single word. He was hardest on any hint of pretentiousness (such as using “utilize” when “use” would do). For my part, I had to overcome my longstanding habit of getting rid of my homework as soon as possible and with the least possible effort. I was terrified that I would be the next one Professor Berall called upon. As it turned out, I never was, but his teaching had a lasting effect on me. I began to understand that what I put down on paper may matter.

My single most memorable experience as an undergraduate occurred off campus. It had its inception in a fine course I was taking on the novel of the nineteenth century. Without warning, Professor Mack invited everyone to his home for a party. I arrived at the appointed time at what was as I recall an address on Riverside Drive. As I entered the apartment, Professor Mack introduced me to his wife and mentioned that she was an economist. I suppose I shouldn't admit that I was taken aback, but in all honesty the idea that someone as exalted as an

economist would be a woman left me in awe. Later, he showed some of us his study which, of course, was lined with books. What was so impressive to me was that a whole room in someone's apartment should be devoted just to study and work. This was obviously a different world from the one-bedroom apartment in the Bronx in which I grew up and still lived and where our kitchen table served as my desk after dinner. Perhaps this introduction to another world is what Professor Mack had in mind when he invited us. As I wheeled my folding bed to the center of our living room that night, I'm sure I was still dwelling on the strange sights I had just seen, and I still do.

By that time, the Korean War had broken out, a draft was in effect, and I was focused on maintaining my student draft deferment, so I enrolled in a master's degree program also at the City College. At the same time, I couldn't very well delay any further the question of earning a living, and I waited anxiously for the next New York City teaching license examination for which I would be eligible. When it was announced, I gave it a try. At that time, there were three parts to the New York City high-school license exam. There was a subject matter exam in a given area (in my case English), a kind of oral exam on pedagogy conducted by designated examiners determined by the Board of Education (aka 110 Livingston Street), and finally a speech exam.

My main problem it turned out was that I spoke like a Bronx New Yorker, and that was frowned upon by the licensing board who seemed determined to have New York City teachers talk as if they came from the Midwest. My worst fears were confirmed when I was pre-tested by a City College speech professor. His checklist indicated that I had more than a dozen deficiencies in my speech, some relatively mild, some serious. Among the more serious were a dentalized t and d, dropping the r's in certain words, mutilation of the sound of certain vowels, and, worst of all, the notorious ng click. The last one can be illustrated by the fact that I pronounced Long Island as Lon G-island and singer as sinGer. No matter how hard I tried, I simply gagged when I tried to drop the hard g sound. During the speech exam, I was asked to read poetry aloud as well as lists of words and phrases. Somehow I managed to get by, although I had the impression that the two examiners initially disagreed on whether I had passed or not.

BECOMING A TEACHER

In those days, newly licensed secondary-school teachers needed to wait for an assignment from 110 Livingston Street, and the timing depended on the extent to which teachers were needed in a particular subject area. When my situation became urgent, I offered myself as a day-to-day substitute teacher. The only high school that seemed interested in my services was Bronx Vocational High School. At age 22, I was handed a key to a classroom and faced my first real class. It would be a vast understatement to say that I was unprepared for what I had to confront.

Neither my own school experiences nor my teacher training prepared me for the near chaotic situation I faced. I don't know that anything could have. I was woefully unable to deal with the fights that were periodically breaking out, the

seeming indifference of the administration, and perhaps, most of all, the massive resistance on the part of the students to anything I had to offer. Nevertheless, when a teacher had to be hospitalized for a long period of time, I agreed to become a “permanent sub” with my own daily set of classes to teach.

My efforts to improve myself as a teacher were complicated by the fact that I needed to enroll in graduate school in order to maintain my student deferment status in the draft. The bloody Korean War continued to wear on with no end in sight, and a student deferment entailed attending graduate school full time. The minimum course requirement for the City College master’s degree was 32 credits, and full-time enrollment in each semester was 12 credits. Aggravating that situation was that each course carried only two credits, and this meant that I needed to take six graduate courses each semester in addition to my full-time teaching in order to maintain my draft status. Given the alternative, getting drafted to fight in a war about which I had serious reservations, not to mention the possibility of getting killed or maimed, made the choice clear.

I BECOME A SOLDIER

I was drafted four or five weeks after my masters degree was conferred. After time at the reception center, Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, I completed (I should say endured) sixteen weeks of basic training at Camp Pickett, Virginia and Camp Gordon, Georgia. What I remember most about that time was that I was perpetually sleep deprived. When the time came for a permanent assignment, I listened anxiously as one soldier after another was assigned to either infantry, armored, or artillery with the destination given as San Diego (meaning Korea) although by this time a truce had been signed.

When my name was called, I was astonished to hear that I was assigned to the Medical Corps, and my destination was Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio. I asked my platoon leader, Corporal Shumway, what he thought about Fort Sam Houston. He replied simply, “heaven.” When I arrived at Fort Sam (as it was called), I found that my platoon leader was not far from wrong, although I remained puzzled as to why in the world I had been singled out for the Medical Corps, since I had no background whatever in anything related to medicine. I later surmised that I had been assigned a particular Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) which went by the name of Information and Education Specialist and that a unit at Fort Sam apparently had listed an opening for someone with that MOS. Evidently, my course work in education, along with my year of teaching experience, had miraculously served me in good stead.

I was assigned to the Medical Field Service School which was attached to the Brooke Army Medical Hospital, arguably the finest military hospital in existence then or now. I performed occasional ad hoc duties, but for the most part, my work consisted of sitting in an office and counseling whoever knocked on my door. This was perhaps the first time that I heard of such a place as Madison, Wisconsin since the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI) was located there. Soldiers and airmen would choose to take college-level correspondence courses through USAFI,

and part of my job was to counsel them as to the courses available and helping them enroll. In addition, a draft of doctors and dentists was still in effect and, since they were officers but knew next to nothing about behaving like a soldier, I participated periodically in teaching military courtesy (such as saluting properly), setting up MASH units, and illustrating how to evacuate wounded by helicopter.

With only about three months left in my period of service, Lieutenant Hettrick, the commanding officer of my unit told me that he was having trouble filling an opening in another branch of the Medical Field Service School, the Reading Laboratory and asked me to fill that position. Reluctantly, I agreed. My new work consisted of teaching what was then popularly called speed reading to those selfsame newly drafted doctors and dentists. Everything was up-to-date. My work entailed first examining the subjects' eye movements through an ophthalmograph to see if their eyes paused too many times in the course of reading a line of print. One of the tenets of speed reading at the time was that too many "stops" was a cause of bad reading habits. (The goal was to develop efficient eyeballs.) I then used a tachistoscope (a kind of flash projector) and a machine called a reading pacer to try to minimize those debilitating "stops."

I have since become very skeptical about the efficacy of that sort of training, but, as it turned out, that brief period as a speed reading instructor was to have profound consequences on my fledgling career once I returned to civilian life.

BACK TO TEACHING

After my discharge from the army, I returned to the Bronx, which, of course, had not changed in the two years I was away. If I were more adventuresome, I would have ventured out into the wide world to seek my fortune or, at the least, to find another job. The easiest option, however, was to return to Bronx Vocational High School. When I resumed my teaching for the 1955-56 school year, the school, not surprisingly, was still the same. I like to think that I had improved modestly in my teaching, but since there was hardly any supervision, I never got any verification.

Bronx Vocational High School got some unwanted notoriety after the publication of a novel around that time based on our school. *The Blackboard Jungle* by Evan Hunter (Hunter, 1954) became a best seller and later was transformed into a hit movie starring Glen Ford with a young Sidney Poitier playing the role of a student.

A tragedy that year unnerved me terribly. When I arrived one morning and was on my way to the office to punch my time card (I was on the early shift), there lay outside the school library an already covered dead body. A student had been stabbed to death. Needless to say, the school was in turmoil that day, but there seemed to be no official recognition that anything untoward had happened.

Within a few weeks, I was scanning the education page of the Sunday New York Times, and I saw a notice from the Nyack Public Schools advertising a vacancy. The problem was that the vacancy was not for an English teacher but for a reading specialist. It occurred to me that I could use my recent experience in the Reading Laboratory back at Fort Sam to get an interview, so I wrote a letter of application.

When I entered my classroom at Nyack Junior-Senior High School that fall, I felt a little like I felt when I arrived at Fort Sam Houston after 16 weeks of basic training. It was heaven. This move from Bronx Vocational to Nyack left me with at least one lasting impression. My brief teaching career to this point made me acutely aware of the enormous divide in American schooling between the relatively privileged and the dispossessed.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

I faced one obvious problem in my new circumstances. I was not a qualified reading teacher. The bright spot was that I was eligible for the Korean G.I. Bill of Rights, and so I could try to rectify that problem at government expense. I decided to enroll at Teachers College, Columbia University as a part-time graduate student. The courses in the teaching of reading were housed in the Department of Guidance and Counseling, and my advisor, Ruth Strang, was a leading scholar in the teaching of reading. She turned out to be a very nurturing person, and I eagerly followed her advice as to what courses I should take once my day at Nyack Junior-Senior High School was over. Indeed, I accumulated quite a few graduate credits in reading. My course-taking in reading came to a halt, however, when I was awarded something called a Specialist Degree in reading, and Professor Strang retired.

By now, I had acquired a taste for graduate study but no longer in reading. I chose a course for the next semester, but had no advisor to sign the registration form. I had taken a course in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction with Phil Lange, who impressed me as a fine person, so I asked him to sign my form, which he did. The following semester I followed the same procedure, but this time Professor Lange, to my surprise, wouldn't sign. Instead, he told me that I was a good match for Arno Bellack and that I should ask him to be my new advisor.

Within a few minutes, that series of chance occurrences led me to the point of knocking on Professor Bellack's office door. Since I was new to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, I knew next to nothing about him nor had I even seen him before. I told him of my dilemma, and he asked me only what score I had achieved on the entrance examination to Teachers College. When I told him, he nodded, and I became his advisee. I quickly learned that as an advisor, he was quite different from Professor Strang. Whereas she was very indirect, he simply said that he would like me to take a course that semester with Lawrence Cremin and, of course, I complied.

I suppose that nearly all graduate students are grateful to their advisors, but my debt to Professor Bellack is a very special. At the age of thirty, I was a young man unsure of myself and lacking direction. Bellack was never a back-slapper, but in his own quiet but self-assured way, he gave me an intoxicating infusion of confidence at a critical point in my life. By the next semester, he had asked me to be his teaching assistant in the very large introductory graduate course he taught on curriculum theory. I was deeply honored. I even began thinking about proceeding toward a doctorate.

A few weeks later, Bellack asked me to review a proposal he had drafted for a research grant. I was totally unprepared for what I read that night. It consisted of a complex and ambitious plan to study in great detail the language employed by teachers and students as part of their classroom interaction. By my third reading, I was only beginning to get it, but I did understand more than ever why he was widely regarded as the intellectual leader of the department.

I began to pursue my graduate studies with more zest, although my continuing full-time responsibilities at Nyack put severe limitations on how much I could undertake. My second course with Lawrence Cremin, a history of American education, was mind bending partly because of the way he taught it. It was a large lecture class, and Cremin simply walked up to the podium and with verve and good humor told his story. Never before or since have I been in a class where the instructor was given a round of applause after every lecture. Professor Bellack continued to be very direct in advising me as to what courses to take. At his suggestion, I took a course in philosophy of education with James McClellan and then one with Philip Phenix, both very stimulating. My third course with Cremin, what he called a colloquium, turned out to be especially demanding. In a way, I was forced to relive my critical writing course with Professor Berall, except that we were expected to turn in a longer paper every other week rather than a short paper every week. The papers were to be slipped under Cremin's office door by Tuesday before the Thursday meeting of the class. By Thursday, he had read and graded all of them and also had decided which paper would serve as the basis for discussion for the next two hours. Not one to endure slackers, he then designated two students who had not written papers that week to comment on the paper. Whether you wrote a paper that week or not, you had to be well-prepared to discuss the topic.

As my course-taking was drawing to a close, I began serving as Professor Bellack's research assistant on the language of the classroom research project, and out of that work, I developed a dissertation topic which was an offshoot of that research project. I enjoyed this work so thoroughly that I gave little thought to the prospect of its ending one day. Bellack had secured a renewal of his grant, and, now in my sixth year, I still loved my work in Nyack, so I simply postponed any thoughts about the future and made no application for any jobs that were available. These were turbulent times in education, however. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 had spawned a number of highly visible and well-funded reform programs, mostly involving the curriculum, and schools of education in universities were burgeoning.

I began to receive telephone calls every now and then inquiring as to whether I would be willing to be interviewed in one university or another. I didn't exactly ignore them; I used the excuse of my wife being pregnant with our second child to say that this was not an opportune time for me. The calls from the University of Wisconsin were a bit more regular and more intriguing. The initial call came from the chairperson of the search committee, Virgil Herrick, who was renowned in the curriculum studies field, and later calls came from another member of the committee, Edward Krug who was equally renowned, so I was inclined to pay

attention to their requests. I told Bellack of these calls from the University of Wisconsin, and he asked me whether they were from Madison or one of the other campuses. I was forced to admit that I didn't know. My naïveté was definitely showing.

MADISON

One sunny day in August of 1963, my wife and I packed our Ford Falcon station wagon to capacity and with our two and a half year-old daughter and our six-month old son in the back seat set out for, as far as we knew, uncharted territory in the Midwest.

When I arrived on campus a few days later, I learned of a stroke of good fortune. Office space in the old Education Building was in short supply, and I was assigned to share Professor Krug's basement office. This was another of those chance occurrences that shaped my life.

My temperament simply didn't allow me to emulate the scholarly discipline that Krug embodied. I had always led a cluttered life. But there was another enormous benefit to my association with him. He had lunch every noon at Tripp Commons, one of the cafeterias in the Student Union, and he welcomed anyone to join him at his regular table. I made it a point to join him just about every day in order to partake in what amounted to a post-graduate seminar on the history of American education. Krug was vastly different from Cremin in both personality and scholarship. Whereas Cremin was flamboyant and exuberant, Krug was cautious and deliberate. Insofar as interpreting the recent history of American education, Cremin was fundamentally upbeat; Krug, by contrast, tended to evoke the dark side of many of the reforms of that time and was discreetly revisionist in his overall assessment. My post-graduate education actually went on for years, and I began to see the merits of Krug's position. I still regard his history of the high school as a work of meticulous scholarship and understated brilliance.

WRITING

It makes little sense for me to provide an extensive elaboration of my published work. It is, after all, there for anyone who cares to read it. I shall, however, provide a bit of background on one article and two books.

I had published several things early on, and most had some historical component. One paper, published shortly after I was promoted to associate professor sticks out in my mind both for personal and professional reasons. I received a telephone call one day from Professor Paul W. F. Witt, whom I had known casually at Teachers College. He was organizing a conference on technology and the curriculum and asked me to deliver a paper. I told him that I had little or no technological expertise and could not therefore write anything on that subject. He then told me that I need not write on that subject and could prepare something pretty much on anything I pleased. With that in mind, I decided to write a straightforward historical paper

conveying my second thoughts on the development of curriculum as a field of study.

A day or two before my family and I were to leave for New York, my mother called to tell me that my father, long ill with cancer, was dying. I prepared a tape-recorded version of my paper in case I could not deliver it in person, and we all embarked for New York. I shall not elaborate on all the subsequent events. Suffice to say that I did deliver the paper personally. Professionally, that paper marked a turning point insofar as my willingness to engage directly and unreservedly in historical scholarship (Kliebard, 1968).

I stayed for the next few days with my parents in the Bronx. Since my mother was now sleeping in the living room, I moved an easy chair into the bedroom so I could be with my father. He kept slipping in and out of consciousness. Once, when he seemed alert, I tried to cheer him by telling him that I now had tenure and sought to explain what tenure was. At one point, he brightened and said, "Ah, Supreme Court," his private synonym for job security.

By the 1980s, I began to think about plunging myself directly into the controversy as to how twentieth-century educational reforms should be interpreted. At the time, historical scholarship was divided between the traditionalists, who regarded the changes that had occurred in American education as basically salutary and the radical revisionists, who emphasized the dark underside of those changes. Although not a radical revisionist himself, Cremin was regarded widely as representing a new generation of educational historians, and his reputation was certainly enhanced when he won the Pulitzer Prize for history. Unlike the radical revisionists, he remained fundamentally optimistic about the course of American education and convinced of the beneficence of what has come to be called Progressive Education.

Ultimately, I came to the conclusion that both sides were arguing about the wrong thing. My own research led me to conclude that there was really no single entity as Progressive Education – certainly nothing coherent. Instead, I tried to interpret the progressive era, not as characterized by a unitary reform movement, however diverse. I saw the curriculum of the period instead as an arena where distinctly different ideological armies did battle with one another for acceptance and dominance. For good or ill, the outcome of that struggle was inconclusive. What I had hoped would be the outcome of my efforts was some clarification of the chaotic admixture of competing ideologies that characterizes American education today (Kliebard, 1986).

In the 1990s, I undertook to write a book on what I called vocationalism critical not so much of vocational education itself but of the almost universally held belief that education was principally a preparation for what lies ahead. The idea was not original with me; it is integral to John Dewey's philosophy of education. It is the case, however, that vocational education unequivocally represents the notion of education as preparation; but so do the terms college-entrance curriculum, college-entrance subject, college-entrance track, and college-entrance school. As I saw it, each of those terms serves to relegate the value of subjects like chemistry, a foreign language, literature, or algebra to a ticket to college. In our efforts to claim direct functional value for the disciplines of knowledge as well as for vocational subjects

as gateways to the future, we have succeeded only in demeaning and debasing them.

One question I wrestled with throughout *Schooled to Work* (Kliebard, 1999) was that if education does not prepare us directly for something, then what is the purpose of education after all? To be sure, what I came up with sounds redundant, but I am still convinced it has some validity. The purpose of an education, I concluded, is to become educated. Obviously, such a quirky idea requires considerable elaboration, and I tried my best to provide some of that in *Schooled to Work* and other writings. Certainly, if my own education through college as I have described it here prepared me explicitly for the duties of my later life, then I did not know it at the time, and, and if it did, the route between that education and my occupational status was so roundabout as to have no manifest bearing; but my education had much to do with the person I became.

ANOTHER CHAPTER

The University of Wisconsin has no mandatory retirement age, and so I suppose that I could have continued as an active faculty member for time longer. I hesitate even to call what I did work. Rather, I think of it as a form of intellectual play all taking place in supportive setting sprinkled with all sorts of delightful social interactions. But my wife was then very ill so I decided to make the break. Students, colleagues, and department staff arranged a retirement celebration which I still deeply appreciate. My wife somehow mustered up the strength to attend the affair which was immensely gratifying.

Later, there came an unexpected development. My former student and sometime collaborator, Barry Franklin, organized another retirement celebration in the form of a session at the next conference of the American Education Research Association. At that event, I would be presented with a festschrift written by valued former students and colleagues, with an introduction by Arno Bellack (Franklin, 2000). In describing this event, I'm afraid I'll exceed the bounds of modesty, but it is indeed a highlight of my life, and I can't resist.

Fearing that this would be one of those events where no one showed up, I decided to get to the session early. When the meeting room began to fill, I left my seat and took a place on the stage. By the time we were ready to begin, the room was filled to capacity, and there were people standing along the walls. A fire marshal arrived and ordered those standing to leave. When they refused to go, he stationed himself outside the entrance to keep new arrivals from getting in. When my turn came, I was almost too thunderstruck to speak.

My mind drifted back to those chance encounters and consequential choices that had led me to that podium in Seattle, a million miles from the Bronx.

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Herbert Kliebard
University of Wisconsin, Madison

THE PRIMACY OF THE PARTICULAR¹

By my count, I have made seven contributions to curriculum studies. First is the concept of *currere*, the infinitive form of the noun curriculum. I invoked it first during the 1970s to denote a shift from curriculum defined as syllabus (or objectives, or from any of its conceptualizations as a static entity, implied by the noun) to curriculum conceived as the educational experience of “complicated conversation” (1995, 848; implied by the verb). *Currere* – and the autobiographical method² I devised to understand curriculum as educational experience – initiated what became, in fifteen years, an entire sector of curriculum studies scholarship (1995, chapter 10). Extolling the centrality of educational experience in understanding curriculum precipitated my participation in what turned out to be a shift in the field’s fundamental idea of itself: from a field focused on curriculum development to one devoted to understanding curriculum. My theorizing of the field’s *Reconceptualization* (2000 [1975]; 1995, Chapter 4) – contribution number 2 – informs my present studies of disciplinarity and internationalization (2003, 2007, 2008, forthcoming).

In December 1981 (in the public library of Berkeley, California where I was visiting my then five-year old son Gabriel), I theorized curriculum as gender text (in 1994, 1998), thereby establishing *queer theory* in education, *avant la lettre*. That I count as contribution number 3. Twenty years later, informed by queer theory, I reconfigured *anti-racist education* from a preoccupation with attitudes (tolerance, for instance) to subjective reconstruction through academic knowledge, theorizing the gender of racial politics and violence in America by juxtaposing lynching and interracial prison rape (2001). That is contribution number 4. In that 2001 synoptic textbook, and in the genealogy of whiteness that followed (2006a), I demonstrated that curriculum development is an intellectual not bureaucratic undertaking (in press, Chapter 3; 2006b). Reconceptualizing curriculum development counts as contribution number 5.

Contributing to my queering of race was my earlier elaboration of *place* as a category in understanding curriculum, now a concept common not only in contemporary curriculum studies (see Tate 2008). Theorizing place began as an effort to contextualize the curricular challenges posed by living – as I did for twenty years – in the American South (1991). While continuing to emphasize the singularities the intersections of history and culture create, in recent years I have also acknowledged *place* as biospheric (2007a, b). This reconstruction of place as planetary animates my current effort to reconstruct humanism (in press; Said 2004). Introducing the conception of place constitutes contribution number 6.

Since 2000 (and here is number seven, although I agree the hour is early), I have initiated an intellectual and organizational movement known as the *internationalization of curriculum studies*, establishing (with help, of course) the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (www.iaacs.org), its U.S. affiliate, the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies, editing the first international handbook of curriculum research (2003), and directing the Centre for the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies at the University of British Columbia (<http://csics.educ.ubc.ca/>). With funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, I have been enabled to study the intellectual histories and present circumstances of three nationally distinctive curriculum studies fields: South Africa, Brazil, and Mexico. With the time I have left before retirement I hope to study others.

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

I was born in Huntington, West Virginia, on August 27, 1947. In 1953 we chose to leave Ohio; we moved to Pennsylvania (first to Emporium in the northwest corner, then to Pittsburgh); in 1955 we moved to Ohio (Westerville, a suburb of Columbus). I received a solid introduction to the various school subjects, taught by often animated and dedicated teachers. It was during my senior year (1964-1965) at Westerville High School that I glimpsed – in an honors government class taught by Mrs. Sarah Ott – what a multi-referenced complicated conversation curriculum could be. The main referents of that year-long course were the texts – among them Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers* – and the World History class Mrs. Ott had taught two years before. (Each of us had been invited as a consequence of our work with her in that earlier class.) Mrs. Ott was a superb teacher: erudite and engaging.

After graduation, I studied at a small conservatory of music in Columbus where I was a performance major: alto saxophone was my primary instrument, piano my minor. During my freshman year, Professor William Kuhre lured me to the liberal arts with his provocative teaching of freshman composition and American literature, a year-long course featuring, during spring term, J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*. I transferred first to Otterbein College, then to Ohio State, where I studied history, enjoying individual attention in an honors program under the supervision of Professor Mary Young, a distinguished historian of American Indian policy, whom I later met – this time as a colleague – at the University of Rochester. Back in Columbus, in 1966, I, too, aspired to become a historian, but when graduate school was dropped as a category of deferment from military service – an issue urgent to those of us opposed to the Vietnam War – and public school teaching remained eligible, I switched to English, a subject more in demand in the public schools, and one to which I had already been drawn.

The political chaos of those years was mirrored in my psychological life. Adrift in turbulence, I fastened upon academic study as providing opportunities to understand the reality around me while mooring me. As provocative and influential as reading William Appleman Williams was, the major intellectual event in my undergraduate life was philosophical not historical, namely existentialism and

phenomenology, subjects I studied with Professor Lee Brown in Ohio State's Department of Philosophy. At first I was drawn to Kierkegaard, then Nietzsche, but I settled on Sartre. Especially his fiction (*Nausea*) forced me to confront the question: how shall I live? Like Pasternak's *Zhivago*, I embraced subjectivity as politically precious in an unjust world lacerated by violence. Nineteen sixty-eight was a violent year, indeed.

In my senior year – fall 1969 – I enjoyed an opportunity to believe again in meaningful public service, thanks to Professor Donald R. Bateman (in 1974), who permitted me to join his experimental urban education program. There I was introduced to Freire while working in the inner city of Columbus, where I tutored (in twin towers off I-70 East that remain visible today), then taught at Roosevelt Junior High School. I chose – those were days when teachers still enjoyed some measure of academic freedom – Richard Wright's *Black Boy* and Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* for my six-week sojourn with black inner-city eight-graders. Somehow I was offered a job that spring, probably due to the influence of Professor Bateman. Despite this opportunity and my subsequent enrolment in Ohio State's M.A. program – that summer I took Professor Paul R. Klohr's 860 course on curriculum development – I chose to leave Ohio to accept a position as Teacher of English at the Paul D. Schreiber High School in Port Washington, on Long Island, New York.

While there only two years, teaching at Schreiber was an imprinting experience. Intellectually impressive, the Department of English faculty purchased paperbacks we could distribute to students according to the course we chose to teach. Teaching four classes during a nine-period day, I offered six-week-long electives of my own devising, including one on existentialist literature. Students were academically strong: most went to university, many to Ivy-League schools. I chose to teach the one small non-college-bound group. Whatever their class location, many Schreiber students were estranged: the year was, after all, 1969. Drugs were widespread, but mostly recreational: few “dropped out.” I became close to several students, among them Betsy Bernhard and Kenny Schatz, and with two other first-year teachers – Marilyn Baldauf and Gail Starkman – while admiring other colleagues from a distance. My students were skeptical but played along; indeed, a few became enthusiastic about “working from within” (in 1994). One night a week I traveled to Teachers College to attend a seminar offered by Professor Dwayne E. Huebner, to whose work Paul Klohr had introduced me. Huebner's scholarship influenced me deeply, and some two decades later, with his encouragement, I published his essays as *The Lure of the Transcendent*.

The other curriculum theorist who influenced me most as a graduate student – Klohr and Bateman were supervising directed readings during my time on Long Island teaching – was James B. Macdonald (1995). Later, Kliebard's critiques of Tyler and analyses of the field's failings – specifically its atheoretical and ahistorical character – proved decisive in my efforts to find my way in a field falling apart (in 2000 [1975]). As a resident Ph.D. student in 1971, I supervised English student teachers while taking courses in education, English and Psychology. In the English Department I studied 20th-century British and Irish literature with Professors Morris

Beja and John Muste. In the Psychology Department, I studied psychopathology and participated in a Tavistock group, not so very different from the National Training Lab encounter group work I had undergone earlier. I was determined to link the experiential with the intellectual, and these academic studies juxtaposed with psychological experiments (such as Tavistock and NTL) helped me to focus on what was at stake. In my Ph.D. dissertation research I theorized a humanities curriculum that cultivated self-formation through the juxtaposition of academic study, solitude, and encounter group experience.

Klohr met with me regularly to discuss what we were reading. (We met over lunch, a tradition I continued with my own Ph.D. students.) He questioned, challenged, and encouraged me, acting as a supportive skeptic.

PERSONAL FAVORITES

Autobiography, Politics and Sexuality (1994)
Race, Religion and a Curriculum of Reparation (2006)
The Synoptic Text Today and other essays (2006)
The Worldliness of a Cosmopolitan Education (2009)

He became my intellectual father, and I never tired of listening to him. For thirty-five years after I graduated I returned to him at his home at 420 Walhalla in Columbus. Traveling from first Rochester, then from

Baton Rouge, and finally from Vancouver, I would not miss an opportunity to spend several days with my beloved Paul.

Many of Paul's students adored him, and each of us – I know several still today – learned something unique from our relationship with him. I took from him his keen interest in theoretical developments, including those outside the field of education. Still I remember his palpable excitement upon discovering Michael Polyani's *Personal Knowledge* and, later, Richard J. Bernstein's *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory*. From him I came to experience curriculum studies as a dramatic and ongoing intellectual event. While the public school provided the primary site for engagement with curriculum studies, education has never been for me an institutional problem to be solved, but, rather, a provocative phenomenon to be understood. Other Klohr students concluded otherwise. That was, in part, the man's pedagogical genius, his capacity – through focused conversation drawing upon his erudition, exercising his pedagogical discernment – to draw out the originality of each student. How I have worked – much more clumsily – to do the same with mine!

After the Ph.D. was conferred in 1972, I took a job at the University of Rochester. There I met Madeleine Grumet, Janet L. Miller, and Peter Taubman.³ Each influenced me deeply, including in feminist theory and gender studies.⁴ Madeleine joined me in the study of autobiography in teacher education (2006 [1976]), extending its theoretical elaboration through phenomenology and psychoanalysis, traditions she mastered and melded in her *Bitter Milk* (1988). From the University's point of view, Madeleine was my doctoral student, but the truth was that I was hers.

Janet Miller and I collaborated on the establishment of what would become the Bergamo Conference (the conference of the Reconceptualization of curriculum

studies) and on *JCT* (the journal of the Reconceptualization). I dedicated to Janet the collection subtitled *Twenty Years of JCT* (1999), but these acknowledgements hardly capture the complexity of her contribution to curriculum studies (Miller 2005). Both Bergamo and *JCT* continue today: <http://www.jctbergamo.com/>.

Peter Taubman introduced me to the work of Foucault, as he embraced his first translated works, specifically *The Archeology of Knowledge*, which Peter employed in his critique of gender essentialism. Recently, with Foucauldian detail and theoretical sophistication he has detailed the calamity that is U.S. school deform (2009). During the 1990s Peter introduced me to the cinema of Pier Paolo Pasolini and the 1906 novel *Young Torless* by Robert Musil. Each has remained central to my intellectual life (2002); I composed a biographical sketch of Pasolini to personify the worldliness of a cosmopolitan education (in press). I glossed Musil's novel (2006) and am now portraying Musil as a public pedagogue.

At Rochester I enjoyed proximity to great scholars, among them historians Christopher Lasch, Eugene Genovese, and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, the great Dickens scholar George H. Ford, and philosopher Lewis White Beck. Beck – with whom I chatted over Saturday lunches at the Faculty Club – kindly advised me in my readings in autobiography. But the most formative intellectual influence during those years – the early 1970s – was Virginia Woolf, whose novels I had studied as a graduate student at Ohio State. Now it was not only her fiction but her life that preoccupied me; I reread Quentin Bell's biography several times. Her stream-of-consciousness method inspired me to dwell upon sensory detail in the method of *currere*, her feminist courage inspired what would become, later, my own gendered struggles, and her central position in the Bloomsbury Group inspired my inchoate conception of what an academic community might mean.

While Woolf was the most formative, she was not the only influence. I was reading psychoanalytic theory (especially object relations theory: Chodorow 1978) and phenomenology as I tried to imagine a future for the field after Tyler. My early pieces (in 1975, reprinted in 2000) testify to my efforts to theorize curriculum as structured by the intersections among autobiography, history, and culture.

During my first years at Rochester my relationship with Paul Klohr intensified. I wrote him every day. He helped me plan the 1973 Rochester Conference – inaugurating the Reconceptualization – and participated in the event (in 1974.) The following summer we spent a week together on upstate New York's Keuka Lake, rowing and reading and talking, my own micro-moment of Bloomsbury. While it was Don Bateman who had introduced me to the intellectually serious study of education it was Paul Klohr whom I loved. His stories fascinated me: his childhood, his undergraduate days studying German in Indiana, working afterward as a high-school teacher in Illinois interrupted by World War II, his graduate school days studying with Harold Albery at Ohio State, his initial faculty appointment at Syracuse University, his stint as curriculum coordinator of the Columbus Public Schools, as Head of Ohio State's Laboratory School (and his excruciating experience of its demise at the hands of right-wing demagogues), his subsequent service in the Dean's office at Ohio State's College of Education, and the final phase of his career as a professor. Equally important (and inseparable

from these discussions) was our ongoing reflection on the nature and function of curriculum studies, including its history, its relationship with schools, its possible futures. To think about these topics required, Paul always asserted, knowledge not only of the field itself, but of related disciplines, especially social theory and philosophy, which Paul read constantly. Aside from my parents, Paul is the major influence in my life.

It was during my early years at Rochester that I fastened onto autobiography as a means to recast curriculum study. Neo-Marxists would misunderstand the autobiographical emphasis as bourgeois narcissism rather than a relocation of the political project in which many of us had engaged during the 1960s. Others would detach autobiographical study from the curriculum, morphing it into “narrative inquiry.” From the phenomenological I moved – as did many others – to poststructuralist understandings of subjectivity and society, influenced by Foucault (at first through Taubman), then later by Derrida and Deleuze (at first through the brilliant Jacques Daignault and Clermont Gauthier, who began attending Bergamo in the early 1980s, later inspired by my LSU colleague Denise Egéa-Kuehne and the great Ted Aoki, who also made a similar journey from phenomenology to poststructuralism: in 2005). Only in recent years have I recoiled from what now seems to me an excessive textualism in post-structuralism, undertaking a reconstruction of humanism (in press). But I get ahead of myself.

Certain that the consolidation of the intellectual gains made during the Reconceptualization required institutionalization, I took on the chairmanship of Curriculum and Instruction at Louisiana State University in 1985, hiring a number of new Ph.D.’s to institutionalize the Reconceptualization.⁵ Those were heady days – LSU was a hospitable and intellectually stimulating place, Bergamo was reaching its apex (at one late 1980s conference 453 presentations were listed) – and I began to chronicle the Reconceptualization. That project threatened to overwhelm me, and so I invited three former doctoral students – William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman – to join me in what became *Understanding Curriculum* (1995). (My effort to write a sequel did overwhelm me and I withdrew. Former *JCT* Editor and Co-Director – with Mary Aswell Doll – of the Bergamo Conference Marla Morris has undertaken the project. If anyone can succeed at this daunting project, Marla can.) I had hoped to publish a series of readers to accompany *Understanding Curriculum* (illustrating each of the discourses), but I managed to find time to produce only six (1992 [with Reynolds], 1993 [with Castenell], 1998b, 1998c, 1999, 2005 [with Irwin]) of the planned eleven.

After *Understanding Curriculum* I devoted myself to race studies. Becoming committed to an African American man – on September 26, 2008 Jeff Turner and I celebrated our 13th anniversary – and living in Louisiana provided existential stimulus for renewing my study of race I had first undertaken as an undergraduate. Never losing the self-reflexive impulse autobiographical study habitualized, I then turned my attention to whiteness, resulting in the most intellectually experimental of my works (2006a). There I juxtaposed Noah – the mythological inception of racial servitude in Genesis 9:23 – with Daniel Paul Schreber, the infamous late-nineteenth German judge whose memoirs Freud used to devise his theory of

paranoia as disavowed homosexual desire in theorizing whiteness as the “curse of the covenant.”

I have always studied subjectivity as a passage to (rather than a retreat from) the world; during these first years of the new millennium my engagement with curriculum studies scholars worldwide multiplied. What became the project of internationalization started by accident; in 1993 I had represented the United States at a UNESCO conference on curriculum worldwide held in Santiago, Chile. In Oslo, Norway, in 1995, I represented U.S. curriculum studies in what (I learned later) was supposed to be a “face-off” with Wolfgang Klafki, the great German theorist of Didaktik. (The confrontation never occurred.) Back in Baton Rouge, Bill Doll, Donna Trueit, and I organized two international conferences, one in 1999 on philosophy of education (taking advantage of a world meeting in nearby New Orleans) and in 2000 a Conference on the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies, drawing scholars from every continent and thirty-plus countries. On the final morning I offered to meet with those interested in founding an international association. Not expecting much interest, I had reserved a room holding 15, but 150 showed up! Working during the year with representatives from each continent, I helped inaugurate the International Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies (www.iaacs.org). IAACS’ first triennial meeting was held in 2003 in Shanghai, China; the second in 2006 in Tampere, Finland; and the 2009 meeting is scheduled for South Africa.

During that same academic year I worked with U.S. colleagues to form the

PERSONAL FAVORITES IN CURRICULUM STUDIES

Talmud, Curriculum and the Practical by Alan A. Block
A Post-Modern View of Curriculum by William E. Doll, Jr.
Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching by Madeleine R. Grumet
The Lure of the Transcendent by Dwayne E. Huebner
Theory as a Prayerful Act by James B. Macdonald
The Sound of Silence Breaking and Other Essays by Janet L. Miller
Teaching by Numbers by Peter M. Taubman

American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies, an IAACS affiliate. After its inception in 2001, I persuaded the general membership to authorize three inter-related undertakings: 1) the formation of a journal – edited by Alan A. Block – focused on

the intellectual production of the field, 2) a Commission on the State of Curriculum Studies in the United States – directed by Madeleine R. Grumet – that would survey the institutional circumstances of the field and provide recommendations for administrators, and 3) a Canon Project to institutionalize attentiveness to the intellectual history of U.S. curriculum studies.

It was what Janet Miller (2005, 249) has termed the “worldliness” of curriculum studies that persuaded me to leave LSU after twenty years to take up the directorship of the Centre for the Study of the Internationalization of Curriculum Studies at the University of British Columbia (<http://csics.educ.ubc.ca/>). In Canada

I can pursue – with federal funding and free of homeland security preoccupations – complicated conversation among nationally distinctive curriculum studies fields. The first of several reports (forthcoming) nears production.

Now sitting in my sixties, I am clear that my intellectual life was structured first by my parents, Frederick Eugene Pinar (1920-1968), an aeronautical engineer, and Malinda Brooke (1917-1962), a night-club singer and regional radio personality. From Dad I internalized the injunction that “understanding” was the most important thing in life; from Mom I learned that pleasure was paramount. With these twin and often opposing dispositions embedded in me, I have been driven to understand the reality around and within me. I have sought pleasure well outside the confines of the bourgeois life for which I was conditioned by school and society. Despite its appearance as a quiet scholarly life (finally, now it is), my life has been intense, dramatic, and very full. Imprinted by my parents and our post-World War II experience – haunted by economic and political catastrophes, driven by the intensity of seeking pleasure because death was imminent, overwhelmed with love of country in a brief period of post-war triumph and relief quickly turning to alarm and the enduring emergency that was the Cold War – and by their distinctive injunctives (my parents’ own singular adaptations of these historical realities mixed with their psychic and genetic inheritances), and, later, with the help of friends and the intimacy of lovers (in my life, intermixed categories), I have found passages through the labyrinth that has been my life, compelled to understand, and thereby participate, in the reconstruction of the reality confronting us.

NOTES

- ¹ Quoted from Flores (2006, 64), this phrase summarizes my ongoing inquiry; it specifies the subjective link among my seven contributions to curriculum studies. It also acknowledges my appreciation for those individuals named here who have been so significant to me over the years. Prominent among these is Paul R. Klohr, who died this past summer. I compose this self-portrait in his shadow.
- ² To understand educational experience autobiographically, I suggested (juxtaposing Freud and Sartre), one might work regressively (re-experiencing the past), progressively (imagining the future), analytically (understanding what one had discovered regressively and progressively), synthetically (acting in the world): 1994, 1995, 2004.
- ³ I enjoyed the company of other astonishing doctoral students during my time at Rochester (1972-1985), among them Stephen DeMocker, Bonnie Meath-Lang, Ronald Padgham, JoAnne Pagano, Meredith Reininger, William Reynolds, and Sandra Wallenstein. My colleagues are memorable, too: philosopher Robert Osborn provided friendship and constant questioning. Eleanore Larson was wise and quietly encouraging, Bill Lowe was skeptical but supportive. Dean James Doi funded the 1973 Conference that inaugurated the Reconceptualization. I hired Philip Wexler in 1981; during our time together jogging and parenting Philip taught me social theory.
- ⁴ Upon leaving Rochester, I found close colleagues at Louisiana State University. Ron Good (2005) – jointly appointed to the Department of Physics – was a close friend and constant critic of my interest in psychoanalysis. Professor Petra Munro Hendry animated my interest in Jane Addams as she elaborated a theory of feminist curriculum history (in 1998b, 1999). In addition to being colleagues and friends in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Petra and I worked together in Women’s and Gender Studies. There I met remarkable colleagues outside education, among them English Professor Elsie Mitchie, who brought Kaja Silverman to my attention. My time at LSU was

the best time of my life, and central to that period were my friendships with Bill Doll, Mary Aswell Doll, Marla Morris, and Donna Trueit. I have before acknowledged Bill's importance to me (2006b. xiv-xv); we've been friends since 1976, having known each other in upstate New York, south Louisiana, and now the Pacific Northwest.

⁵ There are many remarkable Ph.D. students who graduated from LSU during my time there (1985-2005), among them Brian Casemore, Toby Daspit, Susan Edgerton, Brenda Hatfield, Nicole Guillory, Wen-Song Wu, Laura Jewett, Doug McKnight, Marla Morris, Anthony Molina, Nicholas Ng-A-Fook, Anne Pautz, Patrick Slattery, Hongyu Wang, Ugena Whitlock.

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William F. Pinar
University of British Columbia

WILLIAM A. REID

LIFE IS A CURRICULUM

“It’s alright Billy. You can stand up if you want to.”

Only a few minutes into my first experience of a curricular setting, at the age of five, I was confronted with a problem. This was the kindergarten of the local girls grammar school which admitted boys between the ages of five and nine. The day had started with the singing of a hymn, and then the teacher, Miss True, had announced “We will now kneel down and say the Lord’s Prayer.”

This posed a difficulty for me. Only about a year earlier, my mother had described to me in great detail the pictures she had seen in a stained glass window in a local Gloucestershire church. These depicted Heaven and Hell and, in the latter location, there were demons equipped with pitchforks pushing sinners into a fire. That was the moment when I decided that I could not support a god who allowed such terrible things to happen. So, when the rest of the class knelt down, with hands clasped over eyes, I remained standing. Miss True’s response to this disobedience was to have a critical bearing on my future career. If she had punished me, the curriculum of schooling would have shared the status of the Christian God in my thinking. But, by good fortune, Miss True was a Froebel-trained teacher and knew that curricular aims are to be achieved through co-operation and negotiation, not conflict and imposition. And so I became her partner in the pursuit of curriculum.

Over the next three years (1938-41) I benefited from one that was ambitious – we experienced not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but also nature study, music, ancient history and mythology – but totally friendly and collaborative. We learned a lot, but were never given marks or form positions. Competition was not seen as an aid to understanding. But all this was to change.

“We can’t teach him any more.”

What my mother was told when she asked whether I should spend another year at the girls school, or transfer to the preparatory department of the local boys grammar school. I found this statement very strange. Every day I had spent in that school had, to my mind, been filled with wonderful learning opportunities. But now, a year early, I would enrol in an all boys school that was very much in the English grammar school tradition. There the curriculum was all about marks and competition, and mythology was definitely not on the agenda. However, my kindergarten experience stood me in good stead. I could see beyond the immediate

culture of marks and right answers and focus on what lay beyond. Miss True and her colleagues had performed an excellent piece of curricular work. At the end of the year, I won the form prize.

Five years later I had passed my school certificate examinations and now faced another curricular problem: as someone fascinated by the whole range of learning opportunities I had, in the tradition of English grammar school education, to make a crucial but unwelcome choice: should I pursue the study of 'arts subjects' or 'science subjects'? I consulted my headmaster.

"You have passed your school certificate a year early, so you will have four years in the sixth and you can spend two years on the arts and two on sciences."

My headmaster's response when I raised my problem with him. A perfect solution! I would spend two years studying foreign languages, then switch over and take physics, chemistry and mathematics. I opted to do languages first because my excellent chemistry teacher was leaving the school and his replacement might not be so good.

So, a further two years were spent in productive curriculum engagement. Now, I could study advanced level Latin and even, through Vergil and Ovid, get back to that fascinating classical antiquity that had made my kindergarten experience so rewarding. At the end of my second sixth-form year I took my higher certificate and got good grades. Now I would switch over and spend two years studying the sciences! But the English curricular system had another trick up its sleeve.....

"You have done so well that you'll now have to prepare for Cambridge entrance."

My headmaster again: and there was no way I could go against his wishes. Science had to be tidied away, and I had to re-engage with my Latin and French classical authors. Something I enjoyed, but there was so much exciting work going on in the science field around 1950 and I could not be part of it, except through reading books and journals.

Early in 1950, I took my Cambridge entrance examinations and secured an open exhibition to St.Catharine's College. I was not going to enter the college until 1951, so, it seemed, I might still have some time for science. But there was too much ground to be made up, and I needed a rest from curricular activities, so I got focussed on my roles as prefect and head boy of the school.

“Oh, Mr.Reid, Would you mind putting the blanket over the parrot’s cage?”

My arrival in Cambridge in 1951 put me into a very different curricular context. Here learning was focussed on lectures and supervisions and one of my supervisors was Dr. W.H.S.Jones. He was rather old, and meeting with him entailed cycling to his home on the other side of the Cam. There we would settle down in his living room and engage in exercises of translating English poems into Latin verse. But Jones had a parrot, and sometimes it would start making a terrible noise. When the blanket went over its cage it would assume that night had fallen and would go to sleep. Then Jones and I could resume our wrestlings with dactyls and spondees.

This supervisory approach to curriculum was new to me, but, as I found out much later on, something else had also been new: Latin verse supervisions had provided me with my first encounter with someone who was a serious contributor to thinking about the curriculum. From about 1900, Jones had been for over twenty years a teacher at the Perse Boys School in Cambridge and was the author of several books on education, including ‘Disciplina’ (Cambridge University Press, 1926), in which he discusses, in a manner which is both practical and philosophical, what and how schools should teach.

The title of the curriculum I was following was ‘Modern and Medieval Languages’ which meant that, after a year, I had to drop the study of Classical Latin. However, the word ‘Medieval’ ensured that a somewhat different form of that language could replace it, and thus I became familiar with styles of thinking that would assume great importance when my own interest became focussed on curriculum. Delving into the attempts of medieval scholars to interpret and understand the writings of Aristotle was to prepare me for my later engagement with the ideas of mid-twentieth century writers at the University of Chicago.

“You will be teaching Technical Drawing and Light Craft.”

Not exactly what my studies of classical and medieval Latin had prepared me for. But, after getting my degree and engaging in ‘National Service’, family circumstances had forced me to apply for a teaching post near home. In the post-war period in England, the old system whereby children in state schools either entered a grammar school at age eleven, or stayed in their elementary schools had changed and a new type of school called ‘Secondary Modern’ was provided for those who did not pass the 11+ examination. It was to one of these schools, housed in a converted eighteenth-century canal warehouse, that I had applied for a post. Foreign languages were not in the curriculum.

Technical drawing was not too much of a problem. My father had been a mechanical engineer and had given me some insight into that. But Light Craft? What could I teach in those classes? After researching the possibilities, I decided on basketwork. I was presented with just one problem: I knew nothing about it. This, however, turned out to be of great benefit in shaping my understanding of

curriculum. Though it was not a word I would then have used, I and my students had, from day one, to engage in deliberation. How are we going to organize ourselves? Some decided to work on their own, some in pairs. What are we going to make? Some decided on baskets, some on trays, some on ornaments, some on boxes. How are we going to set about it? Some questions of that sort we could discuss as a class, some in smaller groups and some on an individual basis. And always there were examples to be looked at, discoveries to be shared. The classroom was a happy place – and also a productive one: at the end of the term, my students entered some of their work in the local town show and won all three prizes.

With that experience of teaching Light Craft behind me, surely I should have recognised that I was in a truly rewarding occupation. But memories of Cambridge lingered. With a good class degree from such a prestigious university, should I not aim higher? Two years earlier I might have thought about the Foreign Office, but that would involve taking examinations and now, after such a gap, I didn't feel sufficiently confident to enter for them. So I spent two years working in a bank with opportunities to ascend to high levels of management. As in the classroom, there was a lot to learn, but application of that learning was different. In the classroom every situation is unique. In the bank, it was most often a matter of applying standard procedures – and that was less interesting. And so I came back to the curriculum of schooling: this time at a boys grammar school in Cambridge.

Not much had changed since my own experience of being a grammar school student. If anything, the clock had been turned back. It was no longer wartime, so there could be stricter rules about uniform and attendance, and out of school activities such as 'aircraft recognition' had disappeared. But experience in that secondary modern school had shown me how it was possible to look beyond immediate curricular demands and develop a more rewarding approach for myself and, hopefully, for my students. Also, as chairman of the local teachers association, I became involved in the politics of education.

These activities, in their various ways, provoked me into thinking seriously about curriculum questions, and they became not just matters for me to solve within my own context, but wider issues that demanded a more academic approach. I thought I should look into the possibility of engaging in some formal study of educational theory

"You've got a Cambridge degree haven't you?"

"Yes."

"Well, what else do you want?"

The response of the man who interviewed me when I went to the University Careers Service to enquire about possibilities for taking a master's course in education. His words made me more determined to follow such a route. Clearly, England was still far too wrapped up in out of date traditions of what education was about. And, in another way, this attitude on the part of the University turned

PERSONAL FAVORITES

- Reid, William A. (1992) *The Pursuit of Curriculum*. Norwood NJ: Ablex
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out to be beneficial. Cambridge was so unconvinced of any need to take the study of education seriously that, when the Ministry of Education had set out to establish university departments

that would offer higher degrees, it had refused to co-operate. This meant that The Cambridge Institute of Education was the only one in the country that was run directly by the Ministry. The disadvantage of this was that it could not award degrees, but the big advantage was that it was extremely well staffed and funded, with an excellent library. In 1966, I embarked on a higher diploma course there.

For the first time, thinking about curriculum in its broadest sense became my highest priority and that process was aided by good teachers, good colleagues, regular visits to schools of all kinds, including A.S.Neill's Summerhill, and ample opportunities for research. This was also my chance to repair that gap in my own curriculum – exclusion from the study of science and mathematics -which had taken place when I was only fourteen years old. The subject of my research project would be the division in school sixth forms between arts and science subjects, and the method would consist of statistical surveys providing data for factor analysis.

“What’s yer hypothesis, laddie?”

This question was posed in turn to about eight students wanting to pursue statistical research who were seated at a table with Dr. McLeish. In true Scottish fashion our expert statistician engaged with his potential students in a confrontational mode. The rest folded up in varying styles, but I had been doing some serious work on my proposal and could confidently answer: “My hypothesis is,” and follow up with specific ideas for tests, for sample numbers and for analytical procedures. Once that hurdle was passed, McLeish took on the role of tutor in a helpful and understanding manner and my research went ahead successfully. For whatever historical reasons, the Scots can have ways of making it hard for students to enter a curricular setting, but then make the experience of that curriculum very rewarding.

I gained my advanced diploma with distinction and thought that my next move would be to a college of education. But, for some reason, the colleges were not impressed with my credentials. Then, just as I was giving up hope, an advertisement appeared for a position as director of a Schools Council funded project on sixth form education at the University of Birmingham. The downside was that it was not a permanent post, but the upside was that it was a perfect opportunity to pursue, on

a much larger scale, the kind of research I had engaged in at the Cambridge Institute. When I was offered the job, I had no hesitation in accepting.

The year of my arrival in Birmingham – 1969 – possibly marked the peak of the Schools Council's activity. In the 1960's the generation whose views of the world of education had been shaped by wartime experience had moved into positions of authority. At last, it appeared, the limited conceptions of the traditional grammar school curriculum were to be challenged, and the Schools Council found itself with the opportunities and the resources to do this.

But the year 1969 was important for me in another respect.

“I shall have three points.”

This time, it is not someone addressing me directly, but the opening words of a published paper. I had done a lot of reading in the excellent library of the Cambridge Institute, but the one in the Birmingham Faculty of Education offered even greater resources. I spent quite a few hours searching its shelves for material on curriculum. One day, I picked up *School Review*, Volume 78, Number 1, and, on page 1, found Joseph Schwab's paper 'The Practical: A Language for Curriculum'. This was something different from the usual journal paper. I did indeed feel as though I was being directly addressed. His concerns about curriculum were expressed in a rhetorical manner and, in the course of twenty-four pages, there were only four references to other books or papers. Very different from most contemporary writing on the curriculum. And the content was also very different – yet, in a strange way, familiar. One thing it seemed that Schwab and I had in common was our interest in the thinking of pre-modern, medieval writers.

Thus, I found myself in a very rewarding position. On the one hand, I was getting deeper into statistical analysis. The University of Birmingham had a main-frame computer which was capable of carrying out factor analysis on large quantities of data. It didn't have a program for that, so I had to write one myself – another wonderful opportunity to make up for that gap in my own school curriculum. But, at the same time, through engaging in thinking along the lines laid out by Schwab, I could begin to see how specific data, like the products of factor analysis, could form part of a much broader view of curriculum.

So what were Schwab's three points? “First of all, the field of curriculum is moribund. It is unable by its present methods and principles, to continue its work and contribute significantly to the advancement of education.” Something I could agree with. “The second point: The curriculum field has reached this unhappy state by inveterate, unexamined reliance on *theory*.” And, again, I could agree. The modern era, beginning around the end of the eighteenth century, had seen such amazing advances in specific areas of science and technology that the broader perspectives of medieval minds had been brushed aside. That thought had entered my mind through my studies of medieval languages at Cambridge. In the case of Schwab, as I found out later, it came from a Chicago Aristotelean tradition, typified by scholars such as Richard McKeon. “The third point, which constitutes the main

body of my thesis: There will be a renaissance of the field of curriculum ... only if curriculum energies are in large part diverted from theoretic pursuits ... to three other modes of operation ... the *practical*, the *quasi-practical*, and the *eclectic*.”

Here was a programme for action. From that point onward, Schwab and I were, to some extent, to pursue a common agenda. Over the next several years, he published a further three ‘Practical’ papers, while I, having entered the publishing field with an account of my Cambridge research (‘Languages in the Sixth Form Curriculum: Liberal Art or Practical Science?’, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 2, Number 2, 1970), pursued my engagement with ‘The Practical’ through ‘The Changing Curriculum: Theory and Practice’, which I published in a book co-edited with Decker Walker and prefaced by Schwab (‘Case Studies in Curriculum Change: Great Britain and the United States’, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), and through ‘Thinking about the Curriculum’ which I published with RKP in 1978.

My entry into the field of writing about curriculum was accompanied and assisted by the development of connections with American scholars. Another fortunate aspect of the work of the Schools Council was that it wanted to look beyond traditions of education that were solely English and learn how the curriculum of schooling was thought about and organised in other parts of the world. In terms of language and common interest, the best place to approach was the United States and, by a happy coincidence, this was the epoch when, thanks to the Boeing 747, transatlantic travel became comfortable, speedy and affordable. In 1971 I travelled to New York to meet with researchers at Teachers College and Educational Testing Service, Princeton. In 1973 I attended the AERA conference in New Orleans where I met with many scholars, including Elliot Eisner, Decker Walker and Ian Westbury. Westbury had contributed a chapter to the book I had edited with Walker and now, by a great good fortune, was, with Neil Wilkof, editing for the University of Chicago Press the definitive collection of the writings of Schwab: ‘Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education’ which appeared in 1978 – the same year as ‘Thinking about the Curriculum’.

But where was Schwab himself? He had retired from the University of Chicago and was living a quiet life on the West Coast in Santa Barbara. However, the year after the appearance of the Westbury and Wilkof volume, AERA was to take place in San Francisco – only a short distance North of his home. A symposium was arranged that he would attend to mark the launch of the book. I was to be a contributor. I was hoping that, of the three topics mentioned in the book title, I would get ‘Curriculum’. But I was scheduled to take on ‘Liberal Education’. This looked like a more difficult task, but it was also a very rewarding one. I had to take my lack of knowledge seriously, and get down to some detailed research.

Presentations at the meeting were brief, but papers were to be submitted to *Curriculum Inquiry* for publication. Preparation of mine was a worrying task. I had done my best to provide an explication of Schwab’s texts on liberal education, but had I got it right? There was only one way to find out. I sent him the draft.

“You read me, as electronic lingo has it; no quarrels”

The voice of Schwab again. This time in a letter he sent to me. Now I could feel more confident about my attempts to understand his thinking. Over the next few years we exchanged many more letters (An account of this correspondence is to be found in *‘The Voice of ‘the Practical’, Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Volume 31, Number 4, 1999). And, as I set about the task of applying his ideas to current curriculum problems, I was also engaged in moving my own research into the sixth form curriculum onto a broader stage. My report on my first project (*‘The Universities and the Sixth Form Curriculum’*) was published by the Schools Council in 1972, and a number of follow-up books and articles appeared over the next few years until finally, in 1982, I produced, in collaboration with Jane Filby, my conclusions on the nature and history of English sixth form education in *‘The Sixth: an Essay in Education and Democracy’* (Falmer Press). But by then the possibility that it could have any influence on government educational policy had gone: the Schools Council was about to be abolished by the Thatcher government. That bright era of the 1960’s when the wartime generation was able to bring fresh thinking into curriculum was coming to an end. One reason for this was, undoubtedly, that it had given rise to too many disparate initiatives and failed to concentrate on key and central issues. But might Schwab’s ideas now provide a way of injecting more focus and consistency into the curriculum field? I would concentrate on them, and see what could be achieved.

Through the 1980’s the curriculum field in American universities had become more complex. Schwab’s deliberative approach and the more systematic one, typified by people like Ralph Tyler, were now being challenged by radicals such as Apple and existentialists such as Pinar. Such developments were encouraged by a huge expansion in the number of universities in the United States that offered curriculum courses. The next task, therefore, was to try to provide a means whereby people studying or entering the curriculum field could have a sense of how these various perspectives challenged or complemented one another.

“Justice is an ideal rather than a state of existence: we do not achieve it; we pursue it.”

This quotation from James March’s paper *‘Model bias in social action’* (*Review of Educational Research*, 44, 2, 1972) provided me with the title of my next book: *‘The Pursuit of Curriculum’* (Ablex, 1992). My correspondence with Schwab had shown that *‘pursuit’* was an idea with which he would have identified. The questions we were addressing were not questions to which there were definite answers. His comments to me on ideas put forward by philosophers such as Richard McKeon were typically accompanied by the phrase *‘be cautious’*. Schwab, however, was not to see my book. He died in 1988, four years before it was published and it was dedicated to the memory of *‘Joseph J. Schwab: Teacher’*.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES WHICH HAVE INFLUENCED
ME

- Schwab, Joseph J. (1978) Eros and education: A discussion of one aspect of discussion, in Westbury, I. And Wilkof, N. (eds.) *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Selected essays of Joseph J. Schwab*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 105-132
- Schwab, Joseph J. (1978) The Practical: A language for curriculum. *Ibid*, 287-321
- Schwab, Joseph J. (1978) The Practical: Arts of eclectic. *Ibid*, 322-364
- Schwab, Joseph J. (1978) The Practical: Translation into curriculum. *Ibid* 365-383

The book begins with descriptions of four kinds of approach to curriculum questions: the existential, the radical, the systematic and the deliberative, and tries to show what they have in common and what separates them. It then attempts to describe and explain a deliberative perspective. I wrote 'a deliberative perspective', rather than 'the deliberative

perspective' because no two theorists will understand and deploy it in a totally similar manner. In my concluding chapter I raised the issue of 'curriculum as institution'. If Schwab's philosophizings had a weakness, it was that, through his close focus on 'practice', he risked losing sight of the importance of shaping the institutional aspects of curriculum. Given the context in which he worked, this was understandable. In many ways, for people like Schwab, the University of Chicago did not have the 'feel' of an institution. In one of his letters to me he refers to "the remarkable collegiality that existed at Chicago" and goes on to say:

"It was, above all, *small*, by American standards (5000 students, not forty thousand). A second collegial factor was the residence of virtually all of us in the immediate University neighborhood ... (I) took for granted that one lunched only rarely with members of one's own department and treated the Faculty club as a place for sometimes violent discussion and debate."

My final volume in the Schwab tradition was called 'Curriculum as Institution and Practice' (Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999) and gathered together essays written over the period 1978-1994 which, hopefully, set out in a consistent way the means by which these two complementary, but in some ways contradictory perspectives on curriculum can be thought about. Curriculum designers have to deal with situations where, as I put it in my introduction to the book, "particularity and generality coexist and intertwine: out of the multiplicity of contexts that thousands of idiosyncratic teachers and students inhabit emerge universal categories of career and achievement that define them to each other and to the world at large; out of the universal prescriptions of ministries and accrediting agencies emerge the variegated classrooms of nations in which teachers and students pursue their unique ambitions (pp.3-4)". Many of our current problems with the design and implementation of curricula arise because decisions are made within frames of

understanding which concentrate on a single aspect of curriculum and fail to see it as a multi-faceted concept.

Over the period during which I was writing the final papers which were to form part of the book, I began exploring still further aspects of curriculum through my contact with Bjørg Gudem at the University of Oslo. This introduced me to curricular ideas stemming from the European didactic tradition, and led to the publication of 'Curriculum as an Expression of National Identity' (*Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, Volume 15, Number 2, 2000). In this paper I traced the development of ideas about curriculum from 'Curriculum Theory in Mittel Europa', through 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes' to 'Curriculum Migrates to America'.

At the same time, in my continuing pursuit of Schwab's ideas, I also made further close contacts in North America, principally with Maurice Holt and Edith King in Denver and O.L.Davis, Jr. in Austin, Texas. Maurice had been my contemporary at St.Catharine's College, Cambridge and had followed a career amazingly similar to mine – first of all in a commercial occupation, then as a teacher and head of school in secondary education, and then at a college of education. In the mid-90's he served as a curriculum professor at the University of Colorado at Denver while I, for a briefer period, occupied the same role at the University of Texas at Austin. His writings, like mine, are considerably influenced by the thinking of Schwab.

To conclude with a comment on the title of this paper, 'Curriculum', as a word derived from Latin, is often misunderstood by people who think it must be about running races – a nicely supportive concept for those who would turn schools into places where teaching is focussed on preparation for tests and outcomes are measured by points scored. But the word simply means 'elapse of time'. 'Curriculum horae' means 'the passage of an hour', 'curriculum vitae' 'the passage of a lifetime' and 'curriculum studiorum' 'the time taken up by studies'. The key question for those planning curriculums is 'what is the best way to make use of that time?'. It sounds not too difficult. But as the main question is dissolved into subsidiary ones, it becomes immensely complex. Given that time is limited, what kinds of learning should have priority? Given that we are dealing with students of different ages from different backgrounds, how is learning to be adapted to individual circumstances? How are settings to be created within which a desire to learn is naturally fostered? And, fundamentally, how are the practical and institutional aspects of curriculum to be jointly pursued?

As I hope I have made clear in this paper, there are no final answers to such questions, but it has been my great good fortune to have had contact with many teachers and scholars – beginning with Miss True – who realised their importance and applied their minds to making them approachable, fascinating and productive. I

should add, finally, that, after a week or so, I did kneel down with the rest of my kindergarten class, though I didn't say the prayer.

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William Reid
Amberley, Stroud,
Gloucestershire, UK.

WILLIAM H. SCHUBERT

WHAT'S WORTHWHILE? PLAYING WITH IDEAS IN LOVING COMPANY

I begin predictably with early experiences, move through college and my life as an elementary school teacher, and then attempt to show how these experiences contributed to my interests and pursuits in curriculum studies. I see my connection to curriculum studies as influenced by living in a family of educators and by myriad lived curricula within and apart from schooling.

EARLY CURRICULAR EXPERIENCES

I had the good fortune to be born into a small, loving family of dedicated educators in small towns of Indiana and Ohio. I learned more from love and play than from any overt attempt to educate; love and play were my first curricula, as they continue to be my curricula in diverse incarnations.

As an only child, living in rural environs, my mother, father, grandmother, great aunt, and grandfather were my principal playmates. My father was also my school principal (grades 5-7), my mother my high school mathematics and social studies teacher, my mother's mother had been my grade 3 and 4 teacher in a tiny one room country schoolhouse with a row of desks for each of four grades, and her twin sister was my first grade teacher in the small town of Butler, from which we moved to my grandparents' farm when I concluded grade two. My mother's father was a farmer and politician, who tried to teach a county of conservative Republicans the value of being liberal FDR New Deal Democrats. I lived on the farm until I attended Manchester College.

My curriculum of home and family manifested itself in lived experiences with educators who surrounded me. I watched, as they taught children, youths, friends, and neighbors more by example than by precept. The curriculum of my home shaped my life more than that of school. The loving relationships in my life have always been prime inspirations. Imaginative role-play was a mainstay of my early life curriculum. Each significant family member participated in a distinctive fashion, likely without seeing it as curricular. With my mother I met fictional children from other cultures on ocean liners during lunch, flew an airplane (my swing) to visit the Queen of England as she washed clothes, and interviewed for college entrance as she cooked in the morning. After my grandmother read *Oliver Twist*, *Tom Sawyer*, and *Huckleberry Finn* to me at ages 5-7, we traveled with them to other planets, communicating via new languages with extraterrestrials along the way. With my grandmother's twin sister, we figured out how to help a lady who

grew too large to exit her house by door or window, and in search of adventures we traveled over mountain ranges in shoe box caravans. With my grandfather, we conjured meetings between forces of good and evil in the old west, wherein good prevailed. With my other grandfather, a Lutheran minister, we pondered who was earliest Adam and Eve or prehistoric persons. My father and I shared yard and farm work, coin collecting, sports, and cinema. Along with basketball, baseball, and golf these experiences involved study of nuance, categorization, and application. We became connoisseurs of pattern and event. We memorized, analyzed, synthesized, and evaluated.

My multifaceted life-long curriculum was filled with flowing rivers¹ of more curricula: family, marriage, friendship, relationship, role-play, speculative wonder, travel, sports, quests for meaning and purpose, fundamentalism, liberalism in a conservative context, opposition to imposition, and hope for a better world. Any attempt to interpret each in isolation would be unwieldy and would actually miss the point that these curricula of life intersect, interact, and integrate to shape the person I am still becoming and the work in curriculum studies I have done and continue to do.

I first encountered the curriculum field while studying for a Master's Degree at Indiana University (Bloomington) in the summer of 1966. I was 21. I had not intended to attend graduate school that summer, but the draft to enlist youth in the immoral and undeclared war on Vietnam was on my heels. So, I registered for courses in philosophy of education, history of education, and curriculum. *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* by Smith, Stanley, and Shores (1957) was on the library reserve list. While I had not been intrigued by curriculum (perhaps due to the inanity of lesson plan forms) this book mesmerized me. Its content resonated with my burgeoning concerns and perspectives. I read with a flow that I had not experienced before. Mysteriously, I felt I already knew the topic. To this day I cannot explain why. My newly born sense of curriculum invigorated my history of education course with Malcolm Skilbeck and my philosophy of education class with A. Stafford Clayton. The curricular quest for what is worthwhile for a good life and the just society wove a central thread of meaning into history and philosophy of education and whatever else I studied. Little did I know that I would pursue a Ph.D. within a decade under the guidance of J. Harlan Shores, co-author of that remarkable book.

This question of worth reminded me of the driving force that forged my interest in a liberal education in my Bachelor's work at Manchester College. I recall how I fondly embraced dimensions of liberal arts: biology, psychology, history, philosophy, religion, art, and literature. I viewed each as a start to a possible career. Circuitously, literature called me to teach, a harbinger of curriculum studies. A literature professor, thirty years earlier my mother's professor, encouraged my turn into education without realizing it. I noticed a twinkle in his aged eye as he talked about character, event, and plot in Shakespeare, Ibsen, Melville, and innumerable poets. He sent us to the library to ponder *symbolic meaning*. My small town high school had not dealt with such matters, or if it had done so, I had not listened. In the Manchester library I thought I was cheating by finding an answer key of sorts

when I encountered literary criticism in my quest to understand symbolism! The momentary guilt was surpassed by the realization that in literature I had found a place to search for meaning that even transcended bull sessions with my best friends – wherein we strove to compose our lives (see Bateson, 1989). I was hooked on literature if it could help me compose my life. Implicitly, I grasped the import of asking: What is worth knowing, needing, experiencing, doing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, contributing, and wondering?

Such questions became markers by which I judged the worth of every class, relationship, experience – from that day forward. I would continuously ask: Did *this* (any experience) enhance my search for answers to these questions? Moreover, I wanted to share this quest for worthwhile living with others. Thus, I embraced teaching, the profession of my ancestry, one thankfully never forced upon me, despite the accolades my family of teachers had received. I wanted to share and inspire the never-ending quest for lives of worth and for better worlds for them to inhabit.

I studied more literature, philosophy, and history on my own and in graduate school. In the spirit of John Dewey I tried to assess how ideas helped me re-interpret my early experiences: participating in sports with family; designing family travels each summer for a decade; negotiating fundamentalist Christianity with *saved* peers; reflecting on nature and regimentation as a Boy Scout; experiencing distant worlds through the flickering lights of TV and movies; being a *knight* of my town through Indiana high school basketball, *Hoosier hysteria*; learning about politics as a political intern in Washington, DC; working on farms and in highway construction, teaching elementary students; participating in peace and political movements; and falling in and out of relationships. These were curricula of my life that I brought to graduate school and self-education. I struggled with temptation to see the realm of ideas as a sanctuary from which the events of family and world were dimmed and othered. I sought balance that integrates theory with the practice, by embodying the ideas with which I had greatest affinity.

Toward the conclusion of my Master's Degree program, with all of this intellectual excitement swirling in my mind, Philip G. Smith asked me if I would like to pursue a Ph.D. in Philosophy of Education on a National Defense Education Act (NDEA) grant. I was flattered; however, I had decided that if I were to someday teach teachers, then I should become immersed in teaching. It was a good time for finding teaching positions, and after a number of interviews, in 1967, I moved to Downers Grove, Illinois, a Chicago suburb with a lengthy tradition of progressive education.

To this day, I consider the most enduring dimension of curriculum studies to be steadfast focus on: What is worthwhile? And concomitantly inquiring: Why? For whom? For whose benefit? How can it be discovered and experienced? How can it be inspired in others? How can it be shared? How can it be *embodied* in the life-blood of our being and in our social actions? How can it help us live together more fully? Reflecting on the seriousness of such a lived heuristic helped me build on my past to become a teacher and professor.

ELEMENTARY TEACHING, FAMILY, AND THE PROFESSORiate

I learned a great deal from my Downers Grove teaching experience (and sometimes from colleagues) for six years – two in a self-contained sixth grade and four on an intermediate grade team in new open space school that I helped design. Then, I took a sabbatical to pursue a Ph.D. in curriculum studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). Committed to work as assiduously as possible, I took the course work and comprehensive examinations in a year and two summers (1973-74). Then, I returned to Downers Grove to repay the leave with the generous (only) one year of teaching, while I proposed and wrote the dissertation, completing the Ph.D in the spring of 1975.

In the fall of 1975, I began a 30-plus year career at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), then known as UICC (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle), a quasi extension of UIUC. At UIC I met wonderful colleagues and students, and we grew independent from UIUC, creating our own state-sanctioned M.Ed. and Ph.D. Programs, and I learned to love the interplay among scholarship, teaching, and service.

Family and friendship are among the most important of life's curricula that have shaped me. While a teacher in Downers Grove I was in marriage with Margaret and we had two daughters. Two decades after our divorce, Margaret was violently murdered by a home invader in 1998. During my third year at UIC, I had remarried. Ann Lopez was a wonderful colleague, wife, and source of ideas and inspiration for nearly thirty years. We had a daughter and a son. Ann's death from multiple myeloma, following several severe illnesses, occurred in 2006.¹ Death is a disdainful teacher. Marital relationships, parenting, and deaths are among the most profound curricula. They engender immense theorizing. An entire essay or even book could focus wholly on these dimensions of experience. Something similar could be said of friendship. At several of life's junctures I have had friendships that taught me more than I can articulate; they remain indelible sources from which I am still becoming.

I have continued to draw upon the above experiences as a professor in the theory-practice of every life situation, and I consider it all educational. I categorize my major endeavors as follows: focusing on the worthwhile; understanding through diverse voices; exploring curriculum theory and history; imagining through the arts; learning from teacher and student lore; including outside curricula; increasing awareness of BIG curricula, globalization, and the subaltern; composing better lives and worlds; returning to play, love, and worthwhile growth. I have never deemed work on any of these topics to be drudgery. Instead, I have seen it as myriad reincarnations of love and play from my childhood. Love and play, I am still convinced, are the two most important creative forces of my life.

FOCUSING ON THE WORTHWHILE

I have considered a sense of wonder (Schubert, 2008a) to be a loyal ally in the curricula of my life. Its impetus comes from asking, "What is worthwhile?" This is

not answered once and for all; rather, it is pursued continuously amid life's dynamic mysteries and events. I am convinced that it is the central question that gives common ground to the diversity of curriculum studies.

My driving force to be a teacher resided in my desire to encourage others to reflect on their experiences and hopes. Job acquisition is only a small part of this reflection; the larger Deweyan occupation is composing oneself as a contribution in the world. As I began to teach I felt that traditional lesson plans stultified and undermined spontaneous growth with children – the best part of teaching. Planning for me was reading philosophy and literature, attended plays, movies, and concerts, going to art exhibitions, and having conversations with respected peers and elders. Wondering with others about what is worth doing and being and what kinds of worlds we might bring into being is education in its most vital form.

During my hiatus from teaching to pursue doctoral studies I shared my senses of wonder with Harlan Shores. He agreed that philosophy was an excellent source of research for this, and suggested work with Harry Broudy, who cautioned me to

FAVORITE WORKS OF MY OWN

Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm and Possibility (1986)

Reflections from the Heart of Educational Inquiry (with Willis, eds.) (1991)

Teacher Lore (with Ayers, eds.) (1992)

The American Curriculum (with Willis and others) (1993)

Curriculum Books: The First Hundred Years (with others) (2002)

Turning Points in Curriculum (with others) (2007)

Love, Justice, and Education (2009)

recognize that analytic philosophy, then in vogue, had turned the tables – noting ironically that philosophy (in the 1970s) helped one understand language and literature was the best source for understanding what is worthwhile. In any case I went to the philosophy department, where I explored diverse philosophical classics with Hugh Chandler in an attempt to extrapolate their contribution to my questions of worth. Meanwhile, Shores

advised that I create a bibliography on all that I encountered in the library on curriculum matters which he delineated in his course syllabus through seven questions: *Who is to be educated? Educated for what? Education with what? When to educate? For whom is or should the content be relevant? How to educate? How to change the curriculum?* These questions were the organizing centers of his curriculum course. My journey in search of worth extended the one I experienced as a child in a home with parents whose lives spoke more of reflection on worth than their voices did. It was a trek that continued my attempts to grasp meaning with youthful friends, which eventually folded in the quests of a liberating liberal education. In mid-career, I tried to extend this as a living image in *Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility* (Schubert, 1986). Now, with Ming Fang He (2003), I am learning to see how the journey needs to be cross-cultural, an exploration of exile, a seeking of meaning and worth that human beings share across the diversity of cultures through lives as rivers forever flowing.

UNDERSTANDING THROUGH DIVERSE VOICES

Today, I call for awareness of diverse voices in the curricular landscape¹ and say that they are multi-vocal and postmodern – a plurality of narratives, not one master narrative. Illustrative of this is a book for which I shared authorship, *Turning Points in Curriculum* (Marshall, et al., 2007) wherein we brought different voices to characterize eras of curriculum studies since 1950: our own interpretations, stories of curricularists who lived in the era, portrayal of key books, primary document excerpts, tales of larger socio-cultural trends, and questions to challenge readers.

My appreciation of multiple perspectives has gone hand-in-hand with my teaching. As I met more persons I became a plurality of selves, or positions, vying for attention within me. These *commentators* became a salient feature of my teaching. For years my students have been subjected to my many tongues, especially the Intellectual Traditionalist, Social Behaviorist, Experientialist, and Critical Reconstructionist, and more recently the Postmodernist. Each *speaks* in my classes to illustrate differences in the curriculum field. Surprisingly, *speakers* whom I have not met spontaneously appear from my being in response student questions. I conclude that I am several, perhaps many more than I know.

Precursors of such *appearances* (perhaps noting a therapeutic need) derive from my earlier molting into characters that entertained, inspired, and hopefully edified my elementary school students: a prehistoric man, advocates of different world religions, everyday persons in history, propagandists to be ware of, expose, oppose, and overcome. To some extent these *guests* derived from my directing of plays, my perception that students evidenced more of themselves when playing roles, and my hope that they would move beyond preordained roles to imagine their own. I wanted that for myself, too. Precedent for these voices surely must reside in my childhood – my imaginary playmates and partners in sport as an only child on an isolated farm.

EXPLORING CURRICULUM THEORY AND HISTORY

One of my major concerns has been the *ahistorical* and *atheoretical* nature of teaching and curriculum. Despite the transformation of emphasis from curriculum development to curriculum studies, from institutional facilitation to understanding diverse cultures of curriculum, there remains a staunch absence of theory and history. By *theory* I refer to understanding and articulating assumptions embedded in actions and by *history* I refer to the context of our past that is precedent for lived experience, practice writ large.

As I search for autobiographical antecedents for this interest, the bibliographical notes that Harlan Shores advised me to write are indelible. They became the basis for a book on curriculum history, *Curriculum Books* (Schubert & Lopez Schubert, 1980, & Schubert, et al., 2002), wherein I tried to comprehensively catalogue the corpus of books in the field, discuss some of the significant curriculum events in each decade of the 20th Century, and portray socio-cultural contexts. Had it not

been for my interest in curriculum theory, however, the task never would have been completed.

Coming from a background in philosophy of education, and realizing that a sizable number of other curriculum scholars did too, made me want to know more of the historical nuance that spawned curriculum developments. I tried to pursue such interests via intellectual genealogies of mentor-student relationships in the field. I wanted and still want to know origins, for instance more about such matters as: William James' quest for the moral equivalence of war; Francis Parker's notion of the child as the organizing center of curriculum; John Dewey's primacy of interest and integration of dualisms; W.E.B. DuBois' image of soul; Patty Hill Smith's anti-formal curriculum and composition of *Happy Birthday*; L. Thomas Hopkins' focus on the emerging self; Harold Rugg's condemned social studies textbooks and his cultural history of imagination; Carter G. Woodson's *miseducation* of the Negro; George Counts' reconstructive and liberative indoctrination; Boyd Bode's living philosophy of education; Ralph Tyler's insights from the Eight Year Study; Harold Alberty's core curriculum; Caroline Pratt's learning *from* children; Lawrence Cremin's education in several *publics*; James Macdonald's atheistic prayerfulness of theory; Dwayne Huebner's lure of the transcendent; Philip Phenix's realms of meaning; Maxine Greene's existential literary political imagination; Elliot Eisner's connoisseurship and criticism; the *currere* of William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet; Michael Apple's asking of *whose knowledge*; Henry Giroux's public pedagogy; and so much more. I seek insight on such matters in orientations within lives, not primarily in specific books. My concern has been with *archeology*, to steal from Michel Foucault (1972), of these ideas through generations.

Perhaps this interest in categorizing and cataloging curriculum thought derives from discussions with elementary students about absences in the history books. What did the children do during all of the recounted wars, empires, dynasties, colonizations, exterminations, religious and economic glorifications? Where were voices of the subaltern and oppressed? And why did such reprehensible situations exist? Could we imagine stories of their plight? Did these interests, in turn, derive from my fascination (shared with my father, grandfather, and friends) with the history of baseball, basketball, and other sports – comparisons among local and global heroes and records of achievement? Did it develop from the squinting scrutiny of collected coins? Was it drawn from attempts to look at county histories and talks with ancestors to trace our genealogies and try to understand our espoused commitments and social practices?

IMAGINING THROUGH THE ARTS

I am now reaching a crescendo that makes me claim that the arts and literature are the best neglected sources of wondering about what is worthwhile. I am fascinated to ponder how authors and artists consciously reflect on their works as *curricula*, as efforts to influence others. Toward this end I joined with George Willis to probe what curricularists contend they gained from the arts (Willis and Schubert, 1991).

We asked how some of their favorite art shaped their images of curriculum and teaching, and we still find many insights in the responses.

My own chapter in this book recalled how directing Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* as an elementary teacher opened up my perspective on curriculum (Schubert, 1991). In the transformation of Ebenezer Scrooge from consummate miser to benevolent citizen, I saw the spirits of past, present, and future as metaphoric of *currere* (Pinar and Grumet, 1976). Like Scrooge, all of us need to take stock of ways in which precedent and possibility shape our evolving present. I recall vividly our family watching different versions of *A Christmas Carol* and time and again being moved by human conversion from less to greater empathy, from less to more generosity. I think our family saw that, and similar experiences in film and print in which characters were transformed or converted from one way of being to another, as microcosmic of the essence of education. From a configuration of many such moments over the years, I may well have deduced that to focus on curriculum is to focus on the deepest meanings of our stories, our loves and hopes, or the lore of personal and public transformation in outlook.

LEARNING FROM TEACHER AND STUDENT LORE

Within a study group of graduate students in the mid-1980s, we shared devastating critiques of teachers surrounding *A Nation at Risk*, and we told one another that we knew teachers who have transformed lives for the good. In fact we felt that we frequently had been on the bestowing as well as the receiving end of such transformative experience. We thought with dismay about the lost resource of good teachers who retire after decades of service and no one asks, "What did you learn?" After a bit of lamenting, we designed teacher lore projects. We found diverse strategies to inquire about what teachers learn from their experience that might be helpful perspective for next generations of teachers. Some twenty dissertations, nearly ten conference presentations, several articles, and a book (Schubert and Ayers, 1992) grew from our Teacher Lore Project.

My interest in teacher lore doubtless derives from my family of educators – from all the stories around the dinner and breakfast table. We lived and breathed teaching, thus curriculum implicit in it. When, as an elementary school teacher, I decided to pursue a Ph.D., I knew I had to develop expertise in some aspect of curriculum. So, I asked myself what was most important that I learned from my six years as a teacher. I was doing teacher lore with myself before I had a name for it. I answered myself with two words: *imagination* and *philosophy*. I parlayed every assignment in my Ph.D. program to *uncover* (which I like better than the usual adage – to *cover* the curriculum) the capacity to imaginatively project and judge the efficacy of possibilities in problematic circumstances of teaching. This became my dissertation (Schubert, 1975). I searched for precedent and explored many methodologies before there was such a term as *mixed methods*; I called it *multiple modes research*. I first wrote autobiographically about my experience with philosophically enhanced imaginative projection. Then, I looked for precedent historically in progressive education, examined philosophical works for insights

into imagination, looked in classrooms while imagining myself an intergalactic educational anthropologist seeing Earthling education for the first time; I strove to teach undergraduate and graduate students skills of imaginative projection, observed them and did follow-up interviews about long term applications; I did a comparative empirical study in which I tried to increase fluency of imaginative projection; and finally I returned to elementary teaching and documented my experience with imaginative projection as a participant observer and an action researcher.

My dissertation and the Teacher Lore Project revealed that many good teachers naturally do student lore; they enhance their teaching by getting to know their students more fully and the curriculum of their lives. As my colleague, Bill Ayers (2001) teaches – the best teachers are students of their students. Together my students and I have learned about each others' lives, for good research grows out of lived experience. Study of literature is germane when it adds meaning to experience. Experience is complicated by the swirl of ideas. I encourage students to excavate their experience in efforts to add perspective to the central curriculum question: What is worthwhile? The myriad dimensions released often result in contradiction and Bill Ayers and I advise students to write (think) into the contradictions more deeply and broadly. Such work makes study interdisciplinary and central to understanding how education is at its best when it adds meaning to life and imaginatively derives possibilities for action that begets liberty and justice for all. We are often surprised by the wonderings of our students, and have learned immeasurably from them. I hesitate to mention them by name, because the list would be so long. Nevertheless, I am grateful for what they have taught me.

INCLUDING OUTSIDE CURRICULUM

In graduate school mentoring, like teaching in elementary school, getting to know students revealed the need to research student lore, which in turn reveals a multiplicity of curricula in their lives. Works in the late 1970s by Ralph Tyler, Lawrence Cremin, and John Bremer helped me want to recognize and study education in every nook and cranny of cultural experience. What occurred to me as a beginning assistant professor and what I have tried to understand more fully over the years, is that different dimensions of anyone's life can be seen as curricular phenomena, ripe with insights (Schubert, 1981).

If the curriculum of which we often usually speak is inside school, then there are myriad curricula outside school that we must better understand in order to reach the complex beings who populate our classrooms. They bring to school understandings, knowledges, skills, and dispositions from homes, families, peers, non-school organizations (e.g., music groups, dance experiences, sports teams, gangs, churches), mass media (e.g., television, radio, popular music, videogames, movies, the internet), jobs or joblessness, and hobbies. These interact in complicated ways with the curricula of race, class, gender, age, health, ability-disability, appearance, membership, place, culture, ethnicity, language, belief or unbelief, nature, and more. I feel certain that these curricula configure to continuously re-shape me, and the same must be

the case for everyone, throughout their lifespan. Complicating matters further, each of these curricula and that of school have dimensions that can be described as intended, hidden, null, taught, tested, learned, applied, and embodied (see Schubert, 2008b). I continue to advocate strongly for the study of such matters.

INCREASING AWARENESS OF BIG CURRICULUM, GLOBALIZATION, AND THE SUBALTERN

The dimension of outside curriculum that has expanded to unfathomable proportions and is of indispensable import to study is what I call the BIG Curriculum. (Schubert, 2006) Like a giant glacier, it moves over the face of Earth, altering education to

suit the image of a corporate-government-military nexus of power. It is often supported by mass media, churches, schools, and propaganda machines. This force, like the Dark Force of *Star Wars* films shapes everything in its path into products to be acquired. In one of his most literary moments John Dewey (1933) warned of the perils of acquisitive society, which seem to be fueled by a revised notion of manifest destiny that makes us want a McDonald's, a Starbuck's, a Walmart, and a Holiday Inn always within reach. It transforms sacred human experiences – love, nature, raising children, forming basic beliefs,

FAVORITES BY OTHER CURRICULUM SCHOLARS

- Ayers, W. *To Teach: The Journey of a Teacher* (2001)
 Dewey, J. *Democracy and Education* (1916).
 Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970).
 He, M. F. *A River Forever Flowing* (2003).
 Holt, J. *Teach Your Own* (1981).
 Hopkins, L. T. *Emerging Self in School and Home* (1954).
 Mich, I. *Deschooling Society* (1970)
 Kridel, C., Bullough, R.V., Jr., & Shaker, P. (Eds.) *Teachers and Mentors* (1996).
 Lopez, A. L. *Exploring Progressive Curriculum and Teaching in Three Urban Contexts* (1993).
 Schwab, J. J. *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum* (1970)
 van Manen, M. *The Tone of Teaching* (1986).
 Watkins, W. H. *Black Curriculum Orientations: A Preliminary Inquiry* (1993).

and becoming educated – into certificates and showpieces. This is a curriculum fashioned by a strange combination of greed, quest for power, and fear of *lesser beings*. These lesser beings have been subjugated in colonies, sometimes dispensed with by genocide, suppressed by slavery and other forms of servitude, disoriented by war, and torn from ecological connection to land and nature. The curriculum of oppression of subaltern peoples must be explored. Without diversity, humanity will likely implode from excesses of homogeneity. The fervor of my commitment to this doubtless harkens back to my surrounds of pacifism at Manchester and to my resonance with anti-war and civil rights activism of the 1960s and early 1970s. It makes me thankful to the plethora of teachers and students whose narratives of oppression have taught me so much (e.g., He & Phillion, 2008).

COMPOSING BETTER LIVES AND WORLDS

Integrated curriculum and core curriculum are the harbingers of what will be my major advocacy in years remaining. When Francis Parker advocated that the organizing center of curriculum should be the child, other Herbartians did not know what he meant (McMurry, 1930). In what we should call the first curriculum book of the nascent curriculum field by John Dewey (1902) a salient point that far too many still do not understand is the need to unyieldingly integrate of the child and the curriculum. Dewey's insight held that the child *is* the curriculum and the curriculum *is the child*. Akin to Dewey and spurred by their own experiences, L. Thomas Hopkins (1954) called for a kind of curricular integration that was purposefully focused on the creation of one's emerging self and Harold Alberty (1953) regarded the most advanced forms of core curriculum as exemplified by individuals democratically remaking themselves together.

During the time of this attention to curriculum for composing lives, an almost prescient series of events connected my own life with the curriculum field. When I was a beginning teacher my Dad, an insightful school administrator, sent me a copy of a dittoed version of *The Greening of Curriculum* by Paul Klohr. I had not heard of Klohr at the time. He was Alberty's student and mentored many who have helped reconceptualize curriculum studies. Klohr's article influenced me as a spin-off of Charles Reich's (1970) book *The Greening of America*. Klohr called attention to a number of educational projects that put personal and public growth at the center of curriculum – firmly in the tradition of Dewey, Hopkins, and Alberty. The prescient part is that when I started to educate teachers, I asked my father's advice on what to teach them – half a year before his too early death at age 61. He advised me to try to teach teachers to speak the language of children and to feel the hurt within them. After my father died, I found a box of his report cards from elementary school in Berea, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland. Two of them were signed by Superintendent Harold Alberty, before he studied with Boyd Bode, philosopher of education who often spoke of a living philosophy of education. A strange twinge made me feel that I embodied a Lamarckian sort of curriculum gene, a characteristic acquired from my environment. What else could have made me almost already know the content of the Smith, Stanley, and Shores (1957) curriculum text when I began my Master's studies!?! What else could make me resonate so profoundly to my first hearing about *currere* through the work of Pinar and Grumet (1976), John Holt's (1981) call to seek *a life worth living*, or to see the essence of curriculum epitomized in Bateson's (1989) anthropological and improvisational phrase, *composing a life*, and to see it illustrated in my familial search for progressive education (Lopez, 1993).

RETURNING TO PLAY, LOVE, AND WORTHWHILE GROWTH

I sustain my experience of play in childhood through playfulness in teaching and writing – both of which bespeak improvisational journeys – theorizing both on the fly *and* in reflective interludes. This is a playfulness that invigorates imagination that now helps me see, as Maxine Greene often reminds, the familiar in the strange

and the strange in the familiar, creating empathy that enables me to gather glimpses of myself in the Other and the Other in myself. To me, such empathy is a basis of love – the kind of love that evokes a sense of beauty, presses toward greater integrity, and envisions humanity that wants to trade greed and acquisitiveness for love and solidarity enhanced by diversity, the topic of a book I am now completing (Schubert, 2009). Such love grows by asking alone and together: What is worthwhile? What is worth knowing, experiencing, needing, doing, being, becoming, overcoming, sharing, and contributing? As long as I continue, my primary goal will be to encourage this question, not so much in the blue ribbon commissions of high level policy-making as in grassroots daily living, especially in the lives of students. It is not the end; it is the journey, the curriculum and the *currere*, the experience – the loving playful seriousness of living and never fully answering the question: What’s worthwhile?

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William H. Schubert
University of Illinois, Chicago

WHAT'S WORTH RECALLING?

When I entered the field of Curriculum Studies in the early 1960s, known then as the field of Curriculum Theory, scholars were grappling with the question of the proper nature of theory in Curriculum as a domain of educational thought. They observed that Curriculum as a domain of educational practice had been dominated for all too many years by self-designated curriculum authorities who would prescribe what should be done in crafting curricular programs, objectives, or specific subject matter content for the schools. These authorities were usually members of the curriculum professoriate or persons who served as curriculum directors in school systems across the United States (in those days there was much less distinction between professors of curriculum and curriculum directors than we see today). These people gained their reputations by being able to provide schools with well-articulated advice on the curriculum planning process and with recommendations on choices in the substance and structure of curriculum content in concrete school situations, either through their publications or through direct consultation or action within school districts. This method of working was considered by those scholars dedicated to Curriculum Theory to be much too dependent upon the particular experiences these authorities happen to have gained and the philosophical assumptions about curriculum they happened to hold. Differences in what these curriculum authorities prescribed were readily observable while oftentimes having highly articulated ideas and persuasively argued justification for their advice and recommendations. Such differences propelled inquiry into whether some of these authorities' ideas could be questioned as invalid and/or misguided, and whether, for the protection of local school planners, there ought to be generated some common curriculum theory that had the sanction of the whole body of curriculum theorists rather than of just one theorist/authority.

This movement toward developing more adequate curriculum theory was, of course, not really new in the early 1960s; joint efforts had been attempted for decades, some of the most notable being the report of the NSSE's committee on "The Foundations of Curriculum-making" (Rugg, 1927), the report of the curriculum theory conference on "Toward Improved Curriculum Theory" (Herrick & Tyler, 1950), and the reports on Curriculum Theory in the June issues of *Review of Educational Research* published every three years between 1942 and 1969.

The preferred response to the issues discerned in Curriculum Theory in the 1960s was to turn to scientific curriculum theory rather than to continue to generate normative or prescriptive theories that had led to conflicting advice and an atmosphere of skepticism. I was one who shared the desire to move away from the latter, but I never was happy to see scientific theory take the dominant role in

Curriculum Theory that it did in the 1960s and 1970s. From the perspective of three or four decades later, curriculum theorists can see the folly of turning to the use of scientific theory where many of its assumptions have come to dominate curriculum policies and practices with a host of negative consequences and inappropriate justifications for actions taken by schools and policymakers based on these scientific/technological assumptions. But in the early 1960s, curriculum theorists did not foresee their mistake in turning to scientific theorizing. The idea was, plausibly enough, to try to generalize across the ideas presented by the various curriculum authorities and to present a coherent, scientific theory that scientific consensus could support. The movement picked up the endorsement of many curriculum theorists, including Arno Bellack, George Beauchamp, Maurice Johnson, James Popham, Benjamin Bloom, and Lorin Anderson, among others, whose writings became widely known and accepted. The need to employ standardized terms and definitions in scientific curriculum theory soon became a major goal, following the paradigm of scientific research. Attempts in this regard were made by some of the theorists mentioned above, not realizing that the enterprise did not call for scientific inquiry but for practical inquiry. That is to say,

PERSONAL FAVORITES

Knowledge Production and Utilization in Curriculum (1973).
 Curriculum Development and Organization (1982).
 A Historical Look at Curriculum Design (1986).
Forms of Curriculum Inquiry (1991).
 Shifting Paradigms: Implications for Curriculum Research and Practice (2000).
 Knowledge and the Educative Functions of a University (2002).
 Doing Curriculum Policy Analysis (2004).
Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship: A Searchable Bibliography of Selected Studies (2005).
 Curriculum Policy Research (2008).

what was required was not a research paradigm but a decision-making/judgment-making paradigm. Not until the arrival of this message in 1969 by Joseph Schwab in his paper on "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum" and its critique of the direction Curriculum Theory had been taking (both in its prescriptive and scientific phases), did the scientific movement in Curriculum Theory seem to be recognized as a mistaken form of curriculum theorizing

(Schwab, 1969). It is to be noted, however, that Schwab's notions were not quickly taken up by all curriculum theorists, and scientific curriculum theorizing persists even today in many quarters. A fully articulated, persuasive critique of scientific curriculum theorizing has yet to be written, though several limited efforts to do so have been made, e. g., by Macdonald (1973 with Wolfson & Zaret), Eisner (1979), Pinar (1976 with Grumet). A fully-formed Schwabian form of curriculum theorizing has also yet to be presented, although the writing of Reid (1992, 1999), Henderson (2004 with Kesson, 2007 with Gornik), McKernan (2008), and others have moved in that direction.

BEGINNING TO ARTICULATE MY ROLE

I personally chose not to participate actively in any of these movements in Curriculum Theory either to support or critique them in any formal way, not because I did not have inclinations away from the old forms of curriculum theorizing and in favor of the more practical forms of curriculum theorizing but because people like James Macdonald, Elliot Eisner, Bill Reid, Jim Henderson, and others were doing fine work along these lines and I could not add much that was new to what they were presenting. (Even in my doctoral dissertation defense in 1965 at Teachers College, Columbia University, when Dwayne Huebner asked me how I would state an alternative to Ralph Tyler's curriculum theory, about which I had some reservations, I could only mumble references to some theorists who were edging toward something satisfyingly different, but I could not see myself presenting a viable alternative.) I have been primarily an appreciator and synthesizer of others' cutting-edge ideas in Curriculum Theory rather than an originator of such ideas.

This stance of mine, I think, stems from my utter devotion to the needs of the curriculum practitioner. This frame of reference has always been central to my scholarly work and I believe reflects no less a contribution to the field of Curriculum Studies than that of professed curriculum theorists. It is somewhat ironic that I should have adopted this practical frame of reference since I never held a position as curriculum director in a school district or elsewhere, though my experience as a teacher no doubt contributed to this orientation toward curriculum work. I came into the higher education professoriate directly from a career in secondary school teaching of English. I had grown up in a family of teachers and was fully committed to the work of the classroom teacher. The lure of advanced study, however, had taken me into exploration of educational counselling, religious education, and philosophy of education. I eventually happened onto courses in curriculum at TC and suddenly found I had the mind of a generalist, which was what I recognized curriculum required. From that moment on, I knew I had found an appropriate niche for myself and an intellectual home.

I believe my commitments to curriculum practice came largely through the mentoring as a doctoral student by my major professor, Florence Stratemeyer, whose contributions in curriculum were at once practical and programmatic and exceptionally well articulated and persuasively argued (1957). Her approach to thinking about curriculum, I can see these many years later, was a model I took up and followed. I was convinced that one could and should bring to bear on perennial curriculum questions of practice whatever thought and knowledge might pertain, not merely accepting someone's authoritative prescriptions or the untested assumptions of scientific or normative curriculum theorizing. After all, the curriculum has to fit the child and the concrete situations of schooling and society. If curriculum theorizing can contribute to that in some way, that is fine, but it would seem that aiming for widely applicable generalizations or standardized prescriptions cannot speak very effectively to the moment of particular educative experiences for particular individual students or groups of students. One never theorizes about curriculum in general; always the practical demands of the concrete educative

situation take precedence over theorizing for theorizing's sake. There is something keenly moral about the nature of curriculum decision-making that requires practical action on behalf of children and students who venture into the realms of learning and maturing in thought and action as a result of whatever curriculum they undertake to embark upon. Wise judgments in this regard, whether by educators or by students themselves, are required if the curriculum is to succeed in its generative purposes and is not to close off understanding of the world, clear thought and action, and life and living itself.

CURRICULUM KNOWLEDGE FOR PRACTITIONERS

I chose early on to employ the path of Curriculum Inquiry as the focus of my work. My first major publication in the field (1973) was a sweeping attempt to summarize and classify the prevailing literature in curriculum research and inquiry from the period just prior to 1973. I called the results the substance and structure of curriculum knowledge. Its parameters were defined by what I saw as relevant to curriculum planning and decision-making in schools and at state and national levels. There seemed to be a wealth of curriculum knowledge already available to practitioners if it could be brought together in forms useful to particular decisions they were having to make and integrated and interpreted in light of the larger body of curriculum knowledge that was then known. I also called for an increase in research and inquiry of all types that might fill the gaps in curriculum knowledge that were needed by curriculum practitioners in their decision-making but were not yet available from the inquiry already done. I made a plea in the 1973 article, and have done so frequently over the years since (1985, 1991c, 1991e), for all of us who are generalists in Curriculum Studies not only to do research on the commonplaces of curriculum decision-making and on criteria for choosing among substantive options but to synthesize the full-range of studies on each of these dimensions in a way that is accessible to busy curriculum decision-makers.

We have seen less of this kind of scholarship done than would be desirable, partly, I think, because curriculum scholars tend either to develop grand summaries of curriculum knowledge in the form of synoptic texts (Schubert 1986, Pinar et al. 1995, Tanner & Tanner 2007) or to focus on personally chosen areas of research interests which may not often coincide with real-world curriculum practitioners' needs for curriculum knowledge useful in making curriculum decisions. And the original inquiry needed before summaries can be made for practical use must be extensive and focused on the kinds of curriculum decisions that are actually needed to be made in real schools and policy-making bodies. This huge task requires the joint effort of scholars to identify the questions that need to be researched and a coordinated effort to see that such research gets done. In addition, a joint and continuous effort must be instituted by scholars and practitioners together to identify topics on which curriculum practitioners need to have syntheses of curriculum knowledge prepared for their use, following which some system by which scholars are induced to work on preparing such syntheses must be put into effect. Organizing curriculum scholars to undertake joint endeavors like this has

been practically impossible given the prevailing norms by which most of us function as individually independent actors. I confess that I have done very little to take action in the direction I have long been urging given the pressures against such work that always exist. Likewise, the voices of practitioners expressing the need for timely, topical syntheses of curriculum knowledge have generally been marginalized by us all. I keep wondering what it will take to mount this much-needed effort.

One of my own persistent efforts, however, in trying to come to the aid of curriculum practitioners has been to foster publication outlets for curriculum research and inquiry that might be read by curriculum practitioners (if they have the time to do so and do not have needed syntheses readily available elsewhere). With virtually nothing but AERA publications open to our field in the 1960s, new journals devoted to curriculum studies were needed.

I was pleased to support the new journal *Curriculum Inquiry* (and its predecessor *Curriculum Theory Network* beginning in 1968). Other journals (*Journal of Curriculum Studies* and *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*) followed. Some of the work in these journals was meant to be of direct use to practitioners although research and theory papers of all kinds tended to appear more frequently as time went by. All of these journals continue to publish curriculum studies today and provide outlets exclusively for scholarly work in curriculum so that this work does not have to compete for space in other educational research journals. I also helped found and edit another journal in 1984 (*Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*), which during its 20 years of existence published studies and summaries of studies focused exclusively on real-world curriculum decision-making.

As for outlets for publishing monographs and book-length works, curriculum scholars in the 1970s and 1980s had a very hard time finding publishers who would accept their work. I undertook numerous attempts to get publishers to initiate a line of books in Curriculum Studies (and many colleagues made similar attempts). British publishers like Falmer and Routledge often rose to the occasion before American publishers did. About 1990 I was able to persuade the State University of New York Press to undertake a series of books under the title, "Curriculum Issues and Inquiries." Soon after, others began to accept books in Curriculum Inquiry and Theory (Routledge, Peter Lang, Lawrence Erlbaum, and others). The situation today is far, far better for getting work published in Curriculum Studies than it was two or three decades ago, both in journals and in book form, but it was a long struggle to find a place for this work among competing fields of educational research. If outlets had been more plentiful and more accessible during the earlier periods of expanded research and inquiry in Curriculum Studies, I venture to say that the field might have leaped forward more quickly than it did.

Nonetheless, research and inquiry that is done with a practical, curriculum decision-making focus still has to compete for space in these expanded outlets and continues to be sparsely represented in them, making it all the more difficult for curriculum practitioners to find this kind of work. They may still turn to individual curriculum authorities for counsel in their curriculum decision-making, whether

prescriptive or scientific/technical in orientation, if finding appropriate syntheses of curriculum knowledge becomes too difficult for them. Or they may turn to doing their own action research (which is certainly not at all a bad thing) and make their own judgments about what to do based on the facts and norms of the situation. Access to available curriculum knowledge is, nevertheless, still a collective problem that Curriculum Studies should face and design better ways of aiding the curriculum practitioner.

THE QUALITY OF CURRICULUM INQUIRY

A focus on useful, practical curriculum research and inquiry is, of course, not enough. Its quality is also of paramount importance. Much of my own research, writing, and teaching over the years has been concerned with improving the quality of curriculum research. In the 1991 collection of articles, *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry* (1991a), I was able to remind my fellow researchers and novices coming into the field of Curriculum Inquiry, of the conventions of research in a variety of forms (from philosophical to ethnographic to critical to theoretical—seventeen in all). The contributing authors, in an authoritative but not rigid manner, described and illustrated what doing high quality research of each type requires. Introductory in nature, these brief essays could not treat all the ins and outs of doing quality curriculum research and, therefore, they made reference to more thorough basic treatises to which one might turn for further guidance. One other purpose which the volume had was to legitimize a wide range of approaches to inquiry in curriculum following several years in which newer forms of inquiry (newer to curriculum research at least) had been carried out and oftentimes harshly questioned by other scholars in education. Whether this volume had, in fact, any direct effect in reducing inappropriate criticism of certain forms of curriculum inquiry, I do not know. Nonetheless, within the field of Curriculum Studies, I think it provided compelling rationales for many of those forms of inquiry that curriculum researchers could rely on to assist them in defending the quality of their research. The volume sold very well (as did my first edited book in 1968, *Contemporary Thought on Public School Curriculum*, which focused on practical issues in curriculum decision-making in curriculum).

One other project of mine, belonging in this category of giving attention both to the practitioner's needs for curriculum knowledge and to providing access to quality research studies and syntheses geared to practitioners, is the online bibliography, *Curriculum Inquiry and Related Scholarship: A Searchable Bibliography of Selected Studies (CIRS)* (2005ff). Citations in this bibliography were chosen for their relevance to practice, for their readability by practitioners, for their undoubted quality as scholarly research, and for their probable significance enduring over time. First online in 2005, *CIRS* began with over 3000 citations and continues to be added to regularly. It represents one scholar's judgment of what studies in Curriculum Inquiry should not be lost track of as time goes by, biased as that may be. It contains a heavy selection of works on how to conduct various forms of curriculum inquiry. Ideally, here is another project that merits the joint

effort of curriculum scholars and practitioners mounting an ongoing, institutionalized way of making judgments of what studies to keep in our collective memory and to provide easy access to for all interested parties. The technology is easy. Deciding upon a plan for doing it on an on-going basis is tough. What *CIRS* includes are annotations for every citation and a scheme of multiple descriptors that can be used to sort the citations for topics of interest. Something like this model of an annotated, searchable bibliography of studies related to practical curriculum decision-making will be the great need of the future. Curriculum Studies should mount such a project to carry out after an individual scholar such as me can no longer personally continue to do so.

MY CONTRIBUTIONS IN CURRICULUM STUDIES

I confess to having done less original research and less synthesizing of research than I should have liked to have done throughout my career in Curriculum Studies.

INFLUENTIAL WORKS BY OTHERS

- Stratemeyer, F. B., et al. (1957). *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*.
- Raup, R. B., et al. (1962). *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence*.
- Phenix, P. H. (1964). *Realms of Meaning*.
- Huebner, D. E. (1966). *Curricular Language and Classroom Meanings*.
- Huebner, D. E. (1968). *The Tasks of the Curriculum Theorist*.
- Huebner, D. E. (1970). *The Leadership Role in Curriculum Change*.
- Macdonald, J. B. (1966). *The Person in the Curriculum*.
- Macdonald, J. B. (1967). *An Example of Disciplined Curriculum Thinking*.
- Macdonald, J. B. (1971). *The Domain of Curriculum*.
- Macdonald, J. B. (1974). *A Transcendental Developmental Ideology of Education*.
- Schwab, J. J. (1969). *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum*.
- Giroux, H. A., & Simon, R. (1988). *Curriculum Study and Cultural Politics*.
- Reid, W. A. (1992). *The Pursuit of Curriculum*

Looking back over five decades, I can point to only four or five examples of such work (1973, 1982, 1987, 1991d, 1994a). These articles reflected widely divergent topics. Over the years I touched on alternative curriculum development strategies (1983a), curriculum policy analysis (1983b, 2008), the nature of educational competence (1984), a framework for creating curriculum proposals for teacher education (1987), the nature of curriculum inquiry (1991b, 1991e),

and designing curriculum for higher education (1994, 2002), as well as the more generic topic of multiple forms of curriculum inquiry methods (1973, 1991a, 2000). Along the way, I contributed a sprinkling of articles to practitioner journals in curriculum and supervision of instruction. If there is any dominant focus or approach typical of my scholarly work, it is probably my inclination to conduct syntheses of research on curriculum topics. Here again the topics are quite diverse: knowledge production and utilization in curriculum (1973), curriculum development and organization (1982, 1994a), historical curriculum designs (1986), trends in curriculum inquiry (1995, 2000), and curriculum policy research (2008). Believing

strongly, as stated earlier, that reviews and summaries of curriculum research knowledge are much needed by practitioners, I tried on occasion to provide some of these.

Because I tended to give my teaching responsibilities my highest priority, several scholarly projects that I began were never brought to publication. There was the project to portray five or six distinctly different models of curricular program designs K-12. There was the project to collect and reprint the work of leading curriculum thinkers—a five volume compendium. There was the *Curriculum Leader's Guide to Modifying Curriculum*. And there were others. I also was very active in professional and research associations (see Marshall, 1993, for many biographical details). If I had the time, I would get to the research and the writing. I highly recommend this approach to all scholars. It keeps you focused on the needs of students/practitioners, who after all are the intended recipients of our scholarship, and tends to shift one's scholarly attention to what is most important.

FINAL THOUGHTS

This brings me back full circle to the place of curricular knowledge in the field of Curriculum Studies. By 1991, I was ready to deal with the central kind of curriculum knowledge that studies in Curriculum should be able to produce (not to downplay the many forms of curriculum inquiry that we addressed in *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry* (1991a) and others not addressed there)—that of the key knowledge of curriculum and curriculum planning, design, and evaluation that is at the heart of curriculum practice. How is such knowledge to be generated? The notion of creating Curriculum Theory had been for many years the answer given to this question. But those engaged in Curriculum Theory in the 1990s (as was also true, as we said, in the 1960s and 1970s) were dealing with topics all over the place. Little focus was being placed on conceiving or re-conceiving the nature of curriculum practice itself or its constituent elements and processes. Taking the clue from other forms of curriculum knowledge where we have an identifiable heuristic for engaging in inquiry and producing viable curriculum knowledge, I thought a parallel form of inquiry should be possible to articulate that dealt with this core question in Curriculum Studies. Theoretical Inquiry is what we called it (1991d); it could have been called conceptual inquiry or even technical inquiry. Our description of how to go about producing theoretical knowledge was a set of guidelines begging for more sophisticated elaboration. In this chapter we cited illustrative studies of the kind fitting the constitutive elements and processes we saw related to curriculum practice—just to show that work of this kind has always been done, albeit without often acknowledging it as engaging in theoretical inquiry and as being epistemologically grounded with justifiable thought processes. This facet of Curriculum Studies, still these several years later, seems to me to be a much neglected domain of work that needs much greater attention if the field of Curriculum Studies is to survive and flourish, and if efforts in doing theorizing about Curriculum are to regain a focus on curriculum practice.

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Edmund C. Short
Professor Emeritus
The Pennsylvania State University

“IT SOUNDS LIKE A GOOD IDEA, BUT WILL IT WORK?”

FOUNDATIONS

The origins of my ideas about curriculum lie in early family life and schooling. Parents valuing education and providing support and a handful of primary and secondary school teachers led toward a lifelong engagement with education. The shared upbringing of my five children has ensured that more fanciful ideas have had to be brought back to the varied conditions and circumstances of their schooling. Family, friends and colleagues have continued to be a source of inspiration beyond measure.

In my own school days some teachers were inspiring; nevertheless, I believed that there must be a better alternative to traditional subject-divided curricula of the typical secondary school of the time, a nexus still to be forged between teaching and learning beyond the prevailing talk-and-chalk modes. Then as now I believed that the purpose of schooling, of education more broadly, is to achieve the good life, for all people.

Completing first year at Sydney University in 1951, I decided that full time study on a modest government scholarship and meagre parental resources did not yield financial independence. Resolving to continue as a full time student, but combining this with a full time job, I joined the evening students. Keen to continue study of philosophy as one of my subjects, I found that the courses that interested me (moral and political philosophy) were unavailable at night. But in a programme called “Education” – designed as an academic study for those many teachers who, trained in teachers’ colleges, were now enrolled in degree programmes – was a philosophy option slanted towards moral and political issues, alongside psychology. I discovered not just that education is much broader than schooling, it is a field of action which draws upon, and fashions for its own purposes, concepts, data and analytic processes from diverse fields of inquiry.

In my deepening academic study of Education I fell under the sway of two distinguished scholars and teachers. Morven Brown, a social theorist through whose seminar I encountered Karl Mannheim’s social reconstructionist theories which derived largely from the Frankfurt School; and William Fraser Connell, a classically trained scholar and historian who subsequently studied Education at Illinois and London universities, and who introduced me to John Dewey.

Brown and Connell drew out the intellectual, cultural and social contexts of educational theorizing. They argued that a socially reconstructive education was about rebuilding and strengthening democratic society, that the roots of the crisis of

fascism lay as much in nineteenth century European philosophical movements and false educational doctrines as in the Great Powers' manoeuvres for dominance. Post World War II education, hence schooling, hence curriculum, had to find a new role in light of twentieth century European and World history. It had to engage in the re-creation of culture, not simply initiate children and youth into 'the basics' and train them through school-defined syllabuses.

For Connell, moreover, the context extended beyond that of the main currents of modern thought and socio-political action. In lectures and seminars he traversed the great tradition of education thinkers, from Plato through mediaeval, Renaissance and Enlightenment education to the twentieth century whose ideas and movements he was later to analyse in his masterly *History of Education in the Twentieth Century World*.

Through academic studies in Education I began to see the school curriculum as potentially a form of social and cultural action whereby all students can become free, capable and responsible, and societies attain virtue and dignity. For me curriculum entails the purposive recasting and reconstruction of knowledge, experience, values and capabilities. It may be thought of as field, process and system whereby the inertness or given nature of content or subject matter is infused with the dynamic qualities of inquiry, validation and organisation, for the purposes of teaching and learning. Under modern conditions of universal schooling and mass tertiary education, the scope of the curriculum field is vast when considered in both formal and informal aspects.

My lifelong work in education is grounded in fundamental critical concerns, over the inadequacies of schooling and its struggle to live up to the vision of either the pioneers of popular schooling or the long tradition of noble education ideas. In my alternations between the academy's requirements of scholarship – research, teaching and writing – on the one hand, and the world of lived beliefs, decisions, practical problem solving, social solidarity and compromises on the other, I have felt strongly the gulf between what we aim for and what we achieve, a continuing sense of the inevitable grittiness of both educational policy and institutional practice.

PATHWAYS

When Do Pathways Begin and End?

I will start with that intellectual pathway which, having opened before me in undergraduate studies, has meandered throughout adult life, always formative even when not visible in writing, thinking and my varied projects and positions. Added to those of Dewey and Mannheim, were several crucial texts. To name but three: *The Republic* of Plato as the masterwork of Western philosophical systems; Rousseau's *Emile* exploring the wholeness of personality and its emotional depths; Whitehead's *Aims of Education and Other Essays*, a neo-Platonic reminder of the rhythmic nature of educational processes and the joy for children (adults too!) of a vital engagement with ideas. William Blake, along with many other poets, has nourished imagination, of which educators can never have sufficient.

Freedom of expression and creativity, in literature and the arts, together with the revolutionary social, political and cultural ideals espoused from the Enlightenment and Romantic movements onwards, were in my mind intimately if variously connected with great educational reforms. I detected their impact in my studies of Progressive Education and involvement with the World Education Fellowship – now both in a state of decay as movements, but recognizable in a legacy of innovations in schooling. As a graduate student of philosophy and history of education at the University of Illinois, I was able to inter-relate these diverse ideas and movements, thanks to notable teachers and mentors -Archie Anderson and Bill Stanley in education and, in the history department, Arthur Bestor, both a vehement critic of life adjustment education and a leading scholar of 19th and 20th century intellectual history. My master’s thesis at Illinois examined critics of the progressive education movement in its formative years, 1900-1930.

Into an Educational Career

The next path I took, while incorporating further higher degree study, at the University of London, Institute of Education, led into school teaching in London and the establishment of an academic career in Education in the United Kingdom.

Nothing comparable to my funded studentship at Illinois being available, in 1958 I applied to the then London County Council for a teaching post (having taken additional summer courses at Illinois to qualify as a teacher) and was assigned to a small secondary modern school for boys. Curriculum lessons abounded, for example that young adolescent boys frequently showed little interest in schooling and had to be led, cajoled or, in the then favoured term, ‘disciplined’ into learning. These lads wanted to leave school at the first opportunity. With no or only modest formal qualifications, many were destined for low paid jobs in the lower echelons of industry and commerce.

The famous settlement of ‘the religious question’ in English education achieved by the 1944 Education Act, included an inter-denomination religious syllabus that schools were required to teach and a daily act of worship with which the school day was to start. Neither appeared of much interest or significance to these mainly working class boys. My first essay in critical school curriculum analysis, at the invitation of the religious education inspector, was met with disapproval by the authorities. So I learnt something about the politics of curriculum, experience I was to put into a wider context later, including my research as part of an American-led team on the religious education policies and practices in public schooling in Britain and the Netherlands.

An Early Lesson in School-Based Curriculum Development

My academic studies of Education, rich as they were, provided little insight into either general strategic approaches or what teachers and schools engage in when planning curricula. The beginnings of my direct acquaintance were indeed modest, but useful too. As secretary of the school team meeting regularly to discuss ways of

making the program of teaching English more interesting and accessible to pupils, I learnt from my experienced peers, and learnt something about drafting strategies. Comparing our efforts then with the splendid articles appearing now in curriculum journals (which at that period did not exist), often written by or in collaboration with school teachers, I am heartened by the enormous progress that has been made. This is evident not only in research and the scholarly articulation of ideas, but also in the writings of school practitioners, often part-time higher education students.

Only Connect

At the University of London Institute of Education I took evening courses in philosophy and history of education, teaching school in the day and, later, teaching US Air Force personnel for the University of Maryland and students at Brighton College of Art (now University of Brighton). In his seminar, Louis Arnaud Reid, worked us through material published later in his *Ways of Knowledge and Experience*. Reid belonged to the older school that preceded that of Richard Peters and Paul Hirst (the latter as a junior lecturer also took part in these seminars). My reading included Susan Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key* and Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. In forays into the European tradition of hermeneutics I was attracted to the ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey. His views on historical or contextually grounded meaning and the significance of lived experience in the growth of understanding seemed to me to chime well with Dewey's and Whitehead's, notwithstanding important differences among them.

The historico-cultural-philosophical approaches with which I was grappling were built on the grounding I had received in Sydney and Illinois and were brought to bear in the PhD thesis I eventually produced, *Education and the Reconstruction of Culture*. How all this related to my efforts to teach reluctant boys, art students and airmen living at the forefront of the Cold War became clear to me much later.

A lecturing appointment to Bristol University in the early 1960s yielded a secure academic base which did not require then that regular flow of 'peer reviewed published research' –which is now the norm for junior academics. I was free to develop courses, collaborate with and learn from experienced colleagues, interact with students, and take up whatever opportunities might arise for an emerging interest in field work. There was the design of new programs, including a taught Master of Education degree program, with as a required core a course on ways of structuring experience broadly in the arts and sciences. Hannah Berry and Ben Morris were inspiring humanist mentors.

At Bristol, I designed and taught the curriculum option. Relevant British materials were rare then, so I initially selected for a seminar, comprising mostly senior secondary school teachers and teacher education lecturers, *Democracy and Excellence in Education* by the Illinois team of Broudy, Smith and Burnett. Here was intellectually grounded curriculum theorising of relevance far beyond its immediate setting of the 1960s American high school. We drew on Smith, Stanley and Shores *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* and other writings, mostly an outgrowth of Dewey's Experimentalist philosophy. Reflecting my own intellectual

debt, this selection provided students a basis for systematic study of curriculum theory, their teaching of future teachers, and their leadership responsibilities in schools. To further this process I edited the volume *John Dewey* for Leslie Perry’s Educational Thinkers Series. But my interest in doing curriculum, beyond teaching and writing for the academy, was growing.

Into the Field

At Bristol, in addition to local consultancies associated mainly with the growth of comprehensive (secondary) schools, I joined forces with BBC producer Joe Reid in a new radio series for primary school students. In its inception influenced by Jerome Bruner’s *Man a Course of Study*, it achieved its own momentum. As a broadcast medium and through substantial written textual material the series assisted teachers in developing their own curriculum strategies and resources and pupils in furthering their interest in the human, social world. I worked assiduously on preparing these materials, including their use in local primary schools.

A major innovation in educational broadcasting was the establishment of Britain’s Open University which from the beginning formed a superb partnership with the BBC in the design and delivery of learning materials. The OU course team model comprised academic specialists – both the university’s staff and from other institutions – broadcasters, educational technologists, designers and administrators/support staff. I joined the OU’s curriculum team, first as a course adviser/ consultant then as a team member and finally as an examiner. I valued most my contributions on “basic questions” and “ideologies and values” in the Curriculum Design and Development course for undergraduates.

How Can Schools ‘Change Society’?

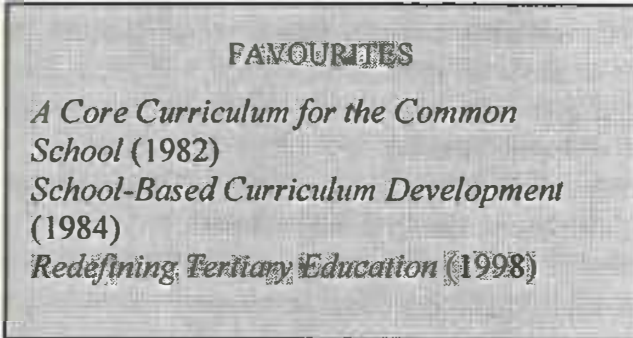
From Bristol I moved in 1971 to a chair at the New University of Ulster (NUU), an institution which had been controversially established in the Protestant heartland of Coleraine in the early stages (and some say as one of the provocations of) the upsurge of inter-community tensions in the Province in the late 1960s. My contributions to OU curriculum courses were by no means detached from this context, nor that of the explosive socio-cultural movements of the time including both the Western and the Chinese cultural revolutions.

My interest in Northern Ireland was precisely that things were not settled, a place where injustice had become endemic, communities deeply divided, children brought up in fear and hatred – and an education system remembering too much of the past and neglecting to explore new cultural directions. An opportunity existed, to try out ideas about cultural renewal in a strife-torn region, to make a contribution, should that be possible. Perhaps schools could fly in face of the mantra ‘schools cannot change society’?

The University itself provided one demonstration of how curriculum can achieve a measure of integration, indeed solidarity. Formerly, primary school teachers in Northern Ireland had been trained either in single sex Catholic colleges or in state

run, (effectively secular Protestant) colleges, prepared in the main to teach either in Catholic schools or, in state, (effectively secular/ Protestant) schools. At the NUU, males and females, Catholic, Protestant or other were taught together, preparing for posts in whatever schools would employ them. This showed that a university, through a teacher education curriculum, can impact on and help change some of a society's key beliefs and structures.

Reformed teacher education, initial and continuing, must form part of wider strategies of curriculum change. My major curriculum project in Northern Ireland, The Schools Cultural Studies Project, had as a target professional development or



in-service education of teachers across the culture/community/religious divide. With initial funding by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, further support came from the Northern Ireland Department of Education – which in turn funded a parallel and collaborative project in Queen's University, Belfast. Resources on

this scale for educational innovation in Northern Ireland were unprecedented and this, together with the ambitions of the project, ensured high visibility and high risks. The object was to find common ground across divided systems – and cultures – in learning resources, teaching strategies and shared values. But whereas individual teachers who joined the project team and some school leaders embraced these goals, to carry the whole school, its wider community and the administrative/financial system of which the school is part, is a much bigger, longer term task. The story was colourfully presented by appointed evaluator, David Jenkins, in *Chocolate Cream Soldiers*. A rich resource and faithful to its mission, for some of its critics this publication brought out the need for triangulation in project evaluation. By this time, however, I had left Northern Ireland to take up the post of founding Director of the Australian Curriculum Development Centre.

Since throughout my career I have changed jobs and, to a degree, countries every five to eight years, there is at times a sense of unfinished business, of casting off the old and taking on the new. The drawbacks of this kind of saltatory career are most keenly felt when responsible for initiating large, usually difficult projects. This is not because I entertain the arrogant notion of 'one project, only one leader'. Rather, there is deep satisfaction from experiencing the more mature results and outcomes, perhaps in a more leisurely and reflective way than the bustling, energetic and anxiety-ridden phase of launching and initial setting up of new structures and new processes in relatively unfamiliar settings.

Education at the OECD

In a succession of career and country moves one element has been sustained. This is my involvement with – and later managerial responsibility for – OECD

educational programs, initially in curriculum reform and later across a broader range of responsibilities. Commencing at the time I left Bristol for Northern Ireland, OECD work continued through those years and subsequently from Australia, taken up again when I moved again to London and culminated with appointment as Deputy Director for Education at the OECD in Paris in 1991. A long story, but suffice to say that as the international curriculum development movement came fully on stream in the 70s and 80s, with projects supported by major foundations such as Ford in the USA and Nuffield in the UK, educational policy makers realised the need for staff training and professional development of teachers. System administrators, too, were in need of better understanding: What is ‘new math’? Why are academic scientists, anthropologists, psychologists engaging in school curriculum development projects? What changes are needed in school timetabling, relief teaching, and secondments and so forth to enable teachers to participate in these projects, full or part time? How can parents be convinced that ‘curriculum experiments’ on their children are for their benefit?

The OECD grasped the nature of this changing environment, through an extended series of national seminars, workshops, conferences, publications and education policy reviews. A long list of publications from the early 1970s to the present documents this activity. With OECD administrator David Thomas and consultants, administrators, researchers, teachers and teacher educators from many countries, I was active in much of OECD’s curriculum activity. Joining teams in Spain and Portugal on the eve or in the aftermath of the overthrow of fascist and authoritarian regimes meant treating education as in the vanguard of democratic change, economic revival and the forging of fresh links with the international community. Curriculum reform, the re-vitalisation of learning, became integral to a wider reform agenda.

Across the member countries of Western Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand the project-based curriculum development movement and other systemic strategies were seen as engines of reform; requirements included investing in educational research and innovation to meeting changing economic and social conditions. The exuberance and liberalisation dating from the 1960s, the oil crises and economic downturn of the 1970s and the continuing overshadowing of the Cold War induced a sense that education must change. It was the leadership of the OECD that gave point and direction to significant changes in public policy, moving progressively from the more micro level of research and development projects to more inclusive policy frameworks. Most of my writing in the early 70s consisted of reports, some published by the OECD, including *Curriculum Reform*. In 1976, *Culture and the Curriculum*, jointly authored with John Reynolds, was published. We examined teachers’ mediating and curriculum planning roles in an era of gathering socio-cultural change.

National Agencies to Promote Curriculum Reform

The growing recognition that curriculum strategy must feature in comprehensive education reform movements saw several governments in the 70s establishing national agencies, notably in my personal experience, the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations for England and Wales (SC), and, in Australia, the national Curriculum Development Centre (CDC).

Established under federal legislation in 1975, the CDC absorbed existing subject specialist agencies and initiated a wide array of projects, workshops, conferences, publications and studies relating to primary and secondary schooling, teacher professional development, and educational evaluation. As its foundation Director I experienced a difficult political and funding environment, wherein the CDC, a federal agency, was challenged to establish fruitful working relations with the State and Territories which had responsibility for the public school systems.

Echoing a dictum of Alfred North Whitehead, I believed schools should design their own curriculum and assessment procedures. But that, in parallel, a broad curriculum framework of national significance was needed for guidance and direction. In *A Core Curriculum for Australian Schools* the CDC sought to unite them. My understanding of core curriculum, by contrast with prescribed syllabuses and national testing of student performance, is that it must incorporate a broad set of common learnings, defined as areas of experience, forms and ways of understanding. In short, learning to live.

I see core curriculum as a framework, a guide to action by teachers, school communities, policy makers and administrators in designing, developing and assessing learning. In line with the largely theoretical work in the American tradition deriving from Dewey and his successors at Columbia and Illinois, core was to be a democratic project fostering shared experiences, common understandings, social and cultural solidarity.

However, in Australia as in Britain, this notion of core came to be deflected by the reductionist policies of subject-based national syllabuses in so-called core disciplines, national testing and a concentration of policy and decision-making in politico-bureaucratic centres. Innovation, funding, teacher education and regulation have become increasingly linked to and controlled in response to economic and social imperatives determined by government and a handful of central agencies. As one member of the many audiences I addressed in promoting the CDC publication *A Core Curriculum for Australian Schools* put it: "It sounds like a good idea, but will it work?" The keys to its working are as much a matter of enlightened public policy as of teacher quality.

The Pacific Circle

Among the array of curriculum initiatives at the CDC was one through which my association with OECD continued. We invited educators from Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the US to a meeting to discuss a plan for a shared activity

within OECD’s Centre for Educational Research and Innovation regional program – an international curriculum project which would generate resource materials relating to ‘the Pacific’ – history, culture, relations, the ocean ... and teaching-learning strategies in which there might be common, shared elements. By agreement, the ‘Pacific Circle’ project was launched, as a consortium of curriculum and research agencies.¹ A program of development work, a schedule of annual meetings and communication links were initiated. The PCC continued for more than 20 years achieving many of its initial objectives, and adding others over time. While the PCC never succeeded in building the wider range of international links and relationships that some of us aimed at, as shown in Helen Connell’s evaluation *Establishing an International Education Consortium – The Pacific Circle Experience*, it was a success in its own terms, forming part of a growing network of international educational relations.

The New Political Economy of Education

Returning to the UK in 1981 as professor of Curriculum Studies at the University of London Institute of Education and, concurrently, Director of Studies at the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations (S.C.), seemed to me both a new pathway and a culmination of much that had gone before. For example, my inaugural professorial lecture at the Institute of Education was published with the title *A Core Curriculum for the Common School*. Hope springs eternal! But the spirit that had generated the SC alliance of central government, local education authorities and teacher unions symbolised by the troika secretariat, and that had so enriched education in the 60s and 70s, retreated before the combined forces of mounting economic difficulties and emergent central political dominance.

It is not too much to say that, in the language of Thomas Kuhn, paradigmatic changes appeared to be under way in those decades from the 60s to the 80s. Yet the Kuhn analysis is perhaps lacking in that, in the social sphere, paradigmatic change can be more illusory, or perhaps less deeply rooted or clear cut than shifts in scientific knowledge tend to be. I think now that the scope and intensity of the changes that flowered in what I shall call the primordial curriculum development decades (60s and 70s) did not in fact connect sufficiently closely with either the underlying socio-economic stratum or with emerging political currents. In those decades we urged upon governments the critical importance of curriculum renewal – among other reasons to prepare young people for what British Prime Minister Harold Wilson termed the ‘white hot technological revolution’. It was also the time when economist Becker, and Schulz before him, enunciated the human capital theory, and the economic imperative emerged to increase educational investment and participation rates in formal schooling.

Intensifying economic competitiveness, induced or reinforced by the liberalization of trade and finance, has caused governments to look for new growth factors, notably research-led innovation and enhancement. This tells only part of the story, but when the Conservative government determined to close down the Schools Council – and this after receiving a favourable report from its own appointed

reviewer, a former senior Treasury official – clearly the curriculum tide had turned. We were entering a new era. For me, personally, there was the security of a tenured university chair, but the dismay in the Council, the jubilation if its consistent denigrators in the national press, and the implications for a widely esteemed national curriculum reform and professional development agenda were deeply disturbing. Part of that story is told in its funeral oration edited by long-serving staff member, Maurice Plaskow, *The Life and Death of the Schools Council*.

In the university setting, I gazed out at a changing policy world, in association with colleagues like Denis Lawton whose shrewd and penetrating studies of the British curriculum policy environment had anticipated the changes that now gathered momentum and which led not only to the demise of the Schools Council, but the abolition of a highly professional, independent national inspectorate and the erection of an imposing but, in the event, scarcely effectual national curriculum structure.

My interest returned to writing and research, from years of education institution-building and maintenance in heated political environments. Results included *School Based Curriculum Development* with an accompanying edited book of *Readings in School Based Curriculum Development* and, with Helen Connell, Nick Lowe and Kirsty Tait, *The Vocational Quest* which documented and evaluated the core skills strand of the UK Manpower Services Commission Youth Training Scheme, in a setting of contemporary international trends and movements in vocational education.

The purpose of my school-based curriculum development volumes was to continue the quest to unify what many take to be contradictory modes – that of a national, system-wide strategic framework (core curriculum) together with curriculum making by schools, teachers, students and communities. As for *The Vocational Quest*, our purpose was not simply to report on our evaluation of a high profile, national program, but to rethink ‘core’ in a setting of skills for employability. We did this in part by setting ‘skills for employment’ in a broad framework of ‘life skills’ and returning vocation to its richer roots as ‘a way of life, of being’.

The Tertiary Sector

Was appointment as Vice Chancellor (President) of Australia’s Deakin University in 1986 a move out of curriculum? Not quite, since I saw it as a return to the creative energy and curriculum innovativeness of the Open University and as an expression of the democratisation of learning – through Deakin’s focus on open and distance learning and highly supportive, innovative practices for non-traditional adult learners. How courses are constructed with reference to the diverse learning needs of adults, how they are taught, at a distance, assessed and supported both through traditional library services and contemporary communication and information technologies and how academics themselves develop the values and capabilities of ‘teachers at a distance’ – these are among the most interesting curriculum questions in higher education.

International Life

I will not dwell on the last of my institutional appointments which took me to Paris as Deputy Director for Education at the OECD at the beginning of the 90s. Suffice to say that it was a unique opportunity to consider from the setting of an international think tank the whole spectrum of educational policy. Following my Deakin experience I took a particular interest in renewing the Organization's earlier role in higher education, leading a twelve country study published as *Redefining Tertiary Education*. Thereafter, as an independent consultant I took up issues of teaching and learning in higher education in a report for Atlantic Philanthropies, *The University Challenged – A Review of International Trends and Issues with Particular Reference to Ireland*. Through an invitation from UNESCO in 2000 to synthesize findings from the first decade of Education for All, I was brought up hard against the global struggle to achieve basic literacy and the foundations of a decent life.

Returning to Australia as the 3rd millennium dawned, with Helen Connell I undertook a study for the Australian State and Federal governments on the future of the teaching profession -*Teachers for the Future* – arguing for a new partnership in teacher education between schools and universities. Continuing the focus on teachers and teaching, together Helen Connell and I drafted much of a national report on the teaching of science, maths and technology in Australian schools, *Australia's Teachers. Australia's Future*. In all of this work, national as well as international, a constant theme has been the necessity for enhancing the quality of teaching if curriculum and broader educational reform strategies are not to fall on barren ground.

CONCLUSION

Reflecting on a career alternating between the academy, national agencies and the international sphere, I am led back to those questions about the purpose of education with which my personal quest started. The term ‘prosperity’ provides a cue, while leading to further questions. I do not equate prosperity with a narrow materialism. Far from that, prosperity connotes well-being, happiness, contentedness, a goodness founded not on personal finances, though they are not unimportant but, in the spirit of one of the founding fathers of economics, Adam Smith, on virtue, morality, justice and social order. The puzzle is why, when the rationale for schooling is so often presented as personal fulfilment, citizenship, independence and a range of economic and social capabilities, narrowly reductionist approaches to curriculum, teaching and learning risk becoming the common places of much contemporary educational policy. The disjunction between espoused educational aims and values on the one hand and a frequently impoverished policy environment and mundane and inequitable school practice on the other continues. How in a mass education system can curriculum analysis and development contribute to overcome these disjunctions? The answers I have essayed envisage the collaborative design, development and delivery of curricula as themselves

processes of cultural criticism and renewal. This, I believe, is the 'leading motif' of my years in education.

NOTE

- ¹ National Institute for Educational Research in Japan, the Curriculum Research and Development Group and the East West Center in Hawaii, the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Oregon, the New Zealand Department of Education and the CDC in Australia (and, later, Canada's University of British Columbia).

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Malcolm Skilbeck

Connell Skilbeck International Educational Consultancy, Australia

LAUREL TANNER

LUCK, FLOW, REMARKABLE CREATURES AND ME: LIFE IN THE GOLDEN AGE OF CURRICULUM

LUCK

As I tell the story of my professional life, I am struck by how much of it has been influenced by luck. Hand in hand with luck goes opportunity. The principle of equal educational opportunity is deeply concerned with the curriculum and never far from our thoughts as curriculum workers. John Goodlad's study of schools in 1984 found huge differences from school to school in children's and youth's opportunities for knowledge (pp. 120–166). Although Goodlad argued for change and improvement, for many children opportunities for a rich and balanced curriculum still depend on the luck of the draw—where one happens to go to school.

But luck begins at home. I was lucky to have a father who was very sharp, sometimes amusingly so. I can remember his saying as he opened the newspaper, “I wonder who I’m supposed to hate today.” Take the Russians: One day we loved the Russians, our suffering and precious allies in World War II. But literally the next, we hated them and their Iron Curtain. More recently, we have the French, with whom we have had a long friendship, going back to the Revolutionary War years. When France balked at supporting the United States in the Iraq War, it suddenly became seditious to love France.

The idea of political change overnight helped to prepare me and arm me against the break-outs of curriculum dualisms—mind versus body, intellect versus emotion, knowledge versus experience—that also occur seemingly overnight. The upshot was that I was able to marshal ways of fighting against the senseless pendulum swings and failures to build on past experience in our field. The founding of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in 1977 was one way. Whether it was successful is not the issue, for the fight goes on. It is a “forever war” (to borrow from Dexter Filkins’ 2008 book of the same name).

Love, Luck and the Curriculum

I was lucky with my first real boyfriend who was also my first husband and the co-author (with me) of *Curriculum Development: Theory Into Practice* (Tanner & Tanner, 2007) now in its 4th edition. The book survived our divorce which tells you something about our friendship. But beyond our co-authorship, Dan has always been a strongly supportive influence. When Dan took a job with the Office of Research at the City University of New York, working with Harry Rivlin in teacher education, he encouraged me to go for my doctorate at Teachers College. My luck

was just beginning. One of Dan's colleagues, Milton Gold, invited me to teach in the School of General Studies at Hunter College in the Bronx (now Lehman College). As I look back I wonder how I handled this as a full-time student at TC.

Teaching in that evening program so long ago was fun with grown-up students – a first for me. Teaching is teaching, I found, whatever the age or level. I had quickly come to understand one of John Dewey's most important ideas "that there is no lower or higher, but simply education" (Dewey, 1899, p. 92).

Luck at TC

I feel lucky when I think of being at Teachers College in the mid-1960s when leaders who helped the curriculum field emerge as a distinct field of study were still alive and kicking. (Translation: continuing to make contributions to the field as many did until the end of their lives.) Some were on the TC faculty, others were retired but accessible, such as Hollis L. Caswell, a former president of TC and co-author of the first book called Curriculum Development (Caswell and Campbell, 1935), whom I met at a reception following a lecture at TC.

Ralph Tyler, noted for his innovative thinking in curriculum and instruction, was by then director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Tyler had a remarkable memory of curricular events in which he had

PERSONAL FAVORITES	
Books	
	<i>Curriculum Development: Theory Into Practice</i> , 4 th ed. (2007)
	<i>History of the School Curriculum</i> (1990)
	<i>Critical Issues in Curriculum</i> (1988)
Articles	
	Critical Issues Revisited (2000)
	The Meaning of Curriculum in Dewey's Laboratory School (1991)
	The Path Not Taken (1988)
	Big Science and little social science (1969)

participated and was a joy to be with. We met every Monday for lunch at the Gatehouse Restaurant in Palo Alto in 1984-1985, when I was a visiting scholar at Stanford. I had Ralph all to myself at those lunches. How lucky can you get? I learned so much about the events in which he participated—the Eight Year

Study of Secondary Education, for instance. He provided the leadership in the evaluation component of the Eight-Year Study.

During my year at Stanford, Ralph was on the board of directors of the National Society for the Study of Education and he invited me to submit a proposal for a volume on curriculum. The board decided to go ahead with the volume, which I edited. The contributors explored a number of critical issues with which curriculum workers must deal (*Critical Issues in Curriculum*, 1988a). By that time my marriage had fallen apart and Dan and I were divorced. Two years later I would marry Kenneth Rehage, secretary-treasurer of the National Society for the Study of Education and a widower. We were so very happy, and living in Chicago opened many of the resources of the University of Chicago to me. I will return to these shortly.

But first, back to Teachers College and the leaders in the field who were there when I was a student. Florence Stratemeyer, Arno Bellack, Gordon Mackenzie, Marcella Lawler, Alice Miel, and Ed Reutter were all my professors. I met the historian (and Pulitzer Prize winner), Larry Cremin some years later, after the first edition of *Curriculum Development: Theory into Practice* (1975) was published. He was a bright, interesting, energetic, charismatic, and supportive friend. What a loss when he died much too early (not yet 65 years of age) in 1990.

It was only much later that I realized I lived through and worked with leaders in a Golden Age of Curriculum Scholarship. This was the mid-1960s and I went to my classes and did my assignments unaware that anything that special was going on. Perhaps that is the way of all Golden Ages—they require the perspective of distance to be known as such. My professors were models of making contributions to a professional field, while helping novices like me get a leg up in the field. And help they did. Let me tell you about Gordon Mackenzie to whom I owe so much.

It was Mackenzie who chaired my dissertation and got me started on a line of research concerning legislation leading to curriculum imbalance. Before coming to New York I had been a classroom teacher in San Francisco and was intrigued by a California law—the Fisher Bill—passed by the legislature in 1961 which mandated an “academic major” for elementary school teachers. Today this would not seem unusual for we believe that every teacher should have some special area of proficiency. Indeed, Florence Stratemeyer made the case for a major on different grounds: She told our class that, if nothing else, this was a matter of a teacher’s self-respect.

But the law was passed in an era of post-Sputnik finger pointing. It seemed to be an arrow directly aimed at the field of teacher education since the academic major could be anything but education. But I was not interested in doing my own finger pointing because who would I point at? What I wanted was to find out who the people were behind the law. Mackenzie had found a way to determine who they were. It was supplied by a political theorist, Robert A. Dahl (1966) and like most ingenious schemes, really quite simple: those whose advocations are met in the final legislation are the power figures behind the law. By going over the transcripts from Sacramento I was able to identify them without difficulty. They turned out to be three physical scientists from Berkeley. This was not too surprising. The nation’s leading scientists as a group had been newly elevated in prestige because of their awesome contribution toward ending the war (Lapp, 1965). They were not shy either about exerting influence on education matters.

But it was on the school curriculum where the influence of scientists raised the most concern. Beginning with the founding of the National Science Foundation, their influence threw the balance of the curriculum out of whack (L. N. Tanner, 1969a). They testified that the social sciences were not sciences and should therefore not be included in NSF. That the social sciences were not included in an era of massive funding had a dire effect on curriculum balance. Reading the testimony about the founding of NSF was dismaying but also absolutely fascinating and led to the publication of what I believe to be my most important journal article: “BIG SCIENCE and little social science” (1969a). This was also the

beginning of my very deep concern with curriculum imbalance that has lasted to this day.

When *BIG SCIENCE* was published I was an assistant professor in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Hunter College of the City University of New York. I soon received an offer with a promotion from Paul Eberman, Dean of the College of Education at Temple University. Paul was a Chicago Ph. D. and my article had been published in *The School Review*, a University of Chicago publication. Very possibly that had influenced his decision to invite me to join Temple's faculty. In any regard, I was grateful and happy. I remained at Temple until my retirement.

For readers of this essay who might be interested, my new line of research led to articles on the effects of injecting sizeable amounts of federal support into science education but not much into other fields. In fact, virtually nothing. The critical areas of the curriculum, in terms of national purpose were science, mathematics and modern foreign languages.) Some are: "The Swing Away from Science" (L. N. Tanner, 1972); "The Science-Shortage Myth" (L. N. Tanner, 1971); "The Scientific Elite and Teacher Education" (L. N. Tanner, 1979); and "Curriculum Change in Science: Power and Processes" (L. N. Tanner, 1969b).

This may all seem like ancient history but the problem of curriculum imbalance is not ancient history. I always told my students that if they wanted to get a handle on a curriculum problem, they needed to learn its history.

Dewey and Me

John Dewey was—and still is—my Muse. Since millions of words have been written about his view of education, others no doubt, could make a similar claim. My own affair with Dewey (sometimes it seemed like a real romance with him standing over my shoulder, an encouraging presence) began in the early 1970s when I was working on the first edition of *Curriculum Development: Theory into Practice* (1975). It seemed—and still seems—that everything we try to do in education for a better future for our society keeps coming back to Dewey. To say that I was utterly smitten puts it too strongly. I was impressed. This was a magic moment in my life—one stretching over four years until the book was finished. But the affair has never ended. How could it? Dewey is forever. He is America's good luck. I don't consider myself peculiar because I have since come across other writers who describe the same sensation about their subject. Usually they are biographers.

There have been others—other Muses. In 1984-1985, the year I was at Stanford, I had the same feeling about Lester Ward. I was at Stanford to study the idea of progress in education. Ward was a seminal contributor to our field of curriculum with a most interesting and unusual background. He was a government paleontologist who applied his ideas about plants and animals to education. He was "the architect of environmentalism in American pedagogy and the creator of some of our most fundamental ideas about the curriculum" (Tanner & Tanner, 1987, p. 539).

Like Horace Mann who came before him, Ward saw the influence of educational opportunity on ability and saw its implications. Both men grew up in privation and could argue from their own experience. An important part of the philosophy of each was that knowledge should be equally available to every member of society.

But back to Dewey. I published several articles that are related to Dewey's contributions. The reader interested in Dewey is referred to the following: "Leadership Ideas from Dewey's School" (L. N. Tanner, 1999); "The Path Not Taken: Dewey's Model of Inquiry" (L.N. Tanner, 1988b); "The Meaning of Curriculum in Dewey's Laboratory School: 1896-1904" (L. N. Tanner, 1991). I have been active in the John Dewey Society. I was president of the John Dewey Society (2000-2001) and chaired the annual Dewey lectures at ASCD, a series dating back more than a half century, from 1988-1995. Interestingly, the John Dewey Society was started by a group of idealistic young people in the 1930s who were "at once appalled by the crises of the times and exhilarated by the thought that they might themselves contribute to a large-scale shift in public attitudes and political practices" (Foshay, 1991, p. ix). The writer, Arthur Foshay, then president of JDS, might have been describing our own times.

The University of Chicago

I chose to spend a year at the University of Chicago to explore the legacy of two men, John Dewey and Ralph Tyler. Much of their influence stemmed directly from work done while they were associated with the University. The year was made possible by a most welcome invitation from the Benton Center for Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Chicago. I would spend 1988-1989 as a Visiting Scholar in the Center.

My main reason for coming to Chicago resided in my determination to use original sources whenever possible. I looked forward to studying many of Dewey's original manuscripts in the library. But the most interesting records that I found were not yet in the library. I will explain.

First, a bit about Dewey and his Chicago years; it is about luck again. Dewey was there from the beginning, brought on board in 1893-1894 by the founding president, William Rainey Harper, to head up the department of philosophy. In 1894-1895, the University of Chicago added a department of pedagogy (later called education) "as the twin of Philosophy" (Storr, 1966, p. 296). Dewey and Harper were soul mates; like the rest of the University, the department of pedagogy would be concerned with inquiry. Since educational theory needed to be tested, a pedagogical laboratory had to be provided for the faculty and students (Dewey, 1896). The school that was established was known, not surprisingly, as the Dewey School. In later years—up to today—it was known as the Laboratory School or Lab, for short. But by then it had lost all but its nominal association with Dewey.

It is lucky for the field of education as ensuing decades have demonstrated that Harper latched onto Dewey.

Dewey's laboratory school existed for only seven short years but what a lot was learned about how children learn. In his Foreword to my book about the school (L.

N. Tanner, 1997), Philip W. Jackson who was director of the Benton Center when I was there said that I “had come upon treasure trove of both primary and secondary material” and that the book is “tangible evidence that a host of Dewey’s educational ideas (together with those of his teachers and co-administrators) have not only withstood the test of time but remain as forward-looking and advanced today as they were back then” (Jackson, 1997, p. x).

But as I think back, it was lucky for me but ever so odd that the most precious of the treasures that I discovered—the teachers’ weekly reports—were not discovered until I came on the scene. There they lay for at least eighty-one years stored in a closet in Judd Hall. My husband Kenneth J. Rehg of the University of Chicago led me to the cache which has since been moved to the Regenstein Library. We were not really sure what was in the boxes when we yanked them out and nothing looked particularly interesting until I brought some of the reports home and began to read.

Curriculum History

My conviction that educators typically ignore lessons of the past led me to found the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in 1977. The idea for the Society was actually that of Hollis Caswell whom I met at Teachers College as I mentioned earlier. In the 1970s, curriculum reformers were “reinventing the pedagogical wheel,” as Lawrence Cremin (1974, pp. 71-74) so neatly put it. Two reinventions were of deep importance: the free school movement which echoed the child-centered school of the 1920s and the back-to-basics movement, a throwback to the 1950s. In these two cases, major reforms were launched without trying to learn from past experience.

In 1976 I was at a reception honoring Harry Passow, a TC professor in the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, who had just given the Sachs Lecture. Among the guests was Hollis Caswell. I had the great pleasure of talking with Caswell and in the course of our conversation, Caswell remarked on the similarity between the 1920s when connectionism was riding high and found expression in the analytical aims approach to curriculum development and the 1970s, with the resurgence of behaviorism and swing back to an analytical aims emphasis.

From his retirement home in Santa Barbara, Caswell had observed the passing parade of educational models, a circular parade where old models reappeared with new names and were treated as new. “How do we build on past experience for a better educational program in the future?” he asked. The question seemed to me to be posed with a distasteful weariness, for Caswell had witnessed many return engagements of educational models, some rather shop-worn the second time around. Then he brightened and said to me, “I leave it all to *you*.” The “*you*” was a *collective you*—meaning members of the curriculum field. Caswell added, “If you ever come to Santa Barbara we could have a real good talk.” That was practically an invitation and we were kindred spirits having both co-authored books called *Curriculum Development* so I decided to go to Santa Barbara. Besides, I wanted some concrete suggestions on the problem of a-theoretical and a-historical

behavior in the curriculum field—behavior that would not be countenanced in other fields—medicine, for example. Path-breaking work was not possible in any field without a path to follow. The need was to build on the strengths of the field of curriculum which were found in its history.

It seemed to me that there was no avoiding the fact that the problem needed to be dealt with in some organized fashion. But how? At our meeting in Santa Barbara, Caswell suggested to me that leaders in our field form a curriculum history organization. Hosted by Lawrence Cremin, TC's president, an organizational meeting was held at Teachers College on April 4, 1977. The organization would meet immediately preceding the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Since then the Society has developed and diversified in keeping with the interests of its expanding roster of members who study such topics as the history of individual school curricula, historical analysis of major curriculum reforms, and biographies of curriculum leaders. In 2008 in New York, the Society held its thirty-first annual meeting.

I do not think that we can make any real advance on the problem of a-historicism unless teachers and administrators are involved. They are the people on the front lines of dealing with problems. In the early 1990s I conducted a study concerned with making past experience in the school system available to those who are attempting to deal with current problems. The study, "Enhancing the Use of Past Experience in Educational Decision Making" (L. N. Tanner, 1995), was conducted under a small grant from the Spencer Foundation.

Today, national policies with their very generic prescriptions, for example, the No Child Left Behind Act, send a message that a school system's efforts to study and deal with its own problems can only come to nil. However, my research and experience in schools has led me to conclude that it is the investigation by a school system into its problems and the implementation of what is found that leads to cumulative knowledge and improvement in that school system. The school must recognize that it loses its better self—and chances to improve—when it loses its hold on its past experience.

FLOW

Lester Ward recounted his own personal history in a collection of his writings which he called, revealingly, *Glimpses of the Cosmos* (1915). Both the title and the awesome experiences described in the book illustrate a concept from psychology that came decades later. Ward wrote:

Perhaps the most vivid impression that my early experience left on my mind was that of the difference between an educated and an uneducated person. I had much to do with both these kinds of people, especially with the uneducated, and I could not believe that the chasm between these and educated people was due to any great extent to their inherent nature. . . . The influence of education and environmental conditions took an ever stronger hold on me (pp. 147–148).

And in “Self-Improvement,” an essay that he wrote while a student at Brown, Horace Mann was really writing about his own self-concept and how it translated to the democratic experience when he wrote, “there is by nature little, or perhaps, no distinction among men, with respect to their original powers of intellect” (cited in Morgan, 2005, p. 246).

Ward and Mann each had a lightening strike of insight that guided them in their lives. What it meant was that they had better pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. No one else would do it for them. It also meant that, as true believers in democracy, they had better make it easier for upcoming generations in America to become educated. What these two leaders experienced was *flow*—an “optimal experience” that they made happen that led them into activities that they did “for the sheer sake of doing it” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 5).

Neither Ward nor Mann had ever heard of this concept in psychology. Actually, it was Csikszentmihalyi who gave it a name after many years of studying the positive aspects of mind and behavior. But they experienced it nonetheless. Nor had I heard of it but I experienced it in the late 1960s when I read Larry Cremin’s history of the progressive education movement, *The Transformation of the School* (1961). My flow experience was this: It was clear to me that what he was actually writing about was curriculum and instruction. Some faculty members of my home department at TC—the Department of Curriculum and Teaching—sniffed at the idea that he might actually know something about curriculum. (Cremin himself once referred to the TC faculty as “one big unhappy family,” so this was not surprising, just a bit discomfiting.) It was also clear that we in the curriculum field needed a book on curriculum development written from the vantage points of curriculum history.

Indeed, we needed a new book, period. When our book finally came out in 1975, more than a decade had passed since Hilda Taba’s curriculum book was published in 1962. People who are involved in a flow experience enjoy the work that they undertake so deeply that they keep at it despite difficulties and occasional tedium. The life of Horace Mann is instructive. As secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education he traveled from town to town going over roads often mired in mud trying to drum up enthusiasm for the expansion of the school curriculum. Sometimes he met with downright antagonism as he argued with people who never seemed to stop defining the curriculum in very narrow terms. But he kept at it and not for the pay which was scandalously low. Mann would be an example of someone who lived the psychology of optimal experience—did what he did for the sheer pleasure—and knew who he was (had a good self-concept).

I found (and still find) writing enjoyable. It is, of course, even better if one can feel that what one is doing is worthwhile; that is, can make a difference to others. How does one really know? One day, I ran into Larry Cremin in the hall at TC. How, I asked him, do you decide what to write about? “I write where there is a need,” he said. I was working on the history section of the curriculum book and really had no doubt about the value of what I was doing— I was experiencing the

flow concept—but it was nice to have it confirmed by a master of the art of writing on education problems. Since then I have followed the advice that he gave me. It has not been hard to do because there is always a need; there are so many problems in the field of curriculum and we do not have to look far. Also, it is the nature of the flow experience to become engrossed in a new activity when the old one is completed (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, pp. 144–149).

After the second edition of *Curriculum Development: Theory into Practice* (1980) was completed, Dan and I began working on a book on educational supervision (Tanner & Tanner, 1987). Our editor at Macmillan, Lloyd Chilton, felt that there was a need and there was. In the 1980s supervision was fast becoming a matter of adherence to external mandates. In a sense, supervision had reverted to its origins as inspection, but now it was from some state capital. Twenty years later this approach to supervision has become the one that many teachers and principals have had to live with and struggle with (Dillon, 2008). My research and study show that it never has worked and can never be expected to work.

More to the point, perhaps, teachers need a flow experience. A curriculum delimited to preparing students for tests on a narrow spectrum of skills is hardly conducive to flow where a person enjoys rather than endures (Goodlad, 1999).

CURRICULUM: THE REMARKABLE CREATURES

The great novelist W. Somerset Maugham writes in *The Razor's Edge* (1943) about how difficult it is to know people. “You can only know them if you *are* them,” he says (p. 2). He then proceeds to write about someone he calls “a very remarkable creature” (p. 2). I know who and what has made me what I am. The influence exerted on me and my work has come from innumerable writers and colleagues. But I also know that there are three very remarkable creatures that have been of principal importance for me (and perhaps for others). They are John Dewey, Ralph Tyler, and John Goodlad. Just to be sure that I wasn’t weighting Goodlad too heavily, I checked the index of the 4th edition of *Curriculum Development: Theory into Practice* (2007). He has more citations than any other name—by far.

I never knew Dewey but I think what impressed me most about Dewey—among many things—is that he tested educational principles in his Laboratory School and the findings became woven into the fabric of his writings years after he left Chicago. This shows that he continued to think about the school which influenced *How We Think* (1910) and *Democracy and Education* (1916). As I point out elsewhere, “The influences of the school and the people who helped bring his ideas into fruition are clearly stated in the acknowledgments of these books. Two women in particular—his wife Alice and Ella Flagg Young—are acknowledged warmly (L. N. Tanner, 1997, p. xii).

According to Dewey (1916) a fundamentally democratic society “must see to it that intellectual opportunities are accessible to all on equal and easy terms” (pp. 101–102). Ralph Tyler believed that people would continue to progress in the sense that Dewey meant if they could see the progress that has already been made.

In 1988 he pointed out that more and more previously excluded groups have access to a public school. But the problem of what students should learn continues. Tyler was adamant that “access to a public school does not guarantee access to a curriculum designed to help students learn what is required for the exercise of citizenship in a democratic society” (p. 273). There was and still is much to do in that area. Tyler noted that grouping and tracking students “has resulted in large numbers of children being denied access to such a curriculum” (p. 273).

Tyler’s work grew out of the thought of Dewey, as a group of Tyler’s students and associates pointed out at a very interesting meeting of the Society for the Study of Curriculum History on Tyler and his work. Lee Cronbach, a Stanford professor, saw Tyler as picking up the mantle of Dewey where Dewey left off (Cronbach, 1986, p. 48). “Following Dewey’s steps in thinking you come down to precisely the same emphasis in evaluation that you find in Tyler: You do things in order to see what works. As a teacher you are trying things in the classroom and you do your job until you come around to the question, ‘How well did it work?’ which is the turning point in a cycle of continued experimentation,” said Cronbach (p. 48). He then went on to make his point: “Tyler’s concept of evaluation was never one of measurement for its own sake” (pp. 48-49). The idea was to help teachers think for themselves.

This view is so far from the view of the purpose of testing today which seems intended, as Tyler observed in 1991, to separate winners from losers. “But education in democratic society is not a game in which there are winners and losers. A democratic society seeks to enable every student to learn to be a self-directing citizen, who works to contribute constructively to that society and to develop fully his potential in the areas in which he is deeply interested” (Tyler, 1991, p. 12).

This is a big idea and it is Deweyan to its very core. But it has somehow fallen by the wayside. As Tyler observed “The abstract numbers, the percentiles on published tests . . . were not designed to help improve learning and they have not facilitated the efforts to improve education” (p. 12). This is depressing but being depressed in not going to help anyone. Considered, thoughtful, and hopeful that he was, Tyler was not one for hand-wringing. He looked for a foothold on which to make improvements. What were the positives for the situation? One certainly was parents’ interest in the “significant things done by students” which are “more valid and less likely to be misinterpreted by the public” (p. 13). An example is students’ measuring water pollution in a community. Reports of such activities could and should be made in the press by educational leaders, says Tyler. The lay public expects leadership from leaders and this crucial kind of leadership is really lacking today, as it was becoming more so when Tyler made those comments about the trap that testing had fallen into.

There was a way to get out of that trap or hole. There always was for Tyler—and even make a minus into a plus. Were schools being criticized as a matter of public policy, as they were in the aftermath of the report *A Nation at Risk* (1983)? My favorite story about Tyler is about the time he addressed the Professors of Curriculum at their annual meeting after the publication of that report. “What

should educators do," I asked. Tyler responded that we were living and working in an atmosphere of great public interest in education and such waves of interest do not occur frequently. What we should do is act, that is, to build on that interest and work for curriculum improvements while it lasts. That made so much common sense. But that was Tyler.

Benjamin Bloom, of the University of Chicago, told the curriculum history society how he, Tyler, and John Goodlad traveled to the national curriculum centers which had been established in some forty countries. They conducted seminars for the "key leaders in each center" —usually around six to ten people—using Tyler's curriculum rationale. "But even more important," he emphasized, "the curriculum centers have developed evaluation procedures to be used at each stage of the curriculum development process" (1986, p. 44).

Tyler's view of professionalism was the improvement of people and their opportunities. He worked this way in the 1930s in the workshops he set up at Ohio State for teachers involved in the Eight-Year Study. For Tyler, it was more than a point of view, it was an argument put into practice which he did as best he could until the end of his life.

Tyler had a powerful influence on public policy. Take for example, the National Assessment of Educational Progress which Tyler and his colleagues worked to develop in the 1960s. Today, NAEP is deeply engrained in policy, a fact of education life. Others have engaged in a to-and-fro about Tyler's influence (Hlebowitsh, 1992) and that is not my purpose. I believe that these words by John Goodlad in Tyler's obituary are right on target: "In regard to public policy and educational research in the field of curriculum and evaluation, he was, for the last several decades of this century, what John Dewey was in the first part of the century" (Goodlad, cited in Heise, 1994). Little wonder that this remarkable creature was so influential upon me.

Tyler's students, as well as Tyler himself, gave his work great power in the educational world in the second half of the twentieth century. This influence can probably be dated from the publication of *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949; originally published as *Syllabus for Education 360*). One of those students, John Goodlad, spoke to the Society for the Study of Curriculum History in 1981 on Tyler's small, elegant book. The Tyler rationale put forward the idea that teachers should develop objectives for their courses and the programs and activities to attain these objectives. They should develop tests to see if the objectives have been reached. It was at this meeting in 1981 when I began to be influenced by my third remarkable creature. Goodlad who was well-acquainted with the Tyler rationale having taught Tyler's course at Chicago and worked with Tyler and Bloom with international leaders was in an excellent position to discuss its impact. It was, he said, almost impossible to pick up a textbook or other curriculum publication without coming to a citation of Tyler's syllabus. Unquestionably, its influence was legend. However, what area of the four in the syllabus had the greatest impact? That was another question entirely and one with crucial implications down to today. In Goodlad's judgment there was a tendency to focus attention on

the fourth area, evaluation, and the first area, the formulation of goals and objectives. There has been far less attention to the second and third questions, what learning experiences will be most suitable for attaining the objectives and how shall the learning experiences be organized. Goodlad had seized upon a widespread curriculum problem: Schools conduct their curriculum improvement efforts without consideration of continuity and integration of learning activities. Goodlad said to the Society:

If there is anything that the curriculum field suffers from today, it is that words like “continuity” and “sequence” have practically disappeared from popular usage . . . If there is anything that I would like to call out loudly for it is consideration of the basic questions of organizing a curriculum so that it might have continuity, scope, and sequence (1981, pp. 6–7).

I was impressed then and I am now. That statement could have been made today. In fact, since the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the questions raised by Tyler’s syllabus have (all too often) narrowed down to just one: evaluation (which, in turn has been narrowed even further to high-stakes testing).

Is there a better researcher today whose work has wider implications for curriculum and instruction than John Goodlad? If so, I don’t know who it would be. In his large-scale study Goodlad (1984) looked at the schools in terms of best practices that have emanated over the years in the research literature, for example, the importance of discussion and other activities requiring student participation in preparing students for effective citizenship. The Goodlad study found too few such opportunities for students. The point is that criteria for judging the schools could be, should be, and were drawn from the literature. This careful researcher found out what could be reliably concluded and then made recommendation based on the literature. In my view this was the most important curriculum study in the twentieth century. My favorite part of the study concerns curriculum balance. In a chapter entitled, “We Want It All,” Goodlad reported that parents of high school students gave “very important” ratings to four goals of schools: academics, vocational, social and civic, and personal (pp. 33–60).

My third remarkable creature continues to impress and inspire me. He is president of the Institute for Educational Inquiry at the University of Washington where he continues the work we read about in *A Place Called School*—linking the promise of democracy to what really should go on in schools (and helping them get there). (Goodlad, Soder, & McDaniel, 2008).

I think it is what my remarkable creatures have in common that influenced me most: All three are activists as well as scholars. John Dewey ran a school and he and his teachers developed and tested the curriculum. Ralph Tyler and John Goodlad worked with teachers and leaders to guide curriculum development. What models they are!

To conclude, no scholar (and activist) has ever been luckier. I have lived and worked in the golden age of curriculum.

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Laurel N. Tanner
Professor Emeritus
Temple University

MICHAEL F. D. YOUNG

CURRICULUM THEORY AND THE PROBLEM OF KNOWLEDGE: A PERSONAL JOURNEY AND AN UNFINISHED PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

Curriculum theory poses and attempts to answer the question “what do we teach?” or, to put it another way, “what are schools for?” Such questions first arose for me when I became a high school chemistry teacher and later in a more theoretical but not unrelated way when I took up a post as university lecturer in sociology of education. They are still with me.

I first tried to find a theoretical approach to these questions when searching for a dissertation topic for my Master’s degree in Sociology in 1967. The initial ideas in the dissertation were at the heart of the first book I edited, *Knowledge and Control* (Young 1971) and were no less central to my second book, *The Curriculum of the Future* (Young 1998). I returned to these questions in my latest book *Bringing Knowledge Back In* (Young 2007) and in the essay that I wrote for the AERA’s *Review of Research in Education Volume 32* (Kelly et al. 2008).

The problem of knowledge as an educational question has remained central to my work throughout my career. However, as I shall make clear in this chapter, this continuity masks fundamental changes in how I have approached the question.

In the last decade I have found myself completely re-thinking my ideas about how we should treat knowledge as a social phenomenon, and about the implications of a sociological approach to knowledge for debates about the curriculum. The subtitle of my recent book (Young 2007) expresses these changes as a move from *social constructivism to social realism*. However social realism is better seen as a re-conceptualisation not a replacement of social constructivism.

In this chapter I trace changes and continuities in the two main assumptions that have shaped my research on the curriculum. The first arose from my initial recognition that knowledge is not given but a social reality. In other words, forms of knowledge always in some way have social relations embedded in them. The second assumption that I became aware of much later is that certain forms of knowledge, which I refer to as *powerful knowledge* have properties that are emergent from and not wholly dependent on their social origins. ‘Powerful knowledge’ refers to the properties of knowledge such as being a resource for reliable explanations; I have contrasted it with the idea of ‘knowledge of the powerful’, the more familiar sociological view that focuses on such questions ‘whose knowledge?’ and “who does it benefit?” (Young 2009a).

In this chapter, I will try and account for why I took up certain ideas about knowledge and the curriculum in terms of my biography- as a student, a school teacher and political activist , and later as a university researcher, policy advisor and a parent.

All biographies are in some ways unique. However, I have lived through and shared experiences with many people in a period of history that has been remarkable in many ways, not the least in the dramatic transformations of education that we have lived through. It was a period that really began for me in the late 1950s and early 1960s with all the optimism and sense of possibility of that time. Many of us on the Left not only opposed the inhumanities of capitalism but believed that socialism was a real future possibility; history, we thought, was 'on our side'. It was this belief in the changeability of things that I brought to my politics, and later to my thinking about the curriculum. This optimism about change, however, was followed in the 1970s and 1980s by a sense of defeat brought about by the collapse of progressive movements throughout the world and by the failure of attempts to build a socialist society.

The election of Left governments in France and Germany in the 1980s and in the UK in the 1990s, however, led to a more realistic optimism about the possibility of a fairer society. However, with the acceptance of neo-liberalism and an uncritical faith in markets on the part of 'Left' governments, this more 'realistic' optimism was quickly followed by a skepticism that for some became disillusion. It was this history that shaped my research and writing about the curriculum. However, it had several more specific aspects for me. There were the changes in the sociology of education and curriculum studies – their dramatic growth, how each has been subject to bitter and often self-defeating disputes, and how they have challenged and been challenged by existing educational structures as well as suggested new policies. Finally there was my individual journey through these realities -- my attempts to develop some principles that would bear on the decisions that teachers and curriculum policy makers have to make and which provided me with a basis for my teaching and research.

Texts are important; however, it has been the context and intellectual climate and the people I have met and worked with which have given them significance for me.

The next section reflects, inevitably in anecdotal form, on the decades of my life before I became a university teacher -- a period when I gave no thought to education, let alone knowledge and the curriculum.

EARLY DAYS

I was born shortly before WW2 into what in England would be described as a typical non-intellectual, upper middle class, Anglican family. No one did much reading except for the newspapers and it was people rather than ideas that were the main topics of conversation at home. I spent eleven happy and largely unreflective years in two single-sex boarding schools. I had only the vaguest idea that the vast majority of my contemporaries in England went to non-boarding, non fee-paying

schools and that the majority left school at 15 without even entering any national examinations.

I want to mention three 'educational' experiences that stand out in my memory of my schooling. The first was my real fears at the beginning of each holiday about what my father would say when my school report arrived in the post. A puzzle for me was how my reports changed from term to term. One term I would come top of my class with an excellent report. As a result, I was promoted and invariably ended up half way down the new class- and invariably with a bad report. "Not working hard enough", the teachers would say, even though I was not aware of working any differently. A second memory is of a literature class when I was 15. For the first time a teacher enthused me about literature- it happened to be Chaucer, Matthew Arnold and Shakespeare. Somehow he made me want to 'get inside' these texts and their characters. He undoubtedly knew and loved the texts himself and communicated this to us. However, that was not all. I never again studied Literature, but I was left with a strong sense of why it is important that literature should be on the curriculum. Different countries have their own 'canons' of great literature which can (and of course do) get ossified. However what each offers, whether it is Chinese classical poetry, Cervantes, Virgil, or Shakespeare is an opportunity for students to link their individual experience to the dilemmas facing all human beings. Without access to such literatures students can be excluded from mankind's 'conversation with itself', as the English sociologist, Basil Bernstein once expressed it. The last experience was as a 16 year old when I switched from studying classical languages to the sciences, largely because I had at last found something I enjoyed and was good at. At the same time, my father sent me for an interview to a firm of Chartered Accountants who offered to employ me as an articled clerk. For almost the first time in my life, I really knew what I wanted- to go on studying science and not to leave school. On the advice of my Head Master, my father agreed; I stayed on at school and was offered a place to study science at university.

After leaving school I spent two years in the army and quickly became a junior officer. For someone from my kind of school this was 'normal' and seemed rather like still being a school prefect but in uniform; the difference was that the junior boys were now soldiers who had to call me "sir". From the army I went to Cambridge but somehow the spark of enthusiasm for chemistry that I had found at school was not re-kindled; I did not study very hard and was lucky to get a degree at all; I never really found out who I was, as a student or as a person.

One thing happened to me while I was at Cambridge had a significance that I only recognized later. I got a vacation job in Canada and went to Vancouver to stay with my uncle. He had emigrated before the war after being 'sent down' from Cambridge and ended up as a 'Whipper-in' at a Greyhound Race track. He was known in the family as a failure- a kind of 'black sheep'! However for me, meeting this 'Canadian' uncle was a revelation- he was the first member of the older generation of my family that I could talk to as an equal. It was an experience that I have never forgotten even though much later when he came to England I felt quite let down that he did agree with all my newly discovered socialist ideas!

At Cambridge I had no interest in politics of any kind (or indeed education). It was the time of the Russian invasion of Hungary and the British invasion of Suez. My one memory of that time is of a (Students) Union debate and voting that we should “fight for a soviet satellite in revolt” – we didn’t of course.

On leaving Cambridge I got a job with Shell Chemical Company. As a young graduate with no experience, I had little to do; I was bored and for the first time in my life I started to think and read something other than Anthony Trollope or books about cricket. It was that year (1958) that the direction of my life was to change. At least three experiences were important.

We lived near the Royal Court Theatre in London and it was the time when a group of anti-establishment authors such as John Osborne and Arnold Wesker had plays on there such as *Look Back in Anger*. They offered me a view of English society that was completely at odds with the one I had taken for granted since childhood. The end of the 1950s was also a time of the first debates about whether the UK should have an independent nuclear deterrent. I came across a book by Stephen King Hall, a retired soldier, which demonstrated the absurdity of the idea of a defensive weapon which challenged the whole idea of nuclear defence. I went to a founding meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and met Clare, a Welsh Catholic girl with radical political ideas who was to become my first serious girl friend and her friend Barbara who has remained a close friend of mine ever since.

I mention these experiences because I think they represent links between emotions, intellectual ideas and politics that I have become increasingly aware of. I began reading George Orwell, TS Eliot and magazines such as the *Universities and Left Review* which were full of articles by writers later to become famous (at least on the Left) such as Stuart Hall and EP Thompson. I gradually came to two important conclusions. One was that I knew nothing about the society into which I had grown up; I needed to return to study. The other conclusion was that I could not spend the rest of my life helping Shell to make profits. I resigned my job, much to the distress of my parents, moved into a ‘bed-sitter’, started studying sociology part time and became a ‘supply’ teacher in a local secondary school. I had never wanted to be a teacher and only took the job because I thought the holidays would give me more time to study sociology. When I began I was a hopeless teacher and could not control my classes. I soon found that if I was to survive I had to take teaching seriously. I never thought of applying for formal teacher training, but I watched my more experienced colleagues, initially in wonder, and gradually realised that they were not magicians; they just prepared their classes well and convinced their students that there were important things to learn.

Learning to be a reasonably competent teacher together with my activities in the nuclear disarmament movement meant that I had little time for studying sociology for several years. However I came back to it and completed my BSc in Sociology after six years of initially intermittent part time study. To my amazement my tutor asked me if I had thought of doing a masters degree. At the time I hardly knew what a masters degree was and certainly never thought it was something that I could do. However, in my last two years at the Polytechnic, I studied harder than

ever before in my life and got a scholarship to do an MA in sociology at the University of Essex. I often think that it was then, over a decade after I had left school that my 'education', at least in the conscious sense of knowing where I was going, really began. I read Kuhn and Merton and Gouldner and discovered the Chicago School and ethno-methodology. I learned about becoming a sociologist; that it was not just about reading texts and writing essays but about debates, discussion and arguments. I learned this from three remarkable people at Essex at the time, Geoffrey Hawthorn, Dorothy Smith and Alasdair McIntyre; all have since had distinguished academic careers. Of even greater importance to me was that Basil Bernstein was a Visiting Professor, teaching the course in sociology of education. It was Bernstein who taught me to think sociologically about education and who suggested that the curriculum could be a topic for sociological analysis.

THE 1970S AND THE 'NEW SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION'

After Essex, I took up the post Basil Bernstein had invited me to apply for at the Institute of Education and my life as a university lecturer began. At first, I could not believe that I, just another secondary school teacher, had risen to such heights. Suddenly I was facing a class of students, some 10 to 20 years older than me who in the previous year would have been senior enough to have been my Headmaster; I was now the authority and they deferred to me! I sometimes think that it was these contradictory experiences of authority that led me to a focus on issues of knowledge and power in my first book, *Knowledge and Control*. My first years as a university teacher highlighted the question of authority. However I can trace my contradictory feelings about authority back to the fear and respect that I had for my father when I was a child (and even as a young adult). These feelings were to culminate in the complex relationship of excitement and affection on the one hand and, authority and fear on the other, that I had with Basil Bernstein.

There were very few sociologists specialising in education in the UK at the end of the 1960s. It was therefore not surprising that when the British Sociological Association chose the sociology of education as the theme for their 1970 Annual Conference, they turned to Bernstein to help organize it. Nor, to those who knew him was it surprising that he handed the task on to someone else; me, as it turned out. The conference did not lead to the 'great debate' about the future of sociology of education that I had hoped for. However British sociologists heard Pierre Bourdieu for the first time, and he, Bernstein and I (there may have been others) met in London after the conference and discussed ideas that led to the book that I was to edit, *Knowledge and Control* (Young 1971).

It was typically generous of Bernstein to find me a publisher (I had not published a single article at the time), and to allow me to edit the book and not to interfere at all except to say that I could include his conference paper in the book. In retrospect, the chapters appear as an extraordinarily eclectic collection. They represent a range of positions from Bourdieu and Bernstein's Durkheimian structuralism to Nell Keddie and Alan Blum's ethno-methodology, and from the Schutzian social phenomenology of Geoff Esland to the classical comparative

ethnography of Robin Horton. I remember the long struggle I had to find a way of giving this diversity of perspectives some overall intellectual coherence. In the end I relied on a combination of Max Weber's social theory interpreted by Alan Dawe (Dawe 1970) and Wright Mills's early sociology of knowledge (Mills 1940). As it turned out, the way I framed the collection of papers in the introduction was highly significant in how the book's ideas were taken up. In my introduction I called into question two of the most basic of educational 'givens', *education* and *knowledge*. I argued that both ideas and all the familiar categories that constitute formal education, such as ability, intelligence, subjects, and curriculum, were 'in reality' social constructs- all debatable and as many of us saw it at the time, potentially changeable. What later became labelled as the 'new sociology of education' was born.

Two features of the context in which my ideas developed following the publication of *Knowledge and Control* were important; these were my personal relationship with Basil Bernstein and the relationship between the philosophy and sociology of education at the Institute of Education at the time.

Although Bernstein supported the publication of *Knowledge and Control*, he was undoubtedly ambivalent about it in ways that I did not fully understand at the time. While sympathetic to treating curriculum and pedagogy as core issues for the sociology of education, he was opposed to the 'phenomenological turn' represented in the book by Esland and Keddie's chapters. Bernstein's ambivalence about the book and even more about the 'new sociology of education' that it led to, took on a personal dimension for me that masked theoretical issues that I have only been able to make explicit to myself since his death. It is clear to me that at the time, Bernstein and I represented two very different views of the sociology of education- Bernstein's Durkheimian stress on 'social structures' and my focus on the socially constructed nature of educational phenomena, especially the curriculum. At the time I dismissed any idea of structure as a form of ideological thinking- especially in relation to knowledge. This was partly for personal reasons- the need to distance myself from Bernstein, but also for intellectual reasons, in particular, my sympathy for the radical possibilities of the social phenomenology (Merleau Ponty 2000). I have since come to realize that in polarising 'structure' and 'interaction' in this way, I failed to grasp how the radical anti-structuralism of the 'new sociology of education' was to lead not to a more powerful and critical sociology but to a self-defeating relativism (Young and Muller 2007).

I experienced similar dilemmas in the 'battle of ideas' between the sociology of knowledge as represented by *Knowledge and Control* and the philosophy of my colleagues Richard Peters and Paul Hirst (Young 1973). Debating with the philosophers led me towards more philosophical and later to more political questions about education and the importance of the links between epistemology and politics that I have since returned to (Young 2009a). However, as I later came to realize, the social phenomenology of those such as Merleau-Ponty, despite its strengths, was not up to the task of providing an alternative theory of knowledge to the aridity of analytical philosophy.

In the mid 1970s the ‘new sociology of education’ split between the Marxism of Sharp and Green (1975) and the radical phenomenology of Jenks and Keddie (Jenks 1977). I tried to find a middle way which gave more agency to the role of teachers than the Marxists but which also took seriously the social class basis of modern capitalism and the inequalities of power within which teachers had to work. This ‘critical’ sociology of education, as it became known as, drew on the ideas of Raymond Williams and Antonio Gramsci among others. I drew on these ideas in an initial attempt at a ‘theory’ of curriculum change (Young 1975). The politics and practical implications for teachers of this approach were made more explicit in the two books I edited with Geoff Whitty (Whitty and Young 1976; Young and Whitty 1977). There were significant parallels between this body of work and the ‘critical curriculum studies’ tradition established in the USA by Michael Apple (1975) and others. Both traditions shared a common vision of a socialist society of the future. However, in retrospect, both were, I now think, over-optimistic about what could be achieved by Left intellectuals supporting grass roots teacher movements. Perhaps more fundamentally, both tended to avoid issues about the nature of knowledge and the limits they place on the scope of curriculum reform.

The election of Margaret Thatcher in the UK in 1979 effectively undermined attempts to bring teachers and the wider labour movement together as an agency of curriculum change. However the decade from the mid 1970’s was important for me for reasons that had nothing directly to do with my professional work. I became a father in 1975 and my first daughter, Alice, went to crèche, primary school and secondary school and later to university in England in the next two decades. Ten years after Alice was born, my wife and I had a second daughter, Elinor; she completed most of her education in South Africa. Why might my becoming a parent be relevant to my role in the development of curriculum studies? Quite simply, the experience of being a parent challenged some of my deeply held sociological ideas about education and made me aware of issues that as someone without children I had found too easy to dismiss.

I was no different from most parents in wanting as good an education as possible for my daughters. It was their one chance. This may seem an obvious point. However, in England education remains deeply unequal and in many areas of the country it really matters which school one’s child goes to. Sometimes this involves parents making choices between state schools. Our experience of getting our eldest daughter into what we thought was the ‘best’ school in the area mirrored examples that were later documented by Stephen Ball (Ball 2002). In other areas, where there are few ‘good schools’, a ‘private’ fee-paying school is likely to be the only choice for parents who can afford it; I am sure now that we would have made that choice if it had been necessary. Before I became a parent I would have criticised such strategies as examples of how middle class parents perpetuate their social advantages; as Ball points out, two decades later, this remains true. However, with a daughter of my own, I could no longer consistently criticise such strategies. It was **my** daughter; this was **her** one chance.

This is not just an issue about choice of school. I now recognise that the experience of being a parent raises fundamental curriculum issues concerning why

we have schools and what we expect of them (Young 2009a). Like most parents, I wanted my daughters to have access to the kind of ‘powerful knowledge’ that they would not have access to at home. For a variety of reasons- the subject and pedagogic expertise of teachers and the kind of support that parents are able to give their children are perhaps the most crucial- not all children acquire this knowledge at school. However this does not mean, as it still tends to, that schools in which low-income children are in the majority should offer a different curriculum that is in some way tailored to the cultural experience of their community; all children have a right of access to ‘powerful knowledge’. It was at least in part, my experience of being a parent that led me to begin to question the idea that the curriculum should reflect the cultural experience of the pupils. That, however, is the logic of a social constructivist view of knowledge and the current shift from teacher-centred to learner-centred curricula; it is also the road to educational apartheid.

THE TURN TO POLICY

My professional experience in the period between the mid 1980s and the end of the 1990s was critical in changing the way the way I approached curriculum questions; it led to the series of papers which formed the basis of my latest book, *Bringing Knowledge back In* (2007). By the mid 1980s, I had increasingly lost confidence in what the sociology of education, to which I had been so committed, could offer. I questioned whether discipline-based research was worthwhile, and what I was doing in the privileged space that society still grants to university teachers. This was not just my individual problem. Many sociologists of education in England expressed similar doubts at the time; some took up community work, others turned to action research and evaluation studies and some gave their research a more political and practical focus as ‘policy analysis’. For me, at least at the time, there seemed nowhere to go. Although highly regarded, the actual impact of Bourdieu’s work in the sociology of education was slight. Likewise, Bernstein’s ideas were marginalized with the growing popularity of post modernism (Lyotard 1975). The only social theorist who excited sociologists of education was Foucault with his argument about the inescapable fusion of knowledge and power. However I had started studying sociology thinking it could offer more than just a new ‘language’ for describing the pervasiveness of power in all aspects of social life. I had imagined that it could provide ways of going beyond languages and grasping something of the reality of our society and its dynamics. The Enlightenment project of which sociology had been a part and which was illuminated by Marx, Weber and Durkheim by the turn of the last century and in mid century by Americans such as Mills, Merton and Gouldner seemed to have been forgotten or dismissed for those following Foucault. I even contemplated returning to my original field of teaching science.

This was the intellectual and personal context in which I effectively left the sociology of education and agreed to establish a Centre for research and professional development in the post compulsory sector of education. This is not

the place to go into this development in any detail. I just want to note that it gave me the opportunity to return to the knowledge and curriculum questions I had begun with but in a quite new and more practical and policy-related context. The major question that we asked, shared at the time by policy makers and researchers alike, was:

“What form of curriculum is appropriate that will include the diverse and expanding range of students now continuing their studies on completion of compulsory schooling?”

My initial answers to that question are summed up in my book *The Curriculum of the Future* (Young 1998). In that book, which was primarily an intervention into policy debates not theory, I argued for a unified post compulsory curriculum that overcame academic/vocational divisions. However, it was this involvement in policy analysis and the problems of policy implementation that led me back to curriculum theory and to a re-assessment of the importance of Bernstein’s work. Along with other colleagues (Moore 2004, Muller 2000), I became aware that a fresh approach to the sociology of knowledge was necessary if we were to have a more adequate theory of the curriculum.

FROM POLICY ANALYSIS TO A SOCIAL REALIST SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

Challenges to the broadly social constructivist theory of knowledge that still informed my work at the time of the publication of *The Curriculum of the Future* (Young 1998) came from two very different directions- policy failure and theoretical criticism. However they complemented each other remarkably.

An argument which I and colleagues developed in 1991 (Finegold, et al.,1991) was that, at least in the English case, the improvement of the upper secondary curriculum could best be achieved through the reform of the qualification system based on a single unified qualifications framework. Attempts to extend this idea to the curriculum expressed in terms of outcomes can be found in South Africa and later in a less explicit form in England. The relevance of the South African example for me, apart from my own involvement as a policy advisor there from the early 1990’s, was that the reforms relied on an assumption that was closely related to the ideas that I had first expressed in *Knowledge and Control*- that knowledge, and hence the curriculum was a social construct. I draw on the South African case not because it is unique, but because it represents the issues at their starkest and my direct involvement more than anything forced me to re-think my ideas. The evaluation of the curriculum reforms launched by South Africa’s first democratic government (Chisholm 2005) found that in practice an outcomes-based curriculum leaves teachers to construct knowledge with their pupils on their own. A curriculum derived from an outcomes-based qualifications framework, in other words, relies on an extreme version of the idea that knowledge is not a reality independent of how it is produced and acquired but is socially constructed by teachers with their pupils in particular classroom contexts. Not surprisingly, without syllabuses and

with limited specialist subject support, South African teachers found the situation completely beyond them.

Not long after the idea of an outcomes-based curriculum was introduced in South Africa, Moore and Muller (Moore and Muller 1999) published their critique of social constructivist theories of knowledge implicit in *Knowledge and Control* and the developments in the sociology of education that followed from it. Their theoretical critique was especially powerful for me as it related directly to my experience of social constructivism in practice in South Africa. It was in responding to these quite separate experiences- the failure of reforms that I had been associated with and a theoretical critique of my earlier work (Young 2000) that together forced me to question my earlier ideas. This was the context in which I began to re-assess the importance of Durkheim and Bernstein's ideas as an approach to the sociology of knowledge and to discover that the Russian cultural theorist, Lev Vygotsky, had a strikingly similar theory (see chapters 3 and 4) (Young 2007).

It was reading and in some cases re-reading these theorists that led me to social realism (Young 2009) as a way of thinking about knowledge and the curriculum. There is not the space here to go into any detail about what I see that such an approach involves. However I do want to mention two ideas that in the 1970s I would have resisted or even dismissed and that I now believe have profoundly important curriculum implications. The first concerns boundaries, especially boundaries between types of knowledge- in particular those between school and non-school knowledge. To say that such boundaries are social does not mean that they are arbitrary; they have a history and consequences for the distribution of education which it is our responsibility as theorists to make explicit and take account of. The second and related idea is that all knowledge is *socially differentiated*. This differentiation is real and not just socially constructed. It begins with differences between knowledge and experience and extends both to the differences between domains of knowledge and between 'theoretical' and 'everyday' knowledge. As I argue elsewhere (Young 2009b) the form this differentiation takes is crucial for decisions about what is and what is not included in the curriculum.

AN UNFINISHED PROJECT

The broad field of curriculum studies is quite different from when I started my academic career in 1967 (Young 2008b). One difference is its growing internationalism. I began as a typically English academic; all my reference groups were English. However 40 years later the intellectual community of which I am a part is no longer just English; it straddles countries in every continent.

Reflecting on this internationalising of the field takes me back to Max Weber; he argued that we- at the time he was referring primarily to Europeans and North Americans- need to come to terms with the fact that:

"in Western civilisation, and in Western civilisation only, cultural phenomena have appeared which...lie in a line of development having universal significance and validity" (Weber, 1905, quoted in Kronman, 2007).

Linking Western civilization to universal validity is a big claim. However, although Weber was a man of his time, he was no jingoist Euro-centrist. A century later, the philosopher Christopher Norris (2000) describes the phenomenon that Weber identified as the ‘unfinished project of modernity’. If we accept that this ‘unfinished project’ is the only alternative to Lyotard’s post modern relativism, this places a heavy responsibility on those of us involved in education. Sociology of education and curriculum studies should be critical resources for this modernising project, as they were for Durkheim over a century ago. Despite cul de sacs and even such evil directions as the Holocaust and Stalinism which modernisation has led to and which the post- and anti-modernists do not let us forget, modernity is ‘the only game in town’; there is no future for a ‘de-schooled society’ (Baker 2008).

The ‘unfinishedness’ of modernity is as important as the commitment to modernity itself. Unfinishedness is what distinguishes the social realist approach to knowledge that I and others (Young and Muller 2009) argue for in approaching the curriculum. It involves providing students with access to the ‘best’ knowledge possible and being aware that what is ‘best’ today may not be ‘best’ tomorrow. This combination of tradition, critique and debate is what I believe stops a social realist approach slipping into conservatism and authoritarianism and links it to the support that we must give teachers in building a better curriculum.

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Michael F. D. Young
Institute of Education, University of London

LEONARD J. WAKS

AFTERWORD: REFLECTIONS ON CURRICULUM STUDIES SINCE 1960

The members of the cohort of scholars represented in this volume were all born before, during, or immediately after WWII. Some experienced the depression years and all grew up in households affected by the depression. The authors from the UK experienced the bombing of Britain during their childhoods.

The resulting generational experience of contingency, fear and insecurity may be reflected in their choices of careers and scholarly themes. John Elliott, for example, speaks of a persisting “ontological insecurity” and some others speak in similar terms. Scholarship is one way of ‘fixing’ the world by placing it within a stable intellectual framework. Curriculum is also a way of ‘fixing’ experience, through the predetermination of its aims, activities, and evaluation criteria. That said, few of our authors adopted these strategies and most ended up in revolt against them in their treatment of curriculum. This may reflect the pattern in their own lives as they triumphed over contingency through creative work.

Contingency, instead of being taken as a problem to be eliminated, is in these chapters associated with luck, play, serendipity, chaos. Several of our authors speak of order as arising from chaos through a combination of opportunity and judgment. Doll’s chapter especially states this thesis and exemplifies it, but Kliebard, Holt, Schubert, Tanner and other authors also insist on it. Holt’s image of curriculum as “Casablanca-like” hits the nail on the head: curriculum at its best is like a movie produced and directed without a fixed plan, but with the aid of on-going judgment and revision.

The emphasis within this generation of curriculum scholars on luck and free play and order-out-of-chaos may be partially explained by the fact that ‘curriculum studies’ is itself a field that is entered by chance. Curriculum Studies is not a well-known or well-defined field. Young boys and girls want to grow up to become cowboys or policemen or pilots, doctors, nurses and even teachers, but I doubt whether any of them has ever wanted to grow up to become a curriculum scholar. Rather, those destined to work in this field “stumble” upon it; their pathways into the field are strewn with accidents, chance meetings, or out-of-the-way reading. Many of our authors came to the field indirectly, through the practical need to secure employment. They enrolled in a teacher training course to obtain some utilitarian credits, and this led to a teaching job, to practical curriculum work and finally to the study of curriculum in graduate school and university posts.

One theme that stands out in these chapters is the immense influence of specific graduate schools and professors. While the authors may have come to Columbia’s

Teachers College or the University of Chicago or London out of convenience, or more or less by accident, when they got there they encountered Joe Schwab or Dwayne Heubner, for example, and their lives were transformed and re-directed. Had our authors stumbled elsewhere or spent time with other professors it is possible that they would never have even entered the field of curriculum much less have emerged as “Leaders”. This indicates the importance of the genealogies pointed out by Schubert in understanding the development of the field. To take one example, Albery, a student of Bode, was in turn Klohr’s teacher (and oddly, Schubert’s father’s superintendent!). Klohr and Heubner were Pinar’s teachers, and Pinar was the teacher of Janet Miller and so many other contemporary curriculum thinkers.

One important cohort factor influencing the authors in this volume was the transformation of higher education and of educational scholarship in the 1960s. Participation in the tertiary sector increased dramatically; in the United States state teachers colleges were transformed into state universities; in the UK education became a university discipline for the first time, and teacher training became a university course requiring a knowledge base parallel with that of other university-based professional courses. Scholars from humanities and social science disciplines were recruited to create this knowledge base for education and bring it into conformity with contemporary knowledge practices. Philosophy, history, and sociology of education became ‘proper’ branches of their parent disciplines. The field of curriculum studies, as a result, became surrounded by humanities and social science scholarship and was opened to its influence. The curriculum expert became not merely one capable of offering guidance for curriculum practice, but one approaching that practice as an object of serious philosophical, historical and sociological inquiry. In the United States Schwab and Heubner led in extending the intellectual horizon of curriculum scholarship in this way.

Philosophy played a particularly central role in this transitional process. Almost every one of our authors studied philosophy in some systematic way. Even Michael Young, who insists that he is a sociologist and not a philosopher, turns around to state that his work inevitably drew him to philosophy. Apple studied with Soltis and Greene and his other main influence was Heubner; Berman’s impetus comes from Dewey’s focus on communicated experience; Connelly studied philosophy with Joe Schwab; Doll earned a BA and MA in philosophy, taught philosophy of education, and his work is distinctly philosophical; Eisner’s impetus is from Dewey’s *Experience and Education*; Elliott’s intellectual guides included Peters and Hirst at London, after philosophy first engaged him as a school student and undergraduate, and after Stenhouse encouraged him to study philosophy. His mature intellectual perspective has subsequently been shaped by the later works of Karl Popper; Holt studied philosophy of education formally in graduate school and wrote a PH.D. dissertation on the influential British philosopher Alistair MacIntyre, and the first course he taught was philosophy of education; Pinar states that in his work philosophy, not history, has been primary, and this is confirmed by his heavy reliance on insights from existentialism in his early work; Reid studied classics and tells us that his close study of Aristotle prepared him for his encounters with

Schwab. His work extends the deliberative tradition that has its sources in Aristotle and Dewey; Short has a background in philosophy of education and the intellectual project he outlines in his chapter comes right out of the playbook of Dewey's experimental logic; Skilbeck studied philosophy of education at the two leading centers—University of Illinois and The Institute of Education at the University of London, and subsequently taught philosophy of education. His curriculum work was inspired by the work of Smith, Stanley, and Shores which grew out of the Dewey tradition; Schubert studied philosophy of education, though he declined an invitation to study this field on the doctoral level at Indiana and instead taught and then studied curriculum at University of Illinois with Shores, who encouraged him seriously to study philosophy; Tanner's entire intellectual project has grown out of her appreciation of Dewey's work and she has also written an excellent book about his school; and as mentioned, Young disclaims being a philosopher, but insists that educational studies is not distinct from philosophy, and his original work was influenced by post-Wittgensteinian philosophers Thomas Kuhn and Peter Winch.

What are we to make of this unusually concentrated background in philosophy among curriculum scholars? One answer is that the field of curriculum offered an expressive space for philosophers of education working outside the analytical philosophy paradigm that dominated philosophy from 1960 to 1980, the period when these authors began their scholarly careers. Few among the philosophers selected for inclusion in the previous volume in this series, *Leaders in Philosophy of Education*, drew upon continental European philosophical traditions (existentialism and phenomenology, Neo-Marxism and Critical Theory). The dominance of analytical philosophy may have been so complete that those drawing on those other philosophical traditions in educational scholarship had to find alternative sites for their work, and some, including Pinar and Apple and Schubert among others, gravitated to general curriculum studies.

Individuals are more or less comfortable in their institutional settings. The discontents may sense that the prevailing situation is not just uncomfortable for them as individuals, but in some way imbalanced, and that changes or adjustments are needed to preserve or restore stability. (This is Talcott Parson's thesis that stability implies change). Philosophy and curriculum studies both attract discontents because they proceed by the methods of de-construction and re-construction. They are institutionalized vehicles for converting discontents into constructive change agents, at least at the level of thought – preparing texts that change the normative culture.

This template fits a number of our authors, who sought to create opportunities for others that they did not themselves have. Eisner's essay provides a clear case but not the only one. This is another way of taking James Macdonald's idea of curriculum studies as "utopian," as reported by Ben-Peretz. While very little in these essays may be taken literally as "utopian" many of our authors entertained hopes that positive changes in the forms of schooling they experienced could be effected by concerted efforts of curriculum professionals.

The Americans authors especially seem to have been hounded as well by the war in Vietnam that raged during their college, graduate school or early professional

years. Some of them even entered the field of education to avoid serving in the war, and their professional aims were formed against the background of the war and the social crisis it occasioned. Most of the authors on both sides of the Atlantic wished and worked for ameliorative change in society after the war, and had their hopes dashed after the conservative Reagan-Thatcher ascendance of the 1980s. Despite this shared experience, however, interesting national particularities remain. The authors from the UK responded to the emerging curricular needs of new school institutions such as the secondary modern schools arising after abandoning the 11+ exam. They saw the period 1960-1980 as a "golden age" of curriculum work, featuring many innovative ideas and projects and the succeeding period as a reactionary "dark age" foreshadowed by the conservative "black papers" that attacked those ideas and projects. In the US much of the new curriculum work was of a more top-down nature with leadership provided not by curriculum professionals but scholars drawn from such academic disciplines as mathematics and the natural sciences. In both the US and the UK, conservative governments after 1980 centralized control over the course of study and curriculum professionals were marginalized. This hastened the turn in curriculum studies toward more distanced philosophical, historical, sociological and multi-disciplinary theoretical work.

The leaders of the generation of educational scholars after 1960 often saw themselves as revolutionaries. They produced a "new" philosophy, a "new" history, and a "new" sociology of education. The work on school subject matters produced a "new" math, a "new" social studies, a "new" physics, etc. There was also a revolution or reconceptualization in curriculum studies, with Bill Pinar among its chief organizers. Just what was the "old stuff" was that this generation was reacting against? Schwab said the field was moribund (1969), and the cause was 'theory'. Short characterizes the 'old stuff' as abstract prescriptive generalizations. Several authors point to the formulations of Tyler and Bloom as paradigms of the 'old stuff'. How about the work of Smith, Stanley and Shores on Curriculum Development? Pinar's "reconceptualization" was directed explicitly against curriculum development as the 'old stuff.' To Schubert and Skilbeck, however, the pragmatic practice-focused work of Smith, Stanley and Shores seemed alive enough, and Klein continued to work and train graduate students in curriculum development. All of this suggests a persisting tension in this generation of scholars between forms of scholarship directed at practice versus scholarship proceeding at one or more levels removed from it.

Some of our authors say that the field of curriculum studies, in the wake of its philosophical, historical and sociological discoveries, is collectively 'smarter' now than it was in 1960. The field has taken on board deep insights about e.g., relations between curriculum and the maintenance of social stratification. It is no longer an instrument of what one author calls "institutional facilitation" because it has turned from curriculum practice to its intellectual critique. Without question the critical insights of Apple, Goodson, Young and others are permanent contributions to the field of curriculum studies, and it would be shameful were subsequent generations of curriculum scholars to neglect them. But despite the evident intellectual gains, the field as a whole cannot be considered more intelligent unless and until it has

consolidated and integrated its insights and incorporated them into new action patterns. It is the *working* intelligence of the field, not its capacity to demonstrate how smart it is, that confirms its progress. And the fragmentation in the field during this period works against that consolidation. Jerome Bruner thought of the field of curriculum as ‘animated conversation’. But there is insufficient conversation in the field today; as Bill Reid has put it in conversation, the curriculum field has become something like a vaudeville company where one act (the dancing girls) follows another (the comedian or Irish tenor) on the stage; Pinar comes on and does his act, then Eisner, then Apple, etc., all to general applause.

Some curriculum scholars today urge a re-focusing on practice. This confronts the field with the twin challenge of synthesizing contemporary curriculum knowledge and reconstructing and redirecting it as appropriate inputs for practice, as well as working in the policy arena to discover or forge new practical sites suitable for receiving such inputs. Perhaps the passing of the Reagan Thatcher Bush era will open new opportunities for curriculum professionals to return from the margins and, drawing on the insights gained since the 1960s, to make significant interventions in school practice. That would fulfil the hopes and ambitions of the post-1960 generation whose lives and works have been chronicled here.

Leonard J. Waks
Professor Emeritus
Temple University



APPENDIX A

EDMUND C. SHORT

IN APPRECIATION

Ted T. Aoki has received numerous awards and honors from his colleagues, students, and fellow educators for his extraordinary scholarship, for his wide-ranging impact on the educational community in Canada and internationally, and for the compelling personal relationships he establishes with virtually everyone he knows. The volume of his collected writings (2005) chronicles his professional career, preserves the text of over thirty of his major works, and offers interpretations of their significance. While Aoki has contributed greatly to several domains of educational scholarship and practice (e. g., social studies education, language and cultural education, and educational policy), the primary focus of his work has been in the field of Curriculum Studies. His earliest and perhaps most pervasive role in this regard was to bring the insights of nomological, critical, and interpretive philosophers to bear upon the conceptualizing of alternative approaches to curriculum inquiry (1979). This 1979 paper no doubt served more than any other to awaken the field to embrace alternative forms of inquiry. In various ways throughout his tenure at the University of Alberta and at the University of British Columbia, Aoki taught and exemplified the value of distinguishing among these multiple orientations to curriculum thought and practice and of drawing on the views of philosophers such as Habermas, Freire, Lyotard, and Husserl to highlight their differences and to show what each orientation can do if employed in curriculum inquiry. Phenomenology and interpretive inquiry became a leading thrust in Aoki's own work, emphasizing the "lived world" of students and teachers (1990, 1991, 1993) and shining the spotlight on the potential for Curriculum Studies of doing phenomenological inquiry. Aoki's graduate students have observed his manner of teaching embodies "encouragement and care, questions that rouse a sleeping mind, penetrate to the heart of an issue" (Carson, 1987). About curriculum scholars he said, "I applaud them for their acknowledgment of the *mundane commonplaces* of curriculum practice as a worthy dwelling place for scholars, and for not being forgetful of the world of curriculum practice that was the *raison d'être* of the coming into being of curriculum scholarship in the first place.... For me, what has been encouraging is the increasing number of scholars who have refused to surrender to the taken-for-granted understanding of these curriculum practices, and have made these very terms problematic. I like the daring in this critical stance" (1985).



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O. L. Davis, Jr., has made intellectual and professional contributions in several educational specialties, most notably in Social Studies Education and in Curriculum Studies. His curriculum work began with his leadership and publications with the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in the late 1950s when he was ASCD's Associate Secretary. He later edited and contributed to the 1976 Bicentennial ASCD Yearbook (1976). He was elected ASCD president for 1982-1983. In 1993 became editor until 2005 of ASCD's *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*. Davis came to the faculty of the University of Texas at Austin in 1966 and remained there until his retirement in 2008. He was active in the American Educational Research Association (AERA), serving as 1962-1963 chair of its Committee on Curriculum Development and Planning (1963) and was elected vice-president of AERA's Division B (Curriculum and Objectives) for 1971-1973. Davis expanded awareness of the value of historical knowledge in Curriculum Studies and developed an oral history archive at Texas. He helped shape a more rigorous understanding of historical inquiry through his articles (1977, 1981, 1991), his exchanges with colleagues in the Society for the Study of Curriculum History, and his mentoring of numerous graduate students who themselves have become masters of historical inquiry in Curriculum Studies and in Social Studies Education. (Burlbaw & Field, 2005). O. L. Davis, Jr., has actively dealt with and written about such practical and policy issues in Curriculum Studies and Social Studies Education as religion in the curriculum (1987), who should be seen as the 'consumer' of the curriculum (1990), the theoretical and the practical (1998), the role of historical empathy in the curriculum (2001), and the role of research in education (2002).

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John I. Goodlad, one of the most prolific and continuous contributors to the field of Curriculum Studies, has always kept theory and practice joined in his thought and writing. One of his earliest books, *The Non-graded Elementary School* (1959, 1963, 1987), exemplifies this tendency, as does one of his latest books, *Romances with Schools* (2004b). Because of his comprehensive grasp of what goes on in curriculum practice, theory, and research, Goodlad has regularly been called upon to appraise the state of the curriculum field (1958, 1960, 1969, 1984a, 1992, 1994a) and has done so insightfully and decisively. In 1963, Goodlad prepared a report for the National Education Association's Project on the Instructional Program of the Public Schools, entitled, *Planning and Organizing for Teaching* (1963), that codified the best thinking of that era on K-12 curriculum decision-making regarding school, classroom, and curriculum organization along with 33 recommendations for action. Goodlad and his associates developed a conceptual scheme (1966) that distinguished curriculum decision-making at four levels and accounts for the forces affecting decisions at those levels; his book *Curriculum Inquiry* (1979) elaborated and expanded this conceptual scheme, one that has become a standard in the field.

Extensive empirical studies of curriculum realities have been a hallmark of much of Goodlad's work. Such is the case with *Behind the Classroom Door* (1970) *Dynamics of Educational Change* (1975), *A Place Called School* (1984b) *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools* (1990) *In Praise of Education* (1997), and *Education for Everyone: Agenda for Education in a Democracy* (2004a) *Education and the making of a democratic people* (2008). Each of these major studies not only carefully documented what goes on in schools, in classrooms, in teacher education in school renewal and in democratic and moral teaching practices but also offered realistic recommendations for action based on what those studies found out. In the mid 1980s, Goodlad left his work and his leadership post as Dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California at Los Angeles and moved to the University of Washington where he led the Center for School Renewal in creating university-school partnerships and did major studies of teacher education partnerships throughout the nation. Goodlad and his associates have been attempting to put into practice in schools and in teacher education institutions the kind of recommendations that came out of these studies. These efforts have been among the few to systematically try to integrate theory and practice on a scale beyond localized efforts utilizing the results of solid research and democratic theory (1994b). Besides these major works, Goodlad has written dozens of articles and spoken to scores of educational conferences, both here and abroad, throughout his career on numerous topics related to both educational practice and theory. He has probably been one of the most widely known and admired scholars in Curriculum Studies in the last half of the 20th century. The best review of Goodlad's contributions, together with a list of his major writings, is to be found in Sirotnik and Soder (1999). Goodlad has also written his own career story (2009).

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Nelson L. Haggerson, Jr., from the beginning of his many-faceted career in Curriculum Studies, has maintained a continuous focus on the philosophical foundations of inquiry. He has helped curriculum scholars understand the differences between, and the unique research opportunities and requirements of, multiple research paradigms and their related epistemological orientations (e. g., rational/technical: scientific realism; practical/mythological: pragmatism; evolutionary/transformational: phenomenology; critical/normative: idealism) (1982a, 1982b, 1988, 1993-1994, 2000). Haggerson’s own autobiographical sketch (2000) identifies several additional domains of curriculum scholarship to which he has contributed at various times, including arts education, peace education, spirituality and education; curriculum history, aesthetic inquiry, philosophical inquiry, and interpretive inquiry. Several of his writings on these topics are collected in the volume, *Expanded Curriculum Research and Understanding* (2000), where a full listing of his works can be found. The last chapter in Wolfe and Pryor’s *The Mission of a Scholar* (2002) reviews these writings as well.

No doubt Haggerson’s best known work lies within a mytho-poetic perspective, as he prefers to call it, one that embraces hermeneutic and phenomenological inquiry using the language of metaphor and poetry (1986, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1999, 2000). A volume of essays written by his former students and colleagues in honor of Nelson Haggerson upon his retirement from Arizona State University, is a collective exhibit of the many forms of quality curriculum scholarship he fostered throughout his long and outstanding teaching and writing career (Wolfe & Pryor, 2002).

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Haggerson References By Others: (2002) M. P. Wolfe & C. R. Pryor (Eds.). *The Mission of a scholar: Research and Practice: A tribute to Nelson Haggerson.* New York: Peter Lang.

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Dwayne E. Huebner has written over eighty papers and articles that deal with topics related to the field of Curriculum Studies (1999). Before going to Yale Divinity School in 1982 as professor of Christian Education, and later serving there as Associate Dean of Academic Affairs, Huebner was a member of the Curriculum and Teaching faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University, from 1957-1982. It was there that he developed a striking array of challenging views on curriculum, its purposes and meanings, its inherent systems of rationality and value, its desirable content and form, its political economy, its philosophical and spiritual assumptions, and the need to conduct multiple forms of inquiry on it. His writings are richly peppered with concepts intent upon visualizing curriculum as focused on the existential, religious, and esthetic encounters of life; it should include wonder, love, laughter, responsibility, conversation, being, meanings, humanness, ethical valuing, caring relationships, knowledge use, creativity, learning how to learn, spirituality, curiosity, various forms of knowing, criticism, possibility. In addition to providing these visionary concepts of curriculum, Huebner has also conceptualized its concrete aspects differently from ways that have prevailed in much of curriculum practice. Curriculum design is conceived as environmental design esthetically composed (1963, 1967, 1968, 1974, 1985, 1991a, 1993). It is educative content made present to the learner on which the learner acts, converses, thinks, criticizes, participates in the transcendent. The responsibility of those who design curriculum, says Huebner (1964), is to conceptualize curriculum as social

policy, that is, to control the symbol system that “clarifies and shapes value, provides directives for action, legitimates or rationalizes decisions, and serves as a visible symbol of group identification and solidarity.” Huebner has analyzed the several systems of rationality (technical, political, scientific, esthetic, ethical) that are employed in curriculum policy and design (1966, 1968, 1970) and has sought a balance among these in practice instead of a dominance of technical rationality as was the case then and now. These articles and others (1967, 1985, 1991b) demonstrate Huebner’s perpetual attention to remaking curricular language and to the related philosophical issues as expressed by Heidegger, Polanyi, Habermas, and Ricour. At the close of a long and fruitful career, Huebner has presented the field of Curriculum Studies with five specific challenges he hopes we will not fail to take up and act upon: “to surpass the technical foundations of education, to affirm the significance of the imagination, to use the world’s intellectual traditions and achievements, to engage in public discourse about education, and to speak out for children and youth” (1996).

Huebner References: (1963) New modes of man’s relationship to man. In A. Frazier (Ed.), *New insights and the curriculum*. Washington, DC: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Reprinted in 1999); (1964) Politics and curriculum, *Educational Leadership*, 21(3), 115-129 (Reprinted in 1999); (1966) Curricular language and classroom meanings. In J. Macdonald & R. Leeper (Ed.), *Language and meaning*. Washington, DC: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Reprinted in 1999); (1967) Curriculum as concern for man’s temporality, *Theory into Practice*, 6(4), 172-179 (Reprinted in 1999); (1968) The tasks of the curricular theorist. Address to Professors of Curriculum, March, Atlantic City (Reprinted in 1999); (1970) Leadership role in curriculum change. In M. R. Lawler (Ed.), *Strategies for planned curricular innovation*. New York: Teachers College Press (Reprinted in 1999); (1974) The thingness of educational content. Paper given October 18 at Xavier University, Cincinnati (Reprinted in 1999); (1985) Religious metaphors in the language of education. *Religious Education*, 80(3), 460-472 (Reprinted in 1999); (1991a) Educational activity and prophetic criticism. Unpublished paper, Yale Divinity School (Published in 1999); (1991b) Notes toward a framework for curriculum inquiry, *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 6(2), 145-160 (Reprinted in 1999); (1993) Education and spirituality, *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 11(2), 13-34 (Reprinted in 1999); (1996) Challenges bequeathed. Paper given November 22 at Louisiana State University (Reprinted in 1999); (1999) *The lure of the transcendent: Collected essays by Dwayne E. Huebner*, V. Hillis & W. F. Pinar (Eds.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

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Philip W. Jackson was elected Vice-President of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) for Division B (Curriculum Studies) for 1983-1984 as well as President of AERA for 1989-1990. AERA selected him to edit its first

Handbook of Research on Curriculum (1992b). His research and writing has spanned a great many subfields in Education, including the nature and practice of teaching (1986, 1992c), moral aspects of schooling (1993), art education (1987, 1994), secondary schooling (1981), philosophy of education and the thought of John Dewey (1998a, 2002), and new concepts in educational research (1990a). In most of Jackson's work in these fields, curriculum dimensions lay close to the surface though not having the explicit focus (Sosniak, in Hansen, et al., in 2007). In many other studies by Jackson, however, curriculum has received central attention.

Life in Classrooms (1968) became a classic study not only because of its in-depth look at students' and teachers' classroom experiences in a new way but also because Jackson identified the operation of "the hidden curriculum" (Sosniak in Hansen, et al., in 2007) and also saw teaching not as technique and curriculum not as a course of study but in combination as "a curricular vision of teaching," as one of Jackson's students identified it (Zumwalt in Hansen, et al., in 2007). Jackson also brought Dewey's curricular ideas to fuller view in several important works (1990b, 1998b, 1998c). He clarified the curricular legacies of Franklin Bobbitt, Ralph Tyler, and Joseph Schwab (1975, 1992a). He argued convincingly for the generalist perspective as appropriate for both curriculum scholars and practitioners (1980, 1992a, Sosniak in Hansen, et al., in 2007). Jackson was Professor in the Department of Education at the University of Chicago for over forty years. His students have attested to his extraordinary gifts as a teacher, mentor, and scholar (Hansen, et al., 2007), and his colleagues in Curriculum Studies awarded him a Life-Time Achievement Award in 1995.

Jackson References: (1968) *Life in classrooms*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; (Reissued, 1990) New York: Teachers College Press; (1975) Shifting visions of the curriculum: Notes on the aging of Franklin Bobbitt, *The Elementary School Journal*, 75(Special 75th Anniversary Issue), 118-133; (1980) Curriculum and its discontents, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 10(2), 159-172; 175-177; (1981) Comprehending a well-run comprehensive: A report on a visit to a large suburban high school, *Daedalus*, 110(4), 81-95; (1986) *The practice of teaching*. New York: Teachers College Press; (1987) Mainstreaming art: An essay on discipline-based art education, *Educational Researcher*, 16(6), 39-43; (1990a) The functions of educational research, *Educational Researcher*, 19(7), 3-9; (1990b) Introduction. In John Dewey, *The school and society* and *The child and the curriculum* (Centennial Edition). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; (1992a) Conceptions of curriculum and curriculum specialists. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.) *Handbook of research on curriculum*. New York: Macmillan; (1992b, Ed.) *Handbook of research on curriculum*. New York: Macmillan; (1992c) *Untaught lessons*. New York: Teachers College Press; (1993 with R. E. Boostrom & D. T. Hansen) *The moral life of schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass; (1994) Thinking about the arts in education: A reformed perspective, *Teachers College Record*, 95(4), 542-554; (1998a) *John Dewey and the lessons of art*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; (1998b) John Dewey's *Experience and Education* Revisited. In John Dewey, *Experience and education* (60th Anniversary Edition). West Lafayette, IN:

Kappa Delta Pi; (1998c) John Dewey's *School and Society* Revisited, *The Elementary School Journal*, 98(5), 415-426; (2002) *John Dewey and the philosopher's task*. New York: Teachers College Press;

Jackson References by Others: (2007) D. T. Hansen, M. E. Driscoll, & R. V. Arcilla (Eds.), *A life in classrooms: Philip W. Jackson & the practice of education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

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Denis Lawton's professional and intellectual career, his writings, and his enduring contributions to Curriculum Studies, and to Educational Studies more broadly, have been highlighted in a volume honoring him upon his retirement as Director, Institute of Education, University of London (Halpin & Walsh, 2005). He spent more than forty years at the Institute of Education where he was its first Head of Curriculum Studies from 1972-1978. Lawton's books and articles (listed at the end of this volume) are so numerous that any attempt to identify his major works risks omitting something equally significant among the others. Perhaps within Curriculum Studies, he is most noted for his series of books on class, culture, politics, and change in curriculum in which he was one of the first to define the substance and form of a new sub-discipline, the Sociology of Curriculum (1973, 1975, 1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1983, 1989). All of these works are very readable and hold the commonplaces of curriculum and education central.

Though committed to thorough-going historical, political, cultural, and sociological analysis of school curriculum, Lawton managed to speak credibly both to school teachers, administrators, and policy-makers, and to speak to them in new ways as circumstances and contexts changed over time. He has been forthright in his analysis and criticism of government education policies in view of his own and others' research. Though his own scholarship has been directed largely to the educational settings in Great Britain, Lawton's work has had considerable relevance elsewhere and is admired world-wide. His early works still seem as telling as are his more recent works (1998, 2003, 2004, 2005).

Lawton References: (1973) *Social change, educational theory, and curriculum planning*. London: University of London Press; (1975) *Class, culture, and the curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1978a with P. Gordon) *Curriculum change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. London: Hodder & Stoughton; (1978b with others) *Theory and practice of curriculum studies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1980) *The politics of school curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1983) *Curriculum studies and educational planning*. London: Hodder & Stoughton; (1989) *Education, culture, and the National Curriculum*. London: Hodder & Stoughton; (1998) *Curriculum studies and the secondary school*, 2nd ed. London: University of London External Service; (2003) 'Cultural analysis' and 'Cultural analysis applied to Contemporary England'. In D. Scott (Ed.) *Curriculum studies: Major themes in education 1951-*,

Vol. 2: Curriculum forms. London: RoutledgeFalmer; (2004 with P. Walsh) 'The rise and fall of the National Curriculum in England'. In Ministério da Educação, *Flexibility in curriculum, citizenship, and communication.* Lisboa: Comissão das Comunidades Europeias; Programa SOCRATES; (2005) *Education and labour party ideologies 1900-2001 and beyond.* London: Taylor & Francis.

Lawton References by Others: (2005) D. Halpin & P. Walsh (Eds.). *Educational commonplaces: Essays to honour Denis Lawton.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

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John D. McNeil, at the University of California Los Angeles from 1956-1990 not only has contributed extensively to the field of Curriculum Studies but also to Reading, School Reform, Teacher Accountability, and Supervision, writing a total of over forty books. His earliest book on curriculum was *Curriculum Administration* (1965), a practical guide for school board members and administrators. Over the years he has written status studies and analyses of several aspects of curriculum practice, including the forces that influence curriculum, curriculum organization, politics of curriculum, and the multiple forms of disciplinary inquiry in Curriculum Studies (1969, 1978, 1988, 1992). *Designing Curriculum: Self-Instructional Modules* (1976, 2003b) presents step-by-step processes for selecting instructional objectives, activities, and assessments for particular learners. McNeil gives a more fully elucidated treatment of curriculum purposes, subjects, materials, and instructional planning for use by classroom teachers in *Curriculum: A Teacher's Initiative*, which has evolved through three editions (1995, 1999, 2003a). The major work for which McNeil is known is his on-going comprehensive curriculum textbook series, which was first published in 1977 and continues through the seventh edition in 2009, *Curriculum: A Comprehensive Introduction* (1977, 1981, 1985, 1990, 1996) and *Contemporary Curriculum in Thought and Action* (2006, 2009). It is difficult to identify any curriculum scholar who has so thoroughly and continuously helped curriculum practitioners understand and learn how to deal with perennial curriculum questions as has John McNeil.

McNeil References: (1965) *Curriculum administration: Principles and techniques of curriculum development.* New York: Macmillan; (1969) Forces influencing curriculum, *Review of Educational Research*, 49(3), 293-318; (1976, 2nd ed. 2003b) *Designing curriculum: Self-instructional modules.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; 2nd ed. Boston: Scott Foresman; (1977, 2nd ed. 1981, 3rd ed. 1985, 4th ed. 1990, 5th ed. 1996) *Curriculum: A comprehensive introduction.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; 4th ed. Boston: Scott Foresman; 5th ed. New York: Harper Collins; (1978) Curriculum—A field shaped by different faces, *Educational Researcher*, 7(8), 19-23; (1988) An overview of curriculum politics, local, state, and federal, *NASSP Bulletin*, 72(509), 60-69; (1992) Curriculum organization. In M. C. Alkin

(Ed.) *Encyclopedia of educational research* (6th ed.). New York: Macmillan; (1995, 2nd ed. 1999, 3rd ed. 2003a) *Curriculum: The teacher's initiative*. Columbus, OH: Merrill Prentice-Hall; (2006, 2009) *Contemporary curriculum in thought and action*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

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Daniel Tanner has produced the single most comprehensive historical record of the field of curriculum policy and practice in the USA written during the last half of the twentieth century (with L. Tanner, 1975, 1980, 1995, 2007). His scholarship has touched on almost every curriculum movement, practice, reform, organization, idea, spokesperson, and scholar at work in this field. Assiduously finding, documenting, and interpreting the factual evidence and discernable patterns associated with these realities, Tanner has constructed the basis for what has become this field's collective memory. In 1990, he and Laurel Tanner published the more narrowly focused but equally penetrating *History of the School Curriculum* (1990) which chronicles past experience in school curriculum and highlights the arguments for and against the various curricular options the schools have exhibited. He also has devoted his talents as historian to writing the history of the John Dewey Society (1991).

Bordering on history, but, strictly speaking, textbooks for use in preparing secondary school teachers and administrators, were his *Schools for Youth* (1965) and *Secondary Education* (1972). Both treated the commonplaces of curriculum within the broader questions of aims and purposes of education. His *Secondary Curriculum* (1971) focused primarily on issues of general education versus specialism and the changing context of disciplinary subjects in secondary schools. *Supervision in Education* (with Laurel Tanner, 1987b) addressed the work of principals and supervisors in relation to curriculum and instruction.

Tanner continually wrote on numerous topics for professional association journals such as *Educational Leadership*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, and *NASSP Bulletin*. Not satisfied simply to publish in scholarly journals on Curriculum Theory and Curriculum History (e.g., 1966, 1982b, 1987a), he dealt with practical issues of interest to school practitioners on topics such as ITV, pupil achievement, teacher aides, comprehensive curricula, parent education, and standards. Through these articles and his speaking to many conferences of educators, he became known as a forceful advocate for reforms based on solid research and curricular principles rather than "innovations du jour."

The comprehensive high school was the subject of much of Tanner's historical research, publications, and policy advocacy, even as he often dealt with other policy issues (1993, 1998, 2000). Whenever the comprehensive high school has come under threat, he marshaled the case for adopting the comprehensive high school as the most appropriate means of providing general education for all youth in a democratic society (1979, 1982a, 1984, 1996, 2007; Wraga, 1994).

Tanner References: (1965) *Schools for youth: Change and challenge in secondary education*. New York: Macmillan; (1966) Curriculum theory: Knowledge and content. *Review of Educational Research*, 36(3), 362-372; (1971) *Secondary curriculum: Theory and development*. New York: Macmillan; (1972) *Secondary education: Perspectives and prospects*. New York: Macmillan; (1975, 2nd ed. 1980, 3rd ed. 1995, 4th ed. 2007, all with L. Tanner) *Curriculum development: Theory into practice*. New York: Macmillan; (1979) Splitting up the school system; Are comprehensive high schools doomed, *Phi Delta Kappan*, 61(2), 92-97; (1982a) The comprehensive high school in American education, *Educational Leadership*, 39(8), 606-613; (1982b) Curriculum history. In H. E. Mitzel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of educational research* (5th ed.). New York: Macmillan Free Press; (1984) The American high school at the crossroads, *Educational Leadership*, 41(6), 4-13; (1987a, with L. Tanner) Environmentalism in American pedagogy: The legacy of Lester Ward, *Teachers College Record*, 88(4), 537-547; (1987b, with L. Tanner) *Supervision in education: Problems and practices*. New York: Macmillan; (1990, with L. Tanner) *History of the school curriculum*. New York: Macmillan; (1991) *Crusade for democracy: Progressive education at the crossroads*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press; (1993) A nation "truly" at risk, *Phi Delta Kappan*, 75(4), 288-297; (1996) The structure and function of the American secondary school curriculum: A national survey. In P. S. Hlebowitsh & W. G. Wraga (Eds.) *Annual review of research for school leaders*. New York: Scholastic (NAESP); (1998) The social consequences of bad research, *Phi Delta Kappan*, 79(5), 345-349; (2000) Manufacturing problems and selling solutions: How to succeed in the education business, *Phi Delta Kappan*, 82(3), 188-202.

Tanner References by Others: (1994) W. G. Wraga, *Democracy's high school: The comprehensive high school and educational reform in the United States*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

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Philip H. Taylor, who was the first Director of Research for the Schools Council for England and Wales, is best known as the founding editor of the *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, serving from 1968-1985. He co-wrote the text, *An Introduction to Curriculum Studies* (1979b) with Colin Richards. He published several research studies including, *How Teachers Plan their Courses* (1970), *The English Sixth Form* (1974c), *Purpose, Power, and Constraint in the Primary School Curriculum* (1974a), and others, often written in conjunction with others. He pioneered the exchange of work in Curriculum Studies across the Atlantic by editing and co-editing a series of volumes containing conference papers, selected journal articles, and comparative curriculum studies. These volumes included *The Curriculum: Research, Innovation, and Change* (1973), *Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study* (1974b), *Curriculum, School, and Society* (1975), *New Directions in Curriculum Studies* (1979a, 1985), and *Recent Developments in*

Curriculum Studies (1986). Among Taylor's many research articles, "Curriculum Research: Retrospect and Prospect" (1982) probably has received the most attention and approbation.

Taylor References: (1970) *How teachers plan their courses*. London: National Foundation for Educational Research; (1973 with J. Walton, Eds.) *The curriculum: Research, innovation, and change*. London: Ward Lock Educational; (1974a with others) *Purpose, power, and constraint in the primary school curriculum*. London: Macmillan; (1974b with M. Johnson, Eds.) *Curriculum development: A comparative study*. Windsor: NFER Publishing Company; (1974c with W. A. Reid & B. J. Holley) *The English sixth form*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1975 with K. A. Tye Eds.) *Curriculum, school, and society: An introduction to curriculum studies*. Windsor: NFER Publishing Company; (1979a, 2nd ed., 1985, Ed.) *New directions in curriculum studies*. London: The Falmer Press; (1979b with C. Richards, Ed.) *An introduction to curriculum studies*. Windsor: NFER Publishing Company; (1982) Curriculum research: Retrospect and prospect, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 14(1), 53-59; (1986, Ed.) *Recent developments in curriculum studies*. Windsor: NFER-NELSON Publishing Company.

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Max van Manen, at the University of Alberta, introduced studies of "lived experience" into Curriculum Studies in the 1970s based on forms of inquiry originating with the work of the Utrecht School of phenomenology in the Netherlands. His book, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (1990, 1997), summarizes a wealth of knowledge on doing this kind of study. Prior to the publication of this book, van Manen's work had attracted wide-spread attention through a number of published articles on this subject (1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1984, 1986). In *Tact of Teaching* (1991), van Manen addresses pedagogy as an intimate and ethical relationship with the child rather than as an act of applying generic teaching techniques. Being able to see things from the child's viewpoint necessitates linking pedagogy and phenomenological inquiry. The consummate treatment of the place of interpretive understanding and reflectivity in making practical judgments in teaching and Curriculum Studies comes in van Manen's often-cited article, "Linking Ways of Knowing with Ways of Being Practical" (1977) which continues to speak to contemporary issues.

Van Manen References: (1977) Linking ways of knowing with ways of being practical, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 6(3), 205-228; (1978) An experiment in educational theorizing: the Utrecht School, *Interchange*, 10(1), 48-66; (1979a) Objective inquiry into structures of subjectivity, *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 1(1), 44-64; (1979b) The phenomenology of pedagogic observation, *Canadian Journal of Education*, 4(1), 5-16; (1982) Phenomenological pedagogy, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 12(3), 282-299; (1984) Practicing phenomenological writing, *Phenomenology +*

Pedagogy, 2(1), 36-69; (1986) We need to show how our human science practice is a relation of pedagogy, *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 4(3), 78-93; (1990, 2nd ed., 1997) *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press; 2nd ed., London, Ontario: Althouse Press; (1991) *The tact of teaching; The meaning of pedagogical thoughtfulness*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

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Decker F. Walker has championed the role of empirical studies in understanding and improving curriculum development and policy-making. In several essays, Walker conceptualized the concrete phenomena of curriculum and its central problems and set forth new research agendas which he has urged the field of Curriculum Studies to undertake (1973, 1975c, 1977, 1980, 1982). His own empirical work began with studies of deliberative processes in local curriculum development settings (1970, 1971b, 1971c, 1975b). Walker's reviews and analyses of curriculum research in policy-making (1971a, 1992b), in comparing and evaluating curricula (1974), and in curriculum maintenance and change (1975a, 1977, 1979) demonstrated the value of empirical research in Curriculum Studies for creating new concepts and improving practices related to generic and site-specific curriculum development and to curriculum policy-making at the state and federal levels. Walker acknowledged the place of other forms of curriculum research besides empirical studies that were being advanced for use in curriculum inquiry during the 1970s and 1980s, but he raised a number of important issues about the relation of research methodologies to the concrete realities of curriculum and of curriculum work (1992c). In this *Handbook* article, Walker returns to advocating research agendas that focus on improving curriculum practice and to urging caution in selecting research methodologies appropriate to topics on these agendas. Finally, Walker has distilled what he has learned throughout his career in studying curriculum development and policy-making into a series of brief textbooks for practitioners (1986, 1992a, 1997, 2004). His more comprehensive book, *Fundamentals of Curriculum* (1990, 2003), embraces diverse traditions, perspectives, and research approaches while focusing on the use of practical reason to improve curriculum practice.

Walker References: (1970) Toward more effective curriculum development projects in art, *Studies in Art Education*, 11(1), 3-13; (1971a with M. W. Kirst) An analysis of curriculum policy-making, *Review of Educational Research*, 41(4), 479-509; (1971b) A naturalistic model of curriculum development, *School Review*, 80(1), 51-65; (1971c) The study of deliberation in three curriculum projects, *Curriculum Theory Network*, 7, 118-134; (1973) What curriculum research? *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 5(1), 58-72; (1974 with J. Schaffarzick) Comparing curricula, *Review of Educational Research*, 44(1), 83-111; (1975a edited with W. A. Reid) *Case studies in curriculum change: Great Britain and the United States*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1975b) Curriculum development in an art

project. In W. A. Reid & D. F. Walker (Eds.) *Case studies in curriculum change: Great Britain and the United States*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul; (1975c) Straining to lift ourselves: A critique of the foundations of the curriculum field, *Curriculum Theory Network*, 5(1), 3-25; (1977) Toward comprehension of curricular realities. In L. Shulman (Ed.) *Review of research in education*; 4. Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock; (1979) Approaches to curriculum development. In J. Schaffarzick & G. Sykes (Eds.) *Value conflicts and curriculum issues: Lessons from research and experience*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation; (1980) A barnstorming tour of writing in curriculum. In A. W. Foshay (Ed.) *Considered action for curriculum improvement*. Washington, DC: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; (1982) Curriculum theory is many things to many people, *Theory into Practice*, 21(1), 62-65; (1986, 2nd ed. 1992a, 3rd ed. 1997, 4th ed. 2004, all with J. F. Soltis) *Curriculum and aims*. New York: Teachers College Press; (1990, 2nd ed. 2003) *Fundamentals of curriculum*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates; (1992b) Curriculum policy-making. In M. C. Alkin (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of educational research* (6th ed.). New York: Macmillan; (1992c) Methodological issues in curriculum research. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.) *Handbook of research on curriculum*. New York: Macmillan.

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Ian Westbury, General Editor of the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* since 1989 and its U. S. Editor from 1975-1989, has co-edited several books, among them the well known collection of essays by Joseph J. Schwab (Westbury & Wilkof, 1978), a NSSE yearbook on general education (Westbury & Purvis, 1988), a report on the Second International Math Study (Westbury & Travers, 1989), and a volume on the German Didaktik tradition (Westbury, Hopmann, & Riquarts, 2000). His many influential articles span four decades and a wide range of topics: curriculum evaluation (1970), curriculum guides (1983), the role of textbooks (1990), international assessments (1992), curriculum deliberation (1994), state level curriculum making (2008), and curriculum as a discipline (1971, 1972, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1998, 1999).

Ian Westbury References: (1970) Curriculum evaluation, *Review of Educational Research*, 40(2), 239-260; (1971 with W. Steimer) Curriculum: A discipline in search of its problems, *School Review*, 79(2), 243-267; (1972) The character of a curriculum for a practical curriculum, *Curriculum Theory Network*, 10(Autumn), 25-36; (1977) Educational policy-making in new contexts: The contribution of curriculum studies, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 7(1), 3-18; (1978 with N. J. Wilkof, Eds.) *Science, curriculum, and liberal education: Selected essays by Joseph J. Schwab*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; (1979) The curriculum: What is it and how should we think about it? In M. Bloomer & K. E. Shaw (Eds.), *The challenge of educational change: Limitations and potentialities*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon; (1980) Schooling as an agency of education: Some implications for curriculum theory. In

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George Willis has approached Curriculum Studies from the vantage point of the Humanities, both as disciplines of inquiry and as sources of ways of seeing and dealing with curriculum problems and issues. Drawing on such diverse disciplines as philosophy of knowledge, phenomenology, esthetics, literary theory and criticism, intellectual history, ethics, and religion, Willis' scholarly contributions have demonstrated several possible new directions worthy of being pursued within the field of Curriculum Studies. He was among the first to attempt to reshape curriculum evaluation as something other than the calculation of before-and-after differences, more qualitative in character (1975, 1978b, 1981a, 1981b, 1988a, 1988b, 1994). He advanced the examination of curriculum as students' experiences through the use of phenomenological and interpretive forms of inquiry (1970-1971, 1978a, 1979, 1982, 1991a, 1991b). Together with fellow curriculum historians, Willis has helped document the history of curriculum and of Curriculum Studies in the United States (1985, 1993), has shown how curriculum theorizing has changed in the United States (1984, 1989), and has provided textbooks for practitioners which point to the best of both the older and the newer visions of curriculum and curriculum inquiry (1995, 1999, 2003, 2007).

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APPENDIX B
EDMUND C. SHORT

IN MEMORIAM

- Harold B. Alberty (1890-1971)¹
William M. Alexander (1912-1996)²
J. Franklin Bobbitt (1876-1956)³
Hollis L. Caswell (1901-1988)⁴
Werrett W. Charters (1875-1952)⁵
John Dewey (1859-1952)⁶
A. Wells Foshay (1912-1998)⁷
L. Thomas Hopkins (1889-1982)⁸
Paul R. Klohr (1918-2008)⁹
J. Paul Leonard (1901-1995)¹⁰
James B. Macdonald (1925-1983)¹¹
Alice Miel (1906-1998)¹²
Harold Rugg (1886-1960)¹³
Joseph J. Schwab (1909-1988)¹⁴
J. Harlan Shores (1915-1993)¹⁵
B. O. Smith (1903-1989)¹⁶
William O. Stanley, Jr. (1902-1992)¹⁷
Lawrence Stenhouse (1926-1982)¹⁸
Florence B. Stratemeyer (1900-1980)¹⁹
Hilda Taba (1902-1967)²⁰
Ralph W. Tyler (1902-1994)²¹
William Van Til (1911-2006)²²



NOTES

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Leaders in Curriculum Studies

Intellectual Self-Portraits

Edmund C. Short

University of Central Florida, Orlando, USA

and

Leonard J. Waks (Eds.)

Temple University, Philadelphia, USA

In the 1950s and 1960s school teaching became a university-based profession, and scholars and policy leaders looked to the humanities and social sciences in building an appropriate knowledge base. By the mid-1960s there was talk about a "new" philosophy, history, and sociology of education.

Curriculum thinkers such as Joseph Schwab, Dwayne Heubner and Paul Hirst initiated new intellectual projects to supplement applied work in curriculum. By the 1970s the field was in the process of re-conceptualization, as a new generation of scholars provided deep critical insights into the social, political and cultural dynamics of school experience and templates for renewal of curriculum research and practice.

In this book, 18 leading curriculum scholars since 1970 who remain influential today present the fascinating stories of their lives and important new contributions to the field. They trace their early experiences in teaching and curriculum development, creative directions in their work, mature ideas and perceptions of future directions for the field. Each chapter contains a list of works chosen by the authors as their personal favorites.

This book offers an ideal companion to courses in curriculum studies and a guide for scholars seeking to understand the main currents in this field today. In a single volume it presents a bird's eye view of the entire field as told in the words of its leading figures.

"This collection casts a bright light on the identity of the field of curriculum studies and its evolution. The essays make for wonderfully accessible and engaging reading. They are even more impressive in the fluency with which the authors use their individual histories to illuminate the field. We in the next cohort might take a page from their experiences, ideas, accomplishments, and sometimes explicit advice."

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