Chapter 2

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member your years in school? Alphabets and numbers meant kindergarten. Reading, spelling, arithmetic, celebrating holidays, reading stories, planting seeds, observing birds and animals—these were primary and elementary school experiences. Then came middle and high school, a shift from the general learning in science, language arts, and social studies to more specific knowledge in biology, chemistry, literature, languages, history, algebra, and geography, among others. What you were learning was often referred to as the "knowledge" you needed to know or the "skills" you should learn, usually tucked into some rationale such as, "If you don't study all that, you won't be ready for life!" or "You need to know that to be successful and get ahead!" Mostly it was accepted without too much questioning, the "stuff" you didn't like, history or mathematics, perhaps, being the exception. So, why were you subjected to that knowledge during 12 years of schooling? Because the society, the community, the group of which you are a member, decided it was important for all its members to share in that common knowledge and learn about ideas, knowledge, skills, and experiences that the society decided were important. In the present, all those courses that students in American schools are supposed to experience and learn is summed up in a word, *curriculum*.

HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF CURRICULUM

Curriculum as a word is not a recent invention. It does not simply refer to what is taught in schools or imply a listing of subjects taught. It is more complex, a word from antiquity that has evolved in meaning. Referring to a dictionary, you find that curriculum is from a Latin word, *currere* (probably of earlier Greek origin), referring to the running of a course as in a chariot race. Schooling could also be envisioned as a course to be run or gone over in the same way that a racecourse is a confined, known experience with a beginning and end. Beyond that initial definition, dictionaries variously define curriculum as an aggregate of courses of study given in a school, college, or university (sometimes cited collectively as educational institutions); a particular course of study; or both. Based on a consensus of dictionary sources, curriculum would simply mean "a course of study." However, if you search out what a "course of study" means, you come full circle—it is referred to as a curriculum! Left with that very limited dictionary definition, it will prove more fruitful to follow the trail about how this very complex word evolved through some very inventive times. Curriculum historians have traced the use of the word curriculum and its emergence into common use in books and published writings in the years from the 1890s to about 1918 (see Kliebard, 1986; Schubert, Schubert, Thomas, & Carroll, 2002). However, to understand its emergence as an idea and as a discipline in the field of education, the tale begins earlier in the rise of new knowledge in 19th-century America.

Science and Technology

In the mid-19th century, a series of important publishing events signaled a revolution in ideas and knowledge about human life and the physical world in which we live. In 1859, after a 20-year wait, Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species* (Darwin, 1859/1995). In this book, and the two that followed, he presented and defended his theory of evolution. It is reasonable to say that those publications forever changed the direction of the study of biology and influenced thinking in all areas of knowledge. At about the same time that Darwin was voyaging on the Beagle and formulating his theory, Jacob Bigelow published *The Elements of Technology* (1829) and introduced that concept to American science. That term, in modern garb, conjures up such things as cell phones and nanotechnology. Thus evolution and technology were born, and physical science and life would never be the same from that time on. Their appearance

marks two turns in scientific thinking, a new view of the physical world, and, with Darwin's second book in his trilogy, *The Descent of Man* (1871), the emergence of a new field, the scientific study of the human species. What does this have to do with curriculum? It has to do with the influence of evolution on the rising new discipline of sociology; the emergence of a new family of knowledge, the social sciences; and the public articulation and wedding of two key ideas, freedom and progress. Scientific ideas became the justification for freedom and progress, and together they became the purpose and content of what has become a distinctive American curriculum.

Freedom and Progress

In 19th-century America, one of the most influential sociologists was an Englishman, Herbert Spencer. Robert Nisbet sums up his influence this way, "It is impossible to think of any single name more deeply respected, more widely read among social philosophers and scientists, and more influential in a score of spheres, than was that of Herbert Spencer" (1980, p. 235). Spencer coined the term Social Darwinism, which essentially encompassed the following ideas: (a) A person has freedom to do what he or she wills as long as that does not transgress the same right for others, and (b) the individual and society are organic and evolving, and progress could be achieved through movement toward identified goals for the improvement of both. Spencer held that knowledge was the means to freedom and progress and, in one of his famous lectures, asked, "What knowledge was of most worth?" It is a short trip from that question to the matter of passing that "knowledge" to members of the society so that social and individual progress could be achieved. In short, what Spencer was staking out was an original curriculum question, "What ought to be taught?" His answer was to use science, mathematics, and the emerging social sciences (political science, economics, sociology, and anthropology) as knowledge to achieve whatever ends were determined in the name of progress and freedom.

Questions about purposes, content, and instruction in schooling were part of the larger knowledge revolution about the nature of American society playing out at the turning of the 19th into the 20th century. Spencer's question about what should be taught initiated thinking about subjects and instruction, basic elements in schooling. In much the same way that Darwin had unsettled complacent science with his ideas about evolution, Spencer and others applied it to social betterment through science, albeit with a large dose of racism—it was white society that they addressed. Bigelow's science-driven technology idea, manifest in new applications of electricity, industrial machinery, the railroad, and wireless and other inventions, seemed to substantiate the arguments of Darwin and Spencer. The confluence of those strands seemed to suggest a new unity of knowledge that could lead to improvement in all spheres of American life.

Figure 2.1 The Herbartian Method

Preparation

Review of new ideas related to old ones

Presentation

Presentation of the new material

Association

Association of old with new material

Generalization

Deriving of general principles (new knowledge) from the association of the old and new

Application

Applying the principles (new knowledge) to specific practical situations

Curriculum and Instruction

The problem was, what means of delivery could best serve to get the new message of the scientific gospel into society? The American solution, which took many years to achieve, was to provide this knowledge through some form of common schooling. What was taught prior to the new knowledge was variously referred to as "content" or "subject matter," based on disciplines of knowledge and the exercise of the mind consistent with the prevailing *faculty psychology*—a 19th-century concept of learning that saw the mind as consisting of separate powers, or faculties. The unwieldy task of enumerating or listing individual subject matter in addressing "what was to be taught" begged for a solution, some collective term. New pedagogical ideas entered the schooling dialogue and further complicated the matter of which subjects or what content. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s, the popular Herbartian movement in education (Kliebard, 1986) used the term *method* in ways that seem synonymous with content or subject matter. However, as depicted in Figure 2.1, method might also imply instruction or a template for devising a lesson plan addressing what was to be taught and how to do it.

This apparent mingling of subject matter and instruction as pedagogy seemed confusing: Were the matters of the subjects to be taught and instruction in those subjects the same or separate issues? Did it make any difference? These new pedagogical issues, the separate articulation of content issues from instructional ones, marked the emergence of new and important matters of practice. In pedagogical terms, instruction was understood to mean the delivery of what was to be taught. There remained the matter of the "what" that was to be delivered. The idea of using curriculum as a concept subsuming and replacing such words as content or subject matter had yet to gel. Notwithstanding its early appearance in the title of John Dewey's 1902 signal publication *The Child and the Curriculum*, the concept of curriculum had not gained educational prominence. It was not easy to replace the traditional use of subject matter and

content designations with an economical word for what was taught in schools. The problems of meaning—using curriculum as synonymous with instruction, or implying both when using the term pedagogy—those matters of clarification also vexed curriculum's emergence as an area of study, a distinct, separate one of scholarly interest within the larger field of education.

The Applied and Academic Traditions

Exactly what was curriculum? What did it mean? From a Spencerian point of view, curriculum was "knowledge" to be transmitted, specifically that which was of "most worth." The issue was, then, just a matter of deciding which kind of knowledge. When Spencer asked his question, he did so from an academic point of view to advocate the application of scientific knowledge in the study of human evolution. Events and emerging ideas about the nature of society and the future would provide different and often competing meanings for curriculum and signify it in different ways. Mere definitions would not suffice; curriculum had to have attributes, defining qualities that would give it shape. That kind of thinking meant to conceptualize a new meaning for curriculum, a process that played out over the course of some 50 years, a period roughly from Dewey's 1902 publication The Child and the Curriculum to Ralph Tyler's Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, published in 1949. Two developments affected the conceptual process, the rise of the social sciences and the question of the practical and academic nature of curriculum work. The rise of the social sciences, particularly sociology, shifted the focus to the study of human social institutions, of which schools were one. The second development, the matter of assigning responsibility over curriculum, centered on institutional decisions about whether curriculum was a practical or academic enterprise.

By the 1920s, activities such as curriculum development in mainly urban school districts—Denver, Chicago, and St. Louis, for example—gave curriculum a practical, applied, dimension (Cuban, 1984; Kliebard, 1986; McKelvey, 1963). Various state departments of education—Indiana and Alabama, for example—provided guides for doing curriculum development. Curriculum work meant curriculum development, at least at the school and teaching level. Publications from the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association also spread the word about developmental processes and activities. However, it was at the academic level that the greatest influence was achieved.

Academicians, specifically those who would influence prospective teachers—those such as Boyd Bode at Ohio State; John Dewey at Chicago; and William Heard Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and George S. Counts at Teachers College, Columbia—were among many who published influential books about curriculum (see Schubert et al., 2002). These books were mainly of two orientations, those focusing on practical matters

and those on the theoretical. Discussion about the practical focused on purposes for schooling and what content would best achieve those purposes, an early dialogue about aligning purposes and curriculum. Given contemporary discussions about purposes, you can understand that the debate was as lively then as now. The second approach was theoretical, not in the scientific sense but in a form that came to be called *curriculum* theory. These were proposals advocating a specific curriculum presented with extensive logical argument and representative examples of organization and content. With rare exception, what these texts represented were "ought to be" and "how to" perspectives rather than reports or suggestions based on research or scholarly studies of curriculum work. These developments meant, in effect, that curriculum was dividing into two distinct areas of work, one of academic text development and theorizing, the other of the school practitioner and curriculum development. The meaning of curriculum depended on what was expressed through text authority rather than what was known through practice, specifically through practical curriculum development activity. This was the great divide, the theory-based knowledge encountered in preparing to teach on the one hand and what was actually found about curriculum in the reality of school practice on the other hand. What influenced meaning and practice was what was published and disseminated about curriculum. Texts became the influential source, not the stories of practical work in schools and classrooms.

Classroom Teachers and Curriculum Scholars

The academic/school community divide also influenced the development of curriculum work in a broader sense. Conceptualizing and mapping out curriculum and curriculum work was moving along two paths. Going in one direction were those pursuing curriculum as an academic function. Steering a different course were those advocating the practical, understanding curriculum through its use by practitioners in schools and classrooms. The voices multiplied. Some addressed curriculum as the need to differentiate knowledge according to specific purposes. Others assumed the mantle of formal academic knowledge and asked which of the disciplines were of most worth in forming curriculum content. Still others forsook the knowledge issue in favor of beginning with aims or purposes to be served, or centering on the child, and then determining what knowledge or experience would meet those needs. Curriculum scholars have categorized those perspectives in various ways, calling them orientations, philosophical positions, ideologies, and so forth. Some of these frames of reference and their authors are summarized in Figure 2.2. Collectively, they are of historical and philosophical interest, a sampling of different scholarly perspectives on curriculum.

Taken collectively, these suggest two things. First, that curriculum was evolving as a larger focus beyond merely selecting "knowledge." There were other possibilities, other reasons for organizing curriculum, particularly those growing out of new knowledge from the social sciences about the relationships among people, society, its

McNeill (1975)	Eisner & Vallance (1974)	Kliebard (1986)	Huebner (1966)	Tanner & Tanner (1980)
Prevailing Conceptions	Concerns or Orientations	Interest Groups	Rationales	Curriculum Traditions
Humanistic	Cognitive	Humanist	Technical	Traditional
Social	Processes	Developmentalist	Political	Essentialist
Reconstruction	Technology	Social Meliorist	Scientific	Experimental
Academic	Self-Actualization	Social Efficiency	Aesthetic	
Technological	Academic		Ethical	
	Rationalism			
	Social Reconstruction			

Figure 2.2 Some Curriculum Frames of Reference

institutions, and what knowledge would serve their progress. Second, there was a growing differentiation between curriculum and instruction. New interest in the study of teaching, learning, and schooling—the Progressive Education Association's Eight-Year Study during the 1930s was one example—began to focus on the research complexities in working with curriculum and instruction, separately or in combination.

Whereas the general trend was toward research about learning and instruction and less about curriculum per se, the separate interests gave impetus to new interpretations and ideas about what constituted the world of curriculum. There was an interest in searching out and building a foundation of knowledge about curriculum, and there was increased interest in the nature of the classroom and particular aspects of teaching as curriculum (Cuban, 1984). The acts of teaching and learning highlight several interesting characteristics of curriculum. It is knowledge; it is practice. It is the relationship between knowledge and practice. It is content, as in science or literature, and it is a process, as in a particular way to think in and with each subject. Curriculum is also place-bound; it has the characteristics of being in a location, usually a classroom. Teachers and students in those places tend to be isolated, and creatively studying this "curriculum-in-context" is not easily done with traditional quantitative research methods. However, the availability of new qualitative methods from the social sciences case study and ethnographic methods, for example—provided new tools of inquiry to study the classroom and teaching as microunits. Using those methods, researchers and other practitioners could explore and illuminate curriculum and, of course, other contextual elements such as instruction. A second advantage of the new inquiry methods was that the object of study was "happening"; it was in use. The reformulation of how and what to study, the recasting of how to look at curriculum as something alive rather than inert, propelled changes in thinking about curriculum and its constituent nature. Much of that impetus was owed to what came to be called the Tyler Rationale.

CURRICULUM INQUIRY AND THE TYLER RATIONALE

If a deeper understanding of curriculum was to be achieved, it had to begin with a rethinking of what was known and the articulation of new ways of thinking about and studying curriculum. The dilemma in advancing the notion of curriculum was twofold. There was a sense that traditional ways of studying curriculum—the speculative, logical, and theoretical—were unprogressive. Second, unlike other fields, such as the social and natural sciences with their growing traditions of foundational knowledge based on research, no similar inquiry tradition was developing, either generally in education or particularly about schooling and curriculum.

Competing Curriculum Ideas

Schooling discussions were not bereft of ideas. The reality was much discussion advocating one position or another but lacking any evidence validating a particular one. How does a curricularist, defined as anyone who works with curriculum, such as the teacher or the scholar, accept as valid certain new ideas about curriculum and purposes for schooling as well as linkages between purposes and curriculum? By the mid-1930s, the major focus was on the aims of schooling, and the force of curriculum thinking and work was on establishing the legitimacy of one of three main contending views. The traditionalist promoted knowledge and subject matter. A second group wanted curriculum to serve social purposes. A third thought curriculum should focus on the learner (more about these ideas in Chapters 4 and 7). The foundation for arguing any position was essentially logical scholarly argument, speculation, and theory. What was lacking was a way to establish the legitimacy of any one of the three views being advocated. There was no research-based knowledge to guide curriculum work or substantiate one set of proposals or theories as better than any other. What curriculum study needed was a fresh approach to inquiry that would lead to a new core of knowledge about curriculum and ways to study it in addition to the existing discourse of scholarly argument and theory building.

Curriculum Inquiry and Tyler's Work

Refocusing curriculum work meant asking new questions and devising new methods to study and guide curriculum work. The catalyst was Ralph Tyler's formulation of a way to think and do curriculum and instructional work that essentially derived

Figure 2.3 The Tyler Rationale

• STATE PURPOSES •

What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

IDENTIFY EXPERIENCES •

What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?

• ORGANIZE EXPERIENCES •

How can these educational experiences be effectively attained?

• EVALUATE EXPERIENCES •

How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?

Source: Tyler, 1949, pp. 1-2.

from his experience as evaluator for the seminal 1930s Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association. Although more is written about this study and Tyler in Chapter 7, it is important to mention it in this discussion about the development of curriculum as a discipline within the education field. Tyler, through a series of steps (Figure 2.3), established a process for working with curriculum that was elegant in its focus, was easily used, and centered inquiry and thinking.

Tyler's Rationale, as it has come to be known, bridged the curriculum dualities—curriculum as what was to be taught in schools and curriculum as a scholarly body of knowledge, and curriculum as knowledge building about content to be taught and as knowledge about the processes to construct that knowledge. Using Tyler's Rationale gave curriculum a new meaning and prompted the search for additional ways to study curriculum and create new knowledge. Curriculum was moving beyond definitional discussions, theory formulation, and speculative curriculum development practices. Looking at curriculum from the perspective of the university scholar or the teacher practitioner meant encounters with complexity and greater levels of abstraction, a perception that there were more layers of curriculum knowledge to be uncovered. The new knowledge required validation through research, practice, or both.

In effect, curriculum work could evolve from Tyler's Rationale; it suggested a cycle of knowledge production about curriculum functioning in a disciplined way, joining together practitioners in all phases of curriculum activity in a bounded discourse community. This does not mean a community of kindred souls all enveloped in the same ideas. It does mean a community with a disciplined sense of itself, one that is framed by a common focus in a discussion with different views: A belief that progress is made through the creation of knowledge, acceptance that in the creative process there will be a struggle to maintain an equilibrium of engagement, and awareness that curiosity—the casual observation or unexpected question—could change or challenge that balance. Tyler's contribution to curriculum is much like Darwin's contribution to biology; it

changed and recentered discussion and energized the search for knowledge through different methods of inquiry.

Tyler's Rationale added a new dimension to understanding curriculum. It was no longer a matter of understanding by definition; rather, curriculum would be understood in different ways. The process Tyler envisioned moved curriculum from a passive to an active mode. Curriculum in the old, passive sense had functioned as a speculative venture about knowledge to be taught, arguments over subject matter inclusions, or theories about how to frame a curriculum. Tyler introduced a way to "think about" and "do" curriculum that could be used by anyone anywhere. It opened up a range of different ways to understand curriculum—through a definition, as a concept, and by experiencing it—and to give meaning to it in all its forms—from the simple and concrete use of a textbook to the complex and abstract formulation of a single K–12 curriculum.

CURRICULUM RECONCEPTUALIZED AND REDEFINED

As noted previously, a brief definition for curriculum would be "a course of study." You or I might define curriculum as "all the subjects taken in school"—history, languages, and physics, for example. Neither definition would be in error, and either would convey a simple meaning that would be understood, at least by any American. Curriculum scholars have also weighed in with definitions. A sample of those efforts is found in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4 Some Definitions and Descriptions of Curriculum

A series of things, which children and youth must do and experience, by way of developing abilities to do the things well that make up the affairs of adult life. (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 42)

Curriculum is all the experiences children have under the guidance of teachers. (Caswell & Campbell, 1935, p. 5)

The total effort of the school to bring about desired outcomes in school and out-of-school situations (Saylor & Alexander, 1974, p. 3)

Curriculum encompasses all learning opportunities provided by the school. (Saylor & Alexander, 1974, p. 7)

The curriculum is what is learned. (Macdonald, 1986)

The "curriculum," as we use the term, refers not only to the official list of courses offered by the school—we call that the "official curriculum"—but also to the purposes, content, activities, and organization of the educational program actually created in schools by teachers, students, and administrators. (Walker & Soltis, 1997, p. 1)

A set of decision-making processes and products that focuses on the preparation, implementation, and assessment of general plans to influence students' behaviors and insights. (Armstrong, 2003, p. 4)

Glancing through those selections, you can discern both differences and similarities. There appears to be some consensus that curriculum is some kind of a planned experience, that it relates to learners, and that it has a location, the school. Beyond those elements, the characterizations vary. There is a sense that those definitions can only provide surface meanings. Students of curriculum, especially scholars, have for years attempted to establish a standardized meaning for curriculum, and they will continue to do so. Understanding curriculum beyond definitions requires other ways of thinking about it—as a concept, as an activity, as experience.

Curriculum as Concept

Concepts are complex meanings wrapped into one or several words. They are meanings created by conceptualization, a process of elaboration using ways to think about something, as in picturing, perceiving, imagining, or experiencing it. As a way of creating meaning, concepts go beyond accepted definitions, descriptions, or simple sensory experience. To think conceptually is to use your mind to create knowledge about something—intrinsic knowledge already possessed and the external knowledge that must be acquired. Moving through the process of defining, describing, and conceptualizing, you encounter tiers of knowing, a migration from surface to deeper meaning involving degrees of simplicity and complexity. Moving from the simple and concrete to the complex and abstract in thinking is a passage through knowledge creation. In a sense, this is moving from general to more specialized meaning. For example, the words car, vehicle, and automobile are a set of concepts. Each is different, yet each relates in limited ways to the others. A car is an automobile and a vehicle; it can also be a vehicle but not an automobile, as in a train "car" that is a piece of railroad rolling stock. Vehicles include more than cars, but an automobile has a specific set of attributes and anything else either has them or it doesn't. The applicability of meanings to such concepts involves levels of simplicity, complexity, concreteness, and abstractness. Curriculum can be made immediate and concrete, as in textbooks or guides you can see, touch, and read. A student and teacher can experience curriculum in a classroom. The classroom serves as a context, a set of circumstances that can shape meanings you acquire about curriculum as you experience it.

Curriculum as Activity

Studying how curriculum is created and used, what curriculum workers such as teachers actually do with it, gives specialized meaning to curriculum as an activity. Observing a teacher using the curriculum in a classroom adds an applied dimension. The knowledge about curriculum the teacher needs in order to use curriculum differs from the knowledge required in other worker roles. The particular roles of different

curriculum workers also refine its meaning. Other professionals—professors, curriculum researchers, and curriculum specialists—may have work- or role-related needs that require a different conceptualizing of curriculum. The individual or role-related personal need to know, the level of understanding, and the knowledge requirements of a particular role or work context depend on the way people use curriculum and make decisions about it in their work.

Different activities define curriculum in different ways by how they represent curriculum and the kind of curriculum knowledge they use and in turn create about curriculum. What, for example, do a textbook company and a teacher have in common? Each is involved in curriculum work—the teacher in the fluid events of using the curriculum in the classroom and having to adjust it in relation to the students, time, plans, and other factors. The textbook worker is producing a static textbook, something inert until it is used. There are two dimensions at work that unite them. The teacher uses the text as the platform for classroom work and is guided by it as it represents the curriculum. The textbook producer is creating the platform the teacher will use. There has to be congruence through the text as representing what the teacher needs and what the textbook company provides based on a common foundation of knowledge about curriculum and the purposes it is to serve. More will be said about this curriculum as activity in Chapter 3, which introduces you to curriculum work, and in Chapters 8 through 12, where you will study the various roles and the interactive nature of curriculum work.

Curriculum as Experience

Some things acquire meaning through our experiencing them. This is a special characteristic of curriculum. In your schooling, you passed through the curriculum mediated by the time and place of that journey. Your individual and shared encounters with the curriculum shaped individual and collective meaning of curriculum. If you asked a diverse sample of people—from various states, of different ages, who attended different types of schools—and asked them what they were taught in any grade, they would with minor variations describe a similar curriculum. They shared experiences in common even though these occurred in different settings.

Teachers and other school personnel who work with curriculum also experience curriculum but in a different way. They directly experience the curriculum as *curriculum-in-use*. This has multiple meanings. From the teacher's perspective, it is what is being taught—reading, literature, science, and so forth. From the students' point of view, it is what they individually attend to and receive or experience, an idiosyncratic process. Ask a group of students what they studied in school today and they will give you different answers that, taken as a whole, depict the curriculum. Parents and the general public also have perceptions of the curriculum-in-use. They observe and discuss from a distance. The distance from the event coupled with demands in the daily

circumstances of living seem to scatter perceptions of the curriculum. For them, curriculum-in-use tends to become a selective remembering of what it was when they were in school. Parents who criticize "that new math" or suggest that teachers ought to get back to the "solid" subjects they had in school are reacting to the "then" and "now" aspect of curriculum-in-use.

A Curriculum, The Curriculum, Your Curriculum

The idea of curriculum-in-use evokes other meanings attained in the curriculum experience: The curriculum is illuminated in teaching and learning; teachers teach the curriculum, students learn it. That shared set of experiences involves a general sense of engagement in *a* curriculum, one that is generic in nature; *the* curriculum, that which is intended and specific to the moment; and *your* curriculum, what is experienced personally. Considered as questions, what does experiencing *a* curriculum, *the* curriculum, and *your* curriculum mean?

The first encounter (what is a curriculum?) strives to characterize a generic, universal meaning for curriculum. There are essentially two views about that. The first is that curriculum embraces schools and schooling; it is what is taught there. The second view is that curriculum is not specific to a place or setting but can exist in many forms as a set of experiences. Schubert et al. (2002, p. 499) put it thus: "[Homes], peer groups, formal youth organizations, jobs, and the media profoundly influence children and youth. I submit these are curricula in their own right." In this latter view, curriculum could be anything and mean anything.

The second question (what is *the* curriculum?) refers to curriculum as de jure and as de facto. De jure refers to curriculum as a legal entity. It is established through constitutions and other laws prescribing what should be in the school curriculum, that is to say, what should be taught. By de facto is meant the actual, daily, moment-to-moment existence of curriculum in schools, the reality of what is taught in the classroom by the teacher and experienced by the students. The existence of curriculum is a fact; it is the curriculum-in-use. Curriculum, as you recall from Chapter 1, has been described in various ways; two ways you have not yet encountered refer to its formal and informal nature. Formal curriculum (de jure in this sense) refers to what is made explicit in such documents as a state curriculum guide or course of study or teacher's lesson plan. It is informal in the ways it is adjusted by the teacher's decisions as it is taught, the modification or exclusion of what is formalized. Two other aspects of the informal curriculum (see Chapter 1) have been labeled the hidden curriculum and the null curriculum. The hidden curriculum refers to unwritten, and often unintended, things students learn in school. An elementary student learns to walk in a line when moving, to wait turns for the drinking fountain, and to raise a hand to speak. These and other rules are not stipulated in the formal, or de jure, curriculum; they are part of the hidden curriculum. There is also what Elliot Eisner (1994) refers to as the null curriculum: that which is

not taught. This concept highlights the power of particular mindsets in education, which also affect decisions over what purposes the curriculum should serve. Eisner identified a "small chunk" mindset in curriculum practice, for example, in which factual details are emphasized over "big picture" understandings. These unifying observations, because they are not taught, are part of the null curriculum. As another example, until recently, the achievements of women and minorities also tended to be part of the null curriculum.

Your curriculum refers to the individual, personal understanding of curriculum—what teachers, students, and others perceive as the curriculum. As a teacher, your curriculum is what you plan and engage through instruction. It is the taught curriculum. As a student, your curriculum is the received curriculum that you encounter under the direction of the teacher. Note that it is possible that what a teacher prepares, the intended curriculum, may not be what the students receive. Your curriculum is also historical. It includes the personal memories and remembrances often at odds with the reality of the contemporary curriculum in general or the particular curriculum-in-use.

Curriculum as History and Expectations

Mid–20th-century thinking among scholars in all areas of knowledge anticipated the advances to be made in human progress through science. The Salk polio vaccine, advances in jet propulsion and rocketry, the Great Society programs, and the civil rights movement seemed to reflect what General Electric claimed and Ronald Reagan spoke, "At General Electric, progress is our most important product." That comment about progress from the 1950s suggests the tone or theme of a particular phase in the historical development of schooling and curriculum in America. These periods are sketched in Figure 2.5. Referring to that figure for a moment, you will note that central to the social progress of the 1950s was the role of educational institutions and the potent empowerment they received from the famous post–World War II GI Bill. In 1944, the United States Congress created a vast "right" to a schooling opportunity, first for

Figure 2.5 The Changing American Curriculum

- Formative Period (c. 1860s-1900s): The discourse evolves about schooling and conceptualizing the substance of what is taught as curriculum.
- Curriculum Creation (c. 1900s–1970s): Curriculum is emphasized as practice through curriculum development work in schools. Theory work tends toward linking theory and practice. The Great Depression and two world wars distract attention from schooling.
- Theory and Discourse (c. 1970s-1980s): Speculative academic discussions about theory and reconceptualizing tend to dominate discourse and separate school and academic communities in curriculum work.
- The Contemporary Scene (c. 1980s–2005): Starting in 1983, a flow of school reform movements brings debate about purposes for public schooling, outcomes, accountability, and equity in and access to the curriculum.

returning veterans and later extended to all who served. The other direct recipients of that largesse were postsecondary training institutions, colleges, and universities—expansion of educational opportunities meant more schools and programs to meet the demands of returning veterans. The message was progress through education, and education for all meant from kindergarten through college. There was, however, no systematic linking of schooling from kindergarten through college, and only a minimal articulation of what learning or other requirements were necessary for entry at any particular point from kindergarten to college. The fundamental question was what did they need to know (knowledge) or to do (skills) preparatory to exercising their educational rights? This was the quintessential issue: the curriculum.

The upshot was that for the next 50-some years and into the 21st century, curriculum and its scope and sequence, from preschool to graduate school, became a primary concern. That learning flow became the focus of numerous reform efforts. Still, the questions remained. To the perennial one, what exactly is curriculum, were added several others. One—how do you go about doing curriculum?—prompted the study of curriculum as work, a collection of behaviors and decisions. A second focused on the dual character of curriculum, the content of what was taught and the process itself as something to be studied. A third followed from earlier wrestling with various meanings curriculum had begun to accrue, one anchored in fact, the other in future thinking. These are the questions of "how" the curriculum got the way it is and "what" it is likely to be in the future, twin reflections that frame thinking about the meanings of curriculum like bookends. Both depend on understanding that curriculum is a social product, a reflection of the society it serves. Referring again to Figure 2.5, the curriculum and what it has come to mean have evolved through four epochs. During each epoch, some ideology or practice was added, forming a distinctly American system of schooling. Those constructions represent consensual responses American society made about the need for schools and the purposes for schooling. The organization and content of the curriculum suggest national values, what it means to be an American the knowledge, skills, and experiences that an American ought to possess, and our place in the world. The curriculum reflects a collective sense of self, an American character, the institutional structures that are important, and the ideologies that power how we view the future.

Since before nationhood, American schooling traditions have been shaped by obvious and subtle issues and conflicts among various parties: public, parochial, private, political, lay, and professional. Among the enduring issues have been two: "What purposes should schools serve?" and "What should schools teach?" Both questions are curriculum questions because they arrive at the issue of curriculum substance, what is to be taught, the content, the "course to be run." The response given to one requires consideration of the other regardless of which is asked first. It is not a matter of the starting point; what curriculum has been, its past meaning, and what it will mean tomorrow are bookends framing what it means in the present.

PERSPECTIVE INTO PRACTICE: Curriculum Reconceptualized and Redefined				
Definitions	Elementary Classroom	Secondary Classroom		
Curriculum as Activity: Lessons from life sciences	Develop the life cycle concept: planting a flower or vegetable seed in dirt or a potato in water, a simple activity mirroring curriculum discussions about planning, organizing, and implementing curriculum material.	Study the life cycle concept: Viewing a video on the life cycle of the salmon and developing a comparable cycle for other life forms. How a teacher plans, organizes, and implements a lesson employing comparative analyses to promote higher thinking and development.		
Curriculum as Experience: Lessons from life sciences	The teacher highlights the development of the plant and creates a master chart of progress. The student observes the growth and creates a daily chart with comments and follows his or her own personal plant's development.	The <i>teacher</i> presents other life cycle examples (i.e., mice, elephants, etc.) for species variation. The <i>student</i> prepares a chronology of their life cycles reflecting the various developments and presented in a chart summary and personal narrative.		
Curriculum as History and Expectations : Lessons from life sciences	The life cycle concept is applicable to every species. It can be charted as historical approach. It is a basic concept schools are expected to teach in increments of depth.	The concept of a life cycle moves personal thinking to consider the simple and concrete, as in watching a seed develop, and the complex and abstract, as in the development of humans. Learning to think in this way is a threshold to professions such as teaching, medicine, and theology.		

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT CURRICULUM

Curriculum has a history and multiple meanings. Out of that history and the collective meanings that give it shape, what perceptions should guide further exploration? From the discussion to this point, some perceptions seem warranted and have been alluded to previously, whereas others are new extrapolations. These perceptions do not promote a particular perspective. Rather, they frame a threshold of knowledge from which to begin exploring curriculum. They provide the landscape of possible perceptions out of which a picture of curriculum knowledge and practice arise. This picture is based on seeing curriculum as dynamic, powerful, ubiquitous, and multipurpose.

Curriculum Is Dynamic

Curriculum is always in a state of becoming even though it is captured in the passive confines of a book or picture or some other medium used to present and engage it. A classroom textbook presents "canned" information to be learned. If a teacher opts not to read certain pages or sections, the curriculum represented in the book's content has been changed. These on-the-spot changes are the professional decisions a teacher makes. They change the curriculum into a different one that may or may not be what was intended. In making those kinds of decisions, the teacher is guided by knowledge about curriculum gained from course work and from classroom practice. Other factors also influence curriculum activity. There is always the possibility that the curriculum planned for a specified time will have to be altered. If the time allocation changes, something will be omitted. Teacher plans for Thursday may not be met because of schedule changes such as an unannounced assembly or a scheduled emergency drill. This can mean some learners get what was planned whereas others get nothing or an abbreviated version. Students also get sick, they leave early for sporting events, and they are taken out of school for parental reasons. All these factors influence how the curriculum is or isn't received in the intended way. The upshot is that circumstances, not students, often interdict curricular intent. Curriculum becomes differentiated by circumstances as well as by variations in students. And that is another problem. No student is the same as another, and some, such as immigrants and students with special needs, must be considered specifically. These variations in the population of students force curriculum to be dynamic, to be considered in multiple contexts. This is a perspective of curriculum as vibrant and not static. The initial encounter with curriculum is a faceoff with anticipated but unknown outcomes.

Curriculum Is Powerful

Control of the school curriculum is an exercise in power. The forces determining the shape of the curriculum can subtly influence the social, cultural, political, and economic directions in a society. The curriculum is indoctrination for good or evil. It can be liberating and conserving, promote individual development or group allegiances. In America, school curriculum promotes individual development through a core of common studies: reading, language arts, mathematics, and others of what are considered the liberal arts. Those studies are presumed to "liberate" the person to develop critical ways to think. The curriculum also allows a choice of electives that promote individual student interests. On the other hand, what the curriculum offers is traditional; that is, it is much the same curriculum that has existed over the last two or three generations. The history of American curriculum is not one of dramatic or quick change. The nature of a democracy, the inherent need for discussion and to search for consensus, mitigates. As a society becomes more democratic, including more persons in the decision process,

agreeing on school purposes becomes more complex. Various stakeholders, (i.e., political parties, special interest groups, businesses, advocacy groups, etc.) expect to participate. They bring with them diverse, often conflicting views about the purposes schools and curriculum should serve. Decisions also are often subject to shifting views of the momentary majority. Usually the result is a "negotiated curriculum."

In America, the curriculum also mirrors the transitional impact social and political movements, leaders, and events have had on the question of purposes schools should serve. For example, a perusal of textbooks used during World Wars I and II shows how governments used propaganda about the enemy to stir nationalistic feelings and support for the war. Unfortunately, the curriculum has also been used to foster racism and disparage other cultures. How and why these exploits have occurred suggest two things. In democratic societies such as the United States, curriculum negotiation is characterized by its contentious, fragile nature. Censorship discussions about what should or should not be included in textbooks or what books students should read exemplify this fragility. Second, democracies by their very nature have untidy decision-making processes. In many ways, the curriculum is an artifact, documenting how ideas and politics have played out. Various episodes—the progressive movement of the early 20th century, censorship during the McCarthy era of the 1950s, and the effect of the Russian Sputnik in 1957—influenced the writing of curricula and textbooks by shifting the emphasis and content. More recently, the arrival of the standards-based curriculum movement in the 1980s and 1990s and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 have given curriculum a more prescriptive appearance. There has been a standardization of curricular expectations and a gradual transfer of curriculum responsibility from local schools and districts to state, regional, and national organizations including the federal government. This movement has tended to lessen local curriculum initiatives and control. Curriculum thus both reflects and engenders power.

Curriculum Is Everywhere

Curriculum involves many people at different levels and in different locations. Consider your state, for example. Locally, the curriculum exists in the classroom, the school, and the central district office. Statewide, it is in all classrooms, schools, and school districts. Curriculum is also a function of the state department of instruction or department of education, as the case may be, which exercises authority over the curriculum for all schools and districts in the state. There are regional organizations such as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, national entities such as the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and quasi-public ones like the Council of Chief State School Officers that are all involved in some way with curriculum work. There are others—commercial textbook publishers, school supply specialists, manufacturers, and special interest groups—that produce curriculum materials for classroom use.

Across the nation, a variety of sanctioned and unsanctioned materials is available. The distinction is important. A state or district board approves "sanctioned materials," mostly those in the form of textbooks. "Unsanctioned materials" are offered on a discretionary basis in the hope they will find their way into the classroom, serving the interests of those creating the materials. Curriculum materials can often be flash points for controversy, especially if they seem to contravene public perceptions of local standards. Materials of a religious nature or those pertaining to sex or sexual practices are some examples.

Curriculum is ubiquitous. Other than public and quasi-public contexts for curriculum, there are parochial institutions, such as the Roman Catholic Church, which provide special religious-oriented curriculum for their schools. Private schools also have curricula that can vary. There is also the Waldorf Curriculum and others available for home schooling or other schooling alternatives. Despite the many and varied curricula, however, ultimate authority over what they will contain and what will be regarded as minimums is under the authority of the individual state in which the school or schooling activity is located. How that authority is exercised will vary from state to state.

Curriculum Serves Many Purposes

Curriculum is what schools and schooling are all about. It is also important because, in the school setting, it can be a defining, shared American experience. Through curriculum, we have the opportunity to develop and share in common citizenship, language, history, and specialized knowledge in the sciences and the arts. It is interesting that a school-age child in any grade can change schools from one state to another and find that the curriculum from school to school, state to state, is virtually the same. This will hold true in public schooling and is usually true for private and parochial schools as well. This suggests that in a general sense, a common, unofficial curriculum exists. The existence of this supposed common curriculum is curious because no national curriculum exists in the United States. Other nations, the United Kingdom and Germany, for example, have national curricula. Why don't we? Under the United States Constitution, the federal government does not have a specific, direct grant of power to establish or control schools. In America, schools are traditionally creatures of the individual states in accordance with each state's constitutional provisions. By custom, the exercise of a state's constitutional authority has been one of "local control" by the authorized subunit usually designated as the school "district." What unites this decentralized and dispersed quality of schooling and schools? The curriculum! The state may establish by law what shall be taught in all schools—parochial, private, and public—and for those taught at home. The authority to determine what the curriculum will be is a powerful social, cultural, economic, and political tool. This involves two important kinds of work, policy making and planning, which are the subjects for discussion in Chapter 9.

Schools and curriculum serve important social and cultural purposes for the societies and cultures in which they are embedded. Perceptions of curriculum and schools are part of our individual and collective social and cultural experiences. In the United States, schooling and curriculum serve both to represent and facilitate an evolving American society and nation. For example, elementary schooling in reading and writing, the basic literacy skills, seeks to ensure communication in a common language. Young children also learn about American traditions, holidays, and other symbols of our civic heritage. Curriculum represents a common connecting of people through experience and ideas. This implies a certain commonality in what schools collectively do, what they are to achieve, their reasons for existing in and serving society.

Individualism and personal development are honored American ideals served by curriculum. Considering curriculum's social-cultural nature, what purposes or expectations of the individual derive from that milieu, and how are they determined? As social-cultural beings and recipients of social-cultural knowledge embedded in curriculum, the emphasis is to develop personal reflection about our own values and beliefs, and those inherent in the larger society and culture to which we belong. Central to that is considering how the individual is valued. Totalitarian regimes, dictatorships, and theocracies resolve those questions easily; a person or a select few determine what schools will teach. In other types of societies and their governmental dispositions, the importance of the individual varies in accordance with the state apparatus and the interests that control it. In some third-world countries, controlling elites can determine how and for whom individualism is defined and who is eligible for schooling. Scholarly studies (Apple, 1983; Argyris & Shon, 1993; Cowen, 2002) suggest that to whom knowledge and information is given determines the health of a society and its institutions; the degree of egalitarianism and democracy permitted enhances stability and progress.

The statement is often made that "all politics is local." We can also say that "all curriculum is local," in that it is particular to and serves the purposes people in a community regard as important to be reflected in what is taught in their schools. There is an interesting dynamic among how curriculum is viewed in the local community, on a statewide basis, and nationally. Popular perceptions of purposes schools serve and what should be the curriculum content are often differentiated according to one's location and distance from them. The parent with a school-age child has more curriculum awareness than parents with children who have graduated. Parents with young adults in college are more cognizant of the curriculum connection between K–12 schooling and preparation for effective college work. In communities where life opportunities are keyed to local employment patterns, curriculum and school concerns are tied more to preparation for an effective work life. Annually, various polls ask people about schools and schooling to determine public perceptions about schooling, expectations, and how successful schools are. That is, pollsters ask if schools do what the asked person wants them to or thinks they ought to do. With few exceptions, poll results suggest that the more

local and proximate the school is to the respondent, the more favorable the rating. By implication, so is their view of curriculum.

Although polling may give an impression of diverse local differences and fluidity concerning the basic purposes for schooling and curriculum, there is a long-term thread of continuity with state, regional, and national purposes. One, the development of "citizenship," takes in several subpurposes. Through citizenship, we are taught about civic duties, participation in politics, voting, being informed, and honoring the concept of law. Studying history, we achieve a sense of common heritage or nationhood. Flag and pledge engender patriotism. English is studied as a primary language of common discourse. These examples provide insights into how the curriculum is used to socialize and assimilate Americans.

Schools also provide access to "knowledge." People who are informed and have access to knowledge are thought to develop productive lives. This school-based knowledge promotes intellectual growth by introducing learners to various formal ways of thinking such as historically, scientifically, and philosophically. Study in this formal knowledge base promotes intelligent thought, a critical capability in individual development, and motivation to pursue further knowledge. In addition to this formal knowledge, schooling introduces us to informal knowledge, an often subtle, hidden knowledge that is cultural and social. We learn how to act in a variety of settings, the home, classroom, and other social and public places. Social-cultural learning is not usually stated as a purpose; it is carried in the unwritten standards of the local community, in classroom rules, and in the subtleties of student-to-teacher and student-to-student interactions.

Citizenship and knowledge provide convenient categories under which to cluster purposes. However, it is important to remember that in any given historical period, citizenship and knowledge may be considered differently. This is an important distinction because purposes need to be understood in context. We will be returning to this matter of alternative purposes and differing contexts in future chapters.

ENVISIONING CURRICULUM AS A FIELD OF STUDY

If curriculum is found in diverse settings among many different workers, what ties it together as a discipline, an object of study? What knowledge is held in common regardless of role or setting? As suggested in this chapter, answering such questions requires an understanding of how curriculum has evolved in meaning and as a body of knowledge and practice, each aspect informing the other and together constituting curriculum as a formal discipline of study. Envisioning curriculum as a discipline in education as a field of study warrants attention because it is fundamental to schools and schooling. It is personally necessary because you are preparing for a role as, perhaps, teacher or

curriculum specialist. As this conversation about curriculum continues in the chapters to follow, it is appropriate to consider the shape of the curriculum as a field of study and its constituent elements, and as a realm of knowledge and practice within a larger field called education.

Studying Curriculum as Knowledge

To study something is to contemplate it, to apply your mental capacities, to think about it. There are several considerations in developing your ways of studying things. As noted in Chapter 1, formulating a critical perspective is important in the contemplative process. Another facet is to look for the way a body of knowledge is put together, how it is structured, much like understanding the human body by learning about its structure of systems. Uncovering how a body of knowledge is formed provides insight into how it works, how to think in and work with the content of a particular body of knowledge. This is not to say that all knowledge pursuits are structured in exactly the same way. Mathematics and philosophy, for instance, differ in form and content, but either can be illuminated by studying how it is organized, its structure. Knowledge organized into disciplines and fields becomes working units of formal inquiry and scholarly work. Another matter is to look across all bodies of knowledge to examine what supporting, enhancing information might come from other disciplines such as history and the humanities like philosophy, the arts, and the social sciences. Because all knowledge is related in some way, specific knowledge produced in one discipline or field may prove relevant in another, particularly in curriculum. Processes such as research methods used in one discipline might be useful to investigations in others. For example, some curriculum work might rely on historical methods to study curriculum history or on case study methods to focus on how a teacher works with curriculum in a classroom. These important matters of "inquiry" are foundational aspects of curriculum work, particularly evaluation, discussed in Chapter 12.

Studying Curriculum as Practice

A second aspect of studying curriculum is to focus on the different types of curriculum practice and the settings in which they occur. This requires an exploration of the types of curriculum work and the multiple layers of institutions and agencies in which the various types of work are done, from schools and academic research settings to commercial publishing houses and federal and state governmental agencies. For example, what does the Council of Chief State School Officers have to do with curriculum and what curriculum work do they carry out? What do you know about policy making or the role of the federal government in Washington in educational matters and particularly curriculum? Questions such as those frame the study of curriculum and help you to

perceive the magnitude of existing knowledge to be understood, not only for teachers but for anyone working in and with curriculum. Often the assumption appears to be that the created knowledge you are studying to become a practitioner derives solely from knowledge made by scholars and those who inquire about education generally or curriculum in particular. Teachers and other school professionals can also contribute to that knowledge base, and often it is in the actual practice of teaching that that knowledge develops, not in textbooks or college classrooms. Practice knowledge from experience contributes an experimental, tentative knowledge that in the immediacy of the classroom life with the curriculum-in-use sustains practice and, as it proves out, enters into the knowledge base.

Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that, like all human endeavors, creating knowledge and organizing it into various fields and disciplines is a work in progress. Curriculum as a young discipline evolving to its current state has etched a historical path from its formation to the present. What constitutes curriculum as a specific body of knowledge is the subject of Part II. It suffices at this point to note that "knowing" the knowledge base is essential to curriculum work. You would not be expected to walk into a dentist's office and function as a dental hygienist without the appropriate knowledge and practice; likewise, you should not be expected to do curriculum work as a teacher or specialist without the same kind of grounding in curriculum knowledge and practice.

Summary and Conclusions

Today's school curriculum differs from that of 50 or 100 years ago. If you were to take a textbook used in the 1920s or 1930s, one from the 1960s, and a current one, you would have a comparative snapshot of what was important then and now and how curriculum, as the content or subject matter of what was to be taught, has changed over time. Historical events, forces, and invented ideas such as evolution and technology influence how a people, a society, think about what is important and what the American people think its institutions should promote. Freedom and progress are distinctive, very American, ideals. School curriculum is also a reflection of the clash of ideas over social, political, cultural, and economic purposes schools should serve, what should be taught, the subjects that would best reflects those purposes, how schools should be organized, and who should attend them. Interestingly, it is not a story of rapid, rampant change in response to whimsical issues and fads. Because curriculum at any given time reflects the push and pull over issues in a society, it has a conserving presence, not quickly changed yet subject to gradual alteration as those issues are resolved. Curriculum has evolved as a composite term for content or subject matter. It has also become a particular field of study with an identifiable structure, defining characteristics of practice, and a body of grounded knowledge.

Critical Perspective

- 1. From your personal experiences, what examples can you cite that reflect the ideas of freedom and progress through the school curriculum?
- 2. Ideas have power. Can you identify ideas that are now in your education that were not in your curriculum when you were in school?
- 3. How do you differentiate curriculum from instruction? Do you think it is important for a teacher or other educational professional to do so?
- 4. In what ways has the development of social science influenced thinking about curriculum?
- 5. The Herbartian method and the Tyler Rationale both offer a process for thinking about curriculum and instruction in teaching. What comparisons can be drawn about the two approaches?
- 6. What does the term *curriculum-in-use* mean? Do any of the definitions in Figure 2.4 reflect that meaning?
- 7. The text refers to various "types" of curriculum (e.g., formal, de jure) that amplify or extend the meaning of curriculum. Make a list of terms and (a) identify examples for them from your knowledge about curriculum and (b) given the sample definitions in Figure 2.4, determine if any of the terms fit within those definitions.
- 8. What examples can you identify from your personal schooling experience or from your understanding of curriculum that fit into the perceptions of curriculum discussed in the text?

Resources for Curriculum Study

- Two excellent sources for understanding the gradual changes in the content of the American school curriculum during the 20th century to the present are the following books by Herbert Kliebard: *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* (1986) and *Forging the American Curriculum* (1992). Daniel and Laurel Tanner's *History of the School Curriculum* (1990) is also useful. Larry Cuban's *How Teachers Taught* (1984) offers glimpses of curriculum in the classroom.
- 2. Throughout the development of American schooling, colleges and universities have had a strong influence on the content and organization of the school

- curriculum. Frederick Rudolph's book *Curriculum* (1978) is an excellent source for understanding the usually top-down relationship between what was in the college curriculum and how that influenced the school curriculum.
- 3. Biographical sketches are available online for any of the people mentioned in the chapter. Type in a name, Herbert Spencer, for example, and use several sites to compare the information. For a more contextual discussion of people mentioned in the chapter, see the end-of-chapter references or consult the Recommended Readings section for further study.
- 4. For an interesting discussion of the original moral intent of the Herbartian method (Schimmels, n.d.), go online to http://faculty.leeu.edu/~bestes/resources/white paper.htm
- 5. It is important to look at curriculum and how it is understood through other than American eyes. From a British perspective, Mark K. Smith offers an excellent discussion of curriculum's rise and development in his article "Curriculum Theory and Practice." You can retrieve this online at http://www.infed.org/ biblio/b-curric.htm

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