School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective

Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education

By
**Aaron Benavot and
Cecilia Braslavsky**

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CERC Studies in Comparative Education

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Edited by

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and

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In Collaboration with

Nhung Truong

Comparative Education Research Centre
The University of Hong Kong

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COVER
Detail from *School Girls III*, by Thanh Van.

Thanh Van was born in Hanoi and graduated from the Hanoi College of Fine Arts in 1994.
Captivated by the impressionist style, he spent most of his time as a student exploring the streets of
the old quarter in Hanoi, where many artists have found inspiration. He paints colourful, rich
canvases of impressionistic scenes from Hanoi's streets. Thanh Van has participated in several
exhibitions in Vietnam, and also in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Singapore, and Hong Kong.
Permission to use the painting has kindly been granted by Jorn Middelborg, Managing Director of
the Thavibu Gallery, which exhibited and sold the painting.

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For Cecilia

Beloved colleague and friend
Without whose vision and enthusiasm
This book and these scholars
Would not have come together

Dedicado a la imborrable memoria de nuestra querida Cecilia,
que tanto enriqueció nuestras vidas con su generosidad y amplia sonrisa,
su preocupación y acción por mantener los lazos familiares y de amistad,
sus inteligentes y profundos comentarios y consejos y sus penetrantes
preguntas que siempre nos hacían pensar un poco más allá.
Su legado seguirá estando presente en quienes
tuvimos la suerte de compartir su historia.

Silvia E. Braslavsky y Claudia Gil

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
CERC	Comparative Education Research Centre
CESA	Comparative Education Society of Asia
CIES	Comparative and International Education Society
Cinterfor	Centro Interamericano de Investigación y Documentación sobre Formación Profesional [Inter-American Research and Documentation Centre on Vocational Training]
DeSeCo	Definition and Selection of Competencies
EFA	Education for All
EU	European Union
FLACSO	Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales [Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences]
GDI	Gender-related development index
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNP	Gross national product
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICE	International Conference on Education
ICT	Information and communication technology
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IGO	Inter-governmental organization
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IIHR	Inter-American Institute of Human Rights
ILO / OIT	International Labour Organization / Organización Internacional del Trabajo
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
LDB	Law of Directions and Bases for National Education
LDCs	Less developed countries

MDCs	More developed countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OREALC	Oficina Regional de Educación para América Latina y el Caribe [Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean]
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
RGDP	Real gross domestic product
SE	Standard error
SITEAL	Sistemas de Información de Tendencias Educativas en América Latina [Information System on Education Trends in Latin America]
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNED	Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WCCES	World Council of Comparative Education Societies
WWI	World War I / First World War
WWII	World War II / Second World War

Series Editor's Foreword

Writing from UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris, France, I am delighted to introduce a volume associated with a sister institute in the UNESCO family: the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva, Switzerland. I am also glad to write on behalf of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong, which was my academic home before moving to the IIEP in March 2006. The University of Hong Kong was the location in 2004 from which I commenced discussions with the editors of the present volume about the possibility of its inclusion in the series 'CERC Studies in Comparative Education'. My pleasure that these discussions have now borne fruit is tempered only by the great sadness that one of its editors, Cecilia Braslavsky, who was also the IBE Director until she succumbed to cancer in June 2005, has been unable to see the results of her labors.

Both Cecilia Braslavsky and Aaron Benavot have made many distinguished contributions to the field of comparative education and, as is explained within the Introduction, commenced work on this book together. Following the loss of Cecilia, Aaron Benavot proceeded with the work along the lines originally planned, in collaboration with the IBE, and as a result has enabled their voices to be heard together. The book brings together a distinguished set of contributors from all regions of the world, and the resulting volume is an insightful addition to the literature.

Within the field of comparative education, discussion commonly focuses on units of comparison. This book presents a rich array of units. Various chapters focus for example on syllabuses, timetables and textbooks. The chapters also address multiple levels of analysis, from the classroom to the nation-state, further to different world regions, and to the whole globe. With this set of parameters, complemented by historical analyses of changes over time, the book is able to show important trends among which the impact of globalization is especially evident. Addressing diverse cultures from many continents, the book nevertheless shows commonalities which are both instructive and of considerable significance in the evolution of education systems worldwide. The volume has great conceptual significance in our increasingly integrated but still very stratified world.

A further partnership with the IBE, which also relates to CERC, concerns the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES). The IBE has given valued support to the WCCES since its inception in 1970, and in the early years hosted the WCCES Secretariat. Over the decades the Secretariat moved to other locations; but

during the period 2000 to 2005 it resided in CERC. The IBE remained a valued partner to the WCCES, and at the time of her death Cecilia Braslavsky was a co-opted member on the WCCES Executive Committee. This book fits well with the focus of the WCCES as well as with the mission of CERC, and both bodies can feel considerable satisfaction that the work of Cecilia Braslavsky, Aaron Benavot and the authors of the various chapters is being disseminated in this published form.

Mark Bray
Director, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning
President, World Council of Comparative Education Societies

Dedication to Cecilia Braslavsky

Juan Carlos Tedesco

Cecilia Braslavsky passed away when she was only 53, having lived a life of particular intensity. After having completed her secondary education at the *Colegio Nacional* in Buenos Aires, Argentina, she pursued studies in Educational Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires. After a few years she was forced to emigrate due to political persecution by the military governments of the time. A young communist militant, she went on to study in what was then East Germany. Having always possessed a sharp sense of humor, she used to say of herself some years later that she had obtained her doctorate in Pedagogy in a university that no longer existed, in a country that was no more.

When circumstances permitted, she returned to Argentina and there undertook two activities about which she felt deeply passionate: training researchers and curricular change. The former was at the Argentine branch of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (*Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* – FLACSO); the latter at the Ministry of Education of Argentina.

Her role in the training of researchers was characterized by a systematic effort to articulate different levels of analysis: socio-political and institutional-pedagogical. But beyond the topics and approaches that Cecilia Braslavsky introduced as Director of FLACSO's education area, her students remember with gratitude her significant personal commitment to the establishing of habits of scientific rigor, clear and precise presentation of ideas, and care for all methodological details.

From the point of view of curricular transformation, Cecilia Braslavsky's role was considerably more complex and polemical. She directed the development of the Common Basic Contents for Argentina's education reform in the first half of the 1990s, a process that involved the country's most prestigious specialists from the different disciplines. In the general political environment in which this reform took place, neo-liberal strategies for the economy coexisted with progressive orientations in the field of education. Despite the difficulties and polemics that arose in this context, the results of her work made it possible to modernize significantly the curricular contents of basic education, and provided the foundation for any subsequent change the country might wish to attempt.

Cecilia Braslavsky continued to demonstrate in this undertaking, as she had in the task of training researchers, her profound willingness to work as part of a team, to commit personally to the results, and to struggle for what she considered legitimate.

In the most recent period of her life, she had the opportunity to work at the international level as Director of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) of UNESCO. In this position she again showed not only her intellectual capacity but also her personal commitment to the processes of change and transformation. These outstanding qualities of her work were highlighted both in the research and technical assistance activities carried out by the IBE under her guidance, and in the way in which international dialogue was promoted through the International Conference on Education, particularly the forty-sixth session, which focused on the theme of 'Education for All for learning to live together'.

Over all these years of professional work, Cecilia Braslavsky had the great ability to systematize her experiences in writings that mark the theoretical development of her thinking. These thoughts were always evolving and therefore difficult to ever consider as final positions. One point, however, is worth mentioning: she aspired to provide inputs towards the construction of what she considered to be a 'new theoretical-political paradigm' for education, whose main feature would be the articulation between its theoretical and political dimensions.

The use of the term 'theoretical-political' is not arbitrary. Cecilia Braslavsky did not use the category of paradigm in the strict sense of a set of theoretical postulates that enable a logically consistent explanation of certain dimensions or aspects of reality. She used the concept of paradigm as a 'narrative', that is, as a set of postulates that give meaning to the assertions set forth on reality. Whereas 'paradigm' refers to the theory, 'narrative' refers to the subject. Therefore, this somewhat ambiguous use of the concept allows for more freedom to act in the theoretical-political field, where explanations are generally associated with the desire to change reality in a particular direction.

In the thinking and actions of Cecilia Braslavsky, the will to act is of great importance. This will is neither naïve nor merely personal; it is based on a deep reflection on the role of action in the construction of knowledge and pedagogical theory. If the works and life of Cecilia deserve to be remembered, it is because she always insisted on driving processes of change through pro-active strategies intended to develop better responses than the current ones to the problems of education, especially for the most disadvantaged members of society.

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Aaron Benavot and Nhung Truong

The present volume is a child of serendipity. Some years ago, at the start of a sabbatical leave at the European University Institute, Aaron Benavot boarded a train heading north from Florence to Milan and on to Geneva. The exact destination: the Documentation Centre of UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE). The purpose of the short visit was to examine the Centre's shelves for specialized, and often overlooked, information on national school curricula, which the Centre had assiduously compiled over many decades. The competent staff set aside a desk for the visitor and prepared historical materials and special publications for review. Later in the day, the Director of the IBE, Cecilia Braslavsky, invited Aaron for lunch, during which she discussed her nascent plans to re-energize the historically staid International Conference on Education (ICE)—a usually biennial gathering of ministers of education and other senior officials in education worldwide, organized since the early 1930s—and expressed her ongoing interest in the comparative-historical research of the school curriculum that John Meyer, David Kamens, Aaron Benavot and their colleagues had carried out since the late 1980s. This informal, unplanned encounter between the two marked the beginning of a lively professional relationship—as well as a budding friendship—that lasted until Cecilia's untimely and tragic death in June 2005.

During the forty-sixth session of the ICE, held in Geneva in September 2001, the IBE invited academics from the fields of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment to actively contribute to the redesigned conference programmed, with the purpose of facilitating substantive exchanges among the 'movers and shakers' of the international education policy-making world. During the ICE itself and in subsequent correspondence, Cecilia, Massimo Amadio (coordinator of IBE's comparative curriculum project) and Aaron exchanged ideas concerning how the IBE's extensive collections of curricular information could be more effectively disseminated to scholars, policy analysts and educational officials. One outcome was the IBE's decision to convene a meeting of international experts in May 2002 to discuss the organization and classification of school-based learning experiences. The participants formulated a detailed agenda of curriculum-related research activities, which was intended to frame and give impetus to both existing and new IBE initiatives in this area (see IBE-UNESCO 2002).

During the next two years, the IBE commissioned and conducted specialized studies on diverse curricular topics—for example, textbooks, instructional time, educational aims, school-based competencies and the curriculum for HIV & AIDS prevention. In addition, it moved forward with the implementation of a core 'baseline' research activity: namely, a thorough systematization of national timetables and official curricular information for primary and lower secondary education in a new cross-national database. With the support of several funding sources, work began on the detailed coding of the official intended curriculum for grades 1 to 9 in each country with available data. These official depictions of what local schools were expected to teach became the basis for an array of cross-national and longitudinal analyses of the school curriculum, several of which are discussed in the chapters of this book. Other analyses of global curricular patterns and trends were presented in reports prepared for the World Bank, UNESCO's Education for All Global Monitoring Report and for journal publication (See Benavot 2002b; 2004; Benavot and Amadio 2004).

The IBE also encouraged international researchers to draw upon its cross-national compilations of curriculum information in the context of their own research, not only to facilitate broader dissemination but also to generate intellectual debate. In this context Cecilia and Aaron began discussing a special edited volume, broad in scope and rich in analytical insight, which would bring together cutting-edge comparative and historical studies of the school curriculum. Various experts were contacted in the latter half of 2004 and, slowly, the present volume took shape.

With the purpose of enhancing the quality of the contributions and to foster greater substantive dialogue among the book's authors, draft chapters were circulated and then discussed during a special seminar held at Stanford University, USA in March 2005. Although Cecilia was in the midst of difficult radiation therapy, she was set on attending the Stanford seminar and was extremely pleased when her physician gave consent to her travel plans. During the seminar Cecilia commented on submitted drafts and actively participated in the productive and discerning discussions. After returning to Geneva, and even during her subsequent hospitalization, Cecilia vigorously re-worked and improved her chapter, which has since been completed by three of her former research assistants at the IBE. Until her passing she offered constructive remarks on all new chapter drafts. This book represents a small—yet significant—legacy of the vision and passion that Cecilia Braslavsky brought to her position as IBE Director and to the field of curriculum studies.

Shared visions, diverse contents

This volume contains contributions from scholars from around the world who draw upon different disciplinary perspectives—e.g., sociology, education, social history, political science. At the same time, they share a common interest in clarifying the social, economic, political and ideological forces that impinge upon the contents of schooling in different times and places. Each chapter frames the curricular dynamics it seeks to illuminate from a different comparative and/or historical vantage point. Some

chapters delve into school curricula by analyzing specific regions, or by selecting cases or groups of countries; others highlight global trends.

In addition to the substantive arguments and evidence put forward, an important strength of this volume is the subtle ways in which scholars from multiple theoretical and disciplinary viewpoints clarify their own positions in relation to others. The field of curriculum studies is strongly rooted in the notion that the contents of schooling reflect national policies and dominant cultural priorities and are almost exclusively informed by shifting national interests and stakeholder pressure (see e.g. Pinar 2004). Indeed, the study of the school curriculum continues to be portrayed as nationally distinctive. By contrast, the chapters in this volume underscore the importance of broader inquiries of the school curriculum, which incorporate regional and/or global perspectives into the changing nature of curricular policies and practices in particular contexts. It is in relation to these larger geopolitical and cultural frames that debates over the contents of schooling—as well as the design of curricular structures—are explored. In short, this present volume's novelty and inventiveness are to be found in its juxtaposition of contrasting comparative and historical analyses, within a framework that transcends the national boundaries of conventional curriculum inquiry.

The chapters in this book are grouped into four sections. The first section looks at shifting ideological conceptions that influence school curricula and curricular change. The second section includes subject-oriented studies of the curricular contents and practices intended for, or found in, primary and secondary schools. In the third section, the development and dynamics of curricular reform are explored. Finally, the fourth section reflects on the issues raised throughout the volume, and provides a detailed profile of the late Cecilia Braslavsky, who was an innovative educator and curriculum theorist.

The changing ideological bases of the school curriculum

The organization of formal schooling, long the responsibility of consolidating nation-states, has typically been a powerful means intended to serve changing ideological ends: for example, reinforcing dominant societal values and cultural mores, supporting the growth of national economies, legitimating explicit political principles, fostering new scientific knowledge and technical applications and, more recently, developing the full potential of young learners and their integration into adult life. The school curriculum has reflected the impact of these changing ideological and philosophical bases by integrating, to various degrees, a multiplicity of societal, economic, political, educational and pedagogical viewpoints. While some are less evident and others are highly contested, ideological beliefs about the purposes of schooling and education leave an indelible mark on the design and implementation of the school curriculum.

Chapter 1 examines the ideological reasons behind the making of the school curriculum. Robert Fiala presents a worldwide study of core educational ideologies and their influence on the relationships, and possible disjunctions, between the intended, formal and active curriculum. The study uses as a reference two previous cross-national

analyses of the aims of education. The first examined educational purposes for the 1955 to 1965 period and the second for the 1980 to 2000 period. After highlighting remarkable similarities in official aims of education over time and across countries, the chapter discusses the notion of an emerging 'world model' or overarching 'ideology' of education. Subsequent analyses of the continuities and changes in educational ideology examine the relationship of cognitive, normative and utopian content. The chapter shows that the global normative discourse around equality, democracy and the basic human right to education has been increasingly reflected in educational aims calling for the development of the full human being, on the one hand, and the continued strengthening of the nation-state, on the other. Several additional patterns emerge when countries are grouped by level of socio-economic development.

In recent decades, human rights education has expanded rapidly around the world. This important yet little-analyzed development involves a shift from national to global perspectives of rights, as well as from a narrowly legal regard to broadly educational and participatory concerns with human rights. In Chapter 2, Francisco Ramírez, David Suárez and John Meyer discuss the rise in human rights education, not only as a part of the growing emphasis on expanding educational access, but also as a taught subject in school. The chapter examines the significant expansion of worldwide emphases on human rights education, first in educational organization and discourse, and then in policies, curricula and textbooks. The pervasiveness of human rights education appears to reflect contemporary political and cultural globalization, especially a growing conception of the individual person as a member of a global society rather than as mainly a national citizen. Dimensions of political, economic and cultural globalization are discussed within the context of shifting conceptions of human rights from those built on national citizenship principles to those anchored in universal human rights ideas. Finally, the authors maintain that national linkages to global society are a key reason for the adoption of human rights models in national curricula worldwide.

Curricular contents and practices in primary and secondary education

The second section takes a closer look at primary and secondary school curricula, as mandated by ministries of education worldwide, developed by national curriculum experts and implemented in school classrooms. The chapters in this section focus on select school subjects, including English as a second language, social sciences, aesthetic education, and religious and moral education. In addition, this section examines the evolution of models of the secondary school curriculum, as well as micro-practices, such as the pervasive use of the school notebook, which in many countries became—and remains—a dominant institutional device regulating the implementation of the school curriculum.

In Chapter 3, Yun-Kyung Cha spotlights a long-term, seemingly irreversible global trend: the rise and spread of English as a world language, and particularly as a legitimate subject in the primary school curriculum. Extensive historical and comparative data is compiled to show that English instruction has been increasingly

incorporated in the primary school curriculum of most countries, especially since 1945. Multivariate analyses demonstrate that country-level characteristics explain little variation in the incorporation of English in the primary curriculum. Overall, English instruction has become a highly institutionalized and presumed component of the curriculum in education systems throughout the world. The author argues that the rapid expansion of required English instruction in the latter half of the twentieth century symbolically reflects a more consolidated modern international system, in which various legitimating accounts emphasizing the importance of standardized international communication are formulated. The rise of the United States as a major superpower gave further momentum to the prevalence of English in the primary school curriculum.

Yasemin Soysal and Suk-Ying Wong explore the resurgence of citizenship education in European and Asian school curricula in Chapter 4. Specifically, they analyze several school subjects that are designed to serve as instruments in the promotion of citizenship education. Drawing on analyses of European and Asian textbooks, specifically in history and civics, and also data on the official time devoted to citizenship-related subjects in these regions, they contend that, while citizenship education is being given greater emphasis in official school curricula, current world discourse poses considerable uncertainties and challenges regarding appropriate socialization models for educating future citizens. For example, the past five decades have brought a clear shift from the systematic teaching of history and geography to a more integrated social-science approach. Soysal and Wong's study shows also how curricular materials are reducing the significance of the nation as the dominant collective focus of citizenry by progressively placing the nation within a broader world context. Increasingly, national collective norms are being replaced by transnational or universalistic values, such as human rights, democracy, gender equality and environmental awareness. Diversity as a normative good, the prevalence of civics education, and the framing of historical events—such as the two world wars—in both national and transnational perspectives, are additional examples of emerging emphases in school curricula. The involvement of international bodies and non-governmental organizations has also influenced national educational agendas. One result is that different education systems produce increasingly similar curricular contents.

In Chapter 5, Cecilia Braslavsky, Carla Borges, Marcelo Souto Simão and Nhung Truong focus on the role of historical competence as a means of promoting and sustaining individual freedom and political democracy. They contend that individuals who have historical competence have the ability to act on their present in a manner that takes the past into account and with a view to the consequences of their decisions on the future and on the world around them. Their exploratory study asserts that historical competence is not necessarily developed through a specific school subject, or subjects, but rather as a pervasive principle throughout the whole school—from the actual contents of the curriculum, through the organization of the classroom and including the pedagogical methods practiced by teachers. Three framework axes are proposed whereby historical competence can be fostered within the curriculum. Communities, teachers, space and time—each play integral roles in the development of historical

competence which, the authors argue, should be an essential aspect of the international movement to enhance school quality. Using official data on time devoted to history, social studies and civics, the chapter explores cross-national relationships with levels of democracy. It concludes that, while education and democracy are mutually reinforcing, the development of historical genealogical consciousness can support this relationship by inculcating more comprehensive notions of democracy and by fostering quality education for all citizens.

The marginalization of aesthetic education in school curricula—a growing concern in many countries—is investigated by Jürgen Oelkers and Sabina Larcher Klee in Chapter 6. The development of international assessment programs (e.g. the OECD-PISA), which are redefining 'politically relevant curricular domains', have sparked intensive debates regarding the importance and place of aesthetic education in official curricular policies. New arguments are being put forward to counter the curricular marginalization of aesthetic education: for example, models asserting that knowledge can be generated through experience; or ideas for establishing competences and standards for aesthetic subjects within a broader curricular framework. The authors place current trends in context by looking at curricular developments in music and art in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. To varying degrees, all of these countries guarantee free and obligatory access to aesthetic education. Yet, there are growing tendencies to re-name curricula and contents, combine aesthetic subjects together and reduce time allotments. Overall, aesthetic subjects are increasingly hard to identify in school timetables. The chapter also notes: the growing shortage of trained teachers for aesthetic subjects; new approaches to aesthetic education; the problem of subject combination; and ways in which these patterns influence school development. Furthermore the authors call attention to the fact that, as opposed to certain skills, such as reading, writing and counting, which are taught mainly but not exclusively in school, music and the fine arts are omnipresent 'life experiences' which are an integral part of the everyday world of children and so transcend formal schooling.

Chapter 7, prepared by Rukhsana Zia, focuses on the transmission of values in the education systems of Muslim countries. Recent events have intensified interest among educational stakeholders about the ways schools teach religion and how pupils' social behavior is affected by such instruction. In one sense, the whole school experience is geared to nurturing pupils' moral and spiritual development, although specific subject matter in the curriculum seeks a more focused impact on such development. This chapter provides a historical overview of schooling in general and religious and spiritual instruction in particular among Muslim countries belonging to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Limited comparisons are also made with countries which are not OIC members. The chapter emphasizes that fundamentalist extremism must be separated from the humane core of the religious creed that is Islam. The author maintains that western policies, particularly those originating from colonization, as well as socio-economic development, have influenced the type of institution—for example, religious or non-religious; 'modern' or public—that students attended, as well as the evolving fields of study found in Qur'anic or

mosque schools. The chapter also addresses critical questions, such as gender equality and the effects of globalization on curricular trends in Muslim countries, while highlighting significant differences within this group. The chapter reports that differences in the official curricula of Muslim and western countries are minimal and tend to follow similar trends. More significant, however, are the ways religion is incorporated into the knowledge schools transmit: Muslim countries tend to teach religious (Islamic) education in schools rather than spiritual and moral education; stated differently, they teach *through* and *for* religion, rather than *about* religion.

The massive expansion of primary education worldwide raises new challenges and debates concerning the design and contents of post-primary levels of schooling, as David Kamens and Aaron Benavot elaborate in Chapter 8. Several models for the structuring of academic secondary education emerged during the twentieth century and spread beyond Europe and North America to newly-independent nation-states. In many instances, elite-oriented classical education programmers were dismantled, while alternative academic secondary models were established. Two basic models of secondary schooling took root: first, a single-track comprehensive system, with a relatively balanced set of curricular offerings; and second, multi-tracked systems differentiated by specialized academic tracks (e.g. mathematics, sciences, modern languages, social sciences, humanities). The overall expansion of secondary education also affected other institutional forms: students were provided with greater curricular choice, even though required subject domains remained fairly consistent. Lower and upper secondary education became increasingly differentiated. Secondary education was redesigned to reflect more egalitarian conceptions of society. The chapter presents cross-national trends in comprehensive and multi-track secondary systems, and analyzes the factors affecting these trends, such as date of political independence, income level and political democracy. It highlights the volatility in secondary track types and discusses the growing availability of world models of secondary education. Overall, the chapter illustrates the global drift towards a reduction in formerly selective, multi-track systems and the spread of mass secondary education systems. Processes of democratization engendered greater comprehensiveness and diversity in secondary education—viewed as indications of egalitarianism. The decentralization of control over education systems provided new impetus for the remaking of secondary education.

The last chapter in this section sheds light on actual, rather than intended, curricular policies and practices. Silvina Gvirtz uses the special case of school notebooks in Argentina and, to a lesser extent, in France and Spain, as well as the classroom activities regulated through these notebooks, to explore how the curriculum is actually implemented by teachers. Macro- and micro-curricular policies in education and curricular regulation are discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In addition to official curricular documents, there are many instruments of curricular regulation, which become particularly salient when examining the actual implementation of the intended curriculum. In Argentina, for example, school notebooks—introduced in the 1920s in parallel with the Progressive Movement—were intended to provide detailed, ongoing records of the class work carried out by students and teachers. As in other

parts of Latin America, the school notebook in Argentina streamlined work into one chronologically ordered document. It also became a powerful administrative device, especially for inspectors, to monitor the classroom work of teachers. The school notebook allowed for the standardization of school activities and through its assessment, scholastic knowledge became quantifiable. During the Peronist era (1946 and onwards), radical changes were made to school textbooks in line with broader ideological changes. However, school notebooks from this period illustrate the creative ways teachers found to resist the teaching of indoctrinating contents. Case studies of the school notebook in Spain and France further illustrate the use of these materials as a primary source for understanding the history of the 'taught curriculum' and contours of the school culture. School notebooks provide a fertile, though preliminary, basis for comparative studies of the implemented curriculum and for evaluating the impact of particular curricular policies.

The dynamics of curriculum-making and curricular reform

Change is a word that is never far from debates on curriculum. This third section focuses on the dynamics of curriculum-making and curricular reform, and underscores vital processes of concern to academics as well as to educational stakeholders.

In Chapter 10, Moritz Rosenmund takes a broad look at the discourse on curriculum change by systematically comparing official reports on education. These national statements, submitted by UNESCO Member States to the International Bureau of Education at various sessions of the International Conference on Education, provide insights into the rationales behind national curricular change, especially curriculum reforms undertaken in the 1990s. National development and individual self-direction (self-directed learning) and empowerment were among the core values receiving the greatest emphasis in statements of curricular policy. Rosenmund discusses state-based curriculum-making in the framework of broader political discourses traversing the international community. The curriculum-making and curriculum reform processes vary in complexity, as well as the range of actors or specialists involved. This chapter suggests that changes in educational content are continuously adjusting to the development of socially available knowledge and the changing structure of the education system, and also towards a qualitative shift to self-directed learning, linked to increases in the availability and accessibility of knowledge due to the spread of information and communication technologies. The move from more content-centered to student-centered approaches and the attention given to competencies for life and entry into the labor market have also influenced curricular reforms. Governments typically 'explain' the reform of educational contents by emphasizing the need to adapt to social development, scientific progress and technological development and, increasingly, to meet world standards and participate effectively in the global economy. Remarkably, there seems to be considerable international consensus about the desired outcomes of education in general and about curricula in particular. Content, the

documents state (either explicitly or implicitly), should help to shape the autonomous citizen and contribute to national development and global interchange.

In Chapter 11, Juan Manuel Moreno presents two fundamental dynamics of curriculum design and development: change/control and conflict/consensus. The dynamic of change/control operates as a sort of engine in the process of curriculum development. An example is the use of national or public examinations by educational authorities as a policy tool to legitimize and consolidate new subjects and knowledge areas, and to propel the school curriculum in a desired direction. The curricular and pedagogical decisions of teachers are also impacted by such external examinations. The design and development of the curriculum thus has an agenda-setting function, providing an overall frame for determining which issues are to be considered and why. Curriculum development, within the dynamic of conflict/consensus, is seen as a process of social debate among stakeholders, including the media. Different groups promote particular contents, skills and knowledge areas and define certain subjects as compulsory. Consensus itself can be understood as an agreement upon a 'minimum common denominator', or as a more precarious quest for a certain level of moral commitment among actors in curriculum decision-making. The dynamics of conflict and consensus are increasingly related to globalization and the role of the school in the construction of personal and collective identity in multicultural societies. International assessment tests also play a role as educational institutions represent an important route to accessing relevant knowledge and key competencies for eventual participation in the global economy. As the author notes, there are many tensions, dilemmas and contradictions in curriculum design and development, resulting in curricular trends that seem at the same time stable yet extremely volatile.

Ivor Goodson presents an overview of the socio-historical processes of curriculum change in Chapter 12. The chapter begins with an inquiry on change theory in the domain of education due to broad political, cultural, social and ideological shifts, whereby national school systems become refractors of world change forces. The author presents an internal model of school-subject change comprising four components: *invention* as change formulation; *promotion* as change implementation; *legislation* as policy establishment; and *mythologization* as established or permanent change. He notes the increasing invention of curricular changes, originating from external constituencies. Consequently, educator groups are seen less as initiating agents or partners and more as deliverers of externally defined objectives. Processes of educational change frequently move through cycles where powers often change hands between internal and external professional and interest groups. The chapter further elaborates on some ongoing tensions between change and continuity, external and internal conditions, and internally-generated and externally-mandated changes. The chapter maintains that analyses of curriculum change must incorporate a historical perspective in order to better identify conditions of sustainability.

In Chapter 13, María de Ibarrola compares recent proposals for upper secondary curricula in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico which were initiated during the 1990-2005 period. Her analyses provide concrete examples of the ongoing redefinition of

secondary education and school curricula worldwide. Faced with the challenges of expanding access and improving quality, and in the light of persisting societal problems—such as inequality—new objectives for secondary schools are being consolidated in these four Latin American countries. These reform proposals articulate a shifting emphasis from preparation for further academic study or immediate entry into the labor market to emergent concerns about citizenship and lifelong learning. Sources of these shifts include, according to the author, socio-economic, political and cultural changes, mass enrolment, the knowledge society, modernity, new social demands and the lack of opportunities. The chapter also highlights new approaches and emphases in particular subject areas within secondary education, specifically vocational training and professional education. De Ibarrola contends that in order for the proposed reforms to succeed, the external validity of the proposals must be considered, and that all concerned stakeholders must participate in the envisioned change. Furthermore, the success of such major reforms depends, to a considerable extent, on how they address socially constructed national 'problems' and the institutional bases of school curricula.

School curricula in perspective

In Chapter 14, Cristián Cox weaves an intellectual profile of the 'great lady of education' Cecilia Braslavsky, from her role in transforming the curriculum in her native Argentina, to furthering educational development in Latin America, to her career at UNESCO's International Bureau of Education. His essay underlines how her aspiration to pursue the meaning of 'quality education for all' blended a global and action-oriented leadership style with an acute sensitivity to local realities. Citizenship education was a curricular area of particular interest to her. As an educational reformer in Argentina, she learned numerous lessons about the gaps between curricular design and implementation and developed a firm belief in a curriculum vision rooted in action. Supporting teachers' identities, developing flexible curricula, focusing on wide-ranging competencies, considering curricular integration and contextualization, as well as *polimodal* (comprehensive with multiple tracks) secondary education were among her priorities. She was especially aware of global pressures and national roles in relation to curricular policies. She wrote on the challenges and dilemmas of responding to requirements that are local and nationally specific, as well as global and common to world society. Capacity-building was also of great importance, and required constructive thinking and actions in confronting the tensions between global pressures and national realities. She was an ardent promoter of creating links between diverse actors (i.e. politicians, academics, officials and teachers) and their respective contexts, especially through dialogue. She held an unwavering faith in education as a force to re-create politics and to improve collective life.

John Meyer draws together the various themes in this volume in the concluding chapter. He broadly assesses commonalities in the curriculum-related findings and discourses found throughout the volume. His chapter draws attention to themes that dominate policy debates and reform discourse, such as the meanings of 'globalization'

and its implication for local identities, the idea of the modern world society and the nation-state. He also highlights some missing or weaker themes in the current curricular discourse, such as nationalism, religion, national ontology, social structure and concrete knowledge. One common assumption noted by the author is that the globalized world is a livable place for individuals and nations, and that therefore nations must learn to adapt and integrate within the global context. The modern curricular vision of the world leans towards human rights, scientization, human equality and communality among diversity. Overall, there seems to be a worldwide trend towards an expanded model of the curriculum as a means to prepare the individual person to be an empowered actor and citizen in the supra-national society.

As the above makes clear, this collection of writings contains a rich array of comparative and historical perspectives on the changing contents of primary and secondary education. For some authors, a convergence towards common global curricular structures is occurring; for others, the ways in which nations structure the contents of public schooling through curricular policies reflect regional or trans-cultural influences. The evidence presented in this volume clearly suggests that local approaches to school curricula are increasingly forged within wider regional, cross-regional and global contexts. It was precisely the diverse responses of local stake-holders and national authorities to the changing—and sometimes contradictory—nature of such contexts which preoccupied the late Cecilia Braslavsky. Indeed, she experienced first-hand the extent to which educational ideas, principles and reforms—utopian as well as pragmatic—were rapidly traversing a globe of shrinking borders. Given the powerful impact of these newly emergent realities, Cecilia firmly believed that they needed to be systematically analyzed and carefully understood, especially if real improvements to the quality of education were to be realized. Thus, the substance of this volume (the changing contents of school curricula) and how it came into being (through collaborative work of educational scholars from diverse world regions and research backgrounds), epitomizes Cecilia's deeply held visions and convictions. Cecilia will be sorely missed, but as evidenced by the contributions throughout this book, she remains a great source of inspiration.

The Changing Ideological Bases
of the
School Curriculum

1

Educational Ideology and the School Curriculum

Robert Fiala

Introduction

Education systems reflect and are shaped by ideological and organizational processes at the individual, group, societal and the even world level. At the world level, ideological processes appear to have been associated with the extraordinary expansion of education systems following the Second World War, and with an array of associated characteristics of national education systems (Ramírez and Boli 1987; Meyer, Ramírez and Soysal 1992; Wong 1991; McNeely 1995). The current research is an effort to assess the character and change in these ideological processes by examining the formally stated aims of education in countries throughout the world in the second half of the twentieth century. These aims serve as an indicator not only for an ideology of education at the societal and world level, but also an indicator of an intended curriculum of general goals for the content of schooling.

We begin with a review of past research that suggested world-level cultural themes may have played an important role in the extraordinary expansion of educational enrolments throughout much of the world in the period after the Second World War. Particular attention is given to past research that examined formally stated aims of education as an indicator of ideological themes regarding education for the 1950 to 1970 period. This chapter then presents a more detailed consideration of the concept of educational ideology, and notes its relation to the concept of utopia. Consideration is then given to the concept of the curriculum, with distinctions made between the intended, formal and active curriculum. The intended curriculum is viewed as a subset of the more general concept of educational ideology, providing the opportunity to use data on aims of education as an indicator for both the intended curriculum and the ideology of education of which it is a part.

Analysis of educational aims focuses on data for 1980 and 2000, with data for 1955 and 1965 added to assess continuity and change throughout the period. Most

generally, the data suggest that although there is variation in educational ideology and the intended curriculum across levels of development and regions of the world, the major finding is a remarkable similarity in educational aims, with some indication of increased attention to a quite general notion that education should facilitate development of the individual. Brief consideration is given to the relation between educational ideology, utopia, and school curriculum at the end.

Educational ideology and the world educational revolution

A major problematic that spurred much contemporary research on world-level cultural themes, world society and/or the world polity was an attempt to understand the dramatic expansion of educational enrolments in the period following the Second World War. Much of that work underscored the manner in which national variation in an array of political and economic factors appeared to provide a poor explanation for this worldwide educational expansion. The explanation that emerged focused on the development of a world-level model or ideology of what it took to create a *modern* society: one that exhibited, among other things, both economic and national development. That model indicated that the road to development was through placing individuals in schools where they would be socialized with tools of the modern world enabling them to create both an expanding economy and an integrated nation. This understanding of world society has been elaborated and completed over the past twenty years, focusing on education and other institutional sectors (for fine reviews see Meyer, Boli et al. 1997; Jepperson 2002).

One effort to assess the plausibility of the argument that a world-level model of education may have played a role in the dramatic post-Second World War expansion of education was Fiala and Gordon Lanford's (1987) examination of formally stated aims of education in countries throughout the world during the initial period of the world educational revolution. Congruent with what they termed a world-level ideology of education, Fiala and Gordon Lanford found the major stated aims of education focused on development of the individual, the economy and the nation.

The major contribution of Fiala and Gordon Lanford's work was its attempt to find concrete indicators of a world-level ideology of education. Often, research on the role of world-level models, or ideologies of education, has relied on finding homogeneity of characteristics of education systems across countries, and the lack an apparent effect of national-level variables as evidence of the operation of world-level dynamics. This is appropriate, yet there is really no indicator for the crucial independent variable: the world model—or ideology—of education. Using the aims of education as a measure of an ideology of education moved towards placing content into this important independent variable.

While Fiala and Gordon Lanford's use of the formally stated aims of education as an indicator for an ideology of education is informative, it clearly needs to be extended in time. The concrete aims of education and the more abstract ideologies of education that they represent may exhibit continuity, yet can also change. It seems important to

extend the examination of the aims of education as a way to track at least one indicator of an ideology of education and, perhaps more importantly, an indicator for major themes of an evolving world culture.

As Benavot and Amadio (2004) and others (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996) have noted, comparative assessments of education systems have paid only modest attention to what actually goes on in schools. Their work has attempted to redress this limitation by collecting and examining data on formal curriculum standards across countries for much of the twentieth century. They point out that the same world-level processes that were responsible for the expansion of educational enrolments in the mid-twentieth century may also shape the content of the curriculum in national education systems. For example, Kamens, Meyer and Benavot note:

> [The] assumption [that national power structures and educational philosophies shape curriculum] becomes problematic when examined from a comparative perspective. The same highly institutionalized world ideologies—models of society, education and their interrelationship—used to rationalize widespread educational expansion also provide standardized depictions for the curricular content of 'modern' society. In the way [that] they outline visions of cultural content necessary for societal and economic 'progress', formal school curricula convey alternative conceptions of societal rationalization. (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996: 117)

The above statement suggests a direct relationship between the ideology of education and the formal curriculum, shown as relation 1 in Figure 1.1.

While instructive, relation 1 reflects only a single dimension of what may be meant by the curriculum. This conventional view refers to a formal curriculum of required information and activities that are to occur in schooling and the classroom. However, the curriculum might also refer to the active curriculum of information and activities that actually occur in the classroom. Alternatively, the curriculum could refer to a less concrete and more general intended curriculum of abstract goals that are to be linked to instruction. In a perfectly articulated system, an intended curriculum of general goals would shape a formal curriculum of required activities and information, which would then be expressed in the active curriculum of the classroom. This perfectly articulated trajectory is illustrated in relations 3a and 3b of Figure 1.1.

Of course, education systems are not well articulated, and the active curriculum may be loosely coupled from the formal rationality of the formal curriculum (3b), which could be some distance from the substantive rationality of the intended curriculum (3a) (on formal and substantive rationality see Weber 1968; Mannheim 1971; especially Kalberg 1980). Additionally, it is quite plausible that an intended curriculum could shape an active curriculum in spite of constraints from the formal curriculum. The unarticulated relation from the intended to the active curriculum is demonstrated by relation 4 in Figure 1.1.

At this point it may be apparent that the intended curriculum of general goals for education is an expression of a more general ideology of education (relation 2 in Figure 1.1), and that data on the aims of education can be used as an indicator for both the intended curriculum and the more general ideology of education.
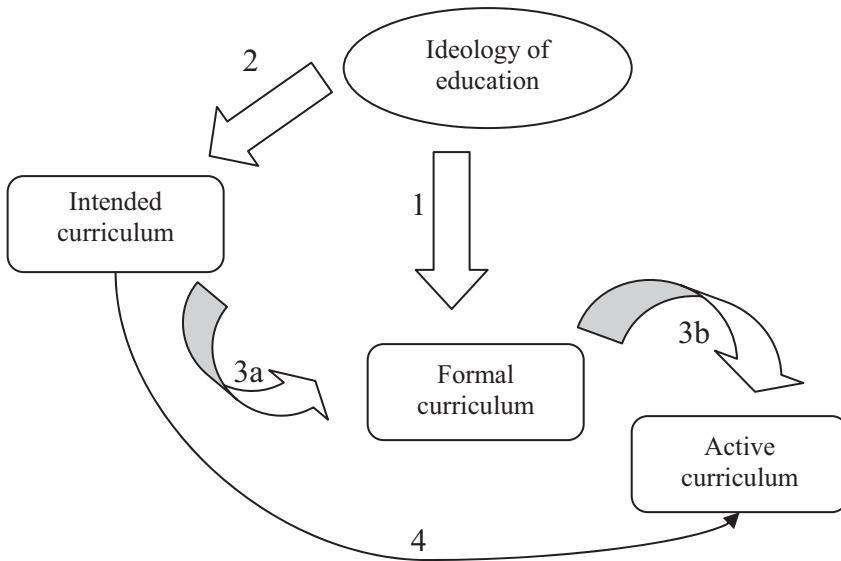
Figure 1.1: Relationships between the ideology of education and types of school curricula

The present research examines data on the aims of education in countries throughout the world as a way to assess the character and change in educational ideology and the intended curriculum throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Although comments regarding relations in the model above will be made, we leave for future theoretical and empirical work the task of systematically assessing such relations.

Ideology and utopia in education systems

The concept of ideology has been treated in an unproblematic manner thus far, referring largely to a world-view, or collective mind-set, that characterizes a population. The world-view provides a cognitive assessment of the nature of reality and a normative assessment of what should be done. An educational ideology would refer to such a world-view regarding education systems. Although it is legitimate to explicate a definition and move on, a consideration of Mannheim's (1959 [1936]) classic discussion of ideology and utopia provides insights worth pursuing when examining educational ideology and an intended curriculum.

Mannheim distinguished between particular ideology and total ideology, paying special attention to the importance of total ideology. Particular ideology refers to the psychology of the individual as he or she attempts to justify and legitimate action that is driven by self-interest. Total ideology moves beyond this and refers to the whole outlook of a social group. Neither the concrete individuals nor the abstract sum of them can legitimately be considered as bearers of this ideological system (Mannheim 1959 [1936]: 194). Ideologies are organizing principles of the existing order, even if they cannot be realized *de facto*. The concept of total ideology is quite similar to the way ideology has been used when referring to educational ideology as a world-view or set of assumptions regarding education. Yet, Mannheim went beyond our present consideration of ideology as a world-view and introduced the notion that ideologies can carry with them images of utopia. For Mannheim, utopia referred to ideologies that break the bonds of the existing order and establish a new social reality. Utopias differ from ideologies in that when they pass over into conduct, they tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things at the time (Mannheim 1959 [1936]: 192). Although utopias are potentially disruptive, they are often carried in existing ideologies and may provide the emotional energy for individuals and organizations:

> But every 'actually operating' order of life is at the same time enmeshed by conceptions which are to be designated as 'transcendent' or 'unreal' because their contents can never be realized in societies in which they exist, and because one could not live and act according to them within the limits of the existing social order. (Mannheim 1959 [1936]: 194)

Ideological systems, thus, can carry elements of utopia that serve to critique and change the very systems they legitimate. This is quite plausible with education systems, as we will explore below.

Continuity and change in educational ideology: 1955–2000

Data

The present research uses data on the aims of education in countries throughout the world for 1980 and 2000 meticulously collected from international documents by a UNESCO research team (Amadio et al. 2005). The data provide a useful mechanism to track the continuity and change in the aims of education, in educational ideology and in the intended curriculum at the end of the twentieth century. For the 2000 time period the research team mainly consulted the fifth edition of *World Data on Education* (Amadio 2003) and the series of national reports on the development of education presented at the forty-sixth session of the International Conference on Education (ICE) held in 2001 (Amadio et al. 2005: 2). Data for the 1980s were from the *International Guide to Education Systems* (Holmes 1979), complemented and expanded by data from national reports at ICE sessions between 1977 and 1984.

The research team established eighteen aims of education that might be identified, all related in some manner to the principle of achieving 'quality Education for All' (Amadio et al. 2005: 2).

The meticulous coding of the data assured reliability, yet the fact that the aims to be coded were decided ahead of time means that the data will not capture aims outside the established ones, nor aims unrelated to the overall principle of achieving 'quality Education for All'.

The pre-established aims of education meant that some aims may not have been coded, and that the data collection technique is looking for themes that are largely part of a world-level model of education. This procedure contrasts with Fiala and Gordon Lanford's research, for they were less explicit regarding educational aims to look for, thus allowing for a wide array of aims to be coded. However, their data collection may not have been as reliable as the UNESCO group because they used only two coders.

Although the UNESCO group's use of pre-established aims to code may have been less than optimal, there are several reasons to suspect that the 1980 and 2000 data accurately capture the aims of education in countries throughout the international community. The main reason is that the guiding principles used to look for the aims of education were so broadly interpreted, and the eighteen pre-established aims so wide-ranging, that it is likely that they captured nearly all of the aims of education that appeared in documents. Secondly, the aims of education that the UNESCO team was looking for were remarkably similar to those Fiala and Gordon Lanford found, even though the latter were less explicit regarding educational aims they might find. The final reason that the UNESCO data are likely to be acceptable is that the existence of an aim to look for does not ensure it will be found in any country. As will be shown there are some aims that rarely appear in coded documents.

To provide a mechanism that allows one to assess continuity and change in educational aims throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, select data from Fiala and Gordon Lanford's study of educational aims in 1955 and 1965 are presented. Data from the earlier period are used cautiously to assess only quite general characteristics, and note variations in educational aims across development levels and regions.

Categorizing aims

The current research places the aims of education coded by the UNESCO team in four general categories, three sub-categories and a residual category with one aim. The categories represent varying mixes of: (1) cognitive and normative content; and (2) utopian content.

An aim of education has cognitive content when it carries assumptions regarding the way the world works. For example, the aim of 'employability' carries the assumption of providing basic skills suited to the existing occupational structure, thereby facilitating reproduction. An aim of education has 'normative' content when it carries an assumption of the way things should be. For example, the aims of equality

and democracy assume that equality and democracy represent goals human societies should attempt to achieve. While all aims of education have both cognitive and normative content, individual aims vary in the degree to which they emphasize either of these elements.

The very nature of an aim of education means that it can fit within the context of an ideological system. However, while all aims can be part of a total ideology, not all will have substantial content that is potentially utopian. That is, not all aims of education will have transcendental qualities that could only be fully realized outside the limits of the existing order. Table 1.1 presents a summary of the major categories and eighteen specific aims of education.

The first category of educational aims attempts to capture 'developmental' aims associated with the ideology of education examined by Fiala and Gordon Lanford (1987) and associated with the world educational revolution of the post-Second World War era. The category focuses on 'development' of the individual, the nation and the economy, and captures an ideology of education with a diffuse optimism that education is a mechanism through which individuals, nations and economies can change in a manner beneficial for the individual and society. The focus is on general change or progress, with little attention to specific concrete ends linked more closely to the reproduction of extant institutions and organizations.

This first category is 'cognitive' in that it carries an assumption that education is the means through which development and progress are achieved. Yet, the category is also 'normative' in positing that development and progress are good things. The sub-categories of national development and economic development carry little utopian content, for each may be adequately expressed within the context of the existing system. However, the sub-category of individual development can carry substantial utopian content, for efforts to realize full development of the individual are not only subject to continued redefinition, but are also nearly impossible to realize in extant political economies focusing largely on development devoted to social and economic reproduction.

The second general category captures relatively concrete goals associated with reproduction and basic skills, focusing on employability and the acquisition of technical and scientific knowledge. This category carries more cognitive than normative content, for its major focus is on the manner in which instruction in schools produces skills that are valuable in the economy. While there is also the assumption that employment and technical skills are good things, these values are at a modest level of generality. The category carries little potential for utopian content, for the acquisition and reproduction of technology and skills fits well within the existing social order.

The third and fourth categories of aims capture more purely normative goals: goals linked to the pursuit of values that define the good society. The third category, containing the aims of equality, democracy, peace, justice, world citizenship and education as a human right, represent aims of education that focus on desired ends, carrying with them few assumptions about how the world works to obtain these ends.

Table 1.1: Major categories and eighteen aims of education for countries worldwide, and potential for cognitive, normative, and utopian content

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Potential for Type of Content		
	Cognitive	*Normative*	*Utopian*
Developmental aims			
Development of the individual	*Medium*	*High*	*High*
1. Personal and emotional development			
2. Creative development			
3. Cognitive development			
4. Lifelong learning			
Development of the nation	*Medium*	*High*	*Low*
5. Citizenship			
6. National identity			
Economic development	*Medium*	*High*	*Low*
7. Economic development			
8. Sustainable development			
Reproduction and basic skills	*High*	*Medium*	*Low*
9. Employability			
10. Technological and scientific knowledge			
Normative aims: equality and justice	*Low*	*High*	*High*
11. Equality			
12. Democracy			
13. Education as a human right			
14. Peace			
15. Justice			
16. World citizenship			
Normative aims: religion	*Low*	*High*	*Medium*
17. Religion			
Other aims			
18. Benefiting from globalization	*Medium*	*Low*	*Low*

This category can carry substantial utopian content, for such general and difficult-to-define aims can be hard to realize within the bounds of any existing political economy. The last category of religion is also a normative category, but is treated differently because its expression can vary dramatically across political economies, at times challenging the existing order, yet more frequently expressing satisfaction with the existing order.

Results

Global characteristics and trends

Table 1.2 presents the percentage of countries expressing each of eighteen aims of education coded by the UNESCO group, along with information on the aims of education coded in earlier research by Fiala and Gordon Lanford (1987).

Table 1.2 shows that for 1980 and 2000 developmental aims were quite common among countries, suggesting that an ideology of education that views it as a mechanism through which individuals are socialized for their own development and as a mechanism to facilitate nation-building and economic expansion is common. Individual development is most fully expressed in the very general aim of personal and emotional development, with 73 percent of countries expressing this aim of education in 1980 and 2000. The general aims under individual development are understandably lower than 73 percent, yet are still exhibited by nearly 25 percent of countries.

Both measures of national development appear in approximately 50 percent of countries in 1980 and 2000, suggesting this developmental theme is central to educational ideology. Economic development also shows as a developmental aim of education for this period, although the more specific aim of sustainable development is rare.

Results for the latter part of the twentieth century are congruent with those from around 1955 and 1965, suggesting continuity throughout the period. General images of the importance of individual, national and economic development appear at the earlier time, with these categories highest among the aims reported in 1955 and 1965. The major difference between the periods seems to be the substantial percentage of countries expressing the aim of personal and emotional development. The category of individual development in the earlier period seems comparable enough to personal and emotional development in the latter period to draw attention to the jump from 39 percent in 1965 to 73 percent in 1980 and 2000, and to suggest that education systems were increasingly taking account of the importance of the development of the individual as we moved through the twentieth century.

Taking all three developmental aims into account, it appears that although economic expansion is a goal of education systems, a narrow economically focused human capital view of education captures only a portion of it for the latter half of the twentieth century. The more general view, focusing on development of a full human being, seems more central to the developmental aims of education.

While the more general theme of development seems to include more than economic expansion, at the more specific level of economic participation education is still viewed as an important mechanism of social reproduction. For 1980 and 2000 about half of all countries express employability as an aim of education, with proportions around 35 percent for the aim of technical and scientific knowledge. The narrower aim of vocational development in 1955 and 1965 may explain why it scores lower than the roughly comparable reproduction aims in 1980 and 2000. Still, the substantially higher percentages for employability and technical and scientific knowledge in 1980 and 2000 suggests that there could be an increasing focus on reproduction at the end of the century.

Turning to normative aims connected with equality and justice, we find education systems express substantial commitment to pursuing such aims in 1980 and 2000, and that formal recognition of such educational aims is more common at this time than in 1955 and 1965. The commitment to equality is found in over 60 percent of countries in 1980 and 2000, with substantial averages also found for democracy and education as a human right—both around the 30 to 50 percent range. While both equality and democracy were expressed at the earlier time, the jump from 23 to 63 percent for equality between 1965 and 1980 is substantial.

Peace, justice and world citizenship are expressed as aims of education in 1980 and 2000, yet with quite modest magnitudes (around 20 percent). These aims were either not expressed or had the most modest percentages at the earlier points in time.

The normative category of religion shows a limited percentage of countries explicitly expressing this aim of education in 1980 and 2000. Even smaller percentages were found for 1955 and 1965.

Taking a step back from these results it seems that two broad interpretations develop. One interpretation provides a summary that pulls together some of the major themes represented in Table 1.2 to describe the contours of a contemporary world-level ideology of education.

> This ideology appears to assume that education is not only a means of economic reproduction, but is also a mechanism helpful in the pursuit of development of the nation, economy and increasingly the individual. Education is also a mechanism for expressing global-level normative concerns, increasingly focused on equality.

This summary assessment indicates that the world-level ideology of education that was associated with the world educational revolution following the Second World War was still in place at the end of the twentieth century. In addition to these developmental themes are more concrete goals of social reproduction, particularly employability, and more purely normative concerns, especially democracy and education as a human right.

A related broad interpretation of the data draws attention to clusters of high scoring specific aims. In the first cluster we find the aims of personal and emotional development and equality. The second cluster follows with the aims of citizenship, national identity and economic development. A third cluster of aims includes technical

Table 1.2: Percentage of countries expressing each of eighteen aims of education, 1980s and 2000s [a]

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Prior research		Current research	
	1955	1965	1980	2000
Developmental aims				
Development of the individual				
1. Personal and emotional development			73	73
2. Creative development			23	22
3. Cognitive development			23	37
4. Lifelong learning			21	27
Individual development	28	39		
Development of the nation				
5. Citizenship			41	54
6. National identity			55	55
National development	48	52		
Loyalty and patriotism	12	27		
Economic development				
7. Economic development	16	57	40	30
8. Sustainable development			4	13
Reproduction and basic skills				
9. Employability			56	48
10. Technological and scientific knowledge			38	34
Individual vocational development	10	26		
Elite training	14	3		
Normative aims: equality and justice				
11. Equality	12	23	63	63
12. Democracy	12	24	31	47
13. Education as a human right			35	41
14. Peace			11	19
15. Justice			21	20
16. World citizenship	5	9	16	21
Political ideology	8	9		
Local ties	14	3		
Normative aims: religion				
17. Religion	9	10	15	16
Other aims				
18. Benefit from globalization			0	2
Number of cases	130	137	112	161

Table notes:
a. Data from prior research for 1955 and 1965 also included.

development, democracy and education as a human right. The two major goals in the first cluster clearly place the individual at the centre of concern; the second cluster underscores the role of the nation-state as the legitimated centre of society; while the third cluster points to both social reproduction and more general values in the international community. The ideology of education represented in this broad interpretation assumes that:

> Education is an institution increasingly focused on the development of individuals in the pursuit of a more equitable society organized around the nation-state and a viable economy, within the context of a broader democratic polity that recognizes individual rights and well-being.

Developmental and regional variation

Although aggregate data provide a mechanism to assess global characteristics and trends, it is informative to assess variation across levels of development and regions of the world. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 compare countries along these two dimensions. Table 1.3 uses the categories of developed, developing and transitional economies to compare countries in 1980 and 2000. Developed economies include Western Europe and North America, Australia, Japan and New Zealand. Transitional economies are countries in transition to a market economy, and include Central Asia (minus Mongolia) and Central and Eastern Europe (minus Turkey). All other countries are classified as having developing economies. The 1955 and 1965 data use a separation of US$172 per capita GNP in 1950 to separate developed from developing countries. For all periods, developed countries are given the label of more developed countries (MDCs), and developing countries are given the label of less developed countries (LDCs). There is little difference in the countries designated as MDCs in the two data sets. Transitional economies did not appear in the 1955 and 1965 data.

Table 1.3 focuses on educational aims at two major development levels. Table 1.4 notes regional variations. To facilitate examination of the tables, notation is provided that indicates when there is a twenty or thirty point difference of a category from a specified reference point. Such differences seem appropriate in assessing substantive differences when dealing with data on aims of education that were coded from general descriptions of education systems.

Overall, Tables 1.3 and 1.4 illustrate similarity in educational aims across regions of the world, and particularly between MDCs and LDCs. The high percentages across the world for the aim of personal and emotional development are particularly noteworthy. Differences between MDCs and LDCs are modest, largely reflecting a greater emphasis on economic growth and establishment of national identity in countries outside the developed world of Western Europe and North America. Regional differences are greater than those separating MDCs and LDCs, and illustrate the continuing salience of cultural and historical factors in shaping educational aims.

Looking in more detail at Table 1.3, one finds high levels of similarity between LDCs and MDCs. Of the thirty-six comparisons between the two categories, only nine show differences of twenty percentage points or more, and only four of those show a difference in excess of thirty percentage points. Especially remarkable are the similarities for educational aims focusing on development of the individual. The dominant aim of personal and emotional development shows almost exactly the same percentages for MDCs and LDCs in both 1980 and 2000. The other three individual development aims exhibit a similar pattern, with the greatest difference between MDCs and LDCs being a mere five percentage points. Such homogeneity contrasts with the higher percentage for individual development among MDCs during the 1955 to 1965 period. It appears that individual development became an increasingly salient educational aim across the world at the end of the twentieth century.

Turning to examine national development aims we find similar emphases on citizenship for both development levels, yet a greater percentage of LDCs emphasize national identity as an educational goal. A similar pattern existed in the 1955–1965 period, with national development showing similar percentages across MDCs and LDCs, yet with LDCs showing a greater emphasis on loyalty and patriotism. It appears that citizenship is a common theme across the world, but that the aim of connecting the individual psychologically with the nation via loyalty and patriotism and national identity is more common among LDCs. This likely reflects the fact that most of the MDCs are Western European and North American countries with longer histories of a viable and unified nation-state. Data in Table 1.4 showing Western Europe and North America with the lowest regional means for national identity in both 1980 and 2000 are congruent with this interpretation.

A similar difference between LDCs and MDCs exists for the aim of economic development. Once again this aim is emphasized more by LDCs with their lower levels of economic expansion. This pattern of greater emphasis on economic development among LDCs also existed in the 1955 to 1965 period. Also, once again, the greater emphasis on economic development for LDCs is illustrated in low scores on this aim for North America and Western Europe in Table 1.3. In a manner similar to the lower emphasis on national identity among MDCs, it appears that the establishment of what appears to be a viable and productive economy is associated with less emphasis on economic development as an explicit educational aim among MDCs.

Reproductive aims exhibit similar emphases across LDCs and MDCs. The twenty-point difference for employability between LDCs and MDCs in 1980 is likely to be of modest substantive importance when one takes into account the high mean levels and the lower difference between LDCs and MDCs in 2000.

Although equality shows high scores for both MDCs and LDCs, it is found to a greater degree in developed countries, again largely Western Europe and North America. While it is best to emphasize the high overall levels, equality may have high scores in the developed world to some degree because its promotion through education directs attention towards individual achievement and away from substantial change in the political economy.

Table 1.3: Percentage of countries expressing each of eighteen aims of education, 1980s and 2000s,[a] by level of development[b]

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Prior research				Current research				
	MDCs 1955	LDCs 1955	MDCs 1965	LDCs 1965	MDCs 1980	LDCs 1980	MDCs 2000	LDCs 2000	TRAN 2000
Developmental aims									
Development of the individual									
1. Personal and emotional development					72	73	72	72	75
2. Creative development					24	23	24	21	29
3. Cognitive development					21	23	40	37	38
4. Lifelong learning					24	19	28	23	42
Individual development	40	16	50	27					
Development of the nation									
5. Citizenship					31	45	68	54	42
6. National identity					28	65*	28	61*	58
National development	43	49	45	45					
Loyalty and patriotism	18	12	31	65*					
Economic development									
7. Economic development	11	18	43	72	10	51*	12	36	21
8. Sustainable development					4	5	4	16	8
Reproduction and basic skills									
9. Employability					72	51*	64	47	38
10. Technological and scientific knowledge					24	42	28	39	16
Individual vocational development	17	7	33	23					

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Prior research				Current research				
	MDCs 1955	LDCs 1955	MDCs 1965	LDCs 1965	MDCs 1980	LDCs 1980	MDCs 2000	LDCs 2000	TRAN 2000
Normative aims: equality and justice									
11. Equality	17	5	31	23	86	55*	80	64	54
12. Democracy	21	7	25	26	28	33	48	41	75
13. Education as a human right					38	34	20	45	46
14. Peace					7	12	16	23	4
15. Justice					4	28	12	25	4
16. World citizenship	6	5	12	8	10	18	12	21	33
Normative aims: religion									
17. Religion	13	5	12	10	10	17	12	20	0
Other Aims									
18. Benefit from globalization					0	0	4	2	0
Political ideology	9	5	9	10					
Local ties	0	8	2	2					
Elite training	2	25	0	7					
Number of cases	53	61	58	62	29	25	83	112	24

Table notes:
Underline (_____) indicates difference between MDCs and LDCs is twenty percentage points or more.
Underline with an asterisk (___*__) indicates difference between MDCs and LDCs is thirty percentage points or more.
a. Data from prior research for 1955 and 1965 also included.
b. MDCs = more-developed countries; LDCs = less-developed countries; TRAN = countries in transition.

Shifting attention to Table 1.4, one can clearly see the importance of cultural variation and historical legacies in shaping educational aims. Cultural effects are clearly evident in the high scores for religion in the Arab States and the largely Muslim South and Western Asian countries. History helps explain why Central and Eastern Europe were below world averages on citizenship and national identity during the period of Soviet domination in 1980, yet were up to world averages by 2000, as national autonomy was established. The above-average scores for democracy in 2000 likely reflect the importance of democracy as an ideological theme during an important era of nation-building. High scores on an array of normative themes for Latin America in 1980 probably reflects efforts on the part of these nations to come to grips with the eclipse of democratic institutions, with education being a mechanism to retain a connection to world-level themes of democracy, justice, personal development and even world citizenship. The high levels for personal development and equality in East Asia and the Pacific for 2000 are likely to reflect a move towards cultural integration into a world polity by successful players in the world economy.

If the above interpretations of regional variations are accurate, they illustrate not only the importance of cultural and historical factors in shaping educational ideology and the intended curriculum, but also how world level dynamics may shape such variations. For example, the prestige of democracy and national citizenship in the world polity in all probability leads newly independent countries to emphasize these aims (Central and Eastern Europe); the experience of the eclipse of democracy presses education systems with some autonomy to emphasize democracy and anti-authoritarian educational aims (Latin America); and success in the world economy leads countries to align themselves with world-level cultural themes (East Asia). Only the continued salience of religion in the Arab States might fit a more historicist interpretation, yet even here the fact that religion increased in importance from 1980 to 2000 can be viewed as a reaction to the penetration of other world-level cultural themes.

Ideology, utopia, and school curriculum

Drawing from the summary statements regarding the ideology of education mentioned earlier in this chapter, it seems reasonable to suggest that a global ideology of education directs education systems to pursue:

1. Full development of the individual, assuming basic equality of all human beings and the need to continue pursuit of that equality;
2. Development of the nation and the economy, with appropriate attention to economic reproduction;
3. Recognition of the importance of the values of equality, democracy and the basic rights of human beings for education.

Less developed countries give greater attention to establishing national identity and economic growth, and regional variations underscore the importance of cultural

variation and history. Still, the above directives appear world-wide, and many developmental and regional variations can be seen as related to them.

The above themes are ideological by definition, for they provide a cognitive assessment of how education works, while also providing a normative assessment of how it should work. As our preliminary review of the cognitive, normative and utopian components of ideologies in Table 1.1 suggested, if educational ideologies placed substantial emphasis on either development of the individual, or on normative concerns like equality and justice, then the ideologies could have substantial utopian content. The first and third of the above pursuits clearly indicate that there is substantial utopian content to current world-level models of education and, by extension, the intended curriculum. Personal and emotional development, and the pursuit of such values as equality and democracy, will be difficult to fully realize in any social system, not only because of constraints within the existing political economy, but also because these goals are so abstract and general that partial realization gives rise to expanded images of personal and emotional development, equality, democracy and justice.

The utopian character of substantial portions of educational ideologies and the intended curriculum has implications for understanding the character of the formal curriculum and the active curriculum.

Because the formal curriculum is subject to pressures from the broader political economy and the necessity to produce formal organization and rules, it may be some distance from utopian elements of the intended curriculum represented in educational ideologies. Utopian themes of personal and emotional development and creative development may find their way into a formal curriculum of aesthetic education, sports and perhaps social science, yet the time spent on these subjects will be modest compared to the time spent on more cognitive and measurable topics, like language instruction, mathematics and science. Similarly, while utopian themes like equality, democracy and justice may find their way into social science or history, the time spent on them will be modest, and the topics will rarely be the explicit subject of a major segment of the formal curriculum (see Benavot and Amadio 2004).

The formal curriculum will not only be some distance from utopian themes in the intended curriculum (relation 3a in Figure 1.1), it will also be subject to rationalized planning and assessment. Efforts will not only be made to elucidate subject matter and time to be spent on it, but pressure to test and allocate students will develop. Perceived failures in formal procedures can lead to greater pressures for formal rationalization, yet loose coupling between formal criteria and practice is also a likely outcome (relation 3b in Figure 1.1) (Meyer and Rowan 1978).

While the formal curriculum may not well represent utopian themes in the intended curriculum, the loose coupling that is likely between the formal and active curriculum leaves substantial space for the intended curriculum to be activated through other mechanisms (relation 4 in Figure 1.1). For example, the broader ideology of education and its expression in an intended curriculum are constant themes not only in the broader community and society, but also in academic institutions, schools of education and networks of educators.

Table 1.4: Percentage of countries expressing each of eighteen aims of education, 1980s and 2000s, by region of the world [a]

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Period	World mean	AS	CA	CEE	EAP	LAC	NAWE	SSA	SWA
Developmental aims										
Development of the individual										
1. Personal and emotional Development	1980s	73	53*	—	64	71	100*	82	62	75
	2000s	73	74	57	84	94*	76	70	62	56
2. Creative development	1980s	23	0*	—	9	21	52*	29	19	13
	2000s	22	11	29	32	22	24	30	16	22
3. Cognitive development	1980s	23	27	—	9	14	33	24	23	25
	2000s	37	47	14*	47	33	48	39	27	22
4. Lifelong learning	1980s	21	27	—	18	21	19	35	8	25
	2000s	27	21	0*	53*	28	29	26	19	33
Development of the nation										
5. Citizenship	1980s	41	40	—	18*	50	71*	35	35	13
	2000s	54	58	29	47	44	59	74	51	44
6. National identity	1980s	55	56	—	27*	57	67	24*	69	63
	2000s	55	79	71	53	61	62	26	51	56
Economic development										
7. Economic development	1980s	40	53	—	36	21	38	6	65*	50
	2000s	30	42	0	26	39	31	9	43	11
8. Sustainable development	1980s	4	0	—	9	14	38**	12	12	0
	2000s	13	16	14	11	11	21	4	14	11
Reproduction and basic skills										
9. Employability	1980s	56	73	—	91	57	24*	65	46	75
	2000s	48	72*	29	42	56	48	65	46	44
10. Technological and scientific Knowledge	1980s	38	47	—	36	50	43	18*	27	63*
	2000s	34	53	0*	16	33	45	26	38	22

MAJOR CATEGORIES AND EIGHTEEN AIMS OF EDUCATION	Period	World mean	AS	CA	CEE	EAP	LAC	NAWE	SSA	SWA
Normative aims: equality and justice										
11. Equality	1980s	63	47	—	82	79	38	88*	54	88*
	2000s	63	42*	57	58	83*	59	83*	68	67
12. Democracy	1980s	31	13	—	0*	50	62**	41	15	25
	2000s	47	26	43	79**	33	55	48	43	44
13. Education as a human right	1980s	35	47	—	45	21	41	35	15	38
	2000s	41	37	86	32	56	55	17	41	22
14. Peace	1980s	11	0	—	0	21	33*	12	0	0
	2000s	19	21	0	5	11	24	17	32	11
15. Justice	1980s	21	20	—	0	21	52**	6	19	13
	2000s	20	26	0	5	17	34	13	22	22
16. World citizenship	1980s	16	13	—	9	14	38*	12	12	0
	2000s	21	37	29	37	6	24	13	8	44
Normative aims: religion										
17. Religion	1980s	15	47**	—	0	21	5	18	4	25
	2000s	16	68**	0	0	22	0	13	3	44*
Other aims										
18. Benefit from globalization	1980s	0	0	—	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2000s	2	0	0	0	0	3	4	3	0
Number of cases	1980s	112	15	—	11	14	21	17	26	8
	2000s	161	19	7	19	18	29	23	37	9

Table notes:
* Regional mean is twenty or more percentage points from world mean.
** Regional mean is thirty or more percentage points from world mean.
a. AS = Arab States; CA = Central Asia; CEE = Central & Eastern Europe; EAP = East Asia & Pacific; LAC = Latin America & Caribbean; NAWE = North America & Western Europe; SSA = Sub-Saharan Africa; SWA = South & West Africa.

Conclusion

The educational ideology and intended curriculum associated with the world educational revolution in the post-Second World War era appears to have still been in place at the end of the twentieth century. This ideology and its intended curriculum are largely developmental in nature, focusing on development of the economy, nation and increasingly on development of the individual. Additionally, normative aims focusing on equality and democracy formed part of this matrix as the twentieth century came to an end. While links between the ideology of education and intended curriculum are currently true by definition (relation 2 in Figure 1.1), future theoretical work could refine the concepts and linkages, including relations between societal and world-level dynamics. Another promising avenue of inquiry relevant to both theory and policy is a focus on the classic issue of the relation between the substantive rationality of the intended curriculum and the formal rationality of the formal curriculum. Of course, productive work can always be done on the relation between the formal and active curriculum, with the literature on loose coupling having already established a rich tradition. In this regard, it is informative to consider possible direct effects of an intended curriculum (relation 4 in Figure 1.1), largely world-systemic in nature, on the active curriculum, with an array of organizations, including schools of education, as intermediaries. Such endeavors could provide an array of insights into generic sociological issues, including the continuing role of both ideology and utopia at the individual, societal and world level.

2

The Worldwide Rise of Human Rights Education[1]

Francisco O. Ramírez, David Suárez and John W. Meyer

Introduction

Human rights education is increasingly emphasized worldwide in organizational, curricular and discursive developments (Andreopoulos and Claude 1997; Elbers 2002). We analyze this expansion, with information on both world- and national-level educational patterns.

Human rights education must be seen as a world-wide movement, rather than principally one located in a few nation-states. The current emphasis on human rights education reflects a growing understanding of the individual person as a member of a global society rather than as mainly a national citizen. Cultural and political globalization all work as important motors in this process, generating standardized educational models of human competencies (Rychen and Tiana 2004), and of national progress (Ramírez and Meyer 2002a). The enactment of these models results in increasing uniformities across nation-states over many educational domains, including the new domain of human rights education. Over and above economic changes, cultural and political globalization generate a worldwide movement that: (a) emphasizes human rights over and above citizenship rights; (b) assigns centrality to the individual person over and above nation-states; and (c) creates extraordinary rates of educational expansion throughout the world.

Thus, a first focus for this paper is the description and analysis of world-level emphases on human rights education in global educational organization and discourse. Dimensions of cultural and political globalization play important predictive roles, in part mediated by worldwide educational expansion and the rise of a world-level human rights sector.

Our second focus is on human rights education as it appears in the policies, curricula and educational materials of national education systems. We consider the factors that have affected the rise, in recent decades, of human rights education in

national education systems—in partial contrast to other and more nation-centered civics and social studies foci. Our core idea is that national developments in the human rights education area reflect ties to world educational and human rights organizations and discourse, more than the effects of national developments and human rights experiences.

Background and theory

Human rights education is clearly being advanced on a global scale (Buergenthal and Torney 1976; Claude 1996; Stimmann Branson and Torney-Purta 1982; Suárez and Ramírez 2005). World organizations, professional associations and international advocacy groups are promoting it (HREA 2004; IIHR 2002; UN 1994). To a surprising degree, the associated principles seem to have penetrated curricular plans, policies, educational materials and practices in many national societies (IIHR 2002; Council of Europe 2004a; 2004b). History, civics and social studies courses have been modified to emphasize human rights education, and distinct human rights programs have been put in place. We need more evidence on the scale and distribution of these changes, but clearly much change is going on.

The whole phenomenon was little anticipated in educational thought and research a few decades ago. Education systems were and are so securely in the hands of national states and societies that it seemed evident that schooling would mainly reflect variations in national economic and political systems. It also seemed obvious that schooling would emphasize national history, society and citizenship. Mindful of the dangers of nationalistic jingoism, progressives favored a civic education that fostered a more liberal, open-minded and tolerant citizenry. But citizenship formation was still linked to the needs of a particular country, rather than the 'requirements' of human members in a global society.

Thus, explanations for the shift to human rights education are called for. Our core argument, taken directly from sociological institutional theory (see Thomas et al. 1987, and Drori et al. 2003, for examples and parallels) is that the rise of human rights education is linked closely to processes of globalization over the period since the Second World War, and particularly in the most recent decades. A global society has been constructed and imagined during this period. This is a society in which individual persons are both entitled members and proactive agents. Human rights education, we argue, reflects both this developing emphasis on world citizenship and the strong assumption of personal commitment required for global citizenship.

Much prior work has involved theoretical and empirical analysis of the rise of a 'world society' in the post-war period, and the growing impact of the organization and rules of this society on educational (and other) policy and practice in particular national states. The research involved has been extensively reviewed elsewhere (Meyer, Boli et al. 1997; Meyer and Ramírez 2000; Finnemore 1996; Jepperson 2002; Hasse and Kruecken 1999). Two core themes are involved (Meyer and Ramírez 2000). First, models from world society increasingly affect education and other institutions in

national societies. As a brief example, schooling systems are much more similar and try to conform much more to standardized world models than would have been expected on the basis of extreme national diversities in resources, culture and needs. Second, the models promulgated worldwide are increasingly focused on the values of an imagined world society, rather than as an ideally competitive national state and society. The valued world models for education and society celebrate a world of equality and co-operation, not a world of competition and hierarchy. And they celebrate a world in which the human person is increasingly more central than the national citizen (see also Ramírez and Meyer 1998; 2002a).

These findings and ideas lead directly to explanations for the rise of human rights education. Two main lines of argument are central, one at the global level and the other at the national level. First, various dimensions of globalization affect the world rise in human rights education, both directly and indirectly. And second, national organizational and discursive linkages to preferred global educational models, more than distinctive national experiences and resources, account for national shifts in policy and practice on human rights education. We discuss these lines of reasoning in turn.

The global-level rise in human rights education

Globalization in its different forms—political, cultural and economic—creates a world of actual and perceived interdependence. In themselves, such changes increase the extent to which schooling efforts try to lead new generations to relate to the greater world society. These various sorts of globalization, combined with the modern dominance, worldwide, of liberal and democratic ideologies (perhaps in principle more than practice), help account for the expansion of human rights education. Two related, but empirically distinguishable, changes reinforce the effect. Comparative research has focused on both of these developments.

From citizen rights to human rights

The modern shift toward more global conceptions of human society and away from nationally-centered ones has led to an important shift in conceptions of the individual and of individual rights. In the classic ideal nation-state models, the standing of the individual was defined in terms of citizenship in the national state and the safeguard of its legal system. In the Anglo-American cases, individual rights were defined as prior to and constitutive of the state; in typical continental cases, individual rights were defined as guaranteed by the state (Bendix 1964). With modern globalization, a simple shift of this formulation to the world level has been impossible, because the world lacks the standing of a state and the associated positive legal tradition. So, in the United Nations' several declarations of human rights, individual rights have been defined and defended in natural law terms as rights inherent in being a human being (Lauren 2000). This contrasts sharply with many traditional definitions of the rights of national citizenship, as rooted in positive national constitutional law.

Hence, in the last half century, there has been a worldwide explosion in organizations and discourse devoted to ever-expanding conceptions of human rights (for a review see Ramírez and Meyer 2002a). This broad movement has resulted in increases in: (a) the number of groups whose human rights are to be protected, such as women, children, gays and lesbians, ethnic minorities, indigenous people, and people with various disabilities (Brysk 2000). It has also produced great increases: (b) in the range of topics covered, such as basic due process of law rights, rights to an elementary and secondary education, rights to health, and rights to one's own language and culture. It has expanded: (c) the scope of human rights treaties and the numbers of countries that have ratified them (Tsutsui and Wotipka 2005). It has expanded: (d) the density of organizational structures around the world engaged in advocacy, monitoring and representation (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Finally, it has greatly expanded: (e) the obligations of people, groups and nations everywhere in the world to support the human rights of people anywhere else in the world, entirely above and beyond the classic boundaries of national sovereignty that formerly blocked much intervention (Krasner 1999; Lauren 2003; Risse and Sikkink 1999). This broad movement has impacted policy and practice throughout much of the world (Ramírez and Meyer 2002a; Wotipka and Ramírez 2003; Hathaway 2002; and many others).

The educational impact of the human rights movement is very great, though not much theorized. Older models of citizenship education, civics instruction, history or social studies may now appear to be limited or even jingoistic, if these are solely informed by older conceptions of citizenship rights and obligations. The most traditional forms of civics education, for instance, involved heavy attention to local and national polities and their values and procedures (Butts 1980; Rauner 1998; Torney and Oppenheim 1975; Tyack 2003). With the rise of human rights education, some of the time and attention involved may be shifted to a changed and broadened agenda. The rights of minorities, women and immigrants are now much more likely to be framed and understood in broad universalistic human rights terms (see Soysal 1994 on the rights of migrant workers in Western Europe, and Berkovitch 1999 on worldwide changes in the status of women), and the more established forms of international education (such as peace education) also now incorporate human rights topics into the discussion (Reardon 1997). The second IEA Civic Education Study included and discussed human rights items—while none were to be found in the first (Torney and Oppenheim 1975; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). It seems likely that some of the older civics topics receive relatively less attention than they did when the national state and society were the main focus of education for public life.

The expansion of education and individual human agency

The post-Second World War era has been a period of enormous educational growth. Poor countries which had almost no education in 1950 now have nearly universal primary enrolments (of varying quality, of course) and came to have greatly expanded secondary enrolments by the end of the century (see Meyer et al. 1977; Meyer, Ramírez

and Soysal 1992, for cross-national analyses). And university-level education now occurs in every sort of country; many developing countries now routinely show tertiary enrolment rates greater than those found in France, Germany or the United Kingdom in 1960 (Schofer and Meyer 2005). Incredibly, nearly 20 percent of a youth cohort, worldwide, can now expect some post-secondary education (World Bank 2004). Beyond enrolment growth, expanded education has involved an increase in: (a) the range of groups, identities and interests included within education, such as ethnic, regional or gender groups (Frank et al. 2000); (b) the range of topics covered in national education and curricula; and (c) the range of national and individual goals education is expected to serve. Virtually every domain of social life is now included in the school system; students learn not only some skills and norms to prepare them for future occupational and political roles, but also identities in terms of ethnicity, gender and other collective sub-national bases. Naturally, as human rights become an important social domain in world and national society, we expect that education systems incorporate human rights in their curricula.

Post-war educational expansion can be seen as reflecting the broad forces of globalization of the period, and empirical analyses show that this expansion is especially characteristic of countries closely linked to the larger world society. Closed models of national society, with their preference for fitting individuals into pre-defined occupational and social roles in a fixed national society, fell into disrepute. Expanded models of the individual as possessing human capital in an expansive and global society became dominant. Planning was increasingly seen as the property of individuals (Hwang 2003), and not of authoritative and authoritarian states and education systems. This shift to the individual as a perceived human agent legitimated and motivated much educational expansion. Broad human capital formation won over narrower manpower planning emphases; the result is a call for broad competencies rather than narrow skills (Rychen and Tiana 2004). In the brave new post-war world, the idea that there could be 'over-education'—a common fear in earlier times that too much education might generate social conflict and disorder—dropped out of sight. If education is now seen as generalized human capital, more of it is a good thing (see the striking emphasis on this point in World Bank 2000). So, both for the collective good, and for individual benefit, educational expansion lost many of its limits. Its earlier detractors have simply been out-competed by an array of educational supporters.

The worldwide expansion of education and educational entitlements seems to have had a substantial impact on the rise of human rights education. For one thing, it signifies a world organized around individual development. For another, a most immediate goal of the educational expansion movements going on under the 'Education for All' umbrella is to teach individuals around the world about their entitlement to education itself (Chabbott 2003).

Overall global-level effects: Thus, the increasingly integrated, but stateless, character of world society directly and indirectly expands human rights education. There is a huge literature on the growth of hard-wired economic, communications and political interdependencies. There are also many studies that indicate an expansion of

'soft law' covering more and more social domains. Human rights education builds on the expansion of 'soft law' by teaching about the United Nations and some of the legal aspects of human rights, but the human rights education movement also moves beyond legal discussions by emphasizing the universal rights of every individual (Martin, Gitta and Ige 1997; Claude 1997). All of the integrating processes take place in the absence of a centralized global polity command structure. In such a context, social control takes the form of the socialization and social disciplining of individual persons; Tocqueville's (1835) analysis of relatively stateless American socio-political life is the *locus classicus* of the argument. This in turn presupposes a high degree of legitimated human agency that must be nurtured and protected, with social progress linked directly to the development of individual persons. The human capital revolution is global, multi-dimensional, and related to the rise of human rights education.

Thus, we suggest three broad explanatory ideas on the global rise of human rights education. We conceive of this rise, itself, to have several dimensions, as is indicated above. More curricular time is devoted to the subject and the human rights umbrella expands to cover a wider range of groups, topics and substantive rights. So from an earlier period in which human rights (and such protagonists as Amnesty International) focused mainly on basic due-process rights (Wiseberg and Scoble 1981), the subject expands now to include a wide variety of economic, social, political, educational, medical and cultural topics (Andreopoulos and Claude 1997; Helfer 1991; Sikkink 1996; Smith 1995). The explanatory themes below apply to the expansion of human rights education on all these dimensions:

> *Explanatory themes 1-3:* World-level emphases on human rights education result from: (1) globalization and the actualities and perceptions of global cultural, political and economic interdependence; (2) the expansion of organization and discourse devoted to human rights, over and above standards of citizenship; and (3) the worldwide expansion of education at all levels.

World-level data

Figures 1.1-1.4 show descriptive data relevant to the discussion above. We put together indicators of world globalization, human rights structure and educational expansion, as well as measures of global emphases on human rights education itself. The figures show the enormous global expansion of the whole 'human rights system', including human rights education in particular.

National-level incorporation of human rights education

A second main focus of this paper is on explaining the factors producing national-level adoption of, and emphases on, human rights education and its several dimensions. Previous research on the modern evolution of national education systems leads us to emphasize, as a main predictive factor, national linkages to global patterns, in contrast

to purely national developmental patterns (see Meyer and Ramírez 2000; Ramírez and Meyer 2002b for reviews). The institutional theories supported in these lines of research contrast sharply with some classic arguments proposing close linkages between expanding modern education systems and the economic and social particularities of individual societies. There is much empirical support for the thesis that modern education systems (i.e. enrolment and curricular patterns) arise less to link up to the needs of local society than to produce standardized progress legitimated by transnational authorities. There is also much support for the point of view that models of the ideal progress-oriented society to be produced are surprisingly homogenous around the world. And, finally, it is very clear that preferred models of education (primary, secondary and tertiary, but also pre-school and adult education) are themselves very directly copied around the world.

It is, thus, clear that foci on human rights education are unlikely to be independently developed over and over in many different countries: rather, standard patterns arise and are likely to be adopted most effectively by countries with rich linkages to the exogenous patterns. Human rights education is an especially interesting example of the 'standard pattern' story because its institutionalization is new and incomplete. There are still multiple models of human rights education and multiple models of the pedagogical approaches relevant to it. Implementation at the national level may be far removed from the intentions of non-governmental organizations operating at the global level.

These variations occur in a context (and because of the context) in which human rights education is so highly valued. If, as we argue, human rights education receives a global emphasis, core explanatory themes follow:

> *Explanatory Theme 4:* National-level human rights education, in its several dimensions, directly reflects: (a) the expansion of the world human rights education movement over time; and (b) national linkages to the world movement.

> *Explanatory Theme 5:* Human rights education expands especially in countries: (a) with expanded educational sectors; and (b) with many organizational, professional and discursive links to world educational structures.

> *Explanatory Theme 6:* Human rights education expands especially in countries: (a) with expanded human rights sectors; and (b) with stronger links to the world human rights movement.

> *Explanatory Theme 7:* Human rights education expands especially in countries with much political, social, economic and cultural global involvement.
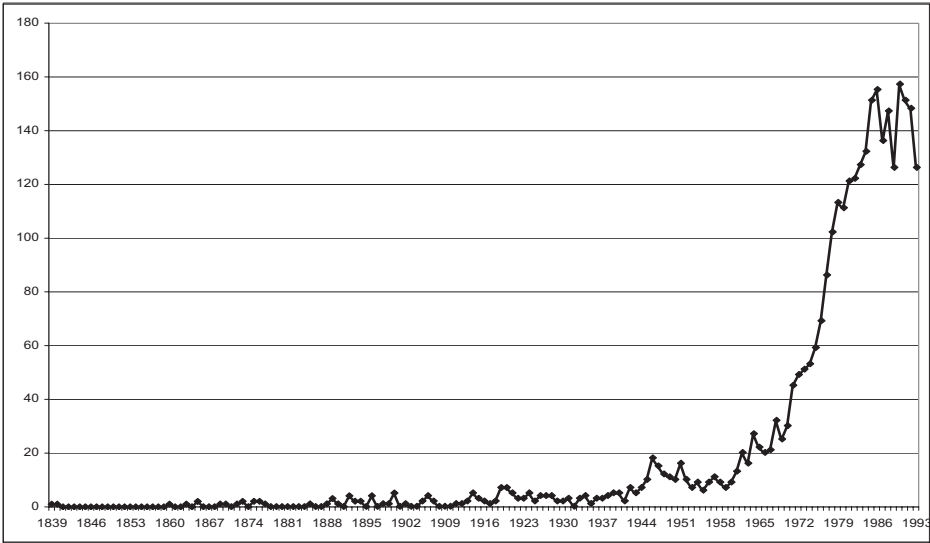
Figure 2.1: Human rights organization births (N=3,345)
Source: Taken from Suárez and Ramírez (2005)
Note: Original sources are Human Rights Internet (2000); Union of International Associations (various years). Data from these sources have more omissions in recent years.
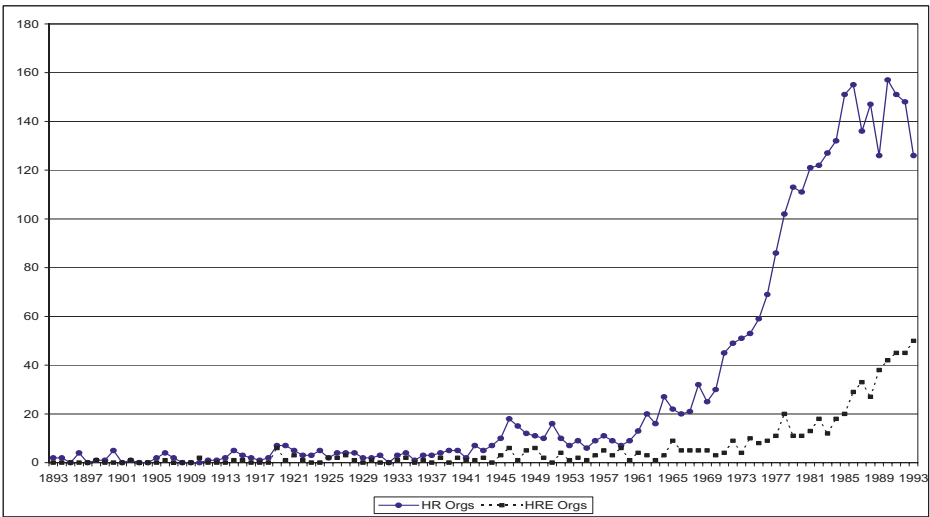
Figure 2.2: Comparison of human rights organization foundings and human rights education organization foundings, by year
Source: Taken from Suárez and Ramírez (2005)
Note: Original sources are Human Rights Internet (2000); Union of International Associations (various years); UNESCO (2003); Elbers (2002); UNHCHR (2003b). Data from these sources have more omissions in recent years.
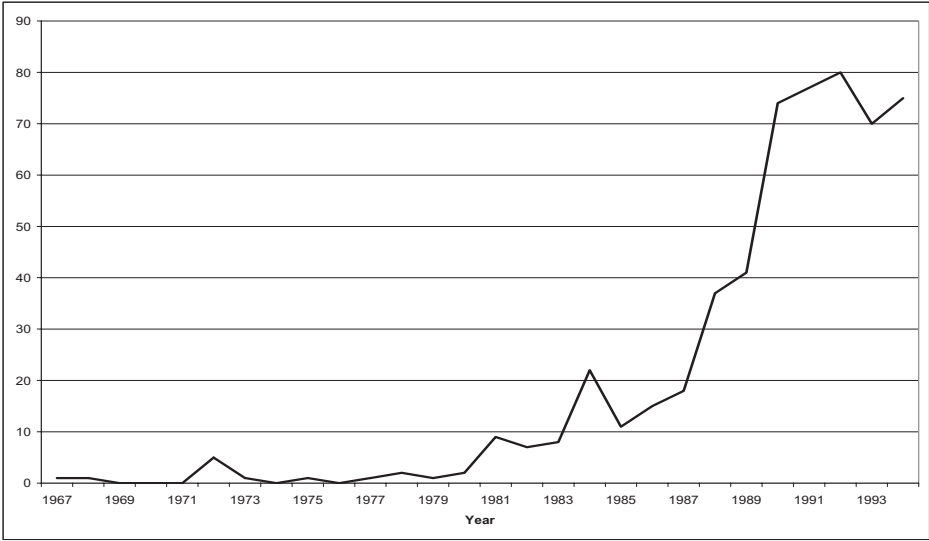
Figure 2.3: Yearly number of publications on human rights education (N=560)

Source: Taken from Suárez (2005a)

Note: Original sources are Amnesty International (1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997); Elbers (20002); Andreopoulos and Claude (1997); UNHCHR (2003b). Data from these sources have more omissions in recent years.
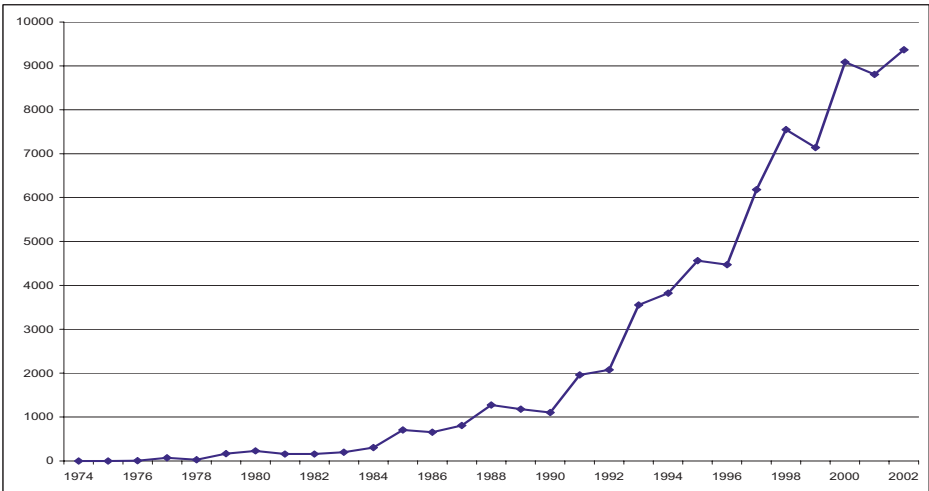
Figure 2.4: Human rights articles in the popular press (N=75,632)

Source: Ramírez and Meyer (2004)

Note: Original source is Lexis Nexis Newspaper Database (2003). The same articles are sometimes published in multiple regions and get counted multiple times.

In order to make clear the force of our arguments, it may help to contrast them with other common types of hypotheses about the sources of educational change. Thus, as examples:

(a)   In the field of comparative education, it is common to argue that education systems are much affected by the resources and constraints of national socio-economic development. It is argued that limited resources constrain progressive changes and, in addition, that national weakness and dependence leave educational arrangements in the hands of reactionary and suppressive forces. These arguments seem plausible, but empirical research suggests a counter-hypothesis. Socio-economically weak countries are likely to adopt (at least symbolically) fashionable world patterns—they have few resources to conform to them, but even fewer resources with which to resist. The whole issue is reviewed effectively in Schriewer (2000a; see also Ramírez and Meyer 2002b). (For example, note that Germany is among the countries most able to resist world trends toward 'democratic' comprehensive secondary education, because it has a long tradition of its own of stratified secondary schooling.)

(b)   It is also common to suppose that more democratic national societies are most likely to adopt progressive reforms, such as human rights education (IIHR 2000). This may be true, but note that democratic education systems also put power in the hands of local groups whose tastes may not conform to world fashions. Note, for example, that some of the countries that have most quickly and completely adapted to world fashions prohibiting corporal punishment in schools are by no means democracies. It may be easier for world fashions to impact an eager-to-please minister or official (Schirmer 1996) than to do the slow business of convincing parents and teachers to violate local traditions.

(c)   It is common to suppose that human rights education is most strongly supported in countries with political histories of human rights violation (for an example, see Roniger and Sznajder 1999). In such countries, both educators and lay people can readily see the extreme importance of human rights principles and their diffusion throughout society and state. It seems likely that this is true. Nevertheless, countervailing processes are also at work. In countries with histories of human rights violation, the human rights movements that do rise and take hold may focus on such violations rather than on the slower and long-run project of human rights education.

National-level data

Table 2.1 provides basic descriptive statistics about human rights education at the world level. The International Bureau of Education (IBE) has produced five editions of

its national reports on education, and its current database includes information on the curriculum for 160 countries. Of the 160 countries that sent documents to the IBE, 49 mention human rights. This information is presented in summary form in Table 2.1, indicating the mean number of times that countries within a region mention human rights.

The regions representing 'Western Europe and North America' and 'Asia and Oceania' differ markedly from the other regions. On average, countries in Sub-Saharan Africa mention human rights nearly eight times more than countries in Asia and Oceania and also nearly eight times more than countries in Western Europe and North America.

Table 2.1 also includes information on countries that report activities related to the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. Eighty-six countries reported to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights regarding human rights education activities, and this information is presented by region in Table 2.1. Documents sent to the IBE cover the curricular level, and mentions of human rights in those documents demonstrate a greater penetration into the education system than reports on human rights education activities sent to the United Nations. In many cases, countries reporting to the United Nations mention that they are just beginning to adopt human rights materials, and some countries even report that they have not developed programs at all. Nevertheless, the documents point to an engagement with human rights education, and comparing these reports to the IBE documents reveals some striking differences. Some 74 percent of countries in Western Europe and North

Table 2.1: Human rights in the world, discourse and curriculum

	IBE mean [a]	UN Decade percentage [b]
Sub-Saharan Africa	.70	36
Asia and Oceania	.11	31
Middle East and North Africa	.32	37
Eastern Europe and former USSR	.82	50
Western Europe and North America	.11	74
Latin America and the Caribbean	.64	52

Source: International Bureau of Education (Amadio 2003); UNHCHR (2003a)

Table notes:
a. IBE mean refers to the average number of times the term 'human rights' is mentioned in IBE curriculum documents within a region.
b. UN Decade percentage refers to the percentage of countries within a region that responded to the United Nations regarding human rights education activities.

America report to the United Nations, but, as an average, this region mentioned human rights the least in IBE documents. In all regions, over 30 percent of the countries reported human rights education activities, and in three of the six regions more than half of the countries reported activities. These reports need to be analyzed in greater detail to determine the breadth and depth of engagement with human rights education, but a large number of countries throughout the world are taking steps toward integrating human rights education into the curriculum.

Summary of the argument

Figure 2.5 outlines the core structure of our overall explanatory discussion. It shows our focus on the impact of global change on the world human rights education movement. And it shows our focus on the effects of this movement (and national linkages to it) on the development of human rights education at the national level.

Future research agendas

In order to pursue the full range of ideas developed above, a large-scale investigation would be required. Here, we can lay out the structure of such a study and provide relevant illustrative materials.

At the global level

In order to track the rise of human rights education, data are needed on organizations and professional groups devoted, at least in part, to the enterprise in the post-war period. And we need more information on the rise of professional and popular discourse on the subject. Finally, it is important to contrast the human rights education focus with other more traditional foci, such as traditional civics, local and national social studies, or national history, by tracking both organizational structures and discourse patterns.

On the educational discourse side, we propose to make similar measurements, capturing the rise of educational materials and educational advocacy in the area. Data can be obtained from often computerized coding of academic, policy and more popular literatures focusing on human rights education. Figures 2.1-2.4 exemplify the sorts of data that are really needed.

At the national-level

Detailed data are needed on the rise of human rights education in recent decades in as many nation-states as possible. We can look at national curricula and textbooks, to see how human rights education variously penetrates social studies, civics and history curricula, and to see if other elements (e.g. of traditional civics) have tended to be downplayed over time. Detailed information on curricular time allocations for human rights education is needed. It is also important to gather information on national

organizations committed to human rights education, and on national-level educational discourse devoted to the subject.

A note on regional studies

The human rights movement has been structured, not only at the world level, but also in a host of regional organizations. It is strongly emphasized, for example, in Latin America and also by the Council of Europe (focusing particularly on the countries of the former USSR).

The collections of human rights education data by the Council of Europe provide a strong indication of the force of regional structures. In 1999, the Council of Europe established the Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights. The Commissioner focuses on four activities: the "promotion of the education in and awareness of human rights, the encouragement for the establishment of national human rights structures where they do not exist […] the identification of short-comings in the law and practice with regards to human rights and, lastly, the promotion of their effective respect and full enjoyment in all the member states of the Council of Europe" (Council of Europe 2004a). These changes are fairly recent, and the 'Activities Database for Human Rights Co-operation and Awareness' (Council of Europe 2004b) provides a new and developing source of information on activities in particular countries. While the Council of Europe has increased its attention to human rights education in recent years, the organization has promoted the movement since the late 1970s through a variety of resolutions and publications (Council of Europe 1995; Eide and Thee 1983; Osler and Starkey 1994, 1996). These documents provide rich historical information on human rights education in Europe, and they also provide a context for more recent developments in Eastern Europe.

Latin American countries have long, and much less broken, histories of both human rights violation and of educational development, and they thus show distinctive patterns of incorporation of human rights education. As in Europe, however, regional structures mediate and influence the development of human rights education. The Organization of American States (OAS), the largest and most important regional intergovernmental organization in Latin America and the Caribbean, has been active in promoting human rights for decades. In 1988 the OAS created the 'Additional Protocol to the American Convention of Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights—The Protocol of San Salvador.' Article 13 of the document mentions that "The States Parties to this Protocol agree that education should be directed towards the full development of the human personality and human dignity and should strengthen respect for human rights, ideological pluralism, fundamental freedoms, justice and peace" (Organization of American States 2005).

Support from the OAS contributes to the development of human rights education in Latin America and the Caribbean, but other regional linkages—particularly through

GLOBAL LEVEL ANALYSES:

World-Level Human Rights Education Organizations and Discourse

Cultural, Political, and Economic Globalization

World Educational Expansion

World Human Rights Movement
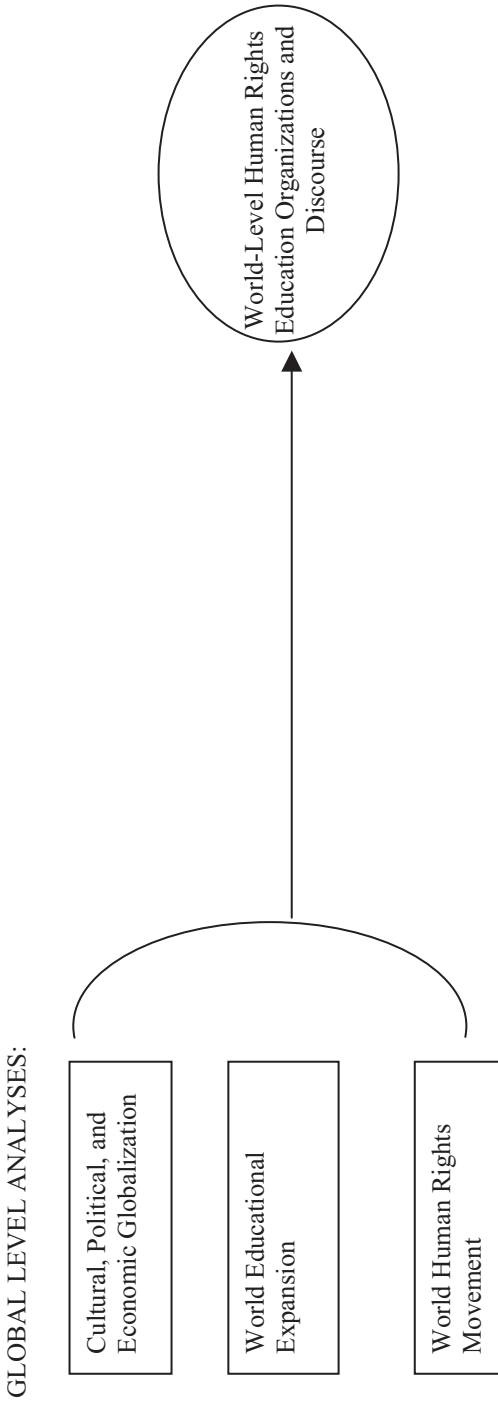
Figure 2.5: Research design and hypotheses [a]

NATIONAL LEVEL ANALYSES:
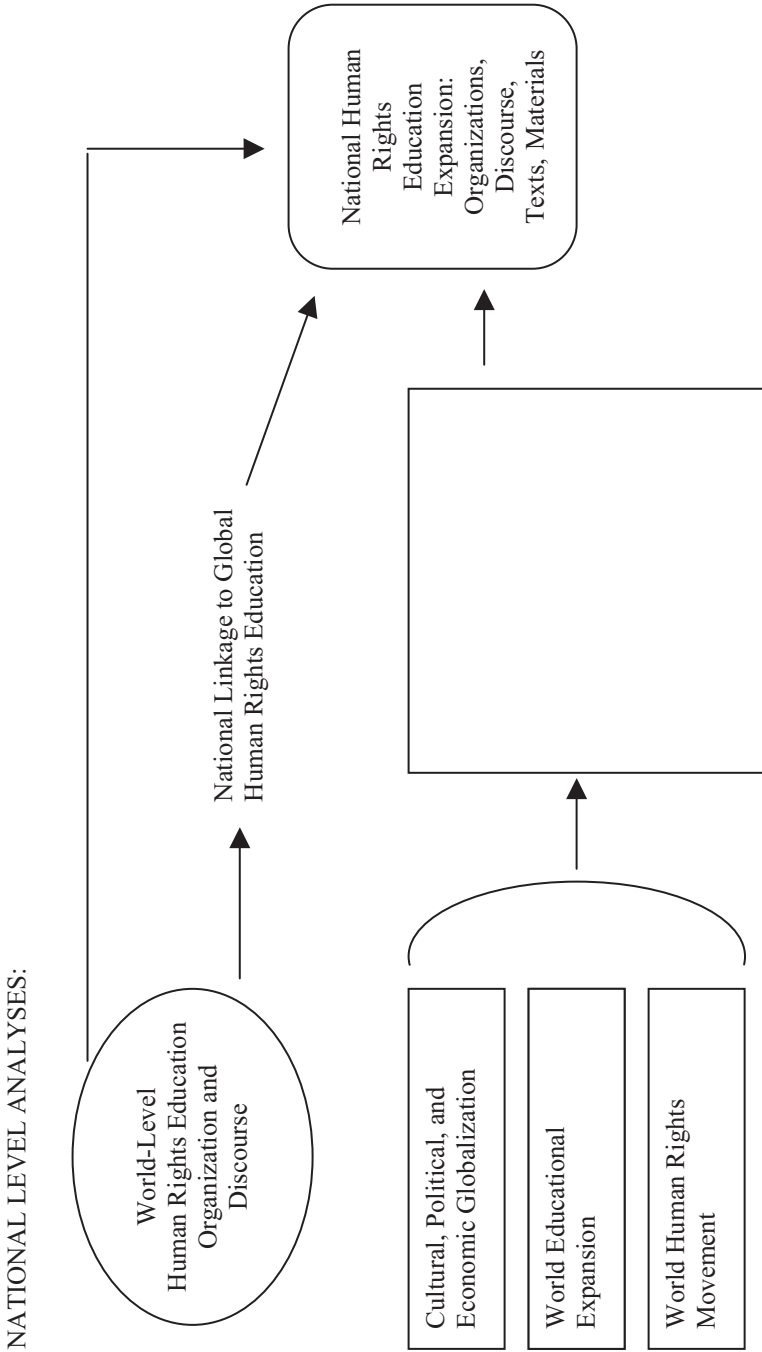
Source: Ramírez and Meyer (2004)

Figure notes:

a. These descriptive models do not include relevant control variables.

Table 2.2: Human rights education in Latin American and the Caribbean by 2004

Country	International Bureau of Education	Protocol of San Salvador	United Nations Decade
Latin America			
Argentina		1	1
Bolivia		1	
Brazil		1	
Chile		1	1
Colombia	1	1	1
Costa Rica	1	1	1
Cuba			1
Dominican Republic	1	1	
Ecuador	1	1	1
El Salvador	1	1	1
Guatemala	1	1	1
Honduras			
Mexico		1	1
Nicaragua	1	1	1
Panama		1	1
Paraguay		1	
Peru	1	1	1
Uruguay		1	
Venezuela	1	1	1
Caribbean			
Antigua & Barbuda			1
Bahamas			
Barbados			
Belize			
Dominica			
Grenada			
Guyana			1
Haiti		1	1
Jamaica			
St. Kitts			
St. Lucia			
St. Vincent & Grenadines			
Suriname		1	
Trinidad & Tobago			1

Source: Taken from Suárez (2005b).
Note: Original sources are International Bureau of Education (Amadio 2003); UNHCHR (2003a); Organization of American States (1988).

the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights in Costa Rica and ties to the human rights organizations that have grown in the countries throughout the region—also influence the development of human rights education. Both the global human rights system and its regional linkages, perhaps more than the specialized human rights education carriers, play a strong role in the national-level creation of human rights education (IIHR 2000; 2002; 2003).

Although countries with a history of human rights abuses in Latin America and the Caribbean are slightly more likely than other countries to develop human rights education in the formal curriculum between 1980 and 1990, findings suggest that countries with international linkages and ties to the broader human rights movement are far more likely to develop human rights education than countries without those linkages (Suárez 2005b). For a variety of historical reasons, Latin American countries have been far more involved in world society than Caribbean countries.

These finding are even stronger for the period between 1990 and the present. Table 2.2 presents three different indicators for engagement with human rights education in Latin America and the Caribbean. Table 2.1 captures summary statistics by region, and Table 2.2 provides this data specifically for countries within Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, Table 2.2 includes information on countries that have signed the Protocol of San Salvador, endorsing a regional document that mentions the importance of human rights education. An increasing number of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have introduced human rights education into the curriculum, and countries with greater linkages to world society are more likely to develop human rights education. These linkages, measured as general memberships in inter-governmental organizations and international non-governmental organizations and as participation in the human rights movement, play an important role in the rise of human rights education (Suárez and Ramírez 2005; Suárez 2005b). In spite of tremendous variation between countries in economic and political development, exposure to global models tends to be a better predictor of the adoption of human rights education than domestic factors.

Conclusion

Human rights education, in recent decades, has spread rapidly. It has spread in organization and discourse at the world level, reflecting a global rather than national vision of human rights and membership. Relevant educational models also flow into national curricula and policy. Detailed information on Latin America, for instance, clearly shows this kind of process, which is generated by world cultural globalization and diffused through national links to world society. The overall expansion of education aids in this development. So does the growth of the human rights movement itself, with the principle of the active empowered individual at the centre of global, more than national, society. As world standards increasingly impinge on nation-states, the earlier and more restricted instruction in national citizenship now confronts and often adapts to a more sweepingly universalized global model of human rights.

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Notes

Curricular Contents and Practices in Primary and Secondary Education

3

The Spread of English Language Instruction in the Primary School[1]

Yun-Kyung Cha

Introduction

If the Babylonian builders who were scattered over the face of the Earth by God for their arrogant attempt to build a tower that would reach to heaven could get together today, they would perhaps be able to continue their work without having any problems in understanding each other. A quite unexpected challenge to God's work is now being made by the English language. The diversity of human languages, one of the major barriers to reuniting innumerable ethno-linguistic groups for thousands of years, is about to be overcome by the rapid spread of English all over the world.

Recently, English has become a *de facto* world language. The number of mother-tongue speakers of English in the last decades of the sixteenth century in the world is thought to have been between 5 and 7 million, almost all of them living within the British Isles. The number of English speakers in the world today, however, is estimated to be between 750 million and 1 billion, which approximates to about one out of four or six persons in the world. English is now the dominant or official language in over seventy-five territories representing every continent and ocean of the world, and is widely taught as the most important foreign language in primary and secondary schools across many countries (Cha 1991; Crystal 2003). In addition, English is the most widely used language on the Internet and in other forms of international communication. It is the official language of most international conferences. Major international organizations, such as the United Nations, UNESCO and the World Bank, have adopted English as an official language. About three-quarters of the world's mail, telexes and cables are in English. More than half the world's technical and scientific periodicals are published in English. English is the medium for more than 80 percent of the information stored in the world's computers. It is also the most widely used language in international business deals. English is the official language of major

international events such as the Olympic Games, Expo and the Miss Universe competition. It is becoming 'the' language of the planet, the first global language in the truest sense of the word (McCrum, Cran and MacNeil 1986).

The rise and spread of English as a world language has also had an enormous influence on the education systems of many countries. Learning English is considered to be one of the most important tasks for very many students of non-English speaking countries. Various forms of English training courses, textbooks, cassette tapes, video programs and computerized instruction constitute a huge market throughout the world. For instance, in some Asian countries, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan, parents spend millions of dollars to have their children learn English via 'shadow education' in the private sector, even before they go to primary school.[2]

The number of people who speak English as their native language is estimated at between 300 and 400 million. The rest of the English speakers, estimated at about 400 to 600 million, are those who have learned English as a second language or as a foreign language. Mastering a foreign language is not an easy task either for individuals or society. For individuals, it takes a lot of time, energy and money. Society as a whole has to invest an enormous amount of valuable resources in order to introduce foreign-language instruction in national education systems. Why, then, do so many people and societies invest so much valuable resources in English instruction?

In this chapter, I first describe the process of the institutionalization of English as a legitimate primary school subject over time and across society. Next, a series of logistic regression analyses is used in order to examine whether some national characteristics make significant contributions in distinguishing a group of countries that adopt English as a regular primary school subject from those that do not teach English in the primary school.

Background

Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, English was not a strong candidate for legitimate curricular content in the primary school. The knowledge base of primary education was greatly expanded and the 'modern' form of curricular structure was almost consolidated during the last half of the nineteenth century (Cha 1991). However, virtually no independent nation-state taught any modern foreign language—let alone English—in the primary school at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Even in the secondary school curriculum, where modern foreign languages were firmly institutionalized by the end of the nineteenth century, English was not the first choice in most countries. For example, the proportions of countries incorporating English as the first modern foreign language in the secondary school curriculum during the 1875–1879 and 1900–1919 periods are only about 11 percent and 27 percent respectively. In contrast, the proportions of countries that taught French as the first modern foreign language during the same time periods are 50 percent and 54 percent respectively (Cha 1989).

However, the number of countries where English is incorporated as a regular school subject has dramatically increased over time, especially during the post-Second World War period. Survey data show that during the mid-1980s 60 out of 131 countries (about 46 percent) in which English is not a mother tongue of the majority of the population incorporated English as a regular subject in the primary curriculum. In the secondary school curriculum, about 72 percent (85 out of 118 countries) of the countries included in the sample taught English as the first modern foreign language during the same period (Cha 1989).

Through what process, then, did English become a part of the legitimate educational knowledge base in the curriculum? Most conventional answers to this question follow the logic of functionalism. A widely acknowledged assumption is that whether or not a specific field of study makes its way into the official school curriculum is determined by its 'functional' fitness to the concrete local conditions. Regardless of the different ideological orientations that direct different forms of functionalist thought, a close functional relationship between what is taught in school and the constituency is a taken-for-granted assumption (see, for example, Durkheim 1977a; Weber 1972; Althusser 1971; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Young 1971; Bernstein 1971; Bourdieu 1977; and Apple 1979).

While the implication of the functional perspective seems quite obvious, the logic of functionalism itself does not explain what specific factors are most important in determining the incorporation of English in the curriculum. However, one may reasonably expect that countries with close economic, political and cultural ties with English-speaking countries are more likely to incorporate English as a regular school subject in the curriculum.

The neo-colonialism perspective, following the cultural imperialism[3] thesis, extends and applies the logic of functionalism to provide an explanation on a world-system level. According to this line of thought, the school curriculum in the Third World is largely shaped by the legacies of colonial education and neo-colonial penetration from the advanced metropolitan centre. For a variety of reasons, such as the shortage of educational resources, many newly independent countries have tended to inherit the education system of the former colonial power.

Neo-colonialism is further enhanced by the deliberate and calculated policy of the advanced metropolitan centre to maintain its cultural/ideological hegemony in the Third World. Large-scale education-related foreign assistance projects make the introduction of the language of the colonial power inevitable. Various scholarship programs to train teaching staff, the ready supply of textbooks and published materials, and the influx of foreign experts for technical assistance in instruction and curriculum development are only a few examples (Altbach 1971; 1982; Ball 1983; Berman 1984; Carnoy 1974).

Pursuing this line of thought, Whitley (1971) argues that the incorporation of Western languages in the school curricula of many Third World countries is the result of deliberate efforts or 'a conspiracy' by the advanced Western countries to maintain neo-colonial relations.

Based on this neo-colonial perspective, one may thus argue that the ex-colonies of the English-speaking metropolitan power are more likely to have incorporated English as a regular subject in the school curriculum. In a similar vein, one may reasonably expect that small and weak nation-states on the periphery and semi-periphery are more susceptible to incorporate English in the curriculum.

An institutional perspective, however, provides an alternative explanation with regard to the rise and institutionalization of English as a legitimate school subject. In this line of thought, the school curriculum is viewed as an institutional construct. More specifically, the school curriculum is considered as a ritual enactment of worldwide educational norms and conventions, rather than a rational and instrumental means of individual societies to satisfy various local requirements (Meyer et al. 1992).

An important implication of the institutional perspective is that there exists a loose linkage between a specific curricular category and immediate practical concerns, whether they be general social needs or class interests (Weick 1976). This also implies that the legitimacy of a specific subject category in the curriculum is by and large externally granted. Thus, it is quite reasonable to expect that the wider institutional environment external to a given society, such as structural transformations and changes in the hegemonic structure of the international system, exerts a powerful influence in defining the legitimate knowledge to be taught in schools. In fact, the rise of English as a predominant world language was possible by increasing globalization under the unchallenged hegemony of the United States after the Second World War, and especially after the collapse of the former USSR (Cha 1991; Phillipson 1998; Pennycook 1995).

Based on the institutional argument, we thus expect to see an increasing number of countries incorporate English in the curriculum, regardless of its immediate usefulness. Specific local conditions or unique historical backgrounds of individual countries may have little to do with incorporating English in the primary school curriculum. Given the pervasive ideology and normative assumptions underlying modern mass education—i.e. enhanced individual effectiveness in the global economy is an essential prerequisite for social progress—, incorporating English into the school curriculum could be a quite rational policy decision for most non-English-speaking countries. This can be especially true when a nation-state is closely incorporated into the present global system, where English is a predominant means of international communication.

Data

Data analyzed in this study are gathered from various sources. Major data sources for the post-Second World War period include the International Bureau of Education (IBE) of UNESCO (IBE-UNESCO 1958; Amadio 2004); EURYDICE (2005); National Reports on the Development of Education (1984; 1986; 1992) submitted by UNESCO Member States at various session of the International Conference on Education; volume 2 of the *World Survey of Education* (UNESCO 1958); the UNESCO Regional

Office for Education in Asia (1966); Sasnett and Sepmeyer (1966); and the National Institute for Educational Research (NIER and UNESCO 1970). Data for the inter-war period are mostly from the country reports in the *Educational Yearbook* edited by Kandel (1924-1944) and the International Bureau of Education (IBE 1937). Historical data before the First World War are collected from a series of special educational reports by the British Education Department (prior to 1899) and the Board of Education (England and Wales) after 1899; and a series of educational reports by the United States Bureau of Education.

Results

Table 3.1 shows the overall status of English instruction in 169 countries where English is taught in the primary school. The categories indicating the status of English for different groups of countries are defined at the end of the table.

As shown in Table 3.1, English is widely incorporated in the primary school curriculum in more than 100 countries. Excluding twenty-two countries where English is a national (state) language, English is taught either as a required or *de facto* required foreign-language subject in eighty-two countries. Even in some countries where English is taught as an elective or optional subject, it is usually the most widely taught foreign-language subject in the primary school (EURYDICE 2005).

Table 3.2A shows the proportions of countries teaching English as the first foreign language[4] in the primary school over time. Since the main concern of the present paper is to examine the general trend of the rise and expansion of English as a regular subject in the primary school curricula of non-English speaking countries, twenty-two countries in which English is the first language (mother-tongue) of the biggest ethno-linguistic group are excluded from the sample.[5]

As is shown in Table 3.2A, English emerged as a regular curricular subject during the early twentieth century. But, the proportion of countries that incorporated English as the first foreign language in the primary curriculum during the 1900-1919 period is only 5 percent (two out of thirty-seven countries in the sample). During the 1990-2005 period however, the proportion of countries teaching English is 69 percent (102 out of 147 countries). Figure 3.1 therefore shows the rise of English as the most predominant foreign language during the later half of the twentieth century.

Table 3.2B, which reports the same data for constant panels of countries at two successive points in time, reveals basically the same trends reported in Table 3.2A. But Table 3.2B allows more precise comparisons over time. The results in Table 3.2B suggest that the number of countries teaching English in the primary school is rapidly increasing over time. A sudden increase of the proportion of countries incorporating English in the primary curriculum during the 1990 to 2005 period is especially noticeable (51 to 72 percent). Additional analyses of the data reveal that the proportion of countries teaching English as the first foreign language in the primary school among those countries that have not been colonies of English-speaking colonizers has also

Table 3.1: Status of English as a subject in the primary curriculum, 2005

English subject	Country (N=169)	N	(%)
National (state) language [a]	Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Canada, Cayman Islands, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guyana, Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S. Virgin Islands, United Kingdom, USA	22	(13.0)
Official *de facto* foreign language [b]	Botswana, Brunei, Cameroon, Cook Islands, Dominica, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guam, Hong Kong, India, Israel, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Malta, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Africa, St. Lucia, Swaziland, Tonga, Uganda, Western Samoa, Zambia, Zimbabwe	37	(21.9)
Required foreign language [c]	Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, Guadeloupe, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Macao, Macedonia, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Palestinian West Bank and Gaza, Panama, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Yugoslavia	45	(26.6)
Elective foreign language [d]	Argentina, Belgium–French Community, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia	20	(11.8)
Optional foreign language [e]	China, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam	4	(2.4)
English not taught [f]	Angola, Belarus [R], Belgium–Flemish Community [F], Belgium–German Community [F], Benin [F], Burundi [F], Cape Verde Islands, Chad [F], Comoros Islands [F], Congo [F], Democratic Republic of Congo [F], Djibouti [F], Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Iran, Kazakhstan [R], Kyrgyzstan [R], Laos, Libya, Luxembourg [G], Madagascar [F], Mauritania [F], Mexico, Morocco [F], Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger [F], Peru, Saudi Arabia, Senegal [F], Suriname, Switzerland, Taiwan, Togo [F], Tunisia [F], Turkmenistan [R], Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen	41	(24.3)

Table 3.1 notes:

a. National (state) language: English is an official language and the first language of the majority of the population at the same time.

b. Official *de facto* foreign language: English is an official or joint official language of the given country, where the first language of the majority of the population is not English. But people are exposed to an environment in which English is publicly accessible and routinely in evidence. Thus, English is *de facto* a required foreign-language subject in the primary curriculum.

c. Required foreign language: English is a required foreign-language subject in the primary curriculum.

d. Elective foreign language: English is taught as one of the required foreign-language subjects.

e. Optional foreign language: English is taught as an optional foreign-language subject.

f. F, G, and R denote French, German and Russian, respectively. They indicate the first foreign language taught in primary schools. No indication is given for the countries where no foreign language is taught in primary schools.

Table 3.2: Percentages of countries teaching English as the first foreign language in the primary school (*N** of countries in parentheses)

A. All cases

1875–1899 (N=18)	1900–1919 (N=37)	1920–1944 (N=53)	1945–1969 (N=136)	1970–1989 (N=127)	1990–2005 (N=147)
.0	5.4	13.2	32.4	47.2	69.4

* *N* = number of cases

B. Constant panels of countries

1875–1919 (N=16)		1900–44 (N=37)		1920–69 (N=49)		1945–89 (N=107)		1970–2005 (N=116)	
1875–1999	1900–1919	1900–1919	1920–1944	1920–1944	1945–1969	1945–1969	1970–1989	1970–1989	1990–2005
.0	.0	5.4	10.8	14.3	18.4	36.4	42.1	50.9	72.4

* *N* = number of cases

rapidly increased (.13 (N=52), .17 (N=102), .26 (N=82) and .55 (N=99) respectively in the 1920–44, 1945–69, 1970–89 and 1990–2005 periods).[6]

In sum, the implication of the results reported in both Table 3.2A and Table 3.2B is quite clear: the legitimacy of English as a regular primary school subject is unquestionable, and English is being incorporated in the primary curriculum by an increasing number of countries.
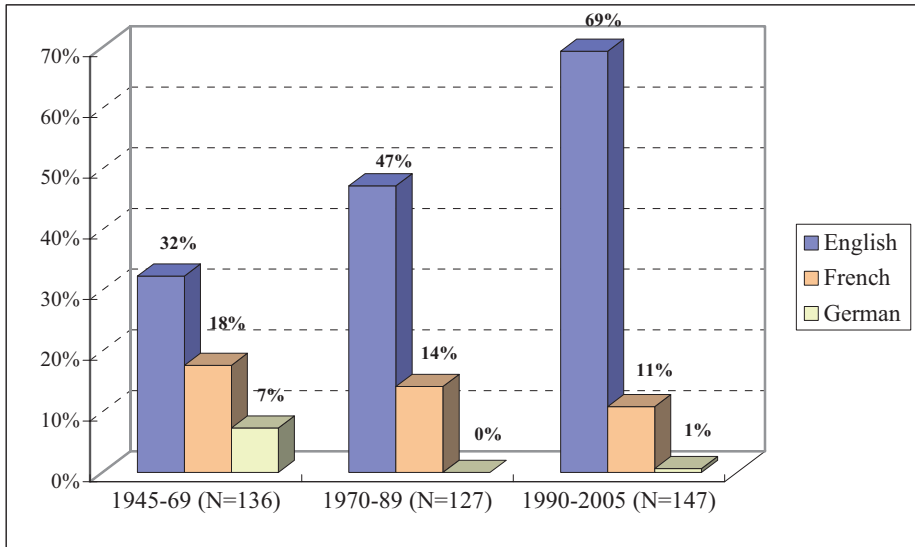
Figure 3.1: Percentages of countries teaching English, French, or German as the first foreign language in the primary school

A further breakdown of the data by world regions in Table 3.3 confirms the previous findings, as well as providing additional information on the regional and cultural variation in incorporating English as a legitimate primary school subject. Due to the limited number of cases, data before 1945 were excluded from the analyses.

The overall results reported in Table 3.3 once again clearly show an increasing tendency of worldwide commitment to English instruction in the primary school over time. The dramatic increase in the number of western countries teaching English in the primary school is especially noticeable. The rapid spread of English in the west is primarily due to the recent consolidation of the European Union as a super-national political, economic and cultural entity, in which learning a foreign language is strongly encouraged. Another noticeable fact is that most of the newly independent countries of the former USSR and also a few other central European countries incorporated English into their primary curricula in the 1990–2005 period. This was a time when the United States became *de facto* the single unchallengeable superpower in the world with the collapse of the soviet regime.

Sub-Saharan Africa, which shows a relatively moderate increase in the number of countries incorporating English in the primary school curriculum, is the only exception. This phenomenon is probably due to the fact that countries in this region are marked by a high degree of ethno-linguistic fragmentation and that they inherited, upon independence, the metropolitan languages of the former colonizers (i.e. English, French, Spanish and Portuguese) as 'neutral' official languages. Since these languages are *de*

Table 3.3: Percentages of countries teaching English as the first foreign language by region and historical period (*N** in parentheses)

	Group 1 (English taught)	Group 2 (English not taught)
Sub-Saharan Africa		
1945–1969	50.0 (21)	50.0 (21)
1970–1989	52.9 (18)	47.1 (16)
1990–2005	59.5 (22)	40.5 (15)
Middle East and North Africa		
1945–1969	35.3 (6)	64.7 (11)
1970–1989	41.2 (7)	58.8 (10)
1990–2005	70.0 (14)	30.0 (6)
Asia		
1945–1969	36.4 (8)	63.6 (14)
1970–1989	68.4 (13)	31.6 (6)
1990–2005	75.0 (18)	25.0 (6)
Latin America and the Caribbean		
1945–1969	15.0 (3)	85.0 (17)
1970–1989	23.5 (4)	76.5 (13)
1990–2005	41.2 (7)	58.8 (10)
Central Europe and former USSR		
1945-1969	18.2 (2)	82.8 (9)
1970-1989	20.0 (2)	80.0 (8)
1990-2005	77.8 (14)	22.2 (4)
The West		
1945–1969	9.5 (2)	90.5 (19)
1970–1989	45.0 (9)	55.0 (11)
1990–2005	80.0 (16)	20.0 (4)
Oceania		
1945–1969	66.7 (2)	33.3 (1)
1970–1989	70.0 (7)	30.0 (3)
1990–2005	100.0 (10)	0.0 (0)

* *N* = number of cases

facto foreign languages for the speakers of local languages, they may have difficulties in accommodating additional foreign languages in the primary curriculum. In addition, this also reflects the rise of nationalistic concern for more indigenous language education in the region.

Another issue of interest is how well the incorporation of English as a regular primary school subject can be explained by distinctive national characteristics. In other words, which countries are more likely to introduce English as a legitimate subject in the primary curriculum? Most theoretical perspectives based on the logic of functionalism imply a tight linkage between a foreign language taught in school and the unique characteristics of nation-states. Do nation-states that incorporate English in the primary curriculum have a tendency to reveal distinctively different characteristics compared to those that do not provide English instruction in the primary school? Table 3.4 presents the means and standard deviations of some relevant variables between two country groups: a group of countries that provide English instruction in the primary school and those that do not teach English. Seven variables describing national characteristics examined in Table 3.4 are as follows:

1. *Ethno-linguistic fractionalization:* Greenberg's diversity index explains the probability that any two people in the country picked at random will have different mother-tongues (Lieberson 1981). It ranges from near one for high diversity to zero for no diversity. From a practical point of view, countries having heterogeneous ethno-linguistic groups are more likely to put greater emphasis on foreign-language instruction. In many newly independent Third World countries with multiple ethno-linguistic groups, the metropolitan languages of the former colonizers are often considered as a neutral means of inter-ethnic communication that minimizes internal linguistic divisiveness and undue advantage for a specific linguistic group (Cha 1991). Thus, one may also expect that English is more likely to be incorporated as a common identity-maker in these countries.

2. *Membership in IGOs:* the number of memberships in inter-governmental organizations in 1966, 1982 and 1995 for the 1945–1969 period, the 1970–1989 period and 1990–2005 period, respectively. This variable is assumed to capture the extent to which a country is connected to the wider international system. Thus, one may reasonably expect that countries with more member-ships in international organizations are more likely to adopt English in the school curriculum as an important means of international communication.

3. *Independence after 1945:* a dummy variable indicating whether a country became independent after the Second World War. If a country became independent after 1945, then it is coded 1; otherwise, it is coded 0. One may expect that countries that became newly independent after the Second World War are more likely to incorporate English in the curriculum for two reasons. First, intense popular indoctrination in a common indigenous language is less essential in nation-building in the post-Second World War period, because a

Table 3.4: Mean differences in percentages of countries teaching English by country characteristics and historical period

	Group 1 (English taught)	Group 2 (English not taught)	F
Ethno-linguistic fractionalization			
1945–1969	.57 (.27)	.40 (.32)	9.02**
1970–1989	.49 (.32)	.44 (.34)	.53
1990–2005	.43 (.31)	.46 (.30)	.25
Membership in IGOs			
1945–1969	28.54 (14.70)	37.98 (20.05)	6.85**
1970–1989	39.63 (18.72)	46.08 (14.42)	4.42*
1990–2005	46.01 (18.67)	45.75 (15.00)	.01
Independence after 1945			
1945–1969	.64 (.48)	.51 (.50)	2.13
1970–1989	.64 (.48)	.52 (.50)	1.98
1990–2005	.61 (.49)	.60 (.50)	.01
Trade dependency			
1945–1969	.64 (.57)	.44 (.28)	6.05*
1970–1989	.94 (.73)	.67 (.38)	6.44*
1990–2005	.88 (.53)	.72 (.32)	3.35
Economic development			
1945–1969	2.80 (.61)	2.94 (.54)	1.50
1970–1989	3.26 (.69)	3.13 (.60)	1.23
1990–2005	3.40 (.68)	3.21 (.63)	2.65
World language as the national language			
1945–1969	.14 (.35)	.26 (.44)	2.70
1970–1989	.13 (.34)	.28 (.45)	4.34*
1990–2005	.13 (.34)	.29 (.46)	5.59*
Ex-colony of an English-speaking country			
1945–1969	.70 (.47)	.09 (.29)	81.53**
1970–1989	.67 (.48)	.14 (.35)	50.78**
1990–2005	.50 (.50)	.02 (.15)	38.21**

Table notes:
(Standard deviations in parentheses)
* Significant at .05 level.
** Significant at .01 level.

nation's identity is firmly guaranteed by external international political arrange-ments. Secondly, it is very important for a newly independent country to keep a closer relationship with the advanced metropolitan countries for various reasons, mainly economic and political ones.

4. *Trade dependency:* the total amount of trade (both import and export) divided by gross national product (GNP) in 1960, 1980 and 1995 for the 1945–1969, 1970–1989 and 1990–2005 periods, respectively. This index indicates the extent to which a nation's economy is dependent on trade with other countries. Therefore, most current theoretical perspectives emphasizing a close linkage between the curriculum and country specific conditions would expect that countries whose economy is heavily dependent on trade are more likely to incorporate English in the school curriculum.

5. *Economic development:* measured by the log of the per capita gross national product in 1965, 1980 and 1995 for the 1945–1969, 1970–1989 and 1990–2005 periods, respectively. Considering the cost involved in providing foreign-language instruction in the formal education system, one may argue that more developed countries are more likely to introduce English, if they want to, in the school curriculum.

6. *World language as the national language:* a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the national language of a specific country is one of the widely spoken international languages (French, German, Spanish or Russian). If the national language is one of these four languages, then it is coded 1; otherwise, it is coded 0. A previous study shows that countries having a world language as the national language are less likely to introduce foreign-language instruction in the school curriculum (Cha 1991). Following a similar logic, one may expect that instruction of English is less emphasized in these countries.

7. *Ex-colony of an English-speaking colonizer:* a dummy variable indicating whether a country was a colony of English-speaking countries. If a country was once a colony of an English-speaking colonizer, then it is coded 1; otherwise, it is coded 0. Based on the central assumptions of the neo-colonialism perspective on the curriculum, one may expect that an ex-colony of an English-speaking colonizer is more likely to introduce English in the school curriculum.

Considering the prevailing assumption of a close relationship between curricular content and country-specific conditions, the results reported in Table 3.4 are quite meaningful. The means of some of the variables describing national characteristics are indeed significantly different between the two groups of countries. However, the mean differences in these variables, except for the 'Ex-colony of an English-speaking

colonizer', are not consistent over time. In addition, the magnitude of the mean differences in most variables under consideration tends to diminish over time.

Although the means of the dummy variable indicating whether the national language is a world language or not are significantly different between the two groups of countries in the recent time periods (i.e. 1970-1989 and 1990-2005 periods), it rather reflects the fact that an increasing number of countries have adopted English as a regular primary subject and the other smaller group of countries that does not teach English in the primary school comprises an increasing proportion of world-language-speaking countries.[7] Also, it is interesting to note that the group of countries teaching English as the first foreign language in the primary school had less memberships in IGOs than the other group of countries in the first two time periods (i.e. 1945-1969 and 1970-1989 periods), which is, however, quite the opposite of the expectation from the conventional functionalist perspective.

Overall, the results in Table 3.4 imply that unique characteristics of the individual countries are becoming less important factors in the incorporation of English into the national curricular category. In other words, the results in Table 3.4 are not compatible with the argument that English instruction in schools reflects substantive functional requirements or idiosyncratic national traditions of a given country.

Finally, Table 3.5 shows the results of a series of logistic regression estimates for English incorporation in the primary curriculum during the last half of the twentieth century. The dependent variable used in the analyses is a simple dummy variable indicating whether or not English is included in the primary school curriculum of a given country. The independent variables included in the model are presented in Table 3.4 above. However, the 'Ex-colony of an English-speaking colonizer' variable was excluded from the analyses. This strategy has two analytical advantages: first, because the effect of this variable turned out to be quite obvious over all three time periods, as revealed in Table 3.4, further analysis is not very necessary for the variable; second, since this variable is highly correlated with some of the other variables,[8] the exclusion of the variable allows more reliable analysis, for the results from logistic regression analysis are liable to be contaminated by high correlations among the variables included for analysis. The coefficients in Table 3.5 indicate the expected changes in the log of the odds, $ln (p/(1-p))$, where p is the probability of incorporating English in the primary school curriculum.

To begin with, the goodness-of-fit statistics reported in Table 3.5 indicate that the logit model fits the data relatively well for all panels in the post-Second World War period. As to the effects of the individual variables, holding other variables included in the model constant, Table 3.5 indicates that most of the variables do not significantly increase the odds of incorporating English into the primary curriculum. Although the dummy variable of 'Independence after 1945' significantly contributes to the increase of the odds of not incorporating English in the 1945-1969 period, the effect of the variable on the incorporation of English in the primary curriculum does not hold for the last two time periods. The significant effect of the variable of whether the national language is a world language or not on the increase of the odds of not adopting English

as a primary subject in the latest time period is the only result that is consistent with the result in Table 3.4. Overall, the results in Table 3.5 suggest that unique national characteristics have little constant effect on the incorporation of English in the primary school curriculum.

Table 3.5: Logistic regression analyses of the incorporation of English in the primary curriculum, 1945–2005

Independent variables	1945-1969	1970-1989	1990-2005
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
Ethno-linguistic fractionalization	1.53 (0.90)	.34 (0.72)	-1.12 (0.73)
Membership in IGOs	-.02 (0.02)	-.03 (0.02)	.00 (0.02)
Independence after 1945	-1.44 (0.73)*	-.33 (0.59)	-.66 (0.68)
Trade dependency	1.58 (0.89)	.74 (0.61)	.48 (0.61)
Economic development	-.85 (0.76)	.60 (0.53)	.48 (0.47)
World language as the national language	-1.10 (0.78)	-1.30 (0.67)	-2.14 (0.72)**
Constant	2.11 (2.15)	-.95 (1.57)	-.33 (1.51)
-2 Log likelihood	109.42	131.28	133.90
Goodness of fit	21.26	16.30	13.41
Percent of cases correctly classified	73.0	62.6	67.8
Number of cases (N)	100	107	115

Table notes:
SE = standard error
*   Significant at .05 level.
** Significant at .01 level.

Discussion

In general, the overall findings in the present study suggest that English instruction in the primary school is increasingly becoming an institutionalized routine. Idiosyncratic national characteristics seem to play a rather insignificant role in the worldwide expansion of English in the primary curriculum. Only a limited number of countries taught English in the primary school during the earlier period of the twentieth century. In less than half a century, however, English has achieved a legitimate status in the primary curriculum of the majority of nation-states in the world, regardless of the unique local conditions of individual countries.

This phenomenon is the least expected from the implications of the most existing theoretical perspectives, which emphasize a tight linkage between what is taught in school and the various societal requirements it is supposed to fulfill. In order to understand the strikingly rapid expansion of English in the primary curriculum, we need to see modern mass education and the curriculum from a different perspective.

From all practical concerns, a highly standardized modern mass education system is not an effective and rational means of achieving various social goals. Despite all kinds of rhetoric and scientific theories involved, the actual effectiveness of a specific type and level of education is very often quite uncertain. Modern mass education is rather a highly rationalized ideology, a system of institutional rites functioning as both a legitimating theory of knowledge and of personnel (Meyer 1977). In addition, the modern mass education system is organized around standardized logic and theories that carry worldwide connotations. Thus, national education systems and their curricular contents are more keenly responsive to the cultural and organizational specifications of the wider institutional environment, rather than to the specific local conditions.

From an institutional perspective, the phenomenon of the incorporation of English in the national primary curricula, regardless of its immediate usefulness, makes sense. The nature of the institutional environment in the contemporary world-system provides solid ground for the incorporation of English instruction in the primary school. Major worldwide cultural and organizational forces that encourage individual countries to adopt foreign-language instruction in the primary school can be described as follows:

First of all, with the increasing consolidation of the international system, the importance and legitimacy of foreign-language instruction is taken-for-granted. An illustrative example of the legitimating accounts with regard to the institutionalization of foreign-language instruction can be found in the recommendations adopted by the International Conferences on Public Education in 1937 and 1965. According to these recommendations, incorporating one or more foreign languages into the school curriculum is indispensable for several reasons. A few examples of them are: (1) to further pupil's intellectual training and to prepare for higher courses; (2) to improve international understanding and establish peaceful and friendly co-operation among peoples; (3) to meet the practical necessity of modern foreign languages due to the development of international relations in all fields and perfecting of means of transport and communication; (4) to facilitate the spread of modern scientific and technological discoveries, and thus to contribute to the economic and cultural development of countries; and (5) to prepare for the expanded possibilities of exchanging students and specialists between countries (UNESCO and NIER 1970). A more recent version of a similar legitimating account of the necessity of teaching foreign languages from the early stages of the mass education is well demonstrated in the call, by the 2002 Barcelona European Council, for a sustained effort to teach at least two foreign languages from a very early age to ensure multiculturalism, tolerance and European citizenship (EURYDICE 2005).

Second, the rise of the United States as a superpower in the contemporary world system, especially after the Second World War, provided solid ground for the

predominance of English in the school curriculum. Furthermore, with the fall of the former USSR during the late 1980s, the United States has become *de facto* a single unchallengeable superpower in the world. As a result, emphasis on English instruction has become a worldwide phenomenon.

Third, given the legitimacy and solid ground formulated by the institutional environment of the contemporary world for English instruction, scientific theories and professional opinions with regard to the effective methods of foreign-language instruction played a critical role in incorporating English in the primary curriculum. During the post-Second World War period, there has been a great deal of theoretical arguments and professional discourse about the optimum age for second-language training (i.e. theoretical arguments on the 'language acquisition device' are one of these examples). In general, it was a widely accepted opinion that the younger the child, the more efficient a second-language learner he or she can be (Stern 1976).

With all of these cultural forces combined, the incorporation of English instruction in the primary school has become an irreversible trend in the contemporary world-system. Also, it should be a quite reasonable speculation to expect that English instruction will be increasingly emphasized in more and more countries in the fore-seeable future.

Conclusion

The major purpose of this study was to describe and explain the rise and expansion of English as a legitimate primary school subject during the last 100 years. Extensive historical and comparative data analyzed in the study show that English instruction has been incorporated in the primary school curriculum by an increasing number of countries over time. The expansion of English as a legitimate school subject is especially noticeable after the Second World War. A series of logistic regression analyses also shows that unique characteristics of individual countries play rather insignificant roles in the process of the institutionalization of English in the primary curriculum.

The overall findings of the study suggest that English instruction is becoming an institutionalized routine taken-for-granted in most national education systems. In a way, the worldwide expansion of English instruction during the contemporary period symbolically reflects the nature of the modern international system. The increasingly consolidated modern international system has formulated various legitimating accounts with regard to the importance of foreign-language instruction, and thus provided a solid ground for the incorporation of English in the curriculum. Furthermore, the rise of the United States as an unchallengeable superpower during the later half of the twentieth century has also contributed to secure the status of English as the most predominant language in various forms of international communication. Under these circumstances, English instruction has found, with the help of scientific theories and professional discourses on effective language learning, a legitimate place in the primary curriculum.

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Notes

1.   This work was supported by the research fund of Brain Hanyang 21 of Hanyang University (BH21-2000). An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Second Meeting of the Reference Group on Curriculum-Making Processes and Products at the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO, Geneva, 1-3 April 2003. The paper benefited from helpful comments by Prof. John Meyer at Stanford University.

2.   Since 1994, English has been incorporated as a regular school subject in most primary schools in the Republic of Korea. In addition, a large proportion of primary school students are receiving English instruction through various types of 'shadow education'. It is reported that a majority of the nursery school students and primary school students in Japan and Taiwan are also learning English through 'shadow education', such as private tutoring, attendance at private language institutes, after-school classes, etc.

3.   The term 'cultural imperialism' here denotes 'the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of a native culture' (Bullock and Stallybrass 1977). The term can also be used to denote 'the deliberate and calculated process of forcing a cultural minority to adopt the culture of the dominant group in a society' (Zadrozny 1959).

4.   The term 'the first foreign language' in this paper denotes the most important non-indigenous language taught in the primary school either as an official language or as a modern foreign language. In cases where more than one non-indigenous languages are taught in the primary school, this paper adopts the following criteria for identification of the first foreign language: When a complete curricular timetable is available, the first foreign language is decided by considering the following criteria in a hierarchical order: (a) the amount of curricular time devoted to each foreign language; (b) the number of school years devoted to each foreign language; and (c) the starting year of instruction in each foreign language. When a complete curricular timetable is not available or students are allowed to choose one or more foreign languages from several alternatives (even though this is a rare situation in the primary school of most countries), the first foreign language is determined by the following criteria: (a) the extent to which a foreign language is widely chosen; and (b) the sequential order of foreign languages reported in the data source.

5.   A few examples of countries excluded from the sample are: the United States, England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (see Table 3.1).

6.   In contrast, the proportions of countries teaching French as the first foreign language among those that have not been colonies of French-speaking countries, however, are negligible during the same time periods [.02 (N=55), .06 (N=112), .07 (N=110) and .02 (N=125) respectively].

7.   The proportion of world-language-speaking countries among those that do not teach English in the primary school increases over time [.216 (N=92), .279 (N=68), .283 (N=46) respectively in the 1945-1969, 1970-1989, and 1990-2005 periods], which contributes to the significantly different means of the 'World language as the national language' variable between the two groups of countries. However, the proportion of the world-language-speaking countries that do not teach English in the primary school among the total countries included in the sample is quite low and decreases during the same time periods [.18 (N=136), .15 (N=127), .09 (N=147) respectively].

8.   For example, the dummy variable of 'Ex-colony of an English-speaking colonizer' is highly correlated with the dummy variable of 'Independence after 1945' (phi= .43) and also with the dichotomous variable of 'World language as the national language' (phi= -.28).

4

Educating Future Citizens in Europe and Asia

Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal and Suk-Ying Wong

In 2002, the United Kingdom introduced citizenship into the curriculum as an independent subject. Other European countries, notably Spain, are undertaking reforms along the same lines. The Council of Europe declared 2005 as the European Year of Citizenship through Education and, since 1997, has been developing several programs and projects to promote the teaching of democratic citizenship. Elsewhere, in Asia China took a further step to consolidate the teaching of citizenship by replacing politics instruction with character training and social studies in elementary and junior secondary schools in 2001, and the new syllabus has been implemented since 2003. This move marked an end to almost four decades of a core curricular area that had overtly aimed at providing training for socialism. In a series of educational reforms introduced in recent years in Japan, the debates on the national curriculum have carried out a most scrupulous examination, especially on the teaching of citizenship and history. Indeed, the teaching of some form of citizenship has been gaining ground in education throughout the world (Benavot and Amadio 2004; chapter by Fiala).

There are several reasons why citizenship has gained broader public attention, and why this has subsequently been reflected in the field of education. With the collapse of the polarized world system, the hegemony of liberal human rights ideologies and democratic principles has become prevalent. The increasing dominance of liberal market ideologies undermines the existing definitions of the welfare (or even the socialist) state and the citizen/state relationship. There has been increasing awareness of the world as a connected place engendering new (perceived and real) inter-dependencies, together with the need for individual competencies to face the challenges of such a connected world. Consequently, a renewed model of citizenship is envisioned. There have also been recent developments in some world regions that have hastened the need to rethink the education of young citizens. For example, in Europe, the entry of Eastern European countries into the world of 'modern, democratic nation-states' and declining electoral participation in Western European countries are posing challenges to the practice of democratic citizenship. Moreover, the recognition of diverse

population groups in European countries and the perceived failure of immigrant integration, combined with a concern about the 'terrorism threat', have called for some serious attention to identifying proper civic values.[1] Finally, the increasing concern about the legitimacy of the European integration project, especially with the failure of voters to endorse the European Union constitution, has further complicated the form and implementation of citizenship and citizenship education. Likewise, the adoption of a western-style liberal democracy by some of the Asian states has aroused much concern and doubts about its feasibility (Fukuyama 1992), especially with the emergence of China in Asia as a rising power on a level with Japan. The relations between Japan and her neighbors deteriorated when a new set of history textbooks was approved by the Japanese Government.

The current world order poses uncertainties and challenges about the most appropriate socialization model for educating future citizens. In what ways should citizenship be defined and constituted in a changing world? What are the educational requirements of an informed, functioning citizenry in different national societies? To what extent would a new model of citizenship education begin to emerge given the increasing emphasis on individual rights and global connectedness, or might this set off a stronger force of resistance to regional integration or global trends resulting in a more diverse citizenship education? These inquiries regarding citizenship instruction constitute the major agenda of this chapter. Specifically, we seek to examine the trends and differences in the organization of and emphasis on citizenship instructional content through the assessment of secondary school syllabi and textbooks. Our major effort is on analyzing and comparing these curricular materials among five countries in Europe and Asia, namely, China, France, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. Our purpose is to identify trends that shape the transformation of curricula and textbooks towards a new citizenship model and a new civic consciousness.

What constitutes citizenship education?

The teaching of citizenship takes place through different curricular subjects, notably in instructional areas like history, geography, civics, social studies, world studies, environmental studies, and moral and values education. The relative emphasis given to these curricular subjects, as well as the level of schooling, differ among countries.[2] As shown in Table 4.1, compared to the European cohort, Asian countries devote more time to the teaching of some form of social science subjects in the lower grades, but both regions begin to devote similar amounts of time to citizenship training in higher grades, with 14.2 percent of instructional time for Asian countries[3] and 13.7 percent for European countries[4] over grades 6 to 8.

As far as the teaching of citizenship in Europe and Asia is concerned, Table 4.2 presents a breakdown of the current curricular structure and its emphasis in this instructional area. It is remarkable that the inculcation of citizenship values takes place through a great variety of subjects. In European countries, for example, history and

Table 4.1: The mean percentage of intended instructional time allocated to subject domains in Asian and European countries in 2000

Subjects	Elementary level (Grades 1-5)		Lower secondary (Grades 6-8)	
	Asia	Europe	Asia	Europe
Languages	38.00	35.21	29.47	28.91
Mathematics & Sciences	22.84	21.74	27.68	25.83
Computer & Technology	0.95	1.57	1.63	3.18
Social sciences	10.02	8.02	14.19	13.67
Religion	2.48	2.70	1.85	2.35
Aesthetic education & Sport/Physical education	15.07	18.54	10.72	14.02
Skills	4.52	2.56	5.22	3.57
Electives, options & Other subjects	5.99	7.94	8.97	7.81
Number of countries	29	32	28	36

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

Table 4.2: The mean percentage of intended instructional time allocated to select subjects within the 'citizenship training area'[a] in Asian and European countries in 2000

Subjects [b]	Elementary level (Grades 1-5)		Lower secondary (Grades 6-8)	
	Asia	Europe	Asia	Europe
History	0.53	1.83	2.59	4.76
Geography	0.46	1.02	2.66	4.62
Social studies	2.50	2.26	5.78	1.60
Civics	1.07	0.41	1.00	1.52
Environmental education	2.90	1.85	0.56	0.45
Moral education	2.56	0.66	1.60	0.72
Aesthetics	8.82	9.67	5.17	7.21
Hygiene/health education	1.53	0.64	1.30	0.48
Number of countries	29	32	28	36

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

a. See text for discussion on subjects considered to be within the 'citizenship training area'.
b. The sum of the percentages for the subjects: History, Geography, Social studies, Civics, Environmental education and Moral Education equals the percentages of time allocated to the Social sciences (see Table 4.1).

geography are still taught as subjects in their own right and not incorporated into a general framework of social studies, while Asian countries tend to adopt an integrated social studies approach. Civics gets more attention in European basic schooling, whereas both environmental education and moral education became the preferred areas for broadening the training of citizenship values in Asia.

We focus our analysis on the lower secondary schooling—grades 6 to 9—as these grades are part of compulsory education in our case countries and represent formal schooling before a more specialized curriculum or tracking is introduced. We also focus on the taught curriculum by restricting our analysis to the investigation of textbooks at this level of schooling. The data on European textbooks come from Soysal's project on 'Rethinking Nation-State Identities'.[5] For Asian textbooks, the analysis reported here forms part of a larger research study on 'Social Studies Instructions in Asia'[6] conducted by Wong.

Trends in the teaching of citizenship

An empirical investigation of key instructional patterns in curricular outlines at two time points between the 1950s to 1960s and 2005 clearly demonstrates that the older form of teaching primordialism and systematic history and geography in the curriculum has been replaced by an integrated social-science approach (Wong 1991; 2006). This finding highlights a decline in professional, specialized and facts-oriented content in favor of content emphasizing broad principles and conceptions of the individual's immediate environment and the interdependence of elements within this environment. Nation-states tend to organize their social studies instructional content around the notion of progress, with the emphasis on a more participatory, scientifically rationalized and egalitarian society. Nation and national identity as teaching themes have remained consistent in the general social studies curriculum over time. However, a more pluralistic and open national and civic character are increasingly introduced in this area of instruction.

These broad developments are reflected in the textbooks that we analyze below from the viewpoint of three specific trends (see also Soysal, Berlotti and Mannitz 2005).

Decreasing significance of the nation as the collective focus of citizenry

There has been an important change in the way the nation is presented (and viewed). 'Nation' has become ordinary and re-interpreted within a broader world context.

Germany stands out with its relatively small amount of curricular time devoted to explicitly national history. European and world history share relatively equal curricular time with national history. In Lower Saxony, for instance, the history program for the first year of secondary school allocates 39.9 percent of teaching time to national history compared to 49.8 percent for European themes and 10.3 percent for non-European civilizations (Jeismann and Schönemann 1989). In addition, contemporary history has a much more prominent place in curricula compared with other European countries. In all *Länder* [states] of the former Federal Republic of Germany, the teaching guidelines

require extensive coverage of twentieth-century German history. Ancient and mediaeval history is relatively marginalized in favor of coverage of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi period and the Cold War. The extensive attention to this disastrous phase in German history—which is characterized as an "erroneous path" in one of the textbooks (*Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, vol. 5, Ebeling 2000: 185)—obviates celebration of the German nation through narratives of unbroken continuity. The tone is hence rather skeptical, and stress is put on 1945 as a historical break that separates the present from the past.

In German history books, the nation is given a negative valuation, if not disavowed, for its dangerous inclination toward nationalism. This tendency can be found even in books that cater to Bavarian schools and have to satisfy a relatively conservative agenda to be approved there. As shown in the following extract, the idea of the nation appears to be countered by perils of nationalism:

> Pride in one's own nation was mostly connected to liberal and social claims in 1848, e.g. freedom of the press, wealth and education for all. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'national' is often separated from the liberal movements and developed into nationalism. It no longer meant just pride in one's own nation, but also arrogance as well as hatred and devaluation of other peoples. (*Erinnern und Urteilen,* vol. 8, Bernlochner 1999: 116)

Thus, instead of invoking the nation and its enduring legacy, German textbooks articulate an affirmative discourse on responsibility and the legitimacy of the constitutional order as a way to validate the present-day Germany. The tendency to distance the present from the nation is so strong that even the unification of the two Germanys under the roof of the Federal Republic is greeted without much emotional enthusiasm. The unification process is rationally and very briefly related by an unsentimental account of the course of events (see the chapter on 'history of the German separation' in *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit,* vol. 6, Ebeling 2001). In chapters that deal with international politics, the difficulties that decolonized countries have experienced after independence are related in the context of the wrongdoings of European nations, their imperialist rivalry and colonial rule. The message is clear: 'we' are responsible for the current state of the world and cannot close our eyes to the global problems. International co-operation and global peace are the desired aspirations.

Given Germany's specific historical trajectory, the detached attitude towards 'nation' is understandable. However, a similar trend can be detected in French curricula and textbooks, which also deploy a less nation-oriented approach and a certain degree of openness to world history. This shift away from a national focus and toward more world-openness can be seen especially in the textbooks based on the 1990 curricular program. *Le monde d'aujourd'hui* (Bouvet and Lambin 1999), a text for final-year college students, begins with introductory remarks and questions aimed at providing students with a working frame of reference for comprehending the history of the

twentieth century. In this introduction, history proceeds from an encompassing view of the world, from an awareness of the world at large. The first question reads: "What is the political map of the world today?" The question accompanies two maps that outline the organization of world space at the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first map highlights the strategic zones of the most important colonial powers (France and the United Kingdom, in particular) and the second map identifies the major power centers of the twentieth century. The text makes it clear that the world we live in is connected, albeit with differential power relations: "Today the main world powers have wealth and play a central role in decision-making, operating as a central pole of attraction which the other nations have to converge upon and depend upon." Other questions put further emphasis on world consciousness and direct students to identifying and thinking about issues in a larger world context: "What are the most important imbalances concerning the process of development? What are the most significant tensions in the present world?" (Bouvet and Lambin 1999: 8-15).

The tendency toward a world view—one less oriented to France—goes back to the 1985 curricular program, which also explicitly introduced the idea of 'Europe-building' into French education (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale 1985). However, while national history now receives less emphasis, the notion of 'nation' still permeates the program. Compared to German textbooks, French books are much more forthcoming in presenting the nation. Even so, the nation here is an abstract notion, interwoven with the notions of nationality, citizenship and laicism, all of which are also defined and elaborated as universalistic principles.

In French history textbooks, students are offered a wide range of definitions for 'nation'. Citing formulations of historians, sociologists, philosophers and political scientists, and translated into accessible terms for students, the nation is defined for example as: "a group of people speaking the same language or sharing a common culture and a common history, and living within the borders of a same country"; or, more voluntarily, as a "group of people willing to make a political community" (Klein and Hugonie 1998: 140, 62). Despite the highly mundane nature of the definitions, the nation in French textbooks is, in the first place, the "Grand Nation", the "name given to revolutionary France, the first free nation" (Klein and Hugonie 1998: 94). As such, the concept of nation carries the revolutionary, universalistic values of freedom and citizenship, and national feeling means simply "to love France—nothing more, nothing less, a platonic abstraction" (Stern and Hugonie 1997: 114).

Japan consistently devotes a moderate proportion of time to the teaching of citizenship in lower secondary schools. The teaching of history and civics constitutes, like the German case, the major component of citizenship education at this level of schooling. In history textbooks, the emphasis is clearly placed on recent historical periods (two out of the total of six teaching units). Almost two-third of the content is dedicated to modern history and, most importantly, a substantial amount of these pages are devoted to vivid descriptions of current world events and the organizations through which Japan plays an important role in the world society. History has become recent and, in a similar trend to that in Germany, the end of the Second World War is the

historical break that distinguishes the present from the past (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* [History] 2002). There is also a tendency to situate the nation in the broader world. Consequently, an approach that locates Japan among her regional neighbors (China and the Republic of Korea) or as a member of the world community is a pedagogical strategy adopted throughout the text.

The treatment of the two world wars has always created uneasiness and even tension between Japan and her Asian neighbors. We found that very few pages were allocated to the narration of wars, especially in terms of Japanese motives and reasons (which is commonly recorded as Japanese militarism in Chinese textbooks) for going to war with its Asian neighbors. Only one section, which covers half a page, describes the colonization of Korea (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* 2002: 144). And when the increasing Japanese aggression towards China is described after the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894, some emphasis is also given to a discussion on how the scramble for concessions by European powers was also taking place in China. Thus, the Japanese involvement in China seemed a natural course of action (*Atarashii Shakai: Rekishi* 2002: 140). The "Nanking Incident" (quoted in parenthesis) is included under the section on the causes of the Sino-Japanese War, while taking special care to footnote that the incident is known as the Nanking Massacre by the international community (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 170). Japanese militarism does not consume much weight in the treatment of wars. There is, however, a substantive exposure to the sufferings of war and the evil that ensues (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 174-175). The history of wars ends with five pages highlighting the importance of *peace* and how Japan has persistently incorporated the peace principle and practice into her national restructuring and development program (*Atarashii Shakai Rekishi* 2002: 178-182). The subsequent chapter sets forth the agenda for a modern Japan that actively participates in the world arena.

A similar instructional arrangement is also revealed in Japanese civics textbooks where world peace and a citizenship model that emphasizes global awareness are presented as the two most dominant themes. One in a total of five chapters (18 percent) in the civics textbook is devoted to the topic of "our global society" (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics] 2002: 2-3). The chapter concludes with an exercise inviting students to write a visionary essay on what their dream might be in ten years' time, which establishes a perfect imagery of the interdependence between the current self and others, and the reunion of such in the foreseeable future (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* 2002: 152). Unlike Germany, the detached attitude towards 'nation' is less distinct in the Japanese case. However, global awareness and world peace are certainly featured in the textbooks' content, as was the case with Germany and France.

The most distinct feature about the current versions of the Chinese textbooks is their picturesque and colorful layout throughout, compared to the exhaustive and redundant details that dominated in the 1960s (Wong 2004). A large number of book 'additives'—illustrations, photographs, drawings and maps—have filled up the spaces. The change has been from one that emphasized detailed facts and thick descriptions of historical events and figures to more of a story-telling style in the recent versions. This

indicates a shift from the inculcation of ideological values (Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought) to a different form of curricular orientation that is concomitant with the opening up and reform movements of China since the late 1970s. In China, the most salient change has been the sharp decrease in the teaching of the 'labor or revolutionary heroes/movements' in their history textbooks. This is not surprising because the history texts written during the 1950s in mainland China had placed emphasis on the ideology of socialist egalitarianism by pointing to the masses as the real heroes and moving force of history. Their struggle was perceived as the dynamic of historical progress. Ideology commanded a very central place in the construction of socialist man and, therefore, was fully present in the official culture of the state system of education of that epoch. The complete absence of propagandist slogans in the new textbooks is particularly notable.

The nation depicted in the Chinese textbooks is exclusive and amicable. While the former points to the triumph of an axial civilizational power in the making of world civilization and human progress, the latter dwells on the many economic and political setbacks that modern China has experienced. Therefore, a stable and advancing China is beneficial to the world community. Chinese history is still taught as a separate subject in the lower secondary curriculum, where a chronological rendition of national history is organized. Nevertheless, such national history now depicts a sequence of societies and societal cultures, rather than a history of political and military might from the kingdom's past. In dealing with the rise and spread of capitalism, the emphasis have been on the pros and cons of capitalism in the modern world, but does not hesitate to point out the glorifying achievements of science and technology in this developmental project of capitalist exchange. The United States, the former USSR and Japan are cited as examples of technological and economic success. It is clear that China as a nation represents the theory of civilization, while the United States is looked upon as the theory of progress in the modern world, while both contribute to the advancement of human kind (S*hijei Lishi* for 9th grade, vol. 1, 2004). In the textbook of integrated history and social studies, the chapter entitled 'we are all one world's children' even precedes the chapter on 'our native land and people' (*Lishi yu Shahui* 2004, for 7th grade, vol. 1).

While China still views national history as the real educational requirement for national integration, the nation portrayed is no longer confined to a rigid configuration of ideologies and the triumphant past. Instead, a version of nationalism that is receptive to many of the common values shared by the world in general has emerged in China.

Citizenship values and qualities across borders

Universalistic values (e.g., human rights, democracy, gender equality), detached from the national collectivity, are endorsed. In this way, global awareness and responsibilities become manifest.

While teaching about the French nation invokes loosely elaborated abstractions, French civic education stresses human rights, citizenship, democracy and the Republic.

The 1999 curriculum states the goals of civic education as follows: "to teach human rights and citizenship, through the acquisition of the principles and values that form the basis of democracy and the Republic, through the knowledge of institutions and laws, and the rules of social and political life; training to have a sense of individual and collective responsibility; and to educate to acquire faculties of critical analysis, especially through the practice of discussion." These three goals are designed to prepare students to participate in the public sphere at large, not only to serve France: "Civic education forms the citizen in the French Republic, in Europe and in the international world" (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de la recherche et de la technologie, Direction de l'enseignement scolaire 1999: 37). Topics such as human rights and citizenship are increasingly viewed as European in scope: we find extensive sections on 'human rights and Europe', as well as 'European citizenship'. Instead of simply including pictures of the headquarters of the United Nations or the European Court of Human Rights, human rights are actually integrated into the narrative. What emerges from this curricular design is a universal citizen equipped with civic qualities and ready to participate in a multitude of public spaces—local, national, European and global. And as the citizen, qualifications and duties become universalized, the nation— and that which is claimed as Frenchness—loses its national particularity.

School guidelines in several German states specifically include four dimensions to be dealt with across all subjects: environment, gender equality, intercultural education and the European dimension. Since the German education system is organized in accordance with the principles of federalism and subsidiarity, such issues are usually first taken up in the form of advice or a resolution adopted by the Standing Conference of Education Ministers of all German *Länder*. It is then within the responsibility of each federal state to translate the conclusions into its own guidelines. Yet, despite the regional variation that is favored by this system, even in a typically conservative state like Bavaria, topics that deal with Europe, democracy and human rights have been assigned a higher priority—along with themes that emphasize regional affiliations in terms of the *Heimat* [homeland], as in 'my homeland Bavaria'.

We detect similar trends in citizenship instruction in the textbooks of both Japan and China. In fact, the scope of human rights in Japanese civics textbooks has been broadened in that it even goes as far as trying to break the gender stereotype. In one textbook, for example, a two-page cartoon text highlights that babysitting should be shared by both parents. This kind of illustration in textbooks is a distinct example of Japan moving towards equalizing rights between the two sexes (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics], 2002: 24-25). Japan is introducing both maternity and paternity leave after a new-born arrives in the family. It is noteworthy that exposure to democracy is assuming a central place on a par with human rights in the Japanese textbooks.

The Chinese lower secondary textbook includes one whole chapter on human rights, in addition to other references included under other chapters. The chapter begins with some vivid descriptions of the development of human rights in other national societies, including the United States' Declaration of Independence, the Human Rights Declaration after the French Revolution, and the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948. It also presents a rather sensational story about Martin Luther King's struggle for human rights in the 1960s (*Lishi yu Shahui*. 9th grade, 2004: 79-88). Important dates, such as Labor Day and the first women's suffrage in other countries, are also reported in the text. When it comes to the treatment of Chinese human rights, the discussion is one that emphasizes the many winding paths that China has experienced in the last century in terms of foreign assault, many unsuccessful revolutions, natural disasters, utter poverty and national crisis, and reaches a conclusion that an understanding and realization of human rights might just be unique to China (*Lishi yu Shahui*. 9th grade, 2004: 4-22). As a developing country, China proclaims the rights to life, survival and development, which constitute the fundamentals of human rights as conveyed through these texts. Compared to her Asian cohort, China is rather reluctant to commit herself to the normative model of human rights that is fashionable in western democracies, although a distinct priority dealing with human rights has been assigned to the teaching content.

Diversity as a normative good

Cultural difference (as in diversity) appears as a point of departure for understanding, tolerance and co-operation among peoples within national borders and beyond them.

In Germany, following the advice of the 1996 Standing Conference of Education Ministers, many local states have integrated 'intercultural education' in their curricular guidelines as an aspect that should be reflected in teaching. Topical reference works and manuals for teachers assert that "information about life in different cultures is an essential element of learning", and this would imply taking "the emotional and living conditions of migrants and refugees into account, as well as investigating the relations between indigenous people and their fellow citizens from other cultures of origin" (Hölscher 1994: 9).

This approach is demonstrated in the way Islam is presented in textbooks. Whereas in the 1950s, Islam appears only as a brief sub-plot to the history of the Crusades, in current textbooks the chronological accounts are supplemented by narratives that depict Islam as a 'culture' or a 'way of life' (*Menschen, Zeiten, Räume*, vol. 2, Beddies 1999: 210), and recount "cultural encounters between Islam and Europe" (*Gesellschaft Bewusst* vol. 2, Alhring, Dziak-Mahler and Nebel 2001:172ff.; and *Menschen, Zeiten, Räume* vol. 2, Beddies 1999: 197). More often than not, gender issues relating to Islam draw particular attention as topics that require classroom discussion. Even in a history textbook that otherwise manages to avoid controversy, pupils are asked to discuss gender-related passages from the Qur'an: "What does the text say about the position of women in Islam? What do you like, what do you maybe dislike, about the rules prescribed in the Fourth Sure?"[7] (*Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*, vol. 2, Ebeling 2001: 34). Other books commonly attempt to generate comparative discussions on Islam and Christianity by setting quotations from the Qur'an alongside similar quotations from the Bible, without denigrating Islam. What the current books have in common, irrespective of their different emphases, is that

gender roles enter the debate as soon as Islam is at issue—this was not the case in the corresponding editions from the 1970s.

Civics as well as history textbooks stress the contemporary necessity of recognizing 'others' and showing solidarity with them as fellow citizens, mostly through reference to unfortunate lessons from the German past. In this model, the threat no longer emanates from an 'exogenous other' (immigrant, foreigner) but from an 'indigenous' one that violates the democratic order and might jeopardize the standing of Germany in international arenas. This 'indigenous other' materializes in textbooks as the neo-Nazi youth and invariably appears as the natural, present-day extension of the Nazi past. Comparisons are made with the treatment of Jews in the Nazi period and the current violence against foreigners to discuss the issues of diversity and tolerance.

In French civics books, especially the ones written in the 1980s after the socialists came to power, ample space is devoted to substantiate and prescribe plurality and tolerance as corrective measures to racism and discrimination. The portrait and words of the prominent French-Algerian activist Harlem Desire concludes chapters on 'diversity and unity' in French society, as a means to re-examine the notions of nation, patriotism and chauvinism. The portrayal of the Crusades is also instructive with respect to the depiction of the other—in particular, the Islamic other. The Crusades, once a topic invoked in order to provide narratives of religious wars and victories between the world of Islam and world of Christianity, is now a story of economic advancement. As one history and geography book puts it: "The Crusades gave the Western people and especially the Italian merchants the possibility of controlling trade in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea." However, this economic advantage comes at a price: "In addition, the [Crusades] contributed to the development of a hostile image of the West among Muslim people, an image associated with violence and aggressiveness." In summary, according to this French history narration: "The Crusades have dug a ditch between West and East" (Stern and Hugonie 1997: 64). This critical commentary on the Crusades is indicative of broader trends moving toward reconciliation of hostilities and reparation with the other.

Another form of diversity discussed, particularly in connection with Europe, is regional and linguistic diversity. The redefinition of 'French space' in the teaching of civic education and geography is particularly interesting. The move follows the administrative reforms of the 1980s. In the 1959 Civic Education Program (*Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du second degree* 1959) the focus was on municipal institutions, departmental institutions and the state. In 1985, the teaching of the national administrative structure explicitly focuses on regional governance and decentralization, and places more emphasis on the responsibilities of local administrations (France Ministère de l'éducation nationale 1985). In the case of geography teaching, the effect of the reforms is twofold: on the one hand, the cultural specificity of French regions is brought to the fore and amplified; on the other, this 'new' French space is overtly linked to the European context.

Complementing the discussion about the way France is connected to the European space, textbooks devote special attention to regions and regional culture. In a section

entitled 'Regional cultural diversity', it is explained that "although the nineteenth century historians invented the 'nation-state' and proclaimed the Republic as 'one and indivisible', regional diversity still exists, especially in the cultural field" (Drouillon and Flonneau 1994: 230). This section is supplemented by a map showing linguistic diversity in France, the European Charter of regional and minority languages, and a text about regional languages that states: "Linguistic differences are arranged in a rich national harmony […] French regional languages are similar to some European languages and for this reason they constitute a precious bridge towards the languages of neighboring countries, thus enhancing important political and economic links with Germany, Italy, Spain and the Netherlands" (Drouillon and Flonneau 1994: 231). This emphasis on regional and linguistic diversity is quite remarkable for France, where regionalism has always had to take second place in favor of the centre, as opposed to Germany or the United Kingdom where regional autonomy is rather taken for granted.

The incorporation of *others* into the teaching of citizenship education in both China and Japan is prevalent. It is best represented by the inclusion of colorful pictures in the Japanese case. These pictures usually depict some kind of activity that typically engages two different social categories of human beings (senior versus junior, man versus woman, a Japanese person versus a foreigner). In almost all illustrations represented by pictures in these textbooks, a foreign human subject is included with a distinct effort to give equal weight to representing their ethnic origins. In one textbook, the back cover portrays a Japanese teacher who is sharing his knowledge with a group of African children (*Atarashii Shakai: Koumin* [Civics], 2002). While the teaching unit on the Japanese Constitution aims at detailing the spirit of this national accord, two-thirds of the pages are, in fact, devoted to the discussion of human rights as a world project for all types of human ethnicities. It is apparent that the heterogeneous nature of human communities is becoming more legitimate as the Japanese version of humanity and social interdependence.

On the contrary, the transmission of tolerance and living together harmoniously among differences is very much embedded in the narratives in the Chinese textbooks. The Chinese model begins with the numerous national minorities within the country and extends its scope to cover overseas Chinese and people from foreign cultures. One typical example is the use of the SARS epidemics incident to pinpoint that achieving an epidemics-free environment was only possible because of tolerance and a shared effort by many scientists and researchers from different parts of the world (*Lishi yu Shahui,* 9th grade, 2004: 149-150; 172-181; 46-68). Chinese textbooks have moved away from acknowledging one certain category of people in society (the proletariat, working class, labor or revolutionary heroes, etc.) toward a distinct model embracing 'lives from all walks in one global village' that reflects a more participatory, scientifically rationalized and diverse citizenry.

What kind of a citizenship model do these trends reveal?

The study program for the newly introduced school subject 'citizenship' in British curricula summarizes the above trends very effectively:

> Citizenship encourages pupils to become helpfully involved in the life of their schools, neighborhoods, communities and the wider world. It promotes their political and economic literacy through learning about our economy and our democratic institutions, with respect for its varying national, religious and ethnic identities […] It shows pupils how to make them effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1999: 28)

Accordingly, the pupils should be taught about legal and human rights and responsibilities; the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities within the United Kingdom (UK) and the need for mutual respect and understanding; the work of parliament, the government and the courts; the significance of active participation in democratic and electoral processes; the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to exert an influence on the local, national and international levels; the importance of a free press and the role of the media in society; the UK's relations within Europe, including the European Union; and the world as a global community and the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1999).

These educational priorities point to a shift in the model of a good citizen from one based solely on national collective norms to one based increasingly on transnational ones as reflected in both the European (Soysal 2005) and Asian cases (Wong 2005). The shift is from a nation-centered civics and history to one where human rights, democracy and diversity are the orienting values for public life. Citizenship education emphasizes the teaching of these broad values instead of the administrative structures and procedures of local and national states, which used to dominate the earlier curricula. The new citizen is an active and responsible one— contributing at local, national and international levels. While both China and Japan present some distinct effort in relocating citizenship as an integral part of the international entity, the international has an additional layer in Europe. European countries make an explicit effort to define Europe as part of their citizenship project, in line with the European Union project. In their effort, however, Europe emerges as not being very distinct or specific, but again validating the broader transnational norms (Soysal 2002).

It is worth noting that, in all our case countries, teaching still emphasizes national history, society and citizenship. No perception of a global or transnational citizen emerges as such, but the national is now subject to transnational reflections—this is where it obtains its legitimacy. Citizens are still constructed for a world of competitive

nation-states, however their competitiveness now comes from how much they contribute to what is held to be global, and thus worthy (Soysal 2005).[8]

Contextualizing the transformation of curricula and textbooks towards a new citizenship model

Intellectual and pedagogical shifts in the field of historiography and social studies have played an important role in shaping the trends we have presented here. A visible shift can be observed since the 1980s towards a more socially informed history in place of formal military and political histories—hence, the increasingly socio-scientific nature of curricula and textbooks and a more integrated and interdisciplinary approach to educating young citizens. Traditional historiography, marked by wars, military confrontations and heroes, has lost its primacy in favor of accounts from the cultural and social history of everyday life (Frank et al. 2000; Wong 2004). This also means an apparent reduction in the teaching of chronological history; tedious chronological sequences of history have given way to pictorial story-telling. The textbooks from the 1980s and thereafter thus exhibit more illustrations and pictures, and more descriptions of social and cultural history, with less emphasis on war and conflict. Similarly, the emphasis on participatory aspects of education in schools has a lot to do with pedagogical approaches emphasizing individual competences and capabilities (see chapters by Fiala; Braslavsky et al.).

The regional and global developments in the post-Second World War period also shaped the transformation of the citizenship model in educational spheres. European countries particularly, embedded in a long-term unifying project, have felt considerable pressure to adopt a collaborative attitude in rethinking their past and projecting their future. This is not only with reference to the European Union itself. In Europe, international attempts to re-examine and revise textbooks have a long history, going back to the inter-war period, i.e. the 1930s. The national and international committees set up then by the League of Nations in co-operation with teachers' associations in different countries sought to eliminate national prejudices and stereotypes from textbooks. With the foundation of UNESCO and the Council of Europe following the Second World War, these efforts became more institutionalized. Under their auspices, a variety of actors—teachers' associations, academics, scientific experts, advocacy groups and NGOs—have been busy networking, convening numerous conferences on 'teaching Europe', reassessing controversial episodes in European history, trying to bring rapprochement between former enemies, and developing tools and texts for educating future generations of Europeans in line with universal civic ideals.

It is important to note that the bodies and organizations that have been particularly active in this process are mostly non-governmental, at both national and transnational levels. Most of their activities have taken place outside inter-governmental negotiation structures and also outside formal EU institutions (although some are loosely associated and funded by the EU). It is not Brussels or national governments that solely determine the process of curricula and textbook reformation. This extensive

involvement of non-governmental actors contrasts strongly with some countries in Asia such as China, Japan and the Republic of Korea, where similar efforts took place after the Second World War to normalize and denationalize history teaching. In these cases, governments have had a much more direct influence over these efforts, which blocked intellectual progress and input for a long time due to the priority given to national political interests (Hein and Seldon 2000). Such a tradition of curriculum design and implementation is expected to remain as the dominant mode in Asia, although moderate resistance began to emerge recently, especially after there were serious protests from China and the Republic of Korea following the revision of Japanese textbooks under the current Koizumi government. In Europe, the involvement of large numbers of non-governmental actors, as well as expectations of proper membership in a tightly interlinked normative framework, has for some considerable time facilitated significant change in national educational agendas, as well as in the techniques and content of teaching.

Our analysis, however, shows that in recent times Asian countries have also begun to make strides in revising their curricula and textbooks, despite the fact that teaching about the atrocities of the Second World War remains a sensitive area, sometimes leading to a political crisis among Asian countries (Wong 2006). This is also taking place despite state-centric textbook production and curriculum development in Asian countries, which ensures more resistance to intellectual changes and trends in pedagogy, or more pressure from civic groups. Such centralized organization of education contrasts starkly with the European cases that we have covered in this study.

The fact that such different education systems produce increasingly similar content testifies to the strength of the emerging models. Even China cannot resist forever the broader trends that are discussed in this book. The change will come about more abruptly and more authoritatively, often leading to a major overhaul of educational policy and ideology in Asian countries, since they are no longer outsiders to the citizenship model that is so widely endorsed by the broader world.

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Notes

1. In France, the *foulard* affair, and in the United Kingdom the 'ghettoization of Muslim kids' in schools, has been suggested as evidence for the failure of citizenship projects. Germany's poor performance in the much-talked-about PISA study—a multi-country comparative study of educational achievement levels, organized by the OECD—has been blamed on immigrant children.
2. Data presented here come from an international survey on curricular time devoted to basic education (grades 1 through 8) for the years 1985 and 2000 conducted by UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE), and was reported and released in April 2005.
3. List of Asian countries included in the dataset of time allocated to subjects in Elementary and Lower secondary school: [East Asia and the Pacific] Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia/Kampuchea, China, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Lao People's Demo-cratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam; [South and West Asia] Afghanistan, Bangladesh (Elementary only), India, Islamic

Republic of Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka; [Central Asia] Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.

4. List of European countries included in the dataset of time allocated to subjects in Elementary and Lower secondary school: [Central and Eastern Europe] Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, the FYR of Macedonia, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [Western Europe] Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel (Lower secondary only), Italy (Lower secondary only), Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands (Lower secondary only), Norway, Portugal, San Marino (Lower secondary only), United Kingdom.

5. The project (funded by the 'One Europe or Several?' Programme of the Economic and Social Research Council, with additional grants from the Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy) investigated the changes in nation-state identities through a comparative and longitudinal analysis of history and civic curricula and textbooks in post-war Europe. The data set for the project was constructed by sampling textbooks and curricula in France, Germany, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, and at three time points, the 1950s, the 1970s and the 1990s, when major educational reforms took place in the case countries.

6. The project seeks to investigate the organization and presentation of instructional patterns and contents through curricular programs and textbooks in the instructional area of social studies since the Second World War for countries all over the world. In particular, textbooks used in Asia across time are selected for case study comparisons. The project is funded by the Hong Kong Research Grant Council (2003-2005) and supplementary funding has also been obtained for foreign researchers from the Japanese Ministry of Education.

7. The Fourth Sure sets the rules governing marriage, kinship, inheritance and the relationship between men and women.

8. Tellingly, a recent survey attempting to find out the most important Frenchmen/women in history placed Madame Curie, Jacques Cousteau and Edith Piaf in the top ten, Napoleon occupying a mere twenty-sixth place. The survey, being a media event based on a BBC program with a similar format, and not a scholarly study, reflects certain biases. However, it is clear that for French national pride accomplishments in science, the environment and music count more than being a mighty statesman and military hero (Henley 2005: 13).

5

Historical Competence as a Key to Promote Democracy

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> "If sharks were men," Mr. Keuner was asked by his landlady's little girl, "would they be nicer to the little fishes?" "Certainly," he said. "If sharks were men, they would build enormous boxes in the ocean for the little fish, with all kinds of food inside, both vegetable and animal. There would, of course, also be schools in the big boxes. […] The principal subject would, of course, be the moral education of the little fish. They would be taught that it would be the best and most beautiful thing in the world if a little fish sacrificed itself cheerfully and that they all had to believe the sharks, especially when the latter said they were providing for a beautiful future. The little fish would be taught that this future is assured only if they learned obedience." (Wenn die Haifische Menschen wären, Brecht 1971: 55-56)

The twentieth century was a century of remarkable contradictions. Never before could humanity educate so many individuals for such long periods of time. However, never before has humanity been able to kill so many of its members. In fact, during the twentieth century, more than 180 million people were killed by the deliberate action of other human beings. Two world wars and hundreds of civil and interethnic wars took place, initiated and conducted in a great majority of cases by highly educated leaders (Braslavsky 2003a).

The dawn of the twenty-first century then arose, bringing with it significant paradoxes of globalization.[2] One of these paradoxes is:

> […] the proliferation and deepening of national democracies and the strength of supra-national institutions and government mechanisms. Since 1980, eighty-one countries have taken significant steps towards

democracy and thirty-three military regimes have been replaced by civilian governments. […] But voices are increasingly raised regarding the difficulties or even weaknesses of many national governments to withstand the weight of supra-national mechanisms and bodies (Stiglitz 2002). […] Terrorism has again harassed the world, now on an international scale (IBE-UNESCO 2003: 17).

Ironically, these paradoxes were recognized by Ministers of Education worldwide at the forty-sixth session of the International Conference on Education (ICE), held in Geneva on 5-8 September 2001, just days before the 11 September attack on the twin towers in New York, creating a shock wave that was felt the globe over. Since then, the world has been witness to continued violence and threats to our collective sense of secure social order. How can humanity learn from the past in order to avoid ending the twenty-first century in the same way that it began—or worse?

We would suggest that the development of historical competence through education could be a positive step in this direction. A person's or group of persons' 'historical competence' can be defined as the way in which their ability to act in history as a present process is shaped, using history as a narration of what is currently happening and influencing the processes to come. This paper explores the possible link between the development of historical competence within schools, and the promotion of democracy, itself a lever for development, peace and the guarantee of fundamental human rights.

First, we will look at the link between democracy and education and how democracy fits into and encompasses comprehensive education. Second, we will discuss the notion of a new educational framework in the context of quality Education for All and oriented towards the building of competencies. Thirdly, we explore the four types of historical consciousness and make an argument for a genealogical consciousness as the one most favorable for fostering historical competence. Next, we present a tentative exploratory analysis of the subject of historical competence in the curriculum as related to the level of democratic societies, using as a point of reference a database on official intended instructional time worldwide that has been made available through UNESCO's International Bureau of Education. Finally, in the conclusion we propose some further possible venues for exploration.

Democracy and education

In 1835, de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* raised the alert of an irreversible, long-term, global trend towards democracy, an idea later revisited by some authors at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the emergence of several authoritarian regimes contributed to a skeptical appraisal of his predictions. Similarly, the unprecedented levels of violence witnessed in the last century—involving democratic regimes as much as authoritarian ones—seemed to lessen the expectations on the promised benefits of democracy (Diamond and Stepan 1978: 71). The scenario

in Latin America in the 1950s to the 1970s is elusive in this sense. As if in a chain reaction, democratic governments fell in Paraguay (1954), Brazil (1964), Peru (1968), Uruguay (1973), Chile (1973) and Argentina (1976).

Nevertheless, recent decades were marked by an expansion of democratic rule in many countries, related in particular to the decline of communist and military regimes. Francis Fukuyama (1992) interpreted this phenomenon as the 'end of history', characterized by the triumph of liberal democracy as the only legitimate political regime.

Almost at the same time, where some authors[3] had already stressed the possible wave-pattern that seemed to characterize democratic expansion, Huntington (1991) proposed that three waves of democratization had actually occurred in the modern world. The first and longest wave took place from 1828 to 1926, the second from 1943 to 1962 and the last one started in 1974—the year of Portugal's Carnation Revolution. Huntington notes, however, that the first two waves of democratization were followed by reverse waves in which countries moved back to non-democratic regimes and he warns of the possibility of further rebounds in countries due to problems of consolidation. He further organizes the obstacles and opportunities for consolidation of democracy around three major axes: politics, culture and economics (Huntington 1991). It is here that we would propose that education has a most important role to play.

Democracy can be implemented through the introduction of legal measures, such as regular elections and universal suffrage. However, if such institutions are not founded on a democratic culture deeply rooted in people's minds and if this culture does not find the material means to translate this into effective behaviors, it is unlikely that democracy will be sustained over time.

Education has historically played an important role in the promotion of principles and values that contributed to social cohesion through the construction of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). In the nineteenth century, much of these imagined communities were built upon the idea of the 'nation-state worth dying for' (Hobsbawn 1962). In such a context, the purpose of education was mainly "'to transmit the culture of adult generations to younger generations' and promote social cohesion through the promotion of cultural homogeneity and the embedding of socio-economic and political stratification" (Braslavsky 2003b: 3).

It could be defended that this model of education certainly contributed to the consolidation of the state as the prevailing form of social organization in the twentieth century. However, one could also question its transformative role in the light of the emergence of countless armed conflicts, the spread of deadly diseases and the deepening of social and economic inequalities that have marked the twenty-first century. In an era when famine, pandemics, gender disparities, discrimination and other kinds of social injustice have been highlighted on the global agenda, notably through initiatives such as the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, it follows that we may ask what could and should be expected from education.

We would propose that meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century requires building a new educational framework, one that is based on the promotion of quality education for all, through the adoption of an approach based on competencies.

Such an educational framework would not aim for the simple transmission of information from older to younger generations, but would strive towards the full development of each individual's potential and the construction of knowledge as an enterprise of the whole society. It rejects the idea of exclusive nationalism in favor of a broader notion of inter-ethnicity and multiculturalism. It encompasses concerns of peace, human rights, diversity and equity. It is based on the right to quality education for all individuals, not so as to achieve the standardization of educational modalities, but to promote equitable educational opportunities for everyone throughout every stage of life. Most importantly, this model of education is inextricably related to democracy, both as a method and a goal.

With awareness of its many limitations, we assert that democracy is presently the form that best suits the requisites for promoting individual freedom, collective security and sustainable development. The importance of democracy, however, goes beyond its instrumental nature. On the one hand, it fulfils basic human needs regarding political freedoms, civil liberties and social participation; on the other, democracy is constructively relevant as it contributes, particularly through the promotion of open debate, to the better understanding of social reality, uncovering different aspects of that reality (Sen 2000).

We see the relation between democracy and education as bi-directional, although not necessarily self-reinforcing. On one side, democracy should enhance educational opportunities and contribute to improved educational quality. However, education should, at the same time, foster the development of fully capable responsible citizens. This should, in theory, create the conditions for a virtuous cycle. Nevertheless, current indicators might point to a situation that is much more complex. For example, if one were to make a study of countries of the world based on the democracy index as calculated by the Freedom House Institute and compare it with the EFA Development Index provided by the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report (2005), the results may not be so evident. For instance, while it might not be surprising to find cases of countries with higher levels of democracy with proportionately high indicators of educational access and performance, it is not uncommon to observe countries with low levels of democracy presenting very satisfactory indicators for education. More sophisticated methods, including, for instance, indicators for learning achievement or societal levels of discrimination or violence, might therefore be more revealing in this regard.

Furthermore, we would suggest that one key element in the construction of that virtuous cycle is historical consciousness and historical competence, as we will discuss in the following section. Understanding historical consciousness and exploring how it can be transformed into historical competence through educational mechanisms is the central concern of the present essay.

An exploratory framework for encompassing democracy

Among the extensive literature in the political sciences on the concept and the essentials of democracy, Robert Dahl's model may be one of the most popularly disseminated. In *Polyarchy* (Dahl 1971) he argues that fully capable citizens must be assured of three kinds of opportunities: (i) the full opportunity of formulating their preferences; (ii) the opportunity of fully expressing their preferences to the other citizens and also to the government through collective and individual action; and (iii) the opportunity to have their preferences equally considered by the government, without any discrimination concerning the content or the origin of those preferences. The author argues that these conditions are necessary for democracy, although probably not sufficient. We would like to explore this aspect further.

Dahl's model certainly covers many of the essential elements of democracy. However, we hold that two other fundamental components of democracy are left out of Dahl's approach: (iv) the creation of public spaces that offer the possibility and encourage the promotion of dialogue and debate; and (v) the possibility of developing historical competence at the individual level.

Dialogue and debate are possibly implicit in Dahl's democratic framework. Public debate lies not only in the very heart of the Greek Republic, which inspired modern democracy, but is also an essential element in fostering individual and collective perceptions of social reality. Dialogue is, moreover, one important step towards an empathic comprehension of different individual and collective preferences, contributing to the further development of values much needed in most recent democratic conceptions, such as tolerance and diversity.[4]

The second element we would propose to include in such a framework is the introduction of a historic perspective and the fostering of historical competence. The absence of a historical perspective, while drawing on a person's list of preferences, might damage their ability to compare realities and identify similar challenges and, potentially, similar solutions. It also hinders people from realizing the evolution of the democratic concept itself, narrowing the margins of improvement in terms of freedom. Moreover, it could do harm to the construction of a collective memory that might contribute to the reproduction of successful experiences and to the avoidance of failures throughout history.

A broader concept of democracy that includes both public debate and a historical perspective would, in essence, create an environment for the development of historical competence. By taking historical processes as a reference for their present actions, analyzing potential and effective causes and consequences, evaluating the results, converting and adapting successful experiences into their realities and finally exposing their conclusions to the evaluation of others, individuals can start to be conscious of their role as agents of history in a constantly and intensively changing world, thus, stimulating more intense and responsible participation.

This new concept also gives rise to the proliferation of a human rights culture. The understanding of the political and historical processes that lead to the emergence

and consecration of human rights would necessarily foster the recognition of their importance and call attention to the urgent need for making them a reality to the whole world. Consequently, education is then not only seen as a tool that can serve in the establishment of personal preferences, but also as a fundamental right in itself. It is understood not as an instrument, but as an entitlement. This shift completely changes the approach to education since quality Education for All, besides being an instrument for democracy, is now also one of its fundamental elements.

Additionally, people who have historical competence are more aware of the new challenges and trends posed by the twenty-first century on education, since they are able, at the same time, to quickly realize the changes and to act on and within them, either by accelerating or inverting their sense. Provided with a historical perspective, possibilities and probabilities can be more easily identified and measured, allowing for long-term planning. Likewise, from a broader standpoint, it is more likely to identify stakeholders and to visualize joint strategies for fighting together similar risks and pursuing complementary goals. In a deeply interconnected and interdependent world, such abilities might make a difference when it comes to conciliating wills and beliefs of different cultures.

There is a growing recognition of the need for the construction of a new paradigm of education that can tackle the main risks arising from the globalization process. We believe that a more historically conscious actor is better prepared to perceive this need and therefore to deal with such changes.

Education for All and a new educational framework

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are paradoxes of globalization that pose new challenges to education at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Growing global interdependencies, exponential scientific developments, multiplying channels of communication and information flow, and increasing awareness about the legitimacy of individual freedoms all contrast with a widening gap between the rich and the poor. This gap is aggravated by a new knowledge distribution, an increase in religious and inter-ethnic conflicts and other forms of social exclusion (Braslavsky 2003b).

In order to meet such challenges, a new framework for education is needed (Tedesco 1997). This model should replace the hermetic idea of the nation-state with a concept of 'topopolygamic'[5] appurtenances; it would reject the hypotheses of cultural homogeneity and knowledge stability in favor of cultural pluralism and the recognition of 'cumulative feedback loops'[6] between innovations and the uses of innovations. Such a framework would not contribute to the reification of political, social or economic stratification, but, alternatively, would promote equitable opportunities, facilitating individual choice and allowing for mobility.

In April 2000 at the World Education Forum, the 'Dakar Framework for Action' was adopted. This framework established six educational objectives to be reached globally by the year 2015 (UNESCO 2000). The document summarizes these objectives in the expression: 'Education for All' (EFA). However, considering that this

plan's sixth objective also states the ideal of achieving quality in education, the slogan that would best represent the intentions and—above all—the efforts of international governing bodies with regard to education for the twenty-first century would be '*quality* Education for All'.

From a humanistic perspective, quality Education for All ensures that every person is granted educational experiences that allow for the development of their competencies and for personal, communitarian, national and international progress by 2015 (Braslavsky 2004b). In fact, the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand) identified quality as 'a prerequisite for achieving the fundamental goal of equity [while] it was recognized that expanding access alone would be insufficient for education to contribute fully to the development of the individual and society' (UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2004: 29).

Current indicators of quality education (i.e. retention rates, pupil/teacher ratios, achievement scores, learning materials) can provide important information, however the level of quality education goes beyond empirically measurable data. The ambition for quality Education for All refers to the need for everyone to have access to educational experiences enabling them to develop competencies to act successfully in multiple, heterogeneous areas. Preparing children for life has always been one of the main roles of education. Nevertheless, this is still not an easy task, nor does it command consensus, particularly when taking into account the enormous, constant transformations at the beginning of this century (IBE-UNESCO 2005a).

Among these transformations, it has already become commonplace to refer to the increasing advances in knowledge and the very significant changes in the way this knowledge is structured, interrelated and used. Parallel to this, curricular structures also change; however, not at the same pace. Time management for instruction is made more flexible, options are extended, some hours or subjects are added or removed but, in general, the core curriculum, consisting predominantly of subjects reflecting the structure of knowledge of the early twentieth century, continues to prevail in most countries worldwide (Braslavsky 2003b).

In fact, there are currently political-educational and pedagogical movements of some significance that propose new models and styles of curricular development. They maintain that education should increasingly be orientated towards the development of 'skills' or 'competencies' and not the mere transmission of information. These are not facilities that one either acquires or does not acquire (inherently or learned), but rather capacities that can be developed to varying degrees and levels enabling an individual to reach their potential as an individual and participate actively and proficiently in society.

Curricular development directed at building 'competencies'

The debate on 'competence-oriented education' does not sound as novel today as it did when the issue started to become one of the highest priorities on the agenda of educational institutions worldwide. Nevertheless, doubts and difficulties still remain,

ranging from the definition of the key concepts to agreement on which pedagogical methodologies could best take learning needs into account.

Studies undertaking a definition of the concept of competence are still very recent. After detailed study and consideration of the points of view of various scholars in this area, those responsible for the DeSeCo (Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations) Project agreed that competence would be defined, in general terms, as the ability to respond successfully to specific requirements and to carry out a deliberately addressed activity or task (OECD 2002). Each competence would thus correspond to a combination of practical and cognitive skills, knowledge—conscious or implicit—motivation, values, ethics, views, emotions and other aspects of social behavior that combine to influence an individual's decisions and actions in his professional and personal life (Rychen and Tiana 2004).

Though they are often used indiscriminately, 'skills' and 'competencies' are not synonyms. Skills are rather a part of the complex universe of elements that together make up competencies. Having leadership skills, including knowing how to express one's ideas clearly and convincingly and having strategic vision and problem-solving abilities, does not necessarily mean that one becomes a leader. Beliefs and values also have to be considered; aspirations and personal and community preferences must be taken into account.

Competence cannot be equalled to consciousness either. Competence, compared to consciousness, is the ability to bring all views, values and impressions from the cognitive field to the real one. It implies the ability to match skills to different situations, adapt them and, furthermore, put them into practice, all the while bearing in mind past experience, present realities and projections for the future.

It is thus suggested that existing proposals for giving meaning to the curriculum would more likely be enriched if 'competence' rather than 'skills' development were adopted more consistently and universally and if educators encouraged their pupils not only to develop consciousness but especially to apply it systematically in their daily lives.

Once the notion of competence has been defined, another challenge is to establish the main competencies a child should learn in order to be able to participate actively in the many contexts of social life. Among the various proposals, a growing concern can be seen in the areas of learning to be and learning to live together (Delors et al. 1996), mastering new technologies of knowledge management and, equally, with developing decision-making and problem-solving strategies (Sinclair 2004). The DeSeCo project suggests three pivots on which to base the teaching of competencies: 'acting autonomously, using tools interactively and functioning in heterogeneous social groups' (Rychen and Tiana 2004: 20).

Historical consciousness

We would define historical consciousness as the 'internal software' that permits us to process data based on reality in the past and in the present and allows us to make

comparisons. According to the German teacher, Jörn Rüsen, individuals and societies can have four pure types of historical consciousness: traditional, exemplary, critical and genealogical (Rüsen et al. 1991).

Those with *traditional* historical consciousness tend to act as people have always acted, without questioning the origin or context, or the relevance or consequences of that way of acting. A national society or group where a traditional historical consciousness prevails tends to reproduce the economic, social and political institutions and practices just as they knew them in their own childhood and as they were related to them. For them, 'every previous period was better' and the best thing is to try to preserve it or restore it if it has been changed.

The bearers of *exemplary* historical consciousness tend to do things in the same way as others whom they consider to be an 'example' of good economic, political and social performance. This is the case of those who admire another country and wish to construct its institutions in their own, without taking into account the processes that enabled these institutions to come into being, the crises they may be experiencing or their future prospects.

Those who have a *critical* historical consciousness tend to reject existing models, but without recognizing the need to construct a different alternative, or at least the operational aspects of constructing such a different alternative.

Finally, those with a *genealogical* historical consciousness use traditions, examples and criticisms along with interpretation and creativity, to perceive, understand and transform their realities. Before taking any decision, they adopt a historical perspective, drawing an overview of the available choices—now and then—estimating the respective risks but, most of all, carefully taking into account the new priorities of their frequently changing world. They are at the same time custodians of memory and creators of meanings. According to their particular personality, they may be doers or thinkers. The former construct the institutional dimension of a future reality and the latter their conceptual bases.

The genealogical historical consciousness provides its bearers with instruments that can make them move forward in the direction already achieved by their predecessors, thinking toward 'Utopia' (Tyack and Cuban 1995). In the case of national societies, it can be said that they manage to 'advance' towards another society, generally more democratic and with higher human development levels, because at the start of the twenty-first century democracy and human development are dimensions of a utopia that tend toward a higher degree of consensus, rhetorical games of political correctness, and chances of a better quality of life for broader groups in national societies (Braslavsky 2004b).

In other words, by thinking in a rigorous, conscious, constructive and critical manner (Sinclair 2004), taking historical processes as a reference for their present acts, the holders of this competence are provided with more tools to stand for their rights and to respond to their duties. The genealogical historical consciousness would, thus, represent a constructive balance among all the previous types of historical con-

sciousness and an apparently suitable answer to the needs for construction of solid pillars of democracy in this beginning of a century.

From consciousness to historical competence

It is curious to note that none of the three pivots suggested by the DeSeCo project seems to fully encompass the concept of historical consciousness. Although historical contents and skills, like discursive and logical thinking, may be elements of the competencies defended by DeSeCo, we believe the contribution of education to raising historical *consciousness*—particularly of the genealogical type—and forming citizens who are fully aware of their role as historical agents can be best addressed through the development of what we call historical *competence*.

We suggest that historical competence is a complex fabric of skills, knowledge and attitudes that makes it possible for individuals: (i) to believe in the importance of human action; (ii) to distinguish the different groups that act in different periods and geographic and social levels; (iii) to 'discover' the intentions and motivations behind each and every one of them; (iv) to construct their own story of how they have arrived at the situation they are in; (v) to define their own direction of where they want to be in the future; (vi) to put themselves in the place of each individual in each period and place; and (vii) to define an effective course of action to arrive there, while taking others into account.

Obviously, this can be done in a relationship of mutual gain or in a relationship damaging to others. Generally speaking, it would seem that human beings are not 'naturally' altruistic, supportive and co-operative and consequently the possibility of genealogical historical consciousness being in the service of 'living together' or of 'sustainable human development' or of 'globalization with a human face' depends on a balance of powers in action that would also be associated with something like a balanced presence of genealogical historical awareness necessary for the construction of democracy and human development.

It has often been said, and rightly so, that in the 'modern education systems' that functioned well until very recently, some were taught to think and others to act. One of the intriguing problems of the Latin American education systems could have been that, precisely, they attempted to teach everyone to think, but thinking is impoverished when not deployed in the context of economies with growth potential (Filmus 2001).

Allied with varied cognitive and practical skills, such as logical thinking, narrative argumentation, empathy, critical screening, negotiation, conflict resolution, social interaction, with values like pluralism, tolerance, as well as attitudes and motivations related to curiosity, pro-activity and respect for others' rights, historical *consciousness* can be translated into historical *competence*, enabling individuals not only to think, but, most importantly, to intervene in the context in which they find themselves.

For those reasons, we hold that the development of historical competence is one fruitful way of meeting comprehensive and critical thought with responsible action. As

such, historical competence should be considered as a basic foundation of global citizenship and a crucial component of education for democracy.

Fostering historical competence through the curriculum

Discussions on learning competencies for life fall in most cases into a methodological discussion focused on the 'apparent' dichotomy between traditional disciplines and cross-cutting education. However, not only are these strategies not mutually exclusive, they are rather complementary (Perrenoud 1999). Indeed, the importance of inter-disciplinary teaching and synergy between subjects should be taken into account, both in the development of study programs for teaching competencies for life and in the possible setting up of specific departments for doing so.

Sinclair (2004) analyzed in detail several cases of competence-oriented education, with the aim of inferring possible causes of success and failure in various innovative experiences and drawing some lessons for the future. She compares three different approaches that had been previously systematized by Gillespie (2002): (i) 'integration/ diffusion' alone; (ii) the 'carrier subject' approach; and (iii) the 'separate subject' approach (quoted in Sinclair 2004: 132). After carrying out ten cases studies and comparing the results, she concludes in favor of:

> The ideal is […] a 'separate subject' timetabled period for which suitable teachers can be selected and trained to facilitate experiential work. It may seem that the 'separate subject' approach (or a properly organized carrier-subject approach) with extensive training of specially identified teachers is a high-cost model. However, this approach can be cost-effective (Sinclair 2004: 134).

Based on the study by Sinclair (2004) on curricular approaches to competence-oriented education and also a unique and innovative case of competence-oriented education in Switzerland,[7] we would suggest approaching competencies effectively through the following three framework axes:

- *A formative axis*: specific subjects of the curriculum are responsible for teaching the desired competence. These subjects can be either traditional subjects, such as history, social studies and biology, or separate subjects, exclusively designed for a specific competence. It is desirable that teachers be specially trained for teaching the competence, in addition to having good knowledge of the content involved.
- *A cross-cutting axis*: all disciplines of the curriculum touch on aspects related to the competencies to be taught, for instance, through the introduction of cross-cutting themes, reinforcing the values, skills and behaviors learnt in the specific subjects.
- *An environmental axis*: the school, the community and the society environments are taken into consideration and 'brought' into the classes, promoting the dialogue

of students with the reality outside the classroom and enabling students to practice learnt competencies in wider contexts, revealing the relevance to their lives. The existence of a supportive or, alternatively, a hostile environment, in regard to the competencies taught has direct implications on the effective learning.

It is important to stress that the above framework does not aim to provide an ever-valid formula of the kind 'one-size-fits-all'. Indeed, other studies have already stressed that there are various curricular structures that make similar developments possible and, on the contrary, that there are similar developments with various curricular structures. On the other hand, if we consider that framework as a possible alternative, among others, it may help us in imagining how historical competence might eventually be approached by the curriculum.

Given the importance of the contents traditionally taught in disciplines such as history, geography and social studies to the development of historical competence, it would seem reasonable to expect that one of those subjects, or even all of them, would compose the formative axis of the historical competence curriculum in a 'carrier subject' approach. Alternatively, a 'separate subject' approach could possibly be associated with the presence of subjects like 'democracy education', 'civic studies', 'education for citizenship' or similar labels.

Themes linked to collective memory, cultural diversity, discrimination, and so on could be introduced in literature or language classes. Formal and informal fallacies, distribution problems and representation applied to content relevant examples, could be covered by mathematics and philosophy teachers. Ethics, evolution, scientific metho-dology (and its embedding principles of transparency, replicability and refutability) may be linked to natural sciences. However, more than addressing such issues, it is important that those subjects contribute to reinforcing the competencies learnt by reinforcing values, such as equity, openness and fairness, encouraging skills like participation, advocacy and conciliation, promoting such attitudes as active listening and assertiveness, and motivations like solidarity and justice.

Covering those two first axes, however, may not be sufficient. As Cox points out, "curricula face the challenge of educating about democracy and the moral values implicit in it, in unstable and problematic contexts" (Cox 2002: 126). Particularly in countries where fundamental democratic institutions are not yet firmly consolidated, but even in countries with longer democratic traditions, it is often the case that students are confronted outside classrooms with events that call into question the knowledge, values and behaviors taught in the schools. This is particularly relevant when dealing with historical competence. Such contrasts should offer the possibility of comparing different interpretations of reality, understanding the underlying processes and elaborating strategies of responsible intervention. It is also important that students develop the notion of different spaces of intervention, being able to understand a particular ethos and norms, how they influence behavior and how they can evolve through the different levels during which historical competence is being acquired.

Much more could be said and, indeed, every innovative experience of education for historical competence would surely provide a series of interesting lessons that could shed more light into this still little-explored area. Our objective is not in providing answers but in raising some issues that could inspire deeper research. In the next section, we try to bring more questions into debate, based on a brief and exploratory analysis of some new empirical data.

An exploratory look into some empirical data

How, in practice, can schools contribute to the individual development of genealogical historical competence? Several hypotheses can be raised to answer such a question, focusing on the methods employed by teachers in classrooms, the contents taught, and the behavior demanded from pupils and educators, among others. The focus of the present section is on time allocated to three subjects that we would presumably expect to be more closely related to the development of genealogical historical competence, namely history, social studies and civics.

The International Bureau of Education (IBE), the UNESCO institute in Geneva specialized in educational contents and methods, has dedicated itself to collecting and systematizing data on education systems and curricular contents from all countries in the world. This has resulted in the IBE having primary sources on official documents related to educational contents, often provided directly by Ministries of Education. More recently, a new dataset on subject allocation in timetables from more than 100 countries has been constructed (IBE-UNESCO 2005a). Such a rich database provides opportunities for the conduct of cross-national analyses on curricular structure defined in terms of time allocated to subjects. The analysis carried out in this study is a preliminary effort to exploit the rich data that is now available, and to raise some possible questions for future research agendas.

To this end, we selected a sample of countries from the databank of official timetables that the IBE has recently been constructing. In this study, we selected data from the most recent period (2000). Only countries for which there were full data available on the percentage of time allocated to each school subject in the intended curricula were included, adding up to 99 countries from different regions and levels of development.

The countries were organized according to their levels of democracy. Using the two measures of 'civil liberties' and 'political freedoms' provided by the Freedom House for 2000 in its Freedom in the World Report (Freedom House 2004), we created a democracy variable that divided countries into three groups of approximately equal sizes on a scale of the level of democracy: most democratic (thirty-five countries), partly democratic (thirty-five) and least democratic (twenty-nine).

It is important to note that, although the indicators used by Freedom House are extremely useful for identifying some major elements of democratic regimes, they do not account for the great complexity and subtleties that are inherent to most political regimes. Moreover, if we accept our conception of an ever-evolving democracy with

increasing levels of freedom, it would be extremely difficult to label a certain country accurately with its true level of democracy. As Sen (2000) points out, although freedom has an intrinsic dimension, it also has a relational one and, in this regard, inside the same state imbalances and contrasts could be so impressive that it would seem inadequate to call that country a democracy, even given its deeply rooted democratic institutions.

This being said, we looked at the hours allocated for three specific subjects, ones that we believe to be related to the development of historical competence: history, social studies and civics. We added up the total annual hours allocated for each subject by each group and calculated the simple average, based on the total number of countries inside each group. In order also to give a preliminary idea of whether those subjects were more or less disseminated inside each group, we calculated the proportion of countries teaching each subject for each group. Table 5.1 presents these preliminary results.

Table 5.1: Average total annual hours and percentage of countries teaching history, social studies and civics in 2000, by democracy group

	Most democratic		Partly democratic		Least democratic	
	Average total annual hours	% countries teaching subject	Average total annual hours	% countries teaching subject	Average total annual hours	% countries teaching subject
History	172	69	136	69	161	76
Social studies	244	77	263	66	136	62
Civics	45	40	103	51	74	55

What do these figures tell us about the manner in which historical competence is addressed by curricula in the world? We believe they give rise to some interesting questions that could be further explored through more careful research. Some questions that might be addressed in this context could be:

- Which of the three subjects would seem to be more closely related to the level of democracy indulged by a certain group?
- Is there a relation between these findings and the proposed 'three-axes framework'?
- Would an apparently prevalence of social studies over civics favor a 'carrier-subject approach' instead of a 'separate subject' approach?
- In what way might the school, community and society environment influence these figures?
- What impact do curricular reforms have on the subject time allocations observed?
- Are the groups sufficiently homogeneous to be treated as such? What kind of reflections do heterogeneity and homogeneity pose to the curriculum-making process?

- Is it valid to assume that democratic countries teach genealogical historical competence more effectively?
- Based on the current figures, could any inferences be made with regard to the political stability of certain countries in the near future?

Final remarks

Many other and more inspiring questions could be put forward, the answers to them lying not only in the careful analysis of the databank (which is just about to be published by IBE), but also in the study of curricular documents, the teaching methods and materials, the hidden curricula, the school environment, educational policies and so forth. The objective of this essay is less to provide answers than to bring into the debate the importance of education in promoting and sustaining democracy over time.

We suggested that the relation between democracy and education is bi-directional and that, through the development of a genealogical historical consciousness and its corresponding competence, this relationship can be organized into a self-reinforcing virtuous cycle, leading to a more comprehensive democracy and to better quality education for all citizens.

We presented some hints on how historical competence could be tentatively introduced in the curriculum and what major concerns should surround this decision. Finally, we made a tentative exploration of this question using a new databank on intended instructional time in curricula worldwide, opening some points for further and more in-depth analysis in the future.

Cristophe Carré, in his book *Sortir des conflits avec les autres* (2003), issued the following invitation:

> In 1956, the social psychologist Solomon Asch set in motion a series of experiments that showed in a surprising manner that most of the time we choose to follow the majority rather than to trust in our own senses. Thus, we are so easily swayed because we do not have confidence in our own perceptions. Imagine […] (Carré 2003: 89)

The rule of majority is oftentimes also called the golden rule of democracy. This may be misleading. Democracy cannot be reduced to elections and preferences, just as education cannot be reduced to literacy or life-skills. At the dawn of the twenty-first century it is important to give democracy and education the meaning they deserve—a historical meaning. This meaning can neither be separated from open and informed debate, nor from respect for human rights. It is a meaning that may not reify inequity and violence. Otherwise, we would be giving up true democracy and accepting the realization of a risk Tocqueville would already warn us against: the tyranny of the majority.

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Notes

1.   The authors would like to thank Gustavo Cosse, Aaron Benavot, Massimo Amadio and Didi Shammas for their special help and advice.
2.   For a description of these paradoxes of globalization, see IBE-UNESCO 2003, Introduction.
3.   See Dahl 1989; Rustow 1990; or even Huntington 1984.
4.   One additional argument in favor of explicitly including the promotion of debate amongst the essential elements of democracy could be inspired by Sen's observations of the relational and the constructive dimensions of equality (Sen 2000).
5.   See Beck 1993. The term 'topopolygamy' was developed by Beck in order to synthesize the idea of attachments to more than one culture or place, topoi being the Greek plural of place, and polygamy suggesting multiple marriages or attachments.
6.   See Castells 1996. The use of innovative information technologies favors the development of further innovations, through 'cumulative feedback loops'. As a consequence, a new form of social and economic organization is developed around the capacity of generating and processing knowledge—giving rise to the so-called information society.
7.   We refer to the case of the Swiss Canton of Geneva, where the suggested framework was used for teaching education for citizenship. More details can be found at UNESCO's International Bureau of Education website (www.ibe.unesco.org).

6

The Marginalization of Aesthetic Education in the School Curriculum

Jürgen Oelkers and Sabina Larcher Klee

Following the publication of the first Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results in 2000, public and scholarly debates in German-speaking countries focused extensively on the issue of developing competences in the subjects of German language, mathematics and, to a lesser extent, the natural sciences. Concurrently, many commentators discussed the importance of introducing educational standards for these learning domains, which many considered (especially those responsible for PISA) as necessary for a general education and useful both for life and the job market. Others viewed such a utilitarian approach to schooling as overly narrow.

Within the context of these ongoing debates, intensive discussions have taken place, which aim at 're-evaluating' aesthetic education as an essential part of general education. For example, the notion of 'a new school concept for aesthetic education' was one such idea recently voiced in Germany (experts' hearing at the Zentrum für Bildungsforschung [Centre for Education Research], 11 July 2005, Bonn). These discussions raise concerns that education is increasingly being limited to the fields of reading, mathematics and the natural sciences. Indeed, the discourse resulting from the PISA study has developed in such a way as to obscure the wider horizon of general education at school.

The PISA study measured performance in certain, though not all subject domains. The quality of education portrayed in these tests does not reflect the quality of the school as a whole, but only that of the domains measured. Aesthetic education in Finland has never been assessed, yet Finland is now considered an exemplary education model worth emulating in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. Similar examples can be found for the teaching of languages, history or geography, as well as for cultural skills other than reading. Thus, the question is: what will happen if only

political relevant curricular domains are defined as important and resources are allocated disproportionately to serve that relevance?

Among its critics, the PISA study means sacrificing the 'world as an expression' in favor of the 'world as an object' (Rumpf 2005). Generating knowledge, the transfer of knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge are the main focus. Hardly anyone, it is said, speaks of experience models. Knowledge has become 'retrievable'; experience models are neglected. Indeed, the experience models 'are the fine arts' (Amman 2004: 65). If this is the case, PISA stands for a code of international education and job-market policy focusing on investment—energy, time and money—in a one-sided viewpoint favoring a positive connection between curricula, teaching methods, performance at school and in the economy, and thus threaten to 'lose sight of elementary human characteristics and exclude them in future education' (Buschkühle and Felke 2005).

These arguments are based, first, on the concern that aesthetic education could be marginalized in school curricula and, second, by the idea of establishing competences and standards for aesthetic subjects in the framework curricula for the appropriate school subjects. Various contributions to the discourse on 'PISA and the fine arts' (Fuchs 2002) also debate on the use and effects of aesthetic education. They formulate high positive expectations, particularly, for example, regarding the development of the personality. Thus, these subjects are supposed to be justified anew and re-valued when compared with the present PISA domains. This justification is surprising in so far as a serious cutback is not in sight politically.

On the other hand, more recent studies from the United States of America point out that only core subjects will profit from complete standardization, especially if standards are strongly connected to performance tests (Oelkers 2001; see also Orfield and Kornhaber 2001). In the medium term, high-stakes testing poses a threat to all subjects that are not tested. Still, in many countries like Switzerland, such testing programs remain off the public agenda. Furthermore, there is the question of why all subjects should be tested if the testing technique is only appropriate for certain subject domains. The choice of domains tested by PISA was neither coincidental nor was any discrimination intended. Reading, mathematics and certain natural sciences simply lend themselves to school testing compared to other fields of learning.

Nevertheless, in the current context of educational policy, assessment studies of the effectiveness or performance of aesthetic subjects are being considered with the possibility of achieving unambiguous outcomes, although it is clear that the introduction of such assessments will be a very difficult task. On the one hand, there is little consensus on the question of what education entails and, on the other, research must address complex effect-variables and intervening context-variables, which strain capacities and impede clear interpretation. In reality, schools must provide an education that caters to, and addresses the needs of, very heterogeneous pupils who originate from a wide variety of social and cultural situations.

Bourdieu's study *La distinction*—which received much attention—clarified one aspect of this problem: while ruling elites consolidate their powerful position through the values of higher culture and the fine nuances of a cultivated lifestyle, the other

social classes develop a *habitus*—including the smallest details—which makes them believe that their socially assigned status was their own choice: 'One owns what one loves because one loves what one owns' (Bourdieu 1982: 195). Each aesthetic practice, each cultural interest, makes those 'small differences' among people which play a decisive role in how one maneuvers in society.

Thus, the design of curricula, subject names and timetables must always be evaluated and researched as part of a cultural environment. They inform us about how societies understand educational institutions, although they tell us little about 'what the final result will be'. In terms of presentation, the names of subjects refer to the formal structure of timetables; the curriculum itself becomes a way of rationalizing subjects' legitimacy. Accordingly, in the field of aesthetic education, for example, in some school curricula (see below), art and music lessons no longer appear by this name, but are included in a combined subject called 'Man, World and Culture'. Similarly, in policy discussions about the establishment of full-time day schools, some schools initiate programs with out-of-school institutions for artistic/cultural education, based on the examples of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom where culture at school is state supported. It is not clear whether these processes should be interpreted as the marginalization of culture or as curricula orientated towards a 'culturalistic change'. This matter will be discussed below.

Why address the continuing marginalization of aesthetic education? First, because it touches upon basic understandings of education and the functioning of education as national curricula are adapted and diffused within a changing social, political and media context (Ramírez and Meyer 2002b). Secondly, this issue offers the possibility of examining the tasks of educational institutions and the development of school curricula from a peripheral field of learning.

The next section examines the basic relationship of education and schooling (formal education), a distinction which had considerable historical currency and has gained renewed importance through constructivism. It then moves on to discuss why fine arts and music should be taught at school. The implications of current trends will then be placed in context with particular attention to curricular patterns in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The concluding section integrates key points from these discussions as an important aspect of school development. PISA is not everything, but what makes up 'complete' formal education cannot simply be left to didactic catchphrases or the slogans of 'personality development'.

Education and schooling

Since the third Earl of Shaftesbury in the early eighteenth century England many have distinguished between 'education' and 'formal education' or schooling—in other words, separating the school and the canon of taught subjects from personal experiences in and of the world. The educational novels of the German classical age explore this distinction—just as literary criticism has done in the twentieth-century—including such illustrious names as Upton Sinclair, Thomas Mann or George Bernard Shaw. School

forms a young person in opposition to his/her own will, during a time when the individual freely experiences the world outside the school. The deeper educational experience is self-generating and does not need the intention or direction of educational institutions. More recent theories of 'self-organization' and self actualization follow this literary pattern. The different variants of constructivism reflect this situation, usually without acknowledging the historic reference.

On the level of this self-generating model, 'individuality' or 'education' can hardly be distinguished anymore. What individuals learn about the world, as the young Wilhelm von Humboldt said, *becomes* their education, without connection to didactic situations. Education, broadly conceived, is free and takes place in nothing less than the entire world one inhabits; it does not need to be provided by the school. One might say that education is the novel of life—it can be written down but cannot be institutionalized. Accordingly, modern school systems were established and today's educational institutions were expanded to deal with the paradox of preparing for life without having any experience of the world.

The duration of formal education, which meant to include what was then euphemistically called 'general education,' has been growing continually. In many Swiss cantons, for example, only six years of formal education were historically required. Today compulsory schooling lasts nine years but, in fact, is actually twelve years because further study is almost impossible without completing upper secondary education. Different school levels find their justification in the fact that formal education is designed to continually be extended, which is not always the case. In Germany, for example, after nine years of obligatory formal education, one quarter of all students had a reading competence equivalent to that of the fifth year. Certain aspects of these young people's development stabilize at some point, while obligatory attendance at school continues.

The PISA-paradox—weak reading skills despite many years of formal education—can definitely be explained. Teaching alone does not guarantee beneficial effects on children; 'peripheral' factors may be more influential than the design of learning opportunities at school. Not every student experiences his/her formal education as a process of steady progress. Increasingly, schools have less control of, and impact on, children's actual learning experiences, which paradoxically reinforces the broad notion of education as so few people are satisfied with what they learned at school. The school/educational basic idea of becoming 'equipped for life', which in the nineteenth century could still provide considerable legitimacy, has been overtaken by the realities of life—if it ever had any justification at all. At school one learns nothing perfectly and much momentarily. As such, much educational responsibility falls upon life outside the classroom; school is left to allocate qualifications.

The difference between 'education' and 'schooling' restricts the ideal power of the school and ensures its increasingly incomplete impact. Indeed, public opinion continues to believe that the school is capable of *all* or *nothing*, depending on the type of 'disappointment management' discourse in favor at the time. But 'all or nothing' does not describe the policy of institutions, especially concerning the public school

which *does not* meet many expectations because it cannot change at will its form or, as some educational historians would say, its 'grammar'. Thus, for many forms of education, the school is the inappropriate institution, while on the other hand 'education' must not be left to the school alone if its intended function is to be maintained. The school must also be allowed to expect learning performance, even if there is little classroom motivation and the meaning of the lessons taught will only be understood in the future. In contrast, education as self-instruction is free and its impact on meaning creation is more immediate.

Should the education of young people include fine arts or music? Aesthetic fields of learning are almost always peripheral school subjects and, not coincidentally, public discourse accepts that there are priorities (e.g., competence in foreign languages, mathematics or computer literacy) other than education in the arts. And while many parents swear by artistic education—given its potential to form a child's personality—in practice, most parents would not support reductions in mathematics, science and language, even more so if they have an eye on labor-market realities. In such circumstances, self-instruction through music or fine arts is definitely considered to be of secondary importance.[1]

Children come to the school with a rudimentary knowledge of counting. What they know about mathematics as adults they owe mainly to the school (and, indeed, much of what they *do not* know). If schoolchildren already speak fragmentary English before being formally taught the language, this often reflects their exposure to that foreign language through the mass media. However, they will not develop any real competence without being instructed in the language's grammar. Reading is something that can also be learned outside the school, but reading skills in an array of reading materials typically require school attendance, even if the 'book' format no longer has a monopoly nowadays.

Music, on the other hand, is a powerful life-experience right from the beginning—an intuitive, pre-linguistic daily experience for all children, which directly affects their understanding of the pitch and which determines the long-term ability of symbolic communication. In a very literal sense, music is 'omnipresent', not because we hear music everywhere but because the media have captivated our attention and unconsciously conveyed the right mood predominantly through music.

Fine arts can be understood in a similar way. Signs and symbols are ubiquitous in life, as are colors and forms. In their everyday world children learn about allusions or references to the fine arts, from Dürer's praying hands, to Picasso's peace dove and Andy Warhol's outstretched tongue symbolizing the Rolling Stones. Thus, they will possess an unconscious or involuntary view of fine art, even in the absence of structured knowledge. In this way, the young acquire taste and a sense of judgment, similar to an appreciation of music. The question then becomes: what roles should schools play if actively experiencing music (e.g., playing an instrument) or the fine arts (through design and symbols) takes place outside the school?

Music and fine arts at school

In principle, the value and purposes of teaching music at school are unclear, especially if one considers whether this has any significant impact on the current media scene, the social form of music, or the average skill levels of young pupils. Historical evidence provides an important perspective on this issue. For example, in the nineteenth century the range of subjects taught in the *Volksschule* (basic primary and secondary school) represented a certain model of general education, which limited 'music' mostly to the teaching of singing. Its purposes were clear: teaching singing served firstly the community and secondly social gatherings. Today, musical groups are a rarity and social gatherings require little musical education. As a result, it would be impossible to require children to learn by heart, say, Paul Gehrhardt's *Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud*,[2] so that they could take part in the singing of a gospel. Yet, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, part of a Protestant education was the ability to sing all fifteen verses! Those who used a hymn book[3] stood out; knowing the text by heart indicated a trained memory with which one might distinguish oneself in the community.

Teaching with such aims in mind no longer exists. Nevertheless, as formal education is prolonged, new dilemmas necessarily emerge. This is not only true for music or fine arts, but for the whole of general education. The teaching of English in school for one year does not have the same effect as spending a year in an English-speaking country. The effect of years of mathematics education is not the same thing as saying that a person who has not learned enough mathematics will fail in the knowledge society. The amount of teaching is never equivalent to the final outcome. Many maintain, at least rhetorically, that one lesson less per week in any subject leads immediately to educational disaster!

Formal education is an attempt to increase quality or attain a certain level of competence, without specifying (or providing evidence) of how much is enough. People speak of achieving a certain knowledge level or a certain increase in skill, but rarely do they assert what total amount of knowledge would represent a *complete* education. Music and fine arts are demanding languages and forms of expression. Thus, in this sense, they are differentiated cultures that must be communicated anew to each generation, without any guarantee that the level reached in the past will be maintained in the future. Nevertheless, there must be an *opportunity* to learn; and music and fine arts should be a part of the public school curriculum.

Music is an abstract entity and, simultaneously, a sensory world of symbols (similar to mathematics), which would be misinterpreted if called 'non-sensory'. It is an abstract way of perceiving *and* structuring sound. Understanding music is a constantly differentiated perception, which tackles the difficulty of having to train a particular organ, i.e. the ear and its abilities. A high level of differentiation of musical perception permits individual enjoyment that goes beyond the clichés of listening. This is exactly the same for mathematics in relation to formulas and equations. One recognizes the challenging difficulties only when one has been provided with an initial level of understanding.

Music and fine arts are not required for everyday life, so it is rather useless to look for 'situations' where this kind of education could be applied. Aesthetic education is explicitly free of any external purpose—it can only refer to *itself*. The outcome is music and nothing else; consolidating musical abilities does not result in what today is called 'transfer'—but only music. From this viewpoint school-based instruction is nothing more than an initiation into the basics—this expression being taken very literally.

For the fine arts the situation is similar. Few pupils will become artists owing to what they have been taught at school, but teaching may awaken an interest and open up ways of learning through an experience of the fine arts. As in the case of music, experiencing the fine arts as a subject means not only understanding the codes, but also practicing and acquiring some new individual skills. Unhappiness among those who have been aesthetically educated is rare: few would concede their new skills and abilities. By contrast, some experience a painful sense of loss as adults when they realize that they started too late in life to be seriously interested in musical or artistic education. 'Serious' means getting involved in changing one's self or personality, and to undertake efforts that in most cases are *not* based on an outstanding talent.

The key task is to make the fine arts and music an influential experience for all children without misjudging the limits of formal education. Instruction is an attempt to fill someone with enthusiasm—not to teach enthusiasm itself. It is essential for the process of education to be cognizant of ability, the constant challenge of learning and understanding, as well as the importance of variety. In cases of average ability, schools should not renege on their commitments to all pupils. Only the bungler does not know what he is lacking.

According to Joseph Beuys[4] every human is an artist, no matter what he creates. In the case of music, however, this thesis is connected to narrow zones of tolerance. Those who know little about music but insist on making music stand out—and not in a positive way! Even the worst 'pop group' must have a minimum of musical skills if it wants to appear in front of an audience and do more than synchronize lips to a playback. It is quite evident that children and young people can distinguish musical ability from non-ability, and appreciate different levels of ability.

It is not by musical ability alone, but also by listening and understanding that progress is possible. Music is not only practicing an instrument; musical education also involves developing and consolidating approaches to music. Intuitive understanding of musical forms is the beginning and the challenge of education, not the education itself. Understanding increases with the demand for music. Without challenging and difficult tasks, there would be no reason to overcome habits. Musical habits resist education, but as an educational subject music provides more than enough opportunities to employ knowledge for the understanding of musical forms and structures.

Each piece of music and each work of art is a kind of exercise in problem-solving based on a range of creativity. That which is revered as 'classical' is often a redundant and a commonly repeated form. One must learn laboriously to understand in what way quality is different, where depth is gained and what is really a new creation.

Furthermore, one must study composition, pictures and their history if one wants to understand what makes a work into a masterpiece. And particularly regarding music and fine arts, understanding is an open-ended process. Nobody can have 'too much' aesthetic education. When one has understood how to adjust one's own perception to the method of problem-solving in music and fine arts, there is no optimum but always new challenges.

School can play a role in aesthetic education, although it must always refer to students' ideas and their judgments (in contrast to mathematics). Today, music plays a more dominant role in the life of young people than fine arts, but the fine arts remain a way of expression and a basis for making distinctions. One could probably say that understanding 'style' is not a skill one acquires at school, but it is definitely a basic need for today's youth scene. 'Labels' are forms of art, and music and fine arts often merge with each other exactly at this point. But if both fields of experience are actively and passively present within the spaces of experience of modern children and young people, if they are also of essential educational value, why then are they peripheral subjects at school?

Music and fine arts in the school curricula

State schools in Germany, Austria and Switzerland[5] guarantee pupils free and obligatory access to aesthetic education, though the teaching of the arts varies considerably across grade levels and often between schools. For the three German-speaking European countries, there are commonalities regarding the structure of current curricular provisions. At primary school[6] there are usually two to four lessons of aesthetic education per week. At the upper grade levels this amount decreases by about half in most cases, and students must choose between taking classes either in the arts or in music. In addition to obligatory classes, there are optional offerings at most secondary schools, which typically increase the range of available aesthetic subjects (e.g., dancing, choir, theatre, school band, woodwork/metalwork). These subjects are usually in direct competition with each other but also with extra-curricular activities in the areas of sport, technology, natural sciences and languages.

During the current phase of educational reforms, many newly proposed curricula and educational plans substantially alter the forms and patterns of implementation. In the German speaking countries, the situation of aesthetic subjects in basic education schools, and particularly for the subject of music, is being critically examined. Concurrently, many point to the increasing aestheticization of the young's social, technological and economic environments. Notwithstanding these ongoing trends, the position of aesthetic fields of learning in school curricula, which are supposed to address such processes, are increasingly insecure and threatened.

Several interrelated trends exacerbate this issue. For example, as major educational reforms proceed—for example, the introduction of subject standards, the development of full-time school, the increasing autonomy and independent profile of local schools, and various paradigm shifts in teaching—there are growing tendencies to

re-name curricula and contents and/or combine aesthetic subjects together. This is described semantically as a 'culturalist' orientation and claims to be an innovation by reference to the 'integration of knowledge' and 'integrality'. As a consequence, specific aesthetic subjects are increasingly hard to identify in school timetables.

Another alarming issue concerns the current and future shortage of trained teachers for aesthetic subjects. Different consequences have been noted—for example, greater differences in the quality or level of teaching in these subject areas[7] or the cancellation of instruction in a subject, particularly at the upper grade levels. Thus, aesthetic subjects are not only found at the periphery of compulsory school curricula, the changing work situation and employment conditions of teachers, including their in-service training, are additional factors in the marginalization of aesthetic education.[8] Specialized teachers in aesthetic education are often only in charge of supplementary or optional lessons. The situation is very different as far as obligatory lessons are concerned since most teaching is carried out by teachers with broad teaching skills, [9] partly supported by specialists. Finally, while the status of a subject should not be judged solely by teacher salary levels, there are considerable salary differences to the disadvantage of aesthetic subjects, particularly in Switzerland.[10]

In the aftermath of 'PISA-shock', intensive debates among many stakeholders have begun on a wide range of issues including the governance of educational systems and processes of school development (Larcher and Oelkers 2003). The position of aesthetic education in public schools forms part of these debates. Two emerging tendencies are discussed in greater detail below: (a) strategies to overcome these problems by encouraging schools to accept institutional support and personal co-operation from suppliers outside the school; and (b) strategies that address problem-solving processes within the school such as creating new subject combinations.

First observation: New approaches to aesthetic education

At present, educational stakeholders in German-speaking countries are seriously discussing the introduction of full-time day schools and altering their organizational and curriculum structures: full-time day schools will be committed to the concept of a 'full-time education'. The conceptual basis of full-time education works from the idea that education inside and outside the school can be integrated. For example, schools and youth institutions can provide full-time education, either dividing the work between them or working together according to a local educational plan (Coelen 2004; 2005). Newly proposed educational plans develop structural, organizational and curricular conditions for implementing projects like *Bilden mit Kunst* [educating through the fine arts] (Landesverband der Kunstschulen Niedersachsen e. V. 2004) or *kulturelle Bildung an Ganztagsschulen* [cultural education at full-time day schools] (AsKI 2005). As educational reforms proceed, and schools are encouraged to develop ties with other institutions in society and to look for new funding models (e.g., external evaluations, output orientation, quality control, and public assessments of achieved goals), there are emerging opportunities for greater emphasis on aesthetic education.

The co-operation of creative artists and schools requires changed models of school, conceptions, curricula and the concrete identification of weak spots, as is illustrated by many individual experiences and projects. Ideal and material resources must be made available in a purposeful way, as well as building up a better communications structure. Within schools this requires formal education and social education working together with equal rights at all levels and full-time education not being understood to be accumulative: morning and afternoon lessons must be integrated into an overall concept. Such a concept must go beyond curricula and timetables. Second, exploiting flexibility within existing educational plans must be done purposefully and consciously. Thus, the commitment of headmasters and teachers is indispensable if continuity and endurance are to be achieved. Inevitably, co-operation with creative artists will result in current approaches to arts theory, contemporary art and music, the new media, etc., being taken more seriously into consideration in the school context. Of course, our understanding of the functions of fine arts and music is changing much more rapidly outside the school than inside (Grasskamp 2002). Current school conceptions, curriculum developments and professionals must be ready to become involved with and also to react to such events.

Second observation: The problem of subject combinations

During the past few years re-structuring processes have been undertaken in Germany, Austria and Switzerland with the intention of making schools more autonomous. In the course of this development, schools in Germany and Austria have been granted autonomy in establishing their own priorities. However, this is not the case in Switzerland. Although Swiss schools have far-reaching autonomy within local guidelines regarding budgetary planning, staff employment and in-service education (portfolios), as well as in team development, there is none as regards the curriculum. In Switzerland the cantonal curricula and timetables (guidelines for weekly lessons) are binding. The timetables for each class are verified by the educational administration.

The new educational plan of the German federal state of Baden-Württemberg (2004)[11] organizes the obligatory educational plan into three levels. At the first level, there are state guidelines in the form of educational standards;[12] they are binding for each school. At the second level, these guidelines are illustrated with selected topics; the topics themselves are not binding but the level of competence that is conveyed in each of them is. On the third level, variants for practical implementation are presented. Newly introduced central examinations and comparison tests refer to the first level with its obligatory educational standards.

Thus, the educational plan[13] is a new and significant instrument of control, as it states what students are supposed to learn. As a reference, the plan demonstrates the demands, goals and experiences with which students should best align themselves, which attitudes they should develop, which knowledge and skills—in short competences—are useful for them in this respect. Each school in the state works out its own curricula within this framework, while the structure is fixed by an obligatory core

curriculum covering two-thirds of the lessons. This is based on subject combinations.[14] Subject combinations (Germany) or area-subjects (Austria)—if we adopt the wording in current use—are supposed to guarantee improved integration of knowledge, to increase the success rate of teaching, and to contribute to the students acting and thinking in an integrated interdisciplinary manner. In the context of such a conception the result is a division of the curriculum into core subjects (German, mathematics, English, religious education and ethics). They are supposed to communicate subject-specific knowledge and subject combinations like, for example, 'World–Time–Society', 'Substance–Nature–Technology', 'Economics–Work–Health', and 'Music–Sports–Design', which are orientated towards integrative-interdisciplinary goals traversing the core subjects. Thus, in principle, the result is a matrix structure, which for teaching in general and for the aesthetic subjects in particular has far-reaching consequences.

If we now pursue the example of the educational plan of Baden-Württemberg, it becomes clear that individual subjects within the subject combinations are the basis of the stated and obligatory educational standards: thus, at the primary level (1st to 4th forms), aesthetic subjects are assigned to the subject combination 'Man–Nature–Culture'.[15] At the upper level, they now belongs to the subject combination 'Music–Sports–Design'. At the primary level, the subject combination 'Man–Nature–Culture' is strongly emphasized for the 1st to 4th forms, since twenty-five lessons are assigned to it.[16] In comparison, German language has twenty-six lessons and mathematics nineteen.

The 'central ideas on acquiring competence' for the subject combination 'Man–Nature–Culture' point to the fact that through concentrating 'crucial fields of real life' (2004: 97), like 'human life', 'cultural phenomena and the environment', as well as 'natural phenomena and technology', the basis of fields of competence is created within which specific contents are formulated. They are clearly of an 'additive' nature and real integration of subjects seems doubtful. This inconsistent and inconsequent conception may be due to the fact that the starting points of the central ideas—typical for primary school—are based on both criticism of the differentiation of subjects and efforts to overcome it. The reasons for this seem to be more coincidental than definite and result in the danger of former aesthetic subjects being leveled and thus marginalized, despite the intentions. Furthermore, a combined subject like 'Man–Nature–Culture', with its focus on phenomena, is also transversal to the common individual subjects: creating such a combination results in the problem that the existing discrepancy between anthropologic, natural science and cultural phenomena and the traditional concept of school subjects and curricula must be overcome.[17] How can such integration of contents for school development be carried out without at the same time considering and planning the pre-service and in-service education of teachers?

The third level of the educational plan now formulates contents in detail, which are binding for the combined subject: obligatory lists of songs, obligatory experiments, while means, materials and media for designing are established in advance. This contrasts with the supposed curricular flexibility and self-sufficiency of schools and the idea of stressing competences. Thus, aesthetic subjects are once again in danger of becoming marginalized and having to be taught as supplements.

In conclusion, through this example of a current educational plan that pursues an innovative approach, the following more far-reaching problems for aesthetic subjects in respect of marginalization can be highlighted. There is the danger of the design of combined subjects being rather unplanned and arbitrary if, for example, the combinations are changed from level to level, a learning/biographical coherence— which also decisively supports the motivation for subjects—seems doubtful. Furthermore, there is the question of how and by whom real integration of subjects within an overall combined subject can be carried out. If, instead of standards and competences, the contents to be acquired are set in advance, there is the problem that cultural education will just not happen, while disintegration into individual aspects of subjects must be feared.

Conclusion: Aesthetic education and school development

These explanations of possible developments in aesthetic subjects in the context of school development processes point to important curricular trends in current educational reforms. On the one hand, there is an attempt to overcome a division between what is going on inside and outside the school through purposeful co-operation of different institutional actors. In this way, it is accepted that there are relevant places of learning for children and young people with equal status other than the learning offered at school. Thus, co-operation with non-school partners (i.e. museums, literary archives, cinemas, opera, and artists)—as has been going on for a long time in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom—is also gaining ground in the investigated countries.

If, through a combination of subjects, definite fields are created and if competences for them are formulated, this may offer an opportunity for aesthetic subjects within the school to increase their influence. A combination subject like 'Man–Culture–Nature' offers the right conditions for this to happen and the possibility of creating space for other social and societal interests that support culture and thus inculcate cultural competences.

We shall have to see to what extent such individual developments will actually catch on, as the educational situation in German-speaking Europe is in upheaval and undergoing far-reaching changes. Nor should we forget that this is connected to the financial resources of the countries. Thus, the two reported tendencies might have a good chance of resulting in promising structural models for aesthetic education.

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Notes

1.   For example, the evaluation of the Rahmenrichtlinien der Schulform: Grundschule im Bundesland Sachsen-Anhalt showed that, according to the parents' opinion, teaching at primary schools displayed deficits in the fields of 'problem-solving ability' and 'spelling' (Redlich et al. 2003: 12-13) and that 'basic aesthetic experiences' are not considered a crucial task for primary school (ibid.: 13-14).

2.   Sommer-Gesang (first appeared in the fifth edition of the Praxis Pietatis Melica, 1653).

3.   The first hymn books of the Reformation were published at Wittenberg. For example, Johann Walter's Geystliches Gesangbüchlein was printed in 1524.

4.   See www.beuys.org/04.htm

5.   In Germany and Switzerland, the individual federal states or cantons set up curricula for the different kinds and levels of school, while Austria has an overall curriculum. For this study, official curricular documents were consulted from these three countries: from Germany through the Lehrplan-Datenbank [Curriculum Database] of the Kultusministerkonferenz [Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Federal States (Länder)]—KMK; from Austria through the Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur [Ministry of Education, Science and Cultural Affairs]; and from the Educational Departments of various Cantons of Switzerland (including: Aargau, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Appenzell Innerrhoden, Bern, Basel-Landschaft, Basel-Stadt, Fribourg, Geneva, Glarus, Graubünden, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, St. Gallen, Thurgau, Ticino, and Zürich).

6.   If one focuses on reducing aesthetic education, we must distinguish according to school levels and to the design of the lessons: reform measures hardly go beyond the primary levels. At this level, ways of teaching that are suitable for aesthetic education are used, like workshops, open lessons or free work.

7.   The experts' report of the Bundesamt für Kultur on the situation of musical education in Switzerland from 2004 names this explicitly and mentions problems regarding the pre-service and in-service education of teachers.

8.   On this point, see the report by the Swiss Federal Government Musikalische Bildung in der Schweiz. Bestandesaufnahme der aktuellen Situation und Massnahmenkatalog des Bundes für die musikalische Aus- und Weiterbildung, Bern, 2005.

9.   For example, in Switzerland the number of lessons for the education modules in the fields of arts and music were significantly reduced when the pre-service education of teachers was being raised to the university level.

10. This is due to the different evaluation of the diplomas of colleges and universities. In the course of introducing bachelor and master grades and of implementing the Bologna-Process this will probably be reduced after some time.

11. The problem is well illustrated by the example of this educational plan.

12. On this subject, in Switzerland the first developments are taking place concerning national standards: in June 2002, the Swiss Conference of Education Directors accepted the project 'Harmonisierung der obligatorischen Schule' (HarmoS). The project is planned for the years 2003-2006, having started in 2003. HarmoS includes the development of obligatory competence guidelines for crucial fields of education: languages (first language and foreign languages), mathematics and natural sciences. On the national level, for the time being, work was limited to these four fields. However, similar developments in other fields (history and politics, music, sports) are also planned.

13. Now there is 'only' one educational plan, which is binding for all school levels, but actually framework curricula are integrated.

14. Combination subjects combine single subjects in the context of contingent timetables and are an important element of the reform of the educational plan 2004 in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Generally, combination subjects require a different time management and changes in the ways teachers co-operate on the practical level; it also involves didactic co-ordination. In Austria, there is the demand for checking if "subjects for which networking seems to be relatively easy due to the affinity of contents, didactics, and topics could also be taught as 'one' integrated field in a 'topic-orientated way' in secondary school level I." Improvement in students' motivation and performance are considered probable. Possible candidates for 'area subjects' are mathematics/geometry/computing science, the field of natural sciences (physics/chemistry/biology/geology/technical work), the social/historic field (geography/history, sociology/political education/economics), or creative subjects (arts/crafts/musical education/text design/use of media).

15. The new combination subject of 'Man, Nature and Culture' includes the following subjects, listed according to the old educational plan: fine arts, textiles, local geography and history, general knowledge and music.

16. These are lessons per week/year.

17. At the senior level in this state, the aesthetic subjects lose their innovative points of reference regarding subject matter. 'Man' and 'nature' are not the reference categories of the combination subject, but it is rather sports. Furthermore, 'culture' is differentiated into 'music' on the one hand and 'design' on the other. For 'Music–Sports–Design' twenty-seven lessons per week/year are provided, in comparison to the core-subjects of German language and mathematics, which have twenty-three and twenty-one lessons respectively. This is true only for the kind of school at this school level that caters to the lowest demand. The other, more demanding kinds of school teach aesthetic education as individual subjects.

7

Transmission of Values in Muslim Countries: Religious Education and Moral Development in School Curricula

Rukhsana Zia

Introduction

Recent international events have intensified interest among politicians, religious leaders, scholars and educational professionals about the way religion is taught in schools and its consequent manifestation as learned social behavior. Students' understanding of other faiths alongside their own personal faith is being scrutinized and there are persistent calls for a reassessment of the emphasis placed on this in education. Indeed, the linkages of spiritual and moral development with religious education and civic education (with its focus on human rights and the duties and responsibilities of citizens in local, national and international contexts) are lively and contentious issues. Of particular interest are contrasts between curriculum-based approaches to religion adopted in secular societies (where state and religious institutions are separated as in many western nations) and religious societies (as in most Muslim nations).

This chapter focuses on the development of formal approaches to spiritual and moral education in Muslim countries over time. Apart from discussing the relevant concepts, it outlines contemporary patterns of schooling in Muslim countries and notes the impact of key historical and political events. Curricular emphases on spiritual and moral education and religious education are also placed in comparative perspective, specifically in relation to school time devoted to each component in subgroups of Muslim countries (members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, OIC[1]) and, to a limited extent, with secular countries (basically western nations). Overall, the chapter seeks to provide a broader framework for understanding the inclusion of religious and moral education in the school curricula of Muslim countries, and the role of such subjects in the development of moral and social behavior among pupils.

Spiritual, moral and religious education

International agreements regarding the search for individual identity are clearly reflected in specific resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, namely the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN 1976), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989). In the latter Convention, countries are required, among other things, to accord children the right to nationality and identity, to ensure their survival and development, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, and to ensure freedom of expression and association. Article 12 asserts that States "shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (UN 1989).

Dearing (1995) amplified the concepts of spiritual, moral and religious education in the following manner. Spiritual development in an educational context means awareness and reflection upon one's experiences; questioning and exploring the meaning of experience; understanding and evaluating the possible responses and interpretations; developing personal views and insights; and applying these insights to one's own life. Moral development, like spiritual development, is a multi-faceted concept and includes such aspects as the knowledge of, and willingness to live by, codes and conventions of conduct delineated by God, as well as the ones agreed by society (non-statutory and those prescribed by law); and the ability to make judgements on moral issues in the light of criteria based on responsible judgements. Personal morality is the composite of beliefs and values of individuals, of the particular social, cultural and religious groups to which they belong, and of the laws and customs of the wider society. Children need to be introduced to concepts of 'right' and 'wrong' from an early age so as to cultivate moral behavior as a set of instinctive habits. Schooling plays a major role in establishing the foundations of a viable value system. School activities and interventions assume that, with time, children realize that life situations will constantly arise where 'rights' and 'wrongs' are not universal truths, that they will need to make considered and morally consistent decisions in different situations and, more importantly, learn to take responsibility for their decisions.

Most forms of school-based religious education vary according to the approach to religion that is adopted—that is, teaching *about* religion, *for* religion and/or *through* religion. Even in secular schools, teaching for and through religion offers manifold opportunities to teach values, morality, ethics and civics with a focus on rights, responsibilities and respect for differences. And while religious education has the potential to promote values of truth, justice and respect for all, it also has the potential to teach the opposite of these. There are grey areas between evangelizing, indoctrination, brainwashing and mere neutral knowledge transfer. Public schooling, as the dominant provider of education in most countries, is responsible for moulding students' ethical concepts regarding personal and collective living. Whether it remains religiously neutral is another matter and not under consideration here.

Muslim countries: A historical perspective[2]

This section traces the evolving political contexts of Muslim countries, highlighting influences on the 'Islamic resurgence' and a consolidated Islamic world-view.

Today's Muslim countries are largely the outcome of diverse political and geographical factors. Within a few centuries after the prophet's death in 632 CE, Islam spread with electrifying speed to some three continents. During this era of 'Muslim explosion' (Ahmed 1999), Islam spread to South and South-East Asia, southern Spain and Eastern Europe, North Africa and, by the eighteenth century, to the Americas. Colonization challenged the Islamic world in the nineteenth century. Out of the fifty-seven OIC States, all but three were colonized. Some Muslim states (e.g., Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey) gained independence in the aftermath of the First World War; most others were decolonized after the Second World War. The world's Muslim population is presently estimated at 1.6-1.9 billion, or approximately 22-27 percent of the world's population. Regional figures for 2003 indicate that Africa hosts nearly 54 percent of all Muslims, while Asia and Europe are home to roughly 31 and 7 percent, respectively, of the total Muslim population. Most Muslim countries fall in the low- to middle-income bracket. The high fertility rate in most Muslim countries, coupled with a high concentration of young adults, increases their vulnerability to civil conflict (Cincotta, Engelman and Anastasion 2003). Human development indicators tend to be low in most Muslim countries, making a case for a low quality of life known by the citizens of these countries. Some contend that, politically, Muslim countries have a poor record of showing solidarity to safeguard their identity, honour and interests (Syed 2005).

Colonization and imperialism became the harbingers of many fundamental changes in the Muslim world (Al-e-Ahmed 1980), and initiated an era of introspection. Western colonization affected all sectors of the economy and society, including education. From the eighteenth century onward, Muslim reformers appeared in different parts of the Muslim world and, in the late twentieth century, various organizations mushroomed to guard Muslim identity against 'westernization' and to promote Islamic culture (e.g., *Ikhwan al-muslimin* in Egypt or the *Jamaat-e-Islami* in Pakistan). Such organizations promoted an alternative, Islamic worldview for a whole spectrum of political, economic, governmental and social issues. These reformist movements shaped attitudes towards the west and the essence of Muslim identity and, depending upon the reformist ideology, ranged between two extremes in terms of spirit, form and action (Shepard 1987). Academic and educational institutions resulting from these movements varied as well, some acting as instruments of change and others as guardians of tradition (Zaman 2002).

The Middle-East War of 1967 proved to be a watershed and, coupled with other events such as the Iranian revolution, impacted a whole range of Islamic concepts relating to political, economic, cultural and educational orientations. The strengthening of nationalism brought together reformist forces, irrespective of religious leanings, to work alongside each other for political independence. Calls for a Muslim *Ummah* [community or people] intensified with the establishment of Muslim nation-states. The

formation of the OIC was one such response. In recent years, Islamic revivalism from an extremist perspective—what is often labelled as 'fundamentalism'—has in some cases manifested itself in acts of violence, such as the New York and Washington D.C. attacks of September 2001, the 2004 Madrid bombings and the 2005 London bombings. This fundamentalist extremism must be separated from the humane and gentle core of the religious creed that is Islam. In the wake of 9/11, a lot of anger in the Muslim world has been projected outwards, especially towards western countries, and yet at the same time considerable angst has been directed inwards. The rhetoric repeatedly emanating from the Muslim world maintains the historical emphasis on Islamization and Muslim identity, but it is increasingly intermingled with the need to "play a significant role in projecting a moderate image of the Muslim *Ummah*" (Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, quoted in *Dawn* 2005: 4). The OIC has initiated reforms to make itself more dynamic, proactive and a true representative of the *Ummah*. It is hoped that with more introspection by Muslim countries, the threat from extremists will diminish accordingly.

Religious revival is visible in much of the world (Ahmed 1999). Consider, for example, evangelical Christianity in the USA and Hinduism in India. In the Muslim world, too, initiatives to define the relevance (or irrelevance) of the message of Islam for today's modernized and globalized world are growing. There are ongoing debates over the *Qur'an* and its interpretations; the *hadith* and their authenticity; the differentiation of *Meccan* and *Medinan surahs*; the nature of Islamic law and *shari'a*; the difference between *shari'a* and *fiqh*; the distinction between *ibadat* (God's worship) and *muamalat* (social obligations); and the role of *ulema* (Islamic scholars) and the rulers/government. The debates over possible legal reforms in the case of women's rights and the rights of minorities are especially pronounced. Questions are also raised over the legality of *ulema* as guardians/custodians of faith and the myriad of interpretations. The most common contention is that, since Islam does not have an ordained clergy, experts of all specialties are required to resolve contemporary issues (*ijtehad*) that are usually beyond the scope of religious scholars, thus ascribing to a more inclusive notion of the religious scholar.

Although Islamic traditionalists aspire for the *shari'a* to be the rule of the land, the problem of implementation, within the accepted framework of modernity, poses considerable challenges. Since the *shari'a* has not been codified according to the canons of modern law, there tend to be differences in legal decisions, even among Islamic jurists of the same school (Nagata 1994). This raises differences of position on various social, educational and cultural issues within a country, which influence *inter alia* the establishment of a fundamental identity for its citizens. At another level, such existing differences among Islamic States produce variations in legal rulings and thus grouping Islamic countries on the basis of their religion alone is extremely problematic.

Islamic education and education in Muslim countries

This section discusses how the Islamic world-view influenced Islamic education from being an all-inclusive phenomenon to a situation today where it has been reduced to the mere transmission of religious education. This discussion helps explain why the lines of division between education in Muslim countries and Islamic (religious) education, which many use synonymously, tend to be blurred.

Knowledge *(Ilm)* plays a central role in the Muslim's attitude towards life, work and being (Hilgendorf 2003). God and knowledge are inseparable: without knowledge, one cannot know God and without God, there is no true knowledge. The organization of the traditional curriculum under Islam has been, and continues to be, based upon the recognition that the *Qur'an* is the core, pivot and gateway of learning (Al-Saud 1979) and is considered the basis for the teaching of all disciplines (Husain and Ashraf 1979).

Education in Islam dates back to the prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon Him), who explained and interpreted his revelations in the mosque. Mosques became the centres of instruction and such explanatory circles became the norm. While mosques and mosque schools (*kuttubs,* also known as *Qur'anic* schools) continued to offer religious learning and basic education, *madrasahs* were established to formalize the need for higher education. With the break-up of the Muslim Empire, *madrasahs*, which were supported by the ruling class, lost patronage and social support; and subsequently they had to resort to more rigorous religious education. Different *madrasahs* used different curricular models and offered a different quality of education. For example, the *Dars-I-nizami* (a popular curricular model)*, Deo-bandi madrasahs, Farangi-Mahal* (pre-1850)*, Nadwat al-Ulema* (post 1870s) and some others were intended to produce scholars and intellectuals. Their syllabi focused on language, metaphysics, rhetoric and logic. Other schools focused more narrowly on religion (Peters 1996). Emphasis on religious education was further consolidated by infighting among different religious sects, who sought to use education as a vehicle for enhancing their denominational doctrine to the detriment of creative thought and experimentation (Hilgendorf 2003). Many propounded that the 'gate of *ijtihad*' (knowledge based upon reasoning) was closed for future independent or rational inquiry (Mehmet 1990), giving way to *taqlid* (acceptance of past knowledge without question) as the order of the day (Gil'adi 1992). *Qur'anic* schools faced a similar fate. Over the years *Qur'anic* schools, for various reasons, did not expand their curriculum and were therefore not deemed competent to provide an education suited to contemporary societal needs.

At present, religious schools (both *Qur'anic* schools and *madrasahs*) tend to attract poorer children who cannot afford the fees of western-style schools. This not only creates disparities in access to quality education, but also in further learning and employment opportunities for children belonging to different social strata (Mernissi 1992). Not only is this instrumental in creating animosity between classes, it also translates into a rejection of the west, mostly by the have-nots, who are mainly students of the *madrasahs* or the public school system. It is further buttressed by anger towards governing elites who are seen as puppets of the West. These conditions may engender

the widespread indignation towards the west and western lifestyles, rather than religious teaching, but this contention warrants greater in-depth study.

At present, the educational indicators of most OIC members are rather dismal. The average primary school enrolment ratio for all OIC countries is about 81 percent, while for some ten countries it is less than 50 percent. The average secondary school enrolment ratio for all OIC countries is 45 percent, with some thirty countries falling below 30 percent. The average university enrolment ratio for all OIC countries is about 11 percent. It is regrettable that nearly twenty-three OIC nations have an adult literacy rate of 50 percent or below. Only twenty nations have literacy rates greater than 80 percent. Muslim nations have obviously emphasized education, especially science and technology, in order to keep pace with the modern world. However, school quality and the impact of education are another matter. Indeed, a large segment of the population in these countries does not have access to any kind of schooling. Nevertheless, though the modern reformers in Muslim countries faced the stereotype of westernized or Europeanized Islam, they did manage to bring to the fore the issue of redefining Muslim intellect. Educational reforms successfully transformed curricula and raised questions about the blind following of tradition. Despite efforts by most Muslim states to modernize, some thinkers blame the countries themselves for depriving their populace of their heritage (i.e., allowing most students to vegetate in a state of semi-science while the elite few benefit from western education) due to the level of teaching in its institutions (Mernissi 1992).

Following independence, many countries tried to revive traditional values by indigenizing the curricula of their colonial rulers and, in the case of Muslim countries, the school curriculum was 'Islamized'. The issue of whether this 'Islamization' was truly Islamic deserves further scrutiny. In any case, the main outcome was the establishment of parallel systems of educational institutions comprising a mix of the traditional and the secular. (This pattern was also visible in other social institutions.) Modern, allegedly western education and 'technical' (Habermas 1974) knowledge—with universal applicability though created and defined in advanced industrial states—were imported with ease and with relatively little modification by developing nations and most Muslim states. (Lately however, alternatives to western science are being encouraged in some fields like medicine.) This dependence was stronger in higher education than in primary schooling, which was expected to reflect national and local cultures. Areas of 'private' (Berger and Luckman 1967) or 'practical' (Habermas 1974) knowledge—which are found in informal and intimate human relationships and often taught as spiritual and moral education in subjects like religious education, history, social studies, arts, music and literature)—more closely followed national or local heritages. It was precisely these curricular subjects that were indigenized (Islamized in the case of Muslim countries) after political independence (Lewin 1985).

Types of educational institutions in Muslim countries

Historical and political processes in Muslim countries, as shown above, have narrowed the concepts of schooling and Islamic education to mere education *for* and *through* religion. The following paragraphs further amplify this point by tracing the evolution of *madrasahs*, which were a major educational institution in Muslim countries.

Traditionally speaking, mosques have been the essential context for learning in the Muslim world. From early times, the *kuttub* provided the first educational experiences for Muslim believers. Everybody, regardless of class or status, attended the same school. The curricular content of the *kuttub* focused on basic education. It taught young boys and girls how to read and write, and provided them with a basic foundation in essential subjects like Arabic grammar, mathematics, and *Qur'anic* recitation and memorization. The importance of *kuttubs* cannot be underestimated. They were central to civil life and were the main avenue for the provision of public basic education. As is the case today, there was no segregation between boys and girls in *kuttubs*. Segregation only began at the higher *madrasah* level. There, theology, philosophy, science, Arabic grammar and law were taught to advanced students. From the tenth century, *madrasahs* developed into full-fledged colleges and universities and played a fundamental role in the foundation of European institutions of higher education (Nasr 1987; Al-Attas 1979). *Madrasahs* were located in major mosques in important urban centres and secured their reputation from the particular sheikhs and imams who taught there. Well-known imams attracted students from all over the Islamic world.

Madrasah, an Arabic word, literally means a 'place of instruction'. The term *madrasah* is typically used as a generic title for all schools teaching Islamic subjects including, but not limited to, the *Qur'an*, *hadith* [prophetic traditions] and *fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence]). The contents and teaching methods of such schools are considered fundamentally similar. Nevertheless, different *madrasahs* offer a varying quality of education, have different sectarian affiliations and even offer different levels of instruction. Some, like the *Deo-bandi madrasahs* of South Asia, aim to develop cadres of scholars and intellectuals and thus place greater emphasis on language, metaphysics, rhetoric and logic. Others are more narrowly focused on religion.

Traditional Islamic education in *madrasahs* comprises two broad fields: the *manqulat* (the 'transmitted' subjects) and the *ma'qulat* (the 'rational' or 'secular' subjects). *Manqulat* includes: *Qur'anic* exegesis (*tafsir*); prophetic traditions (*hadith*); Arabic grammar (*sarf*), syntax (*nahw*) and language/literature (*adab*); jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and principles of jurisprudence (*usul ul-fiqh*); and rhetoric (*balaghat*). The *ma'qulat* includes logic (*mantiq*); philosophy (*falsafa or hikmat*); theology (*kalam*); mathematics/astronomy (*riyaziyyat*); and medicine (*tibb*). *Madrasahs* varied in their jurisprudential exclusiveness/inclusiveness (some being attached to a particular *madhab* [school of jurisprudence], while others accommodated teachers from different schools of jurisprudence). The *madrasahs* also differed in their emphasis between the *manqulat* and *ma'qulat* and in other respects (e.g., some gave more attention to *hadith*, while others focused on *sarf/nahw*). *Madrasahs* in Spain, where Muslims reigned for

nearly 800 years, are a classic example of the harmonious interweaving of Islamic/spiritual with secular/earthly knowledge. This coincided with a period in which Muslim scholars contributed to advances in the fields of science, technology and philosophy, among others (Malik 2005).

As Muslim societies were colonized, secular educational institutions were promoted by colonizers and came to supersede *madrasahs* and other Islamic institutions. This was the beginning of disconnect between the two. Modern education in these secular institutions catered to, and helped define, emergent elites, leaving religious education offered in *madrasahs* for the poor. The idea of a separation between the state and religion, emphasized by Western administrations, was viewed by most Muslims as heresy. *Madrasahs* in the Muslim world responded by abandoning the pursuit of modern sciences and secular subjects, thus denying students exposure to secular areas of knowledge. The most radical shift in the contents of *madrasahs* occurred in the sub-continent and, to some extent, in Indonesia. In South Asia, especially Pakistan, politics and political gains were the main justification for the revival of religious education (i.e., Islamist ideology) in these religious institutions. Ironically, it was the financial support of the USA and European countries, which was instrumental in propagating the strict mode of Islamic practice (International Crisis Group 2002, quoted in Zia 2003a; Anzar 2003). At present, *madrasahs* in some countries (e.g., Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar) ascribe to *Wahabi* doctrines of practice, while other countries like Indonesia have religious schools that teach, by and large, a moderate form of Islam encompassing Sufism. Indeed, many schools in the South-East Asia region maintain a balance between the religious and the secular. Religious institutions like *madrasahs* can be state-funded and/or privately funded. Contrary to popular understanding, *madrasahs* cater to a small percentage of the population, while remaining a part of the overall educational infrastructure in Muslim countries. Very few *madrasahs* teach an extremist perspective of religion, but as religious institutions in Muslim countries are under increasing international scrutiny, many governments are seeking to regulate the *madrasahs* and their curriculum.

The next section charts the development of modern schooling and how it evolved as a distinct stream as compared to the indigenous (*madrasah*) schools.

The development of 'modern schools'

The expansion of 'modern' schooling, an international phenomenon since the mid-nineteenth century, changed the organization and transmission of knowledge in both Muslim and non-Muslim regions of the world. In Muslim countries, European colonizers introduced and expanded modern forms of schooling. Modern education in Muslim countries incorporated allegedly secular subjects for mass education, predominantly geared to opening up economic opportunities. Following independence, modern schools were typically consolidated by national governments into public school systems—a development viewed by many as an import from the west and/or established by western-educated policy-makers. Overall, national systems of education

in colonized countries were closely linked, especially at the upper levels, to institutions in the United Kingdom or France, as these were the primary colonisers of Muslim states. As a result of their being 'imported' from the west, modern schools became the subject of considerable distrust, which partly explains the neglect of science and technology in these countries. It is clear that, for various reasons, education did not undergo stages of adaptation, appropriation and ownership in Muslim countries. Modern schools, with their centralized planning, administration, delivery of teaching, modes of assessment, knowledge codified in textbooks, and spatial organization (by age groupings and subjects) were totally different from the traditional *madrasahs.* Nevertheless, these and other indigenous schools have tended to survive, often as a discrete and parallel stream of schooling. Many researchers though (Somel 2001; Ringer 2001; Fortna 2002) make it a point to disengage concepts of 'modernization' from 'westernization', especially 'cultural modernization'.

In today's globalized world, education is increasingly seen as a passport for military and economic success—and scientific achievement. Indeed, OIC nations, being aware of the significance of an educated and skilled populace, have placed it high on their policy agenda. The widespread criticism of the 'modern' (public) schools in Muslim countries is partly based on the perceived threat to Islamic morals and culture, especially those related to women (Ringer 2001). The debate over the influence of modern education on morals has also been an issue in other countries, such as the Russian Federation, Japan and the USA (Fortna 2002). Many societies with differing religious and cultural backgrounds have struggled with similar issues. Notwithstanding the effectiveness of education and efficient education systems, the role of western education in Muslim nations has been discussed for its seemingly negative impact. Starrett (1998) describes the case of Egypt, where mass education is cited as a force, which fostered a social, cultural, intellectual and political climate for formidable Islamist movements to emerge. This characterization could be applied to other parts of the Muslim world. The backfiring of government policies consolidated the position of the Islamists (Starrett 1998). In the discussion over state-organized mass education, the 'effects of civil society' are overlooked (Mazawi 1999) or there is a tendency to rely on data from official sources, which creates an incomplete or even distorted picture of educational processes and realities (Fortna 2002). Reliable data and credible analyses are crucial for further clarity in discourses like these. Other distortions in comparisons arise as a result of differences in teaching environments and teaching methodologies, but these will not be discussed here.

In short, public schooling in Muslim countries has evolved as the predominant way of education. The traditional mode of education, the *madrasah*, has narrowed its curriculum to mere transmission of religious education, while public schooling has evolved as a more inclusive phenomenon.

Basic values in Islam

The section briefly delineates the basic philosophy of Islam and its values relating to human rights, tolerance and citizenship. In doing so, it seeks to place in context the Islamic teachings that are implicit in religious education in Muslim countries, be it as a component of the curriculum in public schooling or in religious schools (*madrasahs*).

Islam urges a balance between *deen* (religion) and *duniya* (worldly affairs) and a good Muslim has to participate fully in both. This balance and order was modelled on the life of the Holy Prophet and for all Muslims it is deemed the ideal to follow. Even so, it is not the achievement of the ideal alone that begets the reward; it is also each person's effort and motivation, according to his or her capacity and context towards the ideal, which is deemed equally worthy of reward. When Arabs came in contact with Greek science and philosophy in the ninth century, there emerged a new breed of Muslims dedicated to an ideal known as *falsafah*. Their aim was to live rationally in accordance with the laws that governed the universe. According to Islam, Allah created the world and everything within it is amongst the actions of Allah. Scientific activity in Islam emerged as a search for an understanding of Allah's world; the outcomes of this activity subsequently inspired important developments in a range of disciplines.

Islam preaches moderation and has directed its focus basically at the purification of motives (Abu Rida 1998), the ultimate test being action and behavior, not for any worldly reason, but to fulfil Allah's dictates. Thus, good deeds are judged in accordance with their value and the intention of the doer. Muslims derive guidance from the *hadith* (sayings of the prophet) and *sunnah* (life of the prophet). Islam is the law of the individual as well as of the society. The emphasis is on unity and rejection of everything that leads to divisiveness.

Rights and responsibilities in Islam are characterized by equity (all people are regarded as equal in terms of their rights and responsibilities for their own actions) and balance (regarded as moderation). Muslim law warns against the abuse of rights (Negra 1998). Most scholars divide rights in Islam into two parts: the rights of God and the rights of human beings. The former comprises rights that no one shares with Him, such as acts of devotion; the latter are divided into four groups: natural, personal, civil and political. Especially noteworthy are the rights of non-Muslims in Islamic countries. Governed by humanist principles, once a person fulfils the obligations for citizenship (paying tax) nothing distinguishes a non-Muslim from a Muslim. According to Islam, rights are entirely owned by God and human beings (as vice-regents of God) can enjoy them in their relationship with God. Islam clearly emphasizes human duties and moral obligations and, as such, human rights are a function of human obligation and not their antecedent (Nasr 1980). For Muslims, *shari'a* (Islamic jurisprudence) is the source of human rights, which defines the parameters of human activities.

There are strong allegations of mistreatment of women in Islam. Throughout the world, and in Muslim countries, measures of gender equality show a bias in favour of the male (*Human Development Report*, UNDP 1995). The Gender-related development index (GDI) of Muslim countries is considerably lower in comparison to that of

western countries. In addition, issues concerning women become more pronounced with the transformation of traditional social structures since women often bear the brunt of such crises, due to poverty, urbanization and greater illiteracy. Again, these issues can be seen in most developing countries as well as in Muslim countries. *Hijab* (the religious word for modesty, but commonly understood as veiling) is another misunderstood concept, especially in the west. It is further complicated by manifold attitudes toward it within the Muslim world. Greater study is needed to establish if the restrictions placed on women are due to Islamic teachings or because of the exigencies of a male-dominated society over the centuries. Women occupy a special place in Islam and women are perceived, partly because of the ways in which religion is embedded in local social and cultural values (Delaney 1991; Zia 2003a), as most vulnerable to radical change and influence. These influences, though, can vary according to class, region and status. Suffice it here to say that, historically, women's role in Muslim societies has largely been restricted. The teachings of Islam clearly place both sexes as 'equivalent' rather than 'equal', whereby social functions and expectations differ across sexes but are complementary, both within and outside the family (Hijab 1995).

The fact that teaching *through* and *for* religion is the *modus operandi* in the schools of Muslim countries, should not be a cause for concern. Some scholars, as noted above, propound that the values espoused in Islam and Islamic teachings endorse 'living together'. As in most contemporary societies, Islam insists on the adherence to the same rights, obligations and duties to oneself and others. The basic difference lies in the superimposition of the spiritual dimension as the primary motive (Zia 2003b). Understanding evolving value systems in Muslim countries necessitates consideration of the nature and impact of curricular contents, together with other contextual factors that directly or indirectly impact upon the spiritual and moral development of the child.

Religious and moral education in Muslim countries' curricula

Cross-national analyses of official curricular data for recent decades indicate that the intended amounts of annual instructional time, as well as the overall composition of public school curricula, are quite similar in the Arab States to those found in other regions of the world (Benavot and Amadio 2004). Differences are mainly one of degree than of kind. This section probes the religious and moral education component of the school curriculum in two ways: first, by extending the analyses to all countries with a significant Muslim population (i.e., members of OIC[3]); and second, by examining in greater detail the emphasis given to religious education, on the one hand, and moral and spiritual education, on the other, in sub-groups of Muslim countries. To be sure, there are other factors in Muslim countries, both within and outside the school system, which affect student learning in these areas, but official curricular policies leave an indelible mark on pupil orientations and attitudes.

The analyses presented below draw upon the IBE database on curricular time allocations (IBE-UNESCO 2005a), and follow the methodology used by Benavot and Amadio (2004). Table 7.1 presents the proportion of OIC countries teaching religious

education and moral education in 1985 and 2000 and, of these countries, the mean percentage of total curricular time devoted to these two subjects. Table 7.2 then compares the emphasis placed on religious education and moral education between Arab States and non-Arab countries, which are members of the OIC.

Table 7.1: Religious and moral education in the school curricula of Muslim countries belonging to the OIC, 1985 and 2000

Religious and moral education	1985 Grades		
	1-3	4-6	7-8
Number of OIC countries with official curricular information	25	25	29
Proportion of countries that teach:			
Religious education	64	76	72
Moral education	28	32	17
Of countries that teach the subject, mean percentage of total curricular time devoted to:			
Religious education	13	11	8
Range	2-33	2-32	3-24
Moral education	5	4	4
Range	2-8	1-10	1-8

Religious and moral education	2000 Grades		
	1-3	4-6	7-8
Number of OIC countries with official curricular information	43	43	38
Proportion of countries that teach:			
Religious education	58	60	66
Moral education	23	23	13
Of countries that teach the subject, mean percentage of total curricular time devoted to:			
Religious education	11	10	7
Range	3-27	3-16	3-14
Moral education	3	2	3
Range	1-6	1-6	2-5

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

Table 7.1 reports that during the 1980s approximately two-thirds of Muslim countries (64-72 percent) included religious education in their official school curriculum and allocated about 10 percent of total instructional time to this subject area. Moral education, on the other hand, was incorporated in far fewer national school curricula (17-32 percent) and was allocated only 5 percent of total instructional time. In comparisons across grade levels, religious education was taught with greater frequency towards the end of primary education and beginning of secondary education, while relative time allotments for this subject declined, on average, in the lower secondary grades. Moral and spiritual education was less prevalent and allocated less instructional time in lower secondary education.

In the most recent period (circa 2000), the prevalence and relative emphasis on religious and moral education in Muslim countries have declined. Smaller proportions of Muslim countries explicitly include these two subject areas in the school curriculum (58-66 percent include religious education and 13-23 percent include moral education) and time allocations, on average, tend to be lower. Since these over-time trends are based on different sets of Muslim countries, they are not strictly comparable. Nevertheless, constant case analyses verify the basic trend—namely, while religious education and, to a much lesser extent, moral and spiritual education are important components of the intended school curriculum of Muslim countries, the overall prominence of these subjects areas has declined during the 1985-2000 period.

These findings are placed in sharper focus in Table 7.2, which compares patterns in Arab States[4] and in non-Arab Muslim countries. The findings reported in Table 7.2 clearly indicate that religious education has been, and continues to be, an extremely important subject area in the primary and secondary school curriculum of Arab States. Since the 1980s, religious education has been taught in over 85 percent of all Arab countries throughout grades 1-8. In non-Arab Muslim countries, by contrast, religious education was taught less frequently in the 1980s and its prevalence has declined over the past two decades. Differences in relative time allocations to religious education, while smaller, favour Arab countries over non-Arab Muslim countries.

With respect to moral and spiritual education, a different pattern emerges. It is mainly in non-Arab Muslim states where this subject is given greater prominence, not so much in terms of official time allocations, but due to the fact of its being explicitly included in the official curriculum. The greater prevalence of moral education in non-Arab Muslim countries is found in both time periods.

In short, a basic pattern emerges from these analyses. Whereas schools in Arab countries foster the spiritual and moral development of young children almost exclusively through religiously framed subjects, schools in most non-Arab Muslim countries tend to transmit value-laden contents via two subject areas: moral education as well as religious education. The importance of moral education as an explicit component of official curricular policy in the latter group overlaps with the emphasis given this subject in most Asian (non-Muslim) countries. Finally, there is evidence that, at least in some Muslim countries, the relative place of religious and moral education in the official school curriculum has become less salient over time.

Table 7.2: Religious and moral education in the school curricula of Arab States and non-Arab States belonging to the OIC, 1985 and 2000

Religious and moral education	1985 Grades 1-3		Grades 4-6		Grades 7-8	
	Arab States	Non-Arab States	Arab States	Non-Arab States	Arab States	Non-Arab States
Number of OIC countries with official curricular information	14	11	14	11	14	15
Proportion of countries that teach:						
Religious education	86	45	93	55	86	60
Moral education	14	45	14	55	14	33
Of countries that teach the subject, mean percentage of total curricular time devoted to:						
Religious education	14	8	12	8	10	5
Range	5-33	2-15	2-32	4-13	3-24	3-9
Moral education	6	5	4	4	n/a	4
Range	5-7	2-8	3-6	1-10		1-8

Religious and moral education	2000 Grades 1-3		Grades 4-6		Grades 7-8	
	Arab States	Non-Arab States	Arab States	Non-Arab States	Arab States	Non-Arab States
Number of OIC countries with official curricular information	19	24	19	24	18	20
Proportion of countries that teach:						
Religious education	89	33	89	38	94	40
Moral education	11	33	11	38	11	15
Of countries that teach the subject, mean percentage of total curricular time devoted to:						
Religious education	13	8	10	8	7	7
Range	6-27	3-17	4-16	3-15	3-14	3-11
Moral education	2	2	1	2	2	4
Range	1-3	1-6	1-2	1-6	2-3	3-5

Based on: IBE-UNESCO (2005a).

How different are Muslim and western countries with respect to the official religious component of school curriculum? In terms of the combined time devoted to religious and moral education, the answer is not much. In both periods, circa 1985 and 2000, countries in the OIC group and those in North America and Western Europe (NAWE)[5] allocated very similar amounts of time to these subject areas, with the former allocating, on average, 1 percent more time than the latter (IBE-UNESCO 2005a).

Since 1985 countries in both groups *decreased*, on average, allotted time to religious and moral education—0.6 percent for OIC and 0.8 percent for NAWE. The 'extreme' cases also became more similar: in 1985, the country with the greatest amount of allotted time to religious and moral education in the OIC group was Saudi Arabia (30 percent); in NAWE, it was Luxembourg (18 percent). In 2000, Afghanistan was the OIC country with the largest time allocation to religious and moral education (20 percent) and Israel was the largest in the NAWE group (18 percent). However, to reiterate, official time given to religious and moral education indicates little of the content, much less the quality, of classroom teaching and subsequent student learning.

Conclusion

Schools can consolidate what children learn outside school, but the significance of parenting, the mass media and influential religious, cultural and social organizations should not be underestimated. The whole school, by and large, is geared to nurture the child's spiritual and moral development, with the school curriculum given the overt challenge. Although this aspect of a children's development is largely attributed to religious education, it surely does not have a monopoly.

Schools also play significant roles in the development of responsible and efficacious global citizens. The challenges for religious and moral education are many, especially in a pluralistic, inclusive world. In Muslim and non-Muslim societies alike, it is exceedingly difficult to assess the impacts of religious and moral education on normative or non-normative behavior, even more so on the basis of intended time allocated to religious and moral education in school curricula.

With this in mind, a few things are clear: like most developing countries, Muslim countries face difficult economic and human development challenges; most OIC countries show dismal literacy rates and low school enrolments; Islamic education *per se* and religious education taught in schools for Muslims are not the same; the nature of religion and religious education are interpreted differently by different sects in Islam; most values explicit (or implicit) in Islamic teachings are similar to the values prized in the modern world, but their interpretation, in terms of content and teaching methods, deserve further study; contemporary *madrasahs* cater to the educational needs of the poor and, as such, offer a quality of schooling that has much in common to other public schools catering to poorer social strata; during and after colonization most sectors of Muslim societies underwent 'Islamization'; in some cases Islamization was used as a tool to cling to political power (Zia 2003b); finally, modernity is prized by Muslim

countries, but Muslims tend to be sceptical about western modernity, and consequently secularism as a main characteristic of modernity (Kassim 2005).

Official curricular data shows considerable similarities in the relative emphasis given religious and moral education in both Muslim and western countries. In addition, this emphasis is declining in both groups of countries. In Muslim countries religious (Islamic) education is taught rather than spiritual or moral education—in other words, schools teach *through* and *for* religion, rather than *about* religion. Among Arab States, both Muslim and non-Muslim, where the subject of religious education is widely offered, but little understood, there is an acute need to identify contextual conditions beyond differences of religion. Given the impact of past colonization, it is not unreasonable to expect that religious fervour may move beyond the confines of various religious groups to mass nationalistic movements. Domination, whether forceful or subtle, accentuates issues of religious or cultural identity.

Suffice it here to add that even though religion might be taught differently in schools in Muslim countries, perhaps the impact of religious schooling in Muslim countries is 'overstated' (generally poor enrolment in formal schooling, while a large populace remains out of formal schools; *madrasah* education even if considered dubious is very small; religious education is not an unusually overwhelming part of the curriculum; and, time allocation for the same has been on decline since the past two decades). More attention needs to be given to other in-school factors like the content of religious education and teaching methods.

Undoubtedly, the transmission of values in a culturally and religiously diverse world is a formidable challenge for schools. Producing global citizens when outside contextual realities often offset the abstract (or concrete) school-based moral and spiritual learning is a real dilemma. It clearly deserves further scrutiny since it concerns both educational stakeholders and wider communities. Future discussions should draw upon insights from attitudinal surveys of children in and out of school, as well as the relative impacts of different time allocations to religious education or moral education.

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Notes

1. For more information on the OIC see: www.oic-oci.org
2. The first sections of this chapter draw upon another work of the author: Globalization, Modernization and Education in Muslim Countries (Zia 2006).
3. The 57 members of the OIC include: [Arab States] Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen; [Non-Arab States] Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Benin, Brunei-Darussalam, Burkina-Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrghyz Republic, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Suriname, Tajikistan, Togo, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Uzbekistan.
4. Grouping of Arab States was based on EFA regions; see UNESCO GMR 2005.
5. The NAWE Countries are: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lichtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK and USA.

8

World Models of Secondary Education, 1960-2000[1]

David H. Kamens and Aaron Benavot

Introduction

Over the course of twentieth century several world models for organizing secondary education emerged and spread beyond Europe and North America to newly independent nation-states (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996). During this period elite classical education programs in secondary education were practically eliminated, except in a small group of European countries. In their place two models of academic secondary education emerged and diffused across the world. Throughout those areas where classical programs were dominant, e.g., Western Europe and their colonies, new multi-track systems of secondary education emerged. At the time Sweden was perhaps the most extreme exemplar of this trend, offering over seven programs of study in secondary education. In the Americas and other regions, political leaders adopted 'American style' comprehensive secondary programs to deal with the demands of expanded secondary schooling. In these academic programs all students receive relatively similar curricular offerings, with similar amounts of time devoted to subjects offered.

The evidence we amassed from 1920 to 1980 also showed that these academic program offerings were distinctive in their substantive content. Science programs (or tracks), for instance, had approximately twice as many required mathematics and science courses than do humanities tracks and comprehensive programs. Humanities and modern language tracks also differed substantially from comprehensive programs in the amount of time devoted to the curricular domains of language and literature and in the number of such courses that are required for completion of the program. Thus program and track labels referenced real differences in content and in time allotted to particular subjects.

Our previous cross-national research of the changing structure of secondary education observed trends until the early 1980s. Since that period a number of changes have occurred across a wide variety of countries, which have altered the character of lower and upper secondary education. First, primary education has expanded rapidly in

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virtually all countries, fuelled partly by intense concern and funding by multilateral organizations (UNESCO, World Bank) and bilateral aid agencies (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990; EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005). The expansion of primary education has produced strong demands on nation states to expand secondary education as well as post-secondary institutions. Mass schooling in many countries now extends to (lower) secondary education and enrolment pressures continue to grow as more and more students participate in formal schooling.

Second, a variety of previously available forms of secondary education have declined in number or been almost totally eclipsed. Benavot (2004) shows that teacher-training institutions at the secondary level are becoming extinct in most countries as teaching undergoes 'professionalization' and their training is pushed into post secondary institutions. Third, many specialized secondary level institutions have been eliminated. Schools which served as training institutions for religious teachers and leaders, for example, have declined in much of the world, except the Middle East; specialized institutions belonging to the vocational-technological sector have also disappeared, though not as sharply as teacher training and religious oriented schools. The continuing interest in vocational education and training reflects, in part, ongoing international debates over the value of such education in rapidly shifting economies. Fourth, while the structure and composition of secondary schooling have changed, one aspect remains fairly static—namely, the required subject domains in the secondary curriculum (Benavot 2004). Thus, the recently published World Bank report on secondary education concluded that the secondary education curriculum is 'unbearably irrelevant' to modern youth and national economies (World Bank 2005a: 77). The report notes, however, the growth in required curricular courses and the incredible varieties of course sequences available to secondary students along with the vast array of choices and options. In short, there is the quandary of curriculum 'overload' and choice. While modern education systems tend to postpone occupational specialization until after the secondary tier, the latter has become a 'shopping mall' of choices to fit a diverse set of student preferences. It is important to note that these changes are to be found in all world regions.

Overall, then, world 'discourse' and models of secondary education have shifted dramatically in the past thirty years. As Schofer and Meyer (2005) argue, the dominant model of education nowadays comprises a core societal institution for building a scientized, democratized society around cultural diversity and human rights. Education is expected to build and people this 'new model of society' with the 'new citizen.' Indeed, this shifting cultural frame has produced a major sea change in education—a 'world event': since the 1960s tertiary education has expanded at an unprecedented pace across all world regions. Schofer and Meyer argue that the change in cultural frames behind this explosion of higher education has also propelled the expansion and re-design of secondary education. Upper secondary has been 'massified' and is no longer an elite, educational sector. In turn, educational institutions have been assigned more variegated purposes than simply 'tracking' people into occupational slots and providing person-power for the new economy (e.g. see Australia's impressive list of

goals in the report submitted to IBE at the 2001 International Conference on Education of UNESCO—National Reports on the Development of Education 2001). 'Students' in this world model are also culturally transformed. They are empowered actors who have to be given more subject choices in line with their interests, inclinations and tastes. This view produces a number of seemingly contradictory demands on students: they are expected to know more subjects better, i.e., curriculum 'overload' (see World Bank Report 2005a), and perform better on international tests; but they are also expected to be given more instructional choices that are relevant to their individual interests. Curriculum options have thus expanded (see Benavot 2004). With greater socio-demographic diversity in secondary schools, relevance is more important to produce students who will participate in their own, and others', education. Students, for example, are expected not just to learn science, but also to 'do science' as participants. In contemporary ideology, 'scientized' societies require 'citizen scientists' who appreciate and have some understanding of the scientific method (and won't confuse 'creationism' with science).

The organizational implications of this world model are clear. Schools are expected to be more flexible institutions, to be more socially inclusive, and to offer students more choices relevant to the future society of which they will be members. All students are expected to benefit from more education at all levels, i.e. 'Education for All', and from higher quality education (see EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005). Older forms of education that 'tracked' students into elite vs. non-elite careers are less legitimate in this view and give way to newer more inclusive forms. Ideologies that envision the world as a 'knowledge society' view older forms of schooling less relevant and even counter-productive. For example, in our earlier study (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996), it appeared that many Asian political elites chose tracked systems for upper secondary on the grounds of efficiency and achievement. Grouping students who were good in science and mathematics seemed to be a much more efficient way to produce engineers and scientists than less selective comprehensive systems. World ideology on these matters has changed. These views seem hopelessly limited now and at the same time to be a debilitating perspective on schooling in the modern world. Instead, versions of the 'knowledge society' imagine that everyone now needs to know science and mathematics at quite high levels. The resulting ferment in terms of changing forms of secondary education has occurred in Asia and elsewhere.

These changes are part of the new cultural discourse about education. And as some have recently observed (chapter by Goodson; Novoa and Sandin 2005), this new discourse is part of a global social movement affecting all national education systems. Indeed, as Goodson notes (p. 212), "national school systems are *refractors* of world change forces." National systems embed these discourses in historically grounded systems and adapt them to their contexts. This produces both some inertia and resistance to change, particularly among those most able to mount resistance: older, wealthy countries. But in the process it may also result in systems that are organizationally different in *form* but are at the same time very similar in the extent to which they are organized around individual choice and 'consumer' preference. Western

Europe, for example, is the home of highly differentiated secondary systems that emerged out of elitist structures. France and the USA were the pioneers of comprehensive systems with relatively low formal differentiation. Both, however, seem to have progressed in the same direction of offering more choice to similarly diverse student populations, but by different means. The German system, for instance, has added a variety of formally differentiated programs and the American system has introduced a bewildering variety of course sequences and options within the comprehensive system. Hence, a similar 'grammar of schooling' can have quite different organizational manifestations in different national contexts (see Novoa and Sandin 2005, for a different interpretation).

Furthermore, these changes are fuelled by the fact that educators in any given country are now linked to one another by dense networks of professional associations. Hence the boundary between professional educators in any given country and 'outsiders' is constantly getting blurred (see chapter by Goodson). From this perspective 'external' pressures for change are readily transformed into 'indigenous' ones via the filtering process that these embedded networks make possible. And since political and business elites are often part of this global 'conversation', both internally and via their own international networks, the line between 'internal' and 'external' demands for change is increasingly blurred. The transnational embeddedness of professionals and other elites also means that there is likely to be strong normative support for changes in line with world models within these linked professional networks. This trend of establishing global networks of professionals started after World War I with the establishment of the International Bureau of Education in 1925 and the International Examination Inquiry in 1930. Novoa and Sandin (2005: 8) note that this impulse came from a desire to understand the 'other', 'other' powers and 'other' countries: To build a 'new world' meant, first of all, to educate a 'new man', which implied a 'new school'.

This discussion suggests that inertia may well be present in attachment to the organizational *forms* that secondary education has taken historically (see Stinchcombe 1965; also Goodson 1985). But the *forms* themselves may be readily adapted to the new *purposes* inherent in the global educational discourse and social movement. Hence, the distinctions that were relevant in the 1980s between comprehensive and differentiated programs of secondary education may be less valid now as an indicator of the degree of *choice* students are offered than they were in the past.

A further implication: the causal dynamics for choosing particular organizational forms of secondary education may be quite distinct from the content and degree of choice that these forms encompass. The distinction between institutional tracking and instructional tracking is relevant here. High levels of formal institutional tracking do not necessarily imply that there is more variation in instructional tracking within the system than in less formally tracked systems. Benavot (2004), for example, shows that newly freed Eastern European countries have almost uniformly changed their secondary systems from highly differentiated 'tracks', emulating the German and Soviet models, to a less differentiated, 'comprehensive', single track system. This may

signal a rejection of an older, imposed model in line with a new national identity as a newly sovereign nation. The form is rejected along with its implied 'elitism' and traditional view of schooling as a form of 'man-power planning' agent. Within the newly established 'comprehensive' secondary schools, however, there may be considerable differentiation between course sequences and also between schools (see Astiz, Wiseman and Baker 2002; Benavot and Resh 2003). Similar changes have occurred elsewhere, as we show below, and we believe similar dynamics are at work.

Hypotheses

These arguments suggest two hypotheses about which countries will select different forms of upper secondary education system: comprehensive vs. highly tracked systems.

> *Hypothesis 1*: Older, wealthy countries will retain a multi-tracked system
> of upper secondary education and poorer countries will move over time
> toward a comprehensive system.

Studies of organizations have noted several important phenomena concerning organizations that are relevant to our discussion here. A common finding is that organizational age is linked to both successes (sometimes measured in terms of organizational survival vs. death) and to organizational inertia. The latter refers to the ability, or lack thereof, to change. Organizations that have been successful often see no need to change and therefore build into their structures a variety of technologies, occupational groups, etc. that resist large-scale change. Discussions of European education systems often invoke similar kinds of reasoning to explain their resistance to change; for example, new subjects like social studies in England, or new technology, such as new ways of teaching science (see Goodson 1987b; Layton 1973; Kliebard 1992). This is a point at which internal players such as professional groups become consequential in determining the forms that education will take. These arguments imply the same inertia will attach to organizational forms of education, which will in turn lead political elites to resist changing what are viewed as successful educational organizations.

Wealthy countries can retain tracked systems of secondary education and still accommodate popular pressures for expanded education and opportunity in two, mutually compatible ways: Firstly, they can expand the number of tracks to accommodate a wider variety of aspirations, career choices and abilities. This appeared to be taking place in the 1980s. Secondly, wealthy countries can also expand the number of elective courses from which students can choose and reduce the number of required courses that they must take to get a degree. European countries also appear to be applying this policy option (Benavot 2004).

An alternative way of dealing with the problem of costs is to reduce the amount of specialization available in upper secondary but to refrain from eliminating distinctive academic programs altogether. This compromise still keeps the older *forms of*

schooling but avoids the expense of maintaining large numbers of specialized tracks to match student interests, abilities and career choices.

The second argument about the choice of organizational form suggests that:

> *Hypothesis 2*: Poorer countries that started with a tracked system after independence will move to reduce the number of tracks.

With less affluence and less embedded local elites they are freer to change organizational forms and to reject older models. The non-traditional forms may be more in keeping with their self-presentation as modern (and modernizing) polities and it may also to appeal to their nationalist, communitarian sensibilities as 'imagined communities' (see Anderson 1983).

A second major change that has occurred since the 1980s, when our original study ended, is that successive waves of democratization occurred in the 1980s and 1990s (see Markoff 1996). The transition from authoritarian or totalitarian regimes to some form of democracy raises a series of problems that are directly linked to the goals that education is mandated to pursue in connection with building the nation as a community of fate—for example, Anderson's (1983) well-known metaphor of the 'imagined community' (see also Fiala and Gordon 1987). A crucial social issue in the contexts of newly minted democratic regimes is that of producing democratic citizens (on the USA, see Tyack 1966). In Eastern Europe, for example, doing civic education to produce students (and teachers) who value and understand democracy is viewed as a crucial educational goal. This change has given a tremendous boost to the subject of 'civics' and civic education and is one of the reasons for the widespread adoption of social studies as a curricular subject in lieu of history and geography (Wong 1991). The perceived urgency of civic education is also characteristic of many developing countries, such that education for 'citizenship' has become a major goal specified in official statements concerning national education systems in the twenty-first century (Amadio et al. 2005). This goal has come to super cede even that of training students for 'economic development' in poor countries.

For a variety of reasons comprehensive educational forms are likely to be viewed by reigning political elites as more capable of accomplishing this task and achieving this goal. Tracked secondary systems have the stigma of elitism and a long history of advantageously benefiting social and political elites. Their origins are in elite systems of education and they were characteristic of societies in which secondary educational enrolments were kept small by a variety of elitist educational strategies such as early testing. Whatever their merits in promoting efficiency and achievement, tracked systems have not been bastions of ideological equality or equal opportunity for all citizens historically. The ideology and structure of comprehensive secondary education is by contrast overtly democratic. These forms offer a similar curriculum for all students with heavy doses of civics and social studies (see Wong 1991). By deferring specialization until the later years of secondary or tertiary education their focus is on producing citizens with a common culture and political values heavily imbued with an

ideology of equality. These features of comprehensive education imply that they are a likely choice for political elites in newly democratic countries. In the contemporary world, for example, Eastern European countries have been very quick to adopt comprehensive upper secondary education and to discard the older multi-tracked systems that were operative in the days of Soviet domination.

As we suggested earlier, comprehensive forms are also likely to be preferred by parents and students because these are more inherently egalitarian. By pushing subject and career specialization further on in the educational sequence they mitigate some of the advantage that families with high levels of education have in giving advantage to their children. They are likely to be perceived as offering a route to 'contest mobility' systems (Turner 1960) that are inherently fairer and less dependent on family background for success. This argument suggests a fourth hypothesis.

> *Hypothesis 3*: Countries that developed democratic political regimes in the 1980s and 1990s will opt for comprehensive upper secondary systems or retain them if they started with them. Countries that started with tracked systems and then adopted democratic forms will drop them and adopt comprehensive forms.

A third change that has occurred in the world polity since the 1970s is the decline of American hegemony. While the USA is still the world's super power militarily, the world polity is now economically and culturally more multi-polar. Vietnam, Afghanistan, Chechnya and now Iraq have shown the weakness of hegemonic powers. Japan has emerged as an economic super power and China is on the verge of becoming the dominant power in Asia.

With economic, political and cultural globalization as the backdrop, this change towards a more multi-polar world means that flows of cultural forms such as education systems may be more multi-focal and not only unidirectional exchanges between the super powers and their client nation-states. Small Sweden, for example, represents the high form of how to administrate social welfare. Likewise, Uganda appears to be the model of how to address the HIV & AIDS epidemic.

In education the USA has been the major model, and exporter, of comprehensive secondary education, throughout the American hemisphere and more generally. We would ask whether the aforementioned decline in America's hegemonic status has dampened the adoption of comprehensive education among poorer countries since the 1980s. The research background behind this quest is as follows (see Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996). During the immediate post WWII period, comprehensive secondary programs witnessed a high rate of adoption. In the following period, 1970-1985, science tracks, and to a lesser extent, humanities/arts programs were more apt to be adopted by policy elites as the primary educational choices. The latter period roughly parallels the relative decline in American economic and cultural hegemony.

While policy choices regarding the *educational form* to adopt are strongly affected by the previous type of secondary education program(s) that the country or

metropolis, in the case of colonies, had in place, there is much room for change over time. For example, there is evidence of countries making wholesale changes in their secondary education systems; for example Eastern Europe went from a highly tracked system to a comprehensive one. Furthermore, there are also cases of countries switching their systems back to highly tracked ones, after having experimented for a decade or more with comprehensive style programs. Uruguay, for example, started with a comprehensive curriculum in the 1950s and switched to a four-track system in the 1980s, which it retained in 2000, reduced by one track. In short, the evidence suggests that countries experiment over 30 year cycles with different educational models. Nonetheless, the choices countries make depend on the available world models for organizing secondary education. Furthermore, politically or economically success-ful countries are likely to find their models of education being widely emulated. This argument suggests the following hypothesis.

> *Hypothesis 4*: The decline of American hegemony after the 1970s slowed
> the adoption of comprehensive forms among poor countries in favor of
> tracked systems of secondary education.

Data and methods

The data for this study come from UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE) and were collected and coded by a team led by Benavot and Amadio. The data cover three periods (1950s-1960s, 1980s and 2000s) and over 100 countries. Information on secondary education tracks in the academic sector were culled from national reports countries filed with IBE, usually in conjunction with the International Conference on Education, or from country-specific curricular timetables sent to the IBE. Although the vocational sector of secondary education often includes multiple tracks and timetables, this study focused exclusively on tracks in the academic sector—i.e., those enabling graduates to continue to post-secondary institutions of higher education, some of which are technologically oriented.

The main aim of this paper is to examine the extent of change (or stability) in *institutional tracking* in academic secondary education during the 1980 to 2000 period, and the factors affecting this process. In particular we analyze the number of distinctive academic tracks per country and classify upper secondary education systems as either comprehensive (1 track) vs. multi-tracked systems (2+ tracks). Previous research (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996) established that the subject content (i.e., required subject domains) and the time allocation per subject domain varied fairly systematically by track type. Therefore, analyzing education systems according to the number or type of institutional tracks means that substantively different curricular systems are involved. Future analyses will re-examine whether there have been any systematic changes in the subject contents of different tracks for the 1980 and 2000 periods.

There are several issues this study does not (and cannot) address. We do not examine *instructional tracking*, i.e., actual course offerings and how they are sequenced in different systems or the actual enrolments in these different sequences. Nor, as previously noted, do we deal with institutional tracks belonging to the vocational education and training sector. The organization of vocational schools, or specific vocational tracks, while important, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Apart from track type there are other ways in which upper secondary education systems differ. Some countries make no distinction between lower and upper secondary education; increasingly most do. The length (in years) of upper secondary education also varies. In the contemporary period, the shortest upper secondary cycle is 1 year and the longest 5 years. The majority of countries have cycles that last 2 to 4 years. Little is known how these system features affect institutional tracking or curricular offerings. Some preliminary evidence (Benavot 2004) indicates that the one-year upper secondary systems are 'outliers' in terms of subject time allocation. Multiple year systems appear to be more similar in terms of subject content and time allocations per subject. Given existing data limitations, this paper presents results aggregated over different secondary cycles. In the future, we shall probe these differences to see if different cycles are linked to distinctive track types and curricular offerings.

The results section below first describes changes in the prevalence of single- vs. multi-track secondary education systems over time for more than 100 countries. It then provides additional details for the 1980 to 2000 period and examines various economic, social and political covariates (e.g., per capita income, world region, democratization) hypothesized to be responsible for over time shifts.

For multi-tracked systems we consider arguments concerning the addition or reduction of tracks in the secondary system using detailed data on the number of tracks at each time point. We employ multivariate analyses (i.e., quantitative panel models using data for the 1980-2000 period) to examine previously outlined theoretical arguments. Overall we investigate selected ecological and social correlates of different secondary systems. To examine the argument regarding USA hegemony we look at the influence of regional proximity to the USA in both periods, that is, spheres of influence effects. We think that such countries may be more prone to the effects of cultural hegemony.

The data for the variables employed in the analyses come from a variety of standard sources. Data on country income levels (GDP per capita) come from the World Bank; educational enrolment ratios from UNESCO's Institute of Statistics. Data on structural features of secondary education come from the IBE. The data on democratization come from a variety of sources (Bollen 1980; Gastile 1987; Vanhanen 1990; Hadenius 1992).

Results

The volatility of curricular models and forms

Recent evidence suggests that there has been a global drift towards comprehensive tracks in academic secondary education (Benavot 2004). In the 1950-1960 period, about one third of all countries (n=115) had a general or comprehensive academic secondary program and in the 1980s, this percentage had increased slightly to 35 percent (n=132). During the next two decades there was a significant increase in the number of comprehensive/general programs and by the turn of the century they comprised about one half of all upper secondary systems (n=163). Interestingly, this worldwide drift towards comprehensive systems concealed considerable regional variation. For example, in the most recent period, over two-thirds of countries in Asia and Eastern Europe have a general or comprehensive secondary program (73 percent and 68 percent, respectively), whereas almost all countries in the Middle East and North Africa (95 percent) have a multi-track system. In other regions the proportion of single-track systems was close to the global average (50 percent).

More importantly, the apparent transition to less-differentiated secondary education systems hides a considerable degree of volatility over the three time periods under study. Table 8.1 examines changes over time in upper secondary track structures: the upper part of the table for the 1950 to 1980 period and the lower part for the 1980 to 2000 period. During the earlier period the major movement is towards more heavily tracked systems of secondary education. Of the countries that began the period with a general or comprehensive system, half (51 percent) ended the period with systems containing two or more tracks. Of the countries that started off with 2 or more tracks, a quarter (24 percent) ended the period with a single-track system. In the 1980 to 2000 period there is likewise a good deal of turbulence. About 40 percent of the countries that started with single-track systems moved to adopt multi-track systems by the 2000s. But a similar percent of countries (42 percent) chose to move in the other direction: from multi-track secondary programs to a single-track system.

This volatility in track types indicates that many secondary education systems have been seriously transformed over the period under study. In many cases, such changes in the structure of curricular programs are possible because they are relatively easy and cheap to adopt. Nations can use the same buildings, teachers and other personnel for any one of these types of educational programs without having to make huge investments following a major reform from one type of curricular system to another. While we do not wish to underplay the administrative and pedagogical difficulties such reforms entail, most of the costs are administrative (e.g., personnel salaries). Furthermore, some costs may be externalized by shifting them to students' families or to communities.

Table 8.1: Historical volatility in the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary school systems

A. Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary education systems changed or remained stable between the 1950s and the 1980s*

		1980s		
		Single track	Multiple tracks	Totals
1950s-	Single track	49%	51%	100 (33)
1960s	Multiple tracks	24	76	100 (78)
	Overall	*32*	*68*	*100 (111)*

* Number of countries in parentheses

B. Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary education systems changed or remained stable between the 1980s and the 2000s*

		2000s		
		Single track	Multiple tracks	Totals
1980s	Single track	61%	39%	100 (36)
	Multiple tracks	42	58	100 (81)
	Overall	*48*	*52*	*100 (117)*

* Number of countries in parentheses

We suggested that countries might deal with the challenge of increased demand for secondary education by enlarging the number of curricular tracks, and hence tailoring the education system to a wider range of student interests and abilities. Support for this idea comes from data on the means and standard deviations of the number of curricular tracks per country over this period. While the means do not change much over the period (2.34; 2.44; 2.29), the standard deviations show consistent growth (1.29; 1.54; 1.85) over the three time periods. This pattern suggests that some subsets of countries are adapting to the challenge of pupil diversity by expanding formal curricular programs. In the next section we examine potentially influential correlates of secondary track volatility, and concentrate solely on the most recent period, 1980-2000.

Income, educational expansion and volatility

Much of the volatility in track types occurs in the developing world. By classifying countries by income level, Table 8.2 shows that the secondary track systems of upper

income countries are more stable between 1980 and 2000 than countries belonging to lower income levels: almost 90 percent of the richer countries with single track systems remained stable over the 20 year period; 60 percent of those with multiple secondary tracks continued to offer multi-track systems. Among countries at lower income levels, there was considerably more volatility, especially among countries that began the period with single-track systems. Some 40-50 percent of the countries in the low and middle-income categories moved from a single-track system to a multi-track system between 1980 and 2000.

Table 8.2: Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary education systems changed or remained stable between the 1980s and the 2000s, by income level*

Level of per capita RGDP	1980s	2000s Single track	Multiple tracks	Totals
Low income	Single track	60%	40%	100 (10)
	Multiple tracks	53	47	100 (19)
	Overall	*55*	*45*	*100 (29)*
Lower Middle income	Single track	50%	50%	100 (12)
	Multiple tracks	33	67	100 (12)
	Overall	*42*	*58*	*100 (24)*
Upper middle income	Single track	50%	50%	100 (6)
	Multiple tracks	42	58	100 (19)
	Overall	*44*	*56*	*100 (25)*
Upper income	Single track	88%	12%	100 (8)
	Multiple tracks	39	61	100 (31)
	Overall	*49*	*51*	*100 (39)*

* Number of countries in parentheses.

Earlier it was noted that countries experiencing sustained growth in secondary enrolments may seek to enlarge the number of track offerings to partially address the growing heterogeneity in pupil interests. In this case, one would expect to find a relationship between the level of secondary education expansion and changes in track types. The evidence presented in Table 8.3 provides no support for this argument. Indeed, countries with the most expanded secondary school systems are less likely to move from single-track to multi-track systems during the 1980 to 2000 period.

The bi-variate findings presented in this section parallel those of our earlier work (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996). Levels of economic development and secondary school expansion have little influence on changes in academic secondary track systems. In relation to hypotheses 1 and 2, it is not the case that high-income countries retain multi-track systems to a greater extent than low-income countries. And, it is not the case that low- or middle-income countries move to adopt single-track systems. Much of the changes in track type appear to be fuelled by the discourse and ideologies about education that are current in the world polity. Perhaps more importantly, each type of secondary education is capable of providing the diversity of subjects, course sequences, academic programs and options that families in the modern world expect and nations believe they should supply.

Table 8.3: Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary systems changed or remained stable between the 1980s and the 2000s, by gross secondary enrolment rate*

Level of Secondary Education	1980s	2000s Single track	Multiple tracks	Totals
Low secondary enrolment ratio	Single track	57%	43%	100 (14)
	Multiple tracks	40	60	100 (20)
	Overall	*47*	*53*	*100 (34)*
Medium secondary enrolment ratio	Single track	50%	50%	100 (14)
	Multiple tracks	41	59	100 (32)
	Overall	*44*	*56*	*100 (46)*
High secondary enrolment ratio	Single track	88%	12%	100 (8)
	Multiple tracks	42	58	100 (24)
	Overall	*53*	*47*	*100 (32)*

* Number of countries in parentheses.

The liability of newness: Country age and volatility

Thus far, findings from cross-national research provide little support for the argument developed in hypotheses 1 and 2. Organizational arguments often invoke an idea relevant here and that is the importance of organizational age, and the 'imprinting' of organizational models and culture that sheer longevity (and success) produces (e.g., Stinchcombe 1965). This idea suggests that countries with older education systems that have more entrenched educational and professional elites will exhibit more stability of organizational form (e.g., Goodson 1994; 1987b; Holmes and McLean 1989; Kliebard

1987; 1992). They have had the time to develop traditions and ideological rationales that are likely to be widely accepted among political and social elites.

   We examine this possibility by grouping countries according to the period in which they became independent and note track stability or change between 1980 and 2000. Table 8.4 shows the patterns of curricular change for countries in three categories: those who became independent before 1933; those that became independent between 1934 and 1969; and those that achieved independence after 1970. The surprise here is that there is greater track volatility among older, more established countries than among recently independent countries. In fact, the single-track or multi-track systems of over two-thirds of the newly independent countries remained stable between 1980 and 2000. Reforms to secondary education track offerings were more noticeable among older countries (independent before 1933) and, to a lesser extent, among those that became independent between 1934 and 1969.

Table 8.4: Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary education systems changed between the 1980s and the 2000s, by country's period of independence*

Period of Independence	1980s	2000s		Totals
		Single track	Multiple tracks	
1700-1933	Single track	50%	50%	100 (18)
	Multiple tracks	46	54	100 (35)
	Overall	*47*	*53*	*100 (53)*
1934-1969	Single track	73%	27%	100 (15)
	Multiple tracks	43	57	100 (35)
	Overall	*52*	*48*	*100 (50)*
After 1970	Single track	67%	33%	100 (3)
	Multiple tracks	27	73	100 (11)
	Overall	*36*	*64*	*100 (14)*

* Number of countries in parentheses.

   Age and tradition appear to be weak deterrents to the kind of structural change we are examining. This presents something of a surprise because a sizable literature about curricular organization presumes that internal elites have considerable influence in protecting their monopolies of knowledge and their niches in the education system. And, to the extent these groups are well established and represent venerable traditions of education in their respective countries, their influence on curricular structures should then be especially pronounced. Apparently the ongoing development and expansion of secondary education operate as a powerful counter pressure to the influence of

entrenched professional groups, whose ideologies may appear to be undemocratic and educationally elitist in the modern world. Furthermore, as education systems become more decentralized in structure, a variety of local elites become empowered and can affect both the official curriculum and the implemented curriculum in unintended ways (see Benavot and Resh 2003).

The influence of American hegemony

The world drift to overarching general curricular frameworks suggests that the comprehensive model pioneered by the USA is alive and well despite the decline of the USA's political, economic and cultural hegemony. This suggests that the model has become independent of its originator(s) and no longer presumed to be connected to a particular nation in world culture. Comprehensive models of secondary education, as well as a limited number of multi-tracked models, are widely available. Furthermore, over time formerly selective multi-track systems have evolved into mass secondary education systems and have apparently overcome some of the traditional stigma of elitism associated with them. Some countries have done so by increasing the number of curricular choices offered and widening the number of available electives to students.

One window from which to look into this issue is the Latin American and Caribbean region. Traditionally comprehensive programs were widespread in this area of the world (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996). In 1980, 46 percent of the 28 countries in this region had comprehensive systems of upper secondary education. Declines in American hegemony ought to be registered among these countries with respect to their educational choices between 1980 and 2000. Alongside diminished hegemony more cultural (educational) choices should become available as other models of doing secondary education gain plausibility. One consequence should be considerable movement to other types of curricular structures.

The first part of table 8.5 shows that the volatility in track type in Latin America and the Caribbean is relatively high between 1980 and 2000. While overall there is a slight gain in favor of single-track systems in this region (from 46 percent to 50 percent), fully 40 percent of the countries that had a single-track system moved to a multi-track system, and 43 percent that started with a multi-track system changed to a single-track one in 2000.

The high volatility in this area, one that has always been considered an American sphere of influence, suggests that world models for organizing secondary education are penetrating all regions and providing viable alternatives. In addition, the evidence indicates that the legitimacy of comprehensive type models of secondary education is now high and independent of their association with the USA and its world power.

Democracy, development and curricular change

We suggested that societies experiencing rapid democratization would perceive general and comprehensive systems as more egalitarian than multi-track systems and thus an

important means of transforming students into democratic citizens. We examine this possibility, in addition to the arguments discussed above, in a set of multivariate panel regression analyses looking at the factors affecting curricular change between 1980 and 2000. In contrast to previous analyses the dependent variable is the *number* of tracks in the secondary system in 2000. Specifically, we examine the impact of democratization as it was in 1980 using three standard measures of democracy. As additional

Table 8.5: Percentage of countries in which the prevalence of single or multiple track secondary education systems changed or remained stable between the 1980s and the 2000s, by world region*

Region	1980s	2000s Single track	Multiple tracks	Totals
Latin America &	Single track	60%	40%	100 (10)
Caribbean	Multiple tracks	43	57	100 (14)
	Overall	*50*	*50*	*100 (24)*
Sub-Saharan Africa	Single track	57	43	100 (14)
	Multiple tracks	33	67	100 (12)
	Overall	*46*	*54*	*100 (26)*
Asia	Single track	100	0	100 (3)
(except Japan)	Multiple tracks	75	25	100 (16)
	Overall	*79*	*21*	*100 (19)*
Middle East/	Single track	0	100	100 (1)
North Africa	Multiple tracks	6	94	100 (17)
	Overall	*6*	*94*	*100 (18)*
Eastern Europe	Single track	0%	100%	100 (2)
	Multiple tracks	75	25	100 (4)
	Overall	*50*	*50*	*100 (6)*
Western Europe/	Single track	80%	20%	100 (5)
North America/	Multiple tracks	44	56	100 (18)
Australia/				
New Zealand/ Japan				
	Overall	*52*	*48*	*100 (23)*

* Number of countries in parentheses.

independent variables, we include measures for economic development (RGDP/per capita), secondary system expansion (gross enrolment ratio), a regional dummy variable for Eastern European countries and a variable for countries that distinguish between lower and upper secondary education. We also introduce a control variable, which is the number of curricular tracks in 1980.

There are several interesting findings emerging from Table 8.6.[2] First, there is little conclusive evidence (apart from a tendency) that more democratic regimes in 1980 moved towards less tracked secondary systems in 2000. Second, economic development and the size of the secondary school system have strong, statistically significant effects on the number of tracks in 2000. Higher income countries offer more secondary tracks than lower income countries; more expanded secondary systems offer fewer tracks than less expanded systems. Certain European countries exemplify the former effect; others the latter effect. Previous research suggested that this influence has more to do with the history of these education systems than the level of economic development per se.

Third, the distinction between lower and upper secondary education has a modest negative impact on the quantity of tracks, which is independent of enrolment expansion. Finally, as expected, the volatility of track structures between 1980 and 2000 explain why the number of curricular tracks in 1980 has no statistically significant impact on curricular tracks in 2000.

Undoubtedly, these preliminary analyses need further elaboration. We plan to examine the impact of other independent variables as well as more detailed information about changes in the actual track names during the 1980 to 2000 period.

Discussion

We have shown a pattern of great volatility of secondary track worldwide. Countries change organizational forms of secondary education much more readily than expected. The specific reasons they have for doing so are more difficult to determine. IBE country reports give few reasons for specific changes. Argentina (2001), for example, mentions only that the period 1970-1990 was a period of educational stagnation that changed with the advent of democracy. Australia (2001) notes that in the 1990s new reform laws were put in place and justifies these with a lengthy list of goals that education must achieve and subject areas students must be familiar with if Australia is to remain a viable democratic polity in the twenty-first century. This is an obvious area for further research for it could tell us whether countries see 'single track vs. multi-track' forms of secondary education as models that compete in the twenty-first century. If all systems are becoming highly differentiated internally, it may make much less difference whether this is done via formal program differentiation or by providing multiple paths within a single overarching system. Schools can be turned into 'shopping malls' via quite different organizational strategies.

Table 8.6: Regression analyses of democracy and socio-economic development on the number of academic tracks in upper secondary education (circa 2000)

Dependent Variable: Number of distinctive academic secondary tracks circa 2000 [a]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Democracy			
Index of democracy 1980 Vanhanen	.07		
Index of combined political & civil rights 1983 Gastile		-.20	
Index of democracy 1980 Bollen			-.22*
Log gross domestic product (GDP/pc) 1985	.66**	.82**	.80**
Gross secondary enrolment ratio, 1990	-.67**	-.65**	-.61**
Distinction between upper and lower secondary education	-.14	-.16*	-.11
Countries in Eastern European region	-.15*	-.11	-.11
Number of academic secondary tracks circa 1980	.11	.14	.13
Constant	-3.80	-6.39	-5.31
Adjusted R2	.10	.12	.12
Number of Countries	94	95	93

Table notes:
Significance levels: *   Coefficient is 1.5 times its standard error.
                          **   Coefficient is 2.0 times its standard error.
a.   Reported figures are standardized regression coefficients (Beta).

     A second point: national characteristics have limited influence on the choice of the form for secondary education. Richer countries tend to have more tracks but are under increasingly competitive pressure to identify more effective models of secondary education, and tend to reform track structures. The growing demand for secondary education, and reorganization of lower and upper secondary grades, places other

constraints on education systems, many of which become single-track systems. Certain countries, especially the recently independent, are more resistant to change. The breakup of former USSR, and the wave of new nations in Eastern Europe, provided a strong rationale for the rejection of 'disreputable' models associated with outmoded educational ideologies.

Lastly, our measure of organizational form undoubtedly conceals a large amount of variation in patterns of choice that occur within them. In the USA, for example, there is a large amount of variation within schools in course sequences available, and then there is huge variation between schools. The same is true in Latin America. Students learn more in some schools than others and have available more course choices in affluent ones than others (Braslavsky, personal communication). Similarly, European systems have become highly diversified by combining 'tracks', by differentiating more programs within 'tracks' and by adding more program choices. All systems have made more optional courses available. These are issues the current study cannot deal with directly. Future research should focus directly on the issue of the extent of 'curriculum choices' that different models make available. This is one point where the world of academic research intersects with the world of educational policy.

Conclusion

This paper has shown the trend toward choosing comprehensive models of secondary education for organizing upper secondary education. But within this fifty-year trend it has also shown an extraordinary volatility among national education forms over three time periods. National secondary curricular forms fluctuate a great deal, as countries experiment with new ways to handle the demographic and the social challenge of educating larger cohorts of students coming from primary education and entering into secondary. The patterns that we found almost a decade ago have changed so that countries are less bound by the type of education system that they had foisted on them as colonies or client states (see Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996).

On the other hand, one finding is persistent. Country characteristics still appear to have little to do with the curricular choices that nations make. We speculate that there may be increasing diversity both within and between countries over time. First, we suggest that curricular change is relatively inexpensive to effect. Under these conditions school officials can be very accommodating to reigning educational ideologies and fashions in their areas. Furthermore, increasing democratization brings in additional actors (e.g., parents, local officials) whose voices must be heard. Secondly, the trend toward decentralizing education systems (see, e.g. Astiz, Wiseman and Baker 2002; Benavot and Resh 2003) means that there are increased possibilities for diversity within education systems between regions, provinces or states in federal systems and between ethnic communities.

A good deal of that diversity is not captured in our measure of curricular forms. The evidence suggests that both forms of secondary education have become more diversified over time, especially regarding program availability, course sequencing and

optional course offerings. Whether this differentiation adequately addresses the motivations of the new populations entering secondary education remains uncertain. In the USA, the high school 'dropout problem' remains high on policy makers' agenda for reforming education. Elsewhere the relevance of existing program choices is being challenged (World Bank 2005a: 77ff).

In conclusion, while the world may have become a more diverse place educationally, the reigning world models of how to educate children limit this variety. As shown by the work of Meyer (2000), the plausible models are limited by world political culture. The result is that diversity occurs within an increasingly limited field.

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Notes

1.   We are grateful to Massimo Amadio and the IBE staff for their generous assistance and support in collecting the data used in the paper. We would especially like to thank Nhung Truong and Didi Shammas for their able research, bibliographic and statistical assistance. We benefited greatly from the comments of members of the comparative curriculum workshop held at Stanford (March 2005), especially the direction of the late Cecilia Braslavsky.

2.   The relevant correlation matrix is available upon request.

9

Micro-politics and the Examination of Curricular Practices: The Case of School Notebooks

Silvina Gvirtz[1]

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the different ways in which micro-political dynamics affect macro-curricular policies. The first section critically explores several traditional perspectives on the relation between macro- and micro-policies. The second section introduces the notion of curricular regulation and we distinguish two types of instruments that influence the configuration of policies. The third section analyzes, through a specific case, how a micro-political regulation device—the school notebook—brought about changes at the macro-political level. This educational instrument is of considerable interest given that it was employed not only in Argentina, but also in France and Spain, and very likely in other countries. Thus, the school notebook represents an educational device with clear local relevance, which can certainly be used as a valuable source for a comparative study of education. For this purpose, the chapter (a) analyzes its structure in Argentina, (b) discusses the way it was used to dilute the Peronist doctrine; and (c) observes the way it has been used in other parts of the world.

Two sorts of conclusions are put forward in the final section of the chapter. The first concerns the use of the school notebook as a primary source in curricular studies, and the second discusses how this type of instrument can influence the development and design of curricular policies.

Relations between macro- and micro-curricular policies

The complex relationship between educational policies in general and curricular policies in particular at the level of the state, and the effects of these policies in practice, has been a challenge for educational research for some time. Ascertaining the purposes

and intentions of a given policy is, even in itself, quite a difficult task, since policies are the result of negotiations between different agents who participate in the formulation process, and the final product is not necessarily a coherent and unequivocal one. Furthermore, policies are not transmitted and implemented in a vacuum. There are social, institutional and personal circumstances that affect the way in which policies are interpreted by those who (are supposed to) put them into practice.

With these realities in mind, Ball suggests that policies can be seen as texts that 'are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and contexts)' (Ball 2000: 1831). Thus, the effects of a given policy cannot be grasped by simply reading the policy texts. Rather, it is necessary to look at the interpretations that these texts have been given in practice in order to determine the relationship between policy and its effects.

In sum, as there is not a direct relationship between the macro- and micro-political levels, nor a top-down, one-to-one correspondence between these levels, it would be a mistake to attempt to understand curricular macro-policies without considerable insight into the ways by which curricular micro-policies have developed in practice.

Curricular regulation in the macro- and micro-political level

Taking up Ball's point that policies can be seen as texts (Ball 2000), we suggest that the analysis of curricular documents is insufficient to 'read the full text' of a given curricular policy. We wish to introduce the concept of curricular regulation as a type of analysis that includes not only the processes of definition of a given curricular policy and its contents, but also the processes through which this curricular policy is transmitted to the agents who put it into practice, and the processes through which it is enforced. Furthermore, we suggest that the process of curricular regulation can be read through an analysis of what we shall call the instruments of curricular regulation (Gvirtz 2002). These include:

(a) the policy of curricular definition (and general management of the education system), which identifies the tasks of different agents in the decision-making process about the objectives and contents of education;
(b) the curricular documents and materials per se (their internal structure and substantive contents), as a major way of representing the official curricular policy;
(c) the policy of textbook circulation: control over one of the most important means of representing the objectives and contents of education (together with curricular documents);
(d) policies concerning teacher education, certification and in-service training;

(e) the supervision/assessment system of education: the fundamental mechanism in the control/regulation of the relation existing between the proposed official curricular policy and the one actually implemented;

(f) institutional educational projects;

(g) school notebooks and folders;

(h) teaching plans, work projects or other documents prepared by the teacher.

These instruments can be classified into three categories related to three types of discourse:

1. Pedagogical instruments created *outside* the school and *about* the school:
   - This category refers to those instruments that are produced by agencies such as academies, universities and research centers, on educational matters.
   - These might include publications that discuss different subjects such as pedagogical theory, educational policies, and the history of education.

2. Instruments created *outside* the school but *for* the school:
   - These instruments are produced for use by schools and by agencies such as governmental education bodies, publishing companies, among others.
   - They include legislation and norms regulating education (e.g., Federal Education Act, publications on teacher authority, jurisdictional curricula); graded textbooks for students; teaching guides and other texts for the practice of teaching; different materials supporting everyday activities at schools (e.g., illustrations, educational software).

3. Instruments created *within* the school and *for* the school:
   - The reference here is to devices created by school agents (e.g., students, teachers and teaching authorities) and educational institutions as a whole such as the development of school networks.
   - These devices include school notebooks and folders, attendance registers; textbooks, teaching guides, programs, work projects, all documents prepared by teachers, and institutional educational projects.

The principal curricular regulation model in Latin America

Historically, the predominant model for regulating the curriculum in most Latin American countries was based on a highly centralized approach in which the national state monopolized all decisions about the objectives and contents of education, resulting in hyper-regulation at the macro-political level. Since the end of the nineteenth century, curricular documents were designed by the national state and sent directly to schools—or rather to teachers—who had to follow in every single detail the curricular prescriptions of the state. Meanwhile, other agents—for example, provincial

governments, municipalities, schools and teachers themselves—were left out of any meaningful participation in the decisions on what and how to teach.

The first study plans and programs (as curricular documents were called at that time) promoted an encyclopedic culture by emphasizing content related to the provision of information and facts. A large number of highly detailed curricular contents were included. These contents were divided into many areas (usually about 14 assignments at both primary and secondary levels) and organized into a matrix of two variables (discipline and school time), which resulted in greater control and homo-genization of school activities. Furthermore, these curricular documents not only specified the contents that had to be taught, but also prescribed in great detail the amount of time to be spent on each topic and the teaching methods to be used.

Curricular policies and planning of the curriculum did not begin and end with the centralized production of prescriptive study plans and programs. Other instruments of curricular regulation were employed by the central state to guarantee a homogeneous education for every student in Argentina. These instruments included: (a) the control of the circulation of textbooks in schools; (b) the regulation of the teaching profession; and (c) a system of supervision aimed at controlling the implementation of the prescribed curriculum.

In Argentina, textbook policy was centralized in the hands of the national state, which had to approve all texts used in schools. No book could be distributed in a school if it did not have government authorization. For example, between the late nineteenth century and until 1940, the National Council of Education, through its Didactic Commission:

> …prescribed and adopted the most adequate textbooks for public schools, encouraging editing and improvement by means of contests and stimuli in order to ensure its uniform and permanent adoption at reasonable prices for a period of no less than two years (Gvirtz and Beech 2004).[2]

In this way, the national state enforced its control over the contents that were taught in schools, extending its influence to the tiniest details.

This resulted in a model consisting of a high level of regulation at the macro-political level, together with weak regulation at the micro-political level, which was left in the hands of teachers' unions and individual teachers. This system, which came into being at the beginning of the twentieth century, is still functioning in some Latin American countries today. Despite various attempts at decentralization, political strategies continue to be centralized.

This paper analyzes the case of a micro-political instrument in Argentina and seeks to understand its impact on the evolution of macro-level policies. Thus, the aim is to concentrate on the way in which school notebooks functioned in shaping curricular policy. This case has been selected as it illustrates the importance of researching and understanding the micro-political dynamics behind policy design at the macro-level. Moreover, we believe that changes in curriculum, textbooks and educational practices

are bound to fail if they do not consider the dynamics of the school. This analysis is carried out in two parts: first, we describe the structure of the school notebook and analyze the way in which this structure is radically different from the prescribed curriculum and creates a new kind of knowledge. Second, we analyze how notebooks functioned to obscure the way that the Peronists attempted to impose their doctrine.

The case of the school notebook in Argentina

The school notebook made its way into the Argentine primary school classroom in the 1920s as a suggestion for improving education. The concept of the notebook was introduced in the same way that the Progressive Movement infused its ideology into the schools—through educational magazines. The notebook fulfilled a central role in the Movement's proposed reorganization of daily life at school—and specifically for written work completed in the classroom—systematizing and simplifying schoolwork or activities. The student's work had previously been written down in several notebooks and papers, and the decision of where and how this work was to be carried out was left to each teacher. Later on, with the introduction of the notebook, everything was to be written down in one place.

The role and effect of the notebook

The notebook was central to the new shift of focus in educational policy. Far from simply being an auxiliary resource, it functioned as a central device in the day-to-day process of restructuring internal school functions. It served as a device for diffusing the Progressive Movement's policies.

The use of the notebook was also designed to ensure that the student played an active role in the classroom. The student would be physically engaged in the learning process through the notebook entries, rather than just being a passive listener.

The notebook entries would represent the student's work. Furthermore, activities completed in the classroom were designed to do away with homework. The notebook would reflect only the student's work at school. The elimination of homework activities would ensure that the work presented in the notebook was carried out by the students and not by family members. This would allow for a more efficient surveillance of scholastic work from two perspectives. First, no work was to be done and recorded in the notebook that was completed outside of the classroom, ensuring that the work was done entirely by the students. Second, the notebook contents provided a base that could be used to measure what knowledge the student had accumulated in school. The notebook would also facilitate the efficient surveillance of the teacher's work, providing the teaching inspectors with a tool for gauging the quantity and content of material taught. It is important to emphasize this last point because it illustrates that the notebook must be understood not as a simple didactic tool introduced by the Progressive Movement, but rather as part of a larger reform movement that was to

affect all aspects and individuals involved in daily school life. The notebook was an educational tool with a range of intended political effects.

Two effects became evident as the notebook's use spread. First, it was a significant—and controversial—innovation for organizing scholastic knowledge. It streamlined the students' work that previously had been dispersed in a multitude of notebooks and papers. The criterion for starting a new notebook was straightforward: a new notebook was only to be started when the old one had no more blank space. One notebook succeeded the previous one in the course of the school year. The notebook became the only document containing the children's schoolwork. Students' work became efficiently organized and recorded into a topological sequence of notebooks throughout the year.

Second, the notebook served as a device for recording how much work the teacher had carried out. The amount of activities recorded in a student's notebook showed how much a teacher had taught in a day, month or year. 'The notebook served to control: (a) if the class had been taught and tested sufficiently; (b) if the methodological process followed the teaching process; (c) if the educational goals—fundamental for each school—had been reached' (Ball 2000).

Surveillance was a central matter for this new device. Inspectors could not only judge the teachers' work through class observations at a given moment, they were now able to see the work that had effectively been done over a period of time, up to the moment of the visit. The notebook is explicitly presented as a surveillance instrument. The teacher controlled 'all' of the students' work; the director controlled the teachers entire period of service; and the inspectors controlled everybody.

School surveillance was not only nor fundamentally about persons, but about their work. What teachers taught was the main purpose of this control. Furthermore, the way in which the survey was to take place was highly regulated. The copybook was above all an instrument for controlling the process of teaching and learning.

This new pedagogy altered classroom dynamics. Prior to the incorporation of the notebook and its simultaneous teaching methods, groups of students worked on different activities within the classroom. Subsequently, all students were focused on the same activity at the same time.

Structure of the notebook: The standardization effect

The notebook was not only intended to modify how school activities were recorded, but also to facilitate the implementation of other Progressive Movement proposals, as discussed above. Establishing the space for handwriting and illustrations, the use of colors, the way exercises were presented within a subject area, and the regulation of the style of writing utilized, although specified, were not the ultimate goal or focus intended by the Movement for altering the internal structure of the school. Once adopted in the classroom and over the course of decades of use, the notebook became completely separated from its original purpose. Through the adaptation of the previous structure and organization of daily school activities to the new activities associated

with it, the notebook became a tool for standardizing the form of students' work by manipulating the original meaning of that work. Yet one of the more obvious contradictions between the effect of the notebook and its proposed role was that it did not function in a way to standardize the actual work produced by children. On the contrary, the notebook was to become a medium for the expression of the individual learner's aptitudes.

The structure of the students' notebooks was based on three central concepts: date, activities and school subjects. Each activity began with the following format:

DATE

EXERCISE NUMBER FOR THE YEAR
SUBJECT

THEME

The *date* was the first item listed at the beginning of each school day. The school week reflects the workweek and everything that was taught in class was meant to be written down in the notebooks. Consequently, just by looking at a notebook it was possible to see how much work had been done by students (and by teachers) each day. In the second place, knowledge transmitted in class was structured in the notebook through the *activities* that students carried out. Every activity had to be recorded in the notebook, respecting a numerical order. The numerical order of the activity took precedence over disciplines. Activities were numbered as 'Exercise no.' or 'Activity no.', with the numbers continuing throughout the entire school year. A language activity could be followed by a social sciences activity in the same notebook. The numbered activities revealed how many exercises a student completed in a day, a month and a year. The performance or productive output of a student, a teacher or a school could easily be assessed. The differentiation between *subjects* is the third concept. The particular theme or focus of the information written down is included below the subject.

Thus, the production of knowledge in notebooks and the way it was structured is very different from the way in which this knowledge was presented in curricular documents. While the curriculum was subdivided into subjects or disciplines, notebooks organized knowledge by date and number of the activity or exercise, like copying, dictation and revision, and could cover any and every subject.

Scholastic knowledge became quantifiable. The school day continued to be divided by curriculum disciplines. The knowledge that was processed during the course of the school day, however, was reflected in the notebook's format. The knowledge was further broken down or categorized into activities that focused on copying, spelling and so on. A new symbolic universe of scholastic knowledge was created.

The organization of scholastic knowledge apparent in the notebook structure blurred the transmission of the processes that defined disciplinary knowledge and the

process of analytical thinking. Themes expressed through such disciplines as history or science or mathematical theory and practice are shattered by the fragmentation of activities. It is difficult to see a continuity of ideas through the structure of the notebook and within curricular disciplines since activities were separated.

The discourse boundaries between disciplines were obscured by the notebook structure. The symbolic universe of knowledge divided by disciplines where qualitative differences exist became a quantifiable universe; qualitative differences were transformed into quantitative differences. Different types of knowledge (science, language and history) became comparable and interchangeable. When the contents were formatted in numerical order of activities, a natural science exercise could be followed by a language or social science activity where the focus of the activity was on the student's ability to copy, draw, spell or produce 'good' penmanship. The ability to quantify knowledge became more important than qualitative differences. New knowledge was produced.

This structure, in which qualitative knowledge was manipulated into quantifiable forms, was utilized with few changes until the 1980s. Even political content was depoliticized by the guidelines into another numerical entry in the schoolwork. This can be seen in the following example, taken from Juan Domingo Perón's first two administrations (1946–1955), during which a different form of political and social 'knowledge' was introduced into schools.

Obscuring the Peronist doctrine through school notebooks

The purpose of this section is to analyze the way in which certain educational devices within scholastic practice operated to modify intentions at the macro-political level. For this purpose, the case of the Argentine notebooks during the first two periods of General Juan Domingo Perón's government (1946-1955) will be analyzed.[3] More precisely, it will focus on the way in which these notebooks affected attempts to 'indoctrinate' education with the Peronist government's political ideology, analyzing the neutralizing effect they had over the contents, and obscuring their initial explicit meaning.

The case of the educational policy of the Peronist government demonstrates the possibility that the impact of educational policies upon school institutions and practices is neither direct nor homogeneous, even when the macro-politics claim to be hegemonic, utilizing the propaganda machine and even state police power (Gvirtz and Narodowski 1998: 234).

The main focus of attempts at indoctrination by Perón's government through curricular change involved compulsory insertion of material related to Peronist doctrine or ideology and the inclusion of the liturgy and specific terminology of the Peronist Party in schools. This supposed modification to the teaching content was designed to affect every educational level and every sector of the population attending them.

As the school notebook constitutes the written place where the daily activities carried out by students during the learning and teaching process are recorded, it is a

unique source to carry out an analysis of this situation. Because it is a written record, the notebook allows the specific form assumed by the teacher's classroom practices to be observed during this historic period.

According to Peronist government officials, formal education was meant to play a fundamental role, thus producing within the Argentine education system what some Argentine historians have called a 'politicization' of scholastic material; that is to say, the direct introduction, at all levels of the education system, particularly from 1949 onwards, of learning material related to the 'Peronist Doctrine', and the obligation of teachers to teach its symbols and its ritual (Halperín Donghi 1972; Tedesco 1980; Escudé 1990; Plotkin 1994; Bianchi 1996; Rein and Rein 1996).[4]

The modification of the study plans and programs is reflected in a change of ideological orientation in the materials to be taught in schools, and in the introduction of new subjects that corresponded to government policy. In relation to this, it is of interest to point out the curricular change generated by the Peronists' educational policy in teacher-training schools (*normales*) where the new generation of teachers was being prepared. Here the government incorporated material of the 'National Doctrine', which included social studies, economics, political science and Argentine culture. More than one-quarter of the subjects of each of these courses corresponded to the message of Perón's government (Gvirtz 1991).

Radical changes were made both in the textbooks used for the instruction of reading and writing, and in school textbooks in general. The contents of traditional books underwent major ideological changes, while at the same time there appeared Peronist textbooks, such as *Justicialismo* (Justicialism–1953), *Tiempos Nuevos* (New Times–1954), *Privilegiados* (The Privileged–1953), *Evita* (1953), *Patria Justa* (The Just Country–1955), *Pueblo Feliz* (Happy People–1954) [5] and many others. Even their titles were part of the government's indoctrination purposes. As has already been stated, books recommended for teachers had first to be approved by the Ministry of Education (Wainerman and Bark de Raijman 1987; Gvirtz 1991).

In relation to these school textbooks, the figure of Eva Perón, President Perón's wife, who was designated as the 'Spiritual Leader of the Nation', occupies a very prominent position. For example, in some of the beginners' reading and writing texts, the traditional sentence 'I love my mother' is replaced by 'I love Evita'. In these textbooks, Evita Perón is presented as a mother and a celestial figure, a combination of a fairy and virgin. In these illustrations, at times her head appears crowned with a fairy-like star, or with a halo above it (Wainerman and Bark de Raijman 1987). Upon the death of Eva Perón in 1952, the government presented her autobiography, *La Razón de mi Vida* [The Reason for my Life], as a compulsory reading textbook in all Argentine schools.

Studies on the subject have provided a wide variety of documentation on the Peronist educational policies. Some also explore teacher reactions, both political (Puiggrós 1993)—expressed through several press publication—and emotional (Escudé 1990) to these policies.[6] Nevertheless, very little evidence exists on what actually happened within schools under these same policies. For example: Were 'Peronist

textbooks' used by teachers? Was Eva Perón's book read in schools? How did teachers deal with these new contents? In other words, what was the relation between educational macro-policies (and its indoctrination and attempts to ideologize) and scholastic practices?

The following two sections are presented on the subject. The first hypothesis is that schools put institutional mechanisms into practice that neutralized the doctrine-related contents. The second section discusses the mechanisms that teachers put into practice to neutralize the doctrinal influence.

The 'depoliticization' of content or the schooling of knowledge

Not until 1949, that is to say more than three years after the beginning of Perón's first term as president, could any content related to Peronist doctrine be found in primary school notebooks. But, contrary to official orders, these doctrinal principles appear in the notebooks in a 'depoliticized' way.

The teachers adapted the doctrine to the needs of teaching. The notebooks show that its points were converted into the raw material of class exercises, and not into a lesson having its own ethical and political value. Using the doctrine as a base, students were expected to carry out activities assigned to them by the teacher that resulted in the content becoming irrelevant since it was subordinated to more important didactic objectives. With the doctrine as a backdrop, the students were told to 'summarize', 'write compositions', 'copy', 'write dictations', etc. The teachers corrected whatever errors they found that were related to the performance of the activity, that is to say, the most formal part of the performance, but without correcting the ideological content of the written assignment.

The following is an interesting example related to this matter. In 1954, a notebook recorded the following assignment from a teacher:

> *Compose sentences including the following words:*
> *Workers, popular loyalty, Plaza de Mayo* [May Square]

The three concepts that the students must use are directly related to the terminology of Peronist rituals: the workers as a political focus of Argentine society; popular loyalty towards the leader, Perón; and the Plaza de Mayo, a public area located in Buenos Aires, the site of Government House where, from the balcony, Perón addressed the people in multitudinous rallies of support. Despite all this, we find the following sentences written by the student:

> My brother is very hardworking.
> In life, loyalty must be cultivated.
> The Plaza de Mayo is very pretty.

The teacher graded the assignment with 7 (on a scale of 1 to 10), which is regarded as a very good grade in Argentine school tradition. The teacher's concern and the general objective were not, no doubt, to give the listed words a political meaning. On the contrary, it was a matter of composing sentences according to the instructions, without emphasizing their ideological import. In the case of the second sentence, where the inclusion of 'popular loyalty' was requested and the political meaning is more difficult to avoid, in order to neutralize the significance one of its component terms has been eliminated ('popular'), but the supposed error is not corrected by the teacher, resulting in the depoliticization of 'loyalty' and its conversion into an ordinary human sentiment. The depoliticization is obvious here: few words are as loaded with doctrinal meaning as those in the example, but they have been neutralized in the notebook.

Other forms of depoliticization consisted in the inclusion of party-oriented material in traditional subjects. The government's doctrine was mostly included in particular subjects. History, geography or Spanish were the framework within which these tenets were usually presented; thus, they became matters that came to light as part of the routine teaching of a subject. In many cases, this did not appear to be a simple task and material is included at random, mainly in the first years of various subjects.

For example, the notebooks show that Eva Perón's autobiography, *La Razón de mi Vida*, was included in the subject 'Spanish language', with quite a few consequences. Some notebooks included handwritten passages of some paragraphs of the book, and in others it was used as material for dictations—it was the spelling that was being evaluated. The common denominator was the minimal relevance assigned to the semantic aspect of the text: that is, comprehension of and working on its meaning.

The following is an exercise from 1952 in which a paragraph of Evita Perón's autobiography is copied:

> *Assignment Number 261*
>
> *Copy down from the book, La Razón de mi Vida.*
>
> *In my heart I have discovered a basic feeling which, from there, totally dominates my spirit and my life: this feeling is my indignation at injustice. For as far back as I can recall, every instance of injustice hurt my soul as if something was in it.* [7]

The teacher requested that the students copied the text without going into details about the ideological message it carried in the context of the partisan indoctrination and ideology of the Peronist government. Besides, the written text included several Spanish spelling errors which the teacher did not correct.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify certain concepts. The two mechanisms described here—the subordination of the content to a teaching activity and its inclusion in a curricular discipline—are institutional mechanisms and resulted in depoliticization. This process took place in Argentina alongside other types of knowledge included in the notebooks, be it political or any other kind. It is possible, as Bianchi (1996) outlines, that knowledge related to religion may have suffered a similar process through schooling. Thus, the title of this section refers to the 'schooling of knowledge'. Nevertheless, the notebooks belonging to these years register a second type of process—related to the first, but implying more deliberate action by teachers—which, no doubt, can be attributed to systematic strategies on the part of teachers to divert the inclusion of party-oriented doctrine in traditional subjects.

The Peronist doctrine and new forms of teacher resistance

The analysis of notebooks reveals other forms of reaction towards attempts at indoctrination by the Peronist ideology. As has been stated before, the main form of resistance by teachers to the Peronist doctrine was not through political organizations or traditional union protests, but through the school itself.

Opposition to government policies can be observed in the notebooks in different forms. The teachers' actions can be classified in two basic types: (a) ones which affect the text; and (b) ones which affect evaluation of the work, which are represented in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1: The classification of teacher opposition responses to the inclusion of party-oriented material

A. Text-related Responses	
A.1. Disruption of the logic of statements A. 1.1 Intratextual (within the same text) A. 1.2 Intertextual (between texts)	A.2. Presentation of incomplete texts
B. Evaluation Responses	
B.1. Grading of Activities B.1.1. No grading B.1.2. Partial grading	B.2. Correction B.2.1. No correction B.2.2. Partial correction

Disruption of the logic of statements

This tactic consisted of breaking up the sense of the texts recorded in the class notebooks, producing a phenomenon which had been atypical until then: that is, the disruption of the logic of the text.

These tactics appear in the notebooks in different ways. One of these consists of including imprecise, ambiguous or simply self-contradictory statements within the same text, thus confusing the doctrine of educational policy. An example of this is found in the box on the following page.

Observe the comprehension difficulties this text presents. In the second sentence, 'before' is presented as an unhappy period in comparison to 'now'. However, despite this initial position, the following sentences show the 'now' as a consequence of the past, as the result of a kind of 'progress'. Compared to the historic break that Peronist doctrine proposes to understand the 'past/present' relationship, 'before bad/now good', the teacher opposes the old positive category of historical progress so dear to the Argentine teaching profession, in the same text and following the first sentences.

Exercise Number 354

The present state of teaching primary, secondary and graduate.

Today's teaching is not like it used to be. Now it is free; before you had to pay for it. Now it is easier to study. It was Sarmiento first and then Avellaneda who promoted studying. Sarmiento was a great teacher. Avellaneda a creator of so many schools. That is how teaching has increased. There are thousands of schools in our country. People start in primary and many reach a higher level than of the universities. Our country is one of the best in education. The president of the nation has also established the creation of 500 schools so that children can study and become useful men for the good of the country.

Indifference

This second example of teacher resistance is found in notebooks in which curricular contents connected to Peronist doctrine are handled with considerably less dedication than other teaching tasks.

One of the characteristics of this tactic of indifference is in regard to the teacher's grading of children's activities. Traditionally, the grading of notebooks can be subdivided into two different steps (Gvirtz 1996). On the one hand, the grading consists of evaluating the completed work according to certain standards of performance ('Good', 'Excellent', 'Poor', etc); and, on the other hand, of correction, which consists of pointing out errors made by the students and indicating the correct response.

The first type of indifference is shown when we observe that the only exercises not corrected by the teachers are those related to partisan Peronist material; neither the spelling errors nor those related to the meaning of the doctrine itself are corrected. The second type is revealed in a significant number of activities related to the Peronist doctrine where only the spelling errors are corrected and the work is not awarded a grade.

Notebooks in the world educational research agenda

This chapter examined the impact of a micro-political device on macro-curricular policies in Argentina. Especially interesting has been the discovery of a written artifact of educational practices—that is the notebooks—which is relatively easy to find, but which has yet to be sufficiently exploited. Some research investigating this artifact can be found in Spain, France and Argentina in recent years (Del Pozo Andrés and Ramos Zamora 2003; Chartier 2003; De Titto 2002; Gvirtz 1999; Augustowsky and Vezub 1998); several ongoing projects are publishing initial reports (e.g., Chartier 2005).

As stated in the outset, the school notebook is neither a local device nor one that has only value solely in the Argentine case. On the contrary, it is a valuable source for comparative micro-political studies in the education field worldwide, as well as for other national studies. This last section introduces the case of two studies that have been carried out by scholars in Spain, France and Argentina.

The Spanish approach views the notebooks as a privileged primary source to understand the history of the 'taught curriculum' in twentieth-century Spain. In order to carry out this study, the authors, María del Mar Del Pozo Andrés and Sara Ramos Zamora (Del Pozo Andrés and Ramos Zamora 2003), collected 102 notebooks corresponding to a period of ten years during General Franco's dictatorship. Notebooks here served as a valuable means to get to know the real written practices that took place within the schools, thus serving as a means for a better understanding of the school culture. The use of a set of criteria—such as: (a) the construction of school timetables to determine real school times; (b) prescribed curriculum *versus* taught curriculum to understand school curriculum in practice; (c) the construction of different teaching models; (d) the transmission of attitudes and values on behalf of the teachers; and (e) didactical resources and pedagogic strategies used by teachers—allowed a very fine approach to the real school culture through this historical educational source.

In the second case, the French educational historian Anne-Marie Chartier (2003) has carried out various studies on this subject. Two examples are explored. The first one concentrates on three basic uses of the school notebook for a historiographic

approach. In the first place, it is used to record expositive teaching; in the second place, it is used as a clear indicator of school performance; and third, it is evidence of teaching practices. The author presents the three uses, together with examples for the teaching of elite and working-class children. On this basis, she intended to answer the question of how schools introduce children into the written culture of their time through school notebooks. These devices are precious archives on the process of the introduction of children into the written culture: a short-term process in the case of each new generation, and a long-term process in the case of a nation or society.

The second one is a study of school notebooks in Europe which is currently being carried out. The aim of the project is the production of a comparative study on this device regarding different school systems and teaching practices, showing the singularity of certain practices in a time of expansion of the European Community, and also illustrating similarities and differences in teaching practices at a certain moment in history (Chartier 2005). Some hypotheses behind this study are that these school writings: (a) represent a window through which schools reveal themselves both to the outside and within themselves; (b) build classifying categories of knowledge and their hierarchy; and (c) testify to interactions between students and teachers. The analysis will focus on such subjects as: the nature of the different objects (notebooks, folders, types of writing, quantity of writing, structures, etc.), the names of disciplines and their hierarchy, and a comparative analysis of some contents (national language, mathematics, history).

Other studies in Argentina have been carried out by Gabriela Augustowski and Lea Vezub (1998); and Raúl de Titto (2002), amongst others. Augustowski and Vezub´s study is of research undertaken by the Curriculum Department of the Argentine Ministry of Education to analyze the impact of the basic common contents in the classroom through the study of school notebooks. The objective was to observe the continuity or the interruption of the former curricular designs. These scholars come to the conclusion that within the notebooks, one-third maintains old curricular practices, one-third contains some innovations, and one-third makes use of the new contents.

In de Titto's case, this approach studies notebooks to see the way in which certain changes in the curricular designs over a period of three decades are reflected in school notebooks. He concludes that there is practically no impact of macro-curricular policies reflected in the school notebooks.

Careful scrutiny of school notebooks can be useful in many respects. First, they can serve as instruments and a privileged primary source to shed light on the history of 'taught curriculum' in the twentieth century. Second, they provide an initial basis for a comparative study on 'the implemented curriculum'; third, they help scholars analyze and evaluate the impact of particular curricular policies. Finally, school notebooks, together with other curricular micro-political devices, should be considered specifically in the design of curricular policies.

Notes

1. The author thanks Annie Mulcahy for her collaboration in the writing and translation of this article.
2. *El Monitor de la Educación Común* [The Monitor of General Education]. Buenos Aires, Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, quoted in Gvirtz and Beech 2004.
3. For this purpose, 247 school notebooks corresponding to this period were analyzed.
4. Quoted in Gvirtz and Narodowki (1998).
5. Quoted in Plotkin (1994).
6. Quoted in Gvirtz and Narodowski (1998).
7. The passage copied by the student had many spelling mistakes and grammatical errors in Spanish, most of which could not be reproduced in the English translation. Trabajo Nro. 261 Copia de libro: *La Razón de mi Vida:* He hallado en mi corazón un sentimiento fundamental que domina desde allí en forma total mi espirito y mi vida: ese sentimiento es mi indignación frente a la injusticia. Desde que yo me acuerdo cada injusticia me doler en el alma como si algo en ella.

The Dynamics of
Curriculum-Making and
Curricular Reform

10

The Current Discourse on Curriculum Change:
A Comparative Analysis of National Reports on Education

Moritz Rosenmund

Introduction

Why should educational authorities decide to change intended subjects and topics of teaching within their jurisdictions? One may conceive of different answers to that question. Interest groups both within and outside the education system may exert pressure in order that educational content reflects scientific developments, corresponds to structural changes in the education system or adapts to new theories or philosophies of teaching and learning. Politicians may feel unhappy with their country's performance in international achievement studies and attribute the poor results to the selection and organization of teaching content. Or a situation of social transformation or crisis may lead to vague feelings of inadequacy regarding what is taught in schools. But whatever the driving forces of curricular change may be in each specific case, state authorities need to make the rationale behind their decisions explicit in order to legitimize them. This chapter deals precisely with what educational authorities at the nation-state level consider most important when they are asked to give the reasons or motives behind curriculum reforms in their countries.

As a database, we have used the national reports on education presented by about 100 countries to the forty-sixth session of UNESCO's International Conference on Education, 2001 (IBE-UNESCO 2002b).[1] While these reports, which are presented each time the International Bureau of Education organizes this conference, usually describe countries' educational institutions in terms of their structures and achievements, a majority of the reports in the 2001 series included a specific section dealing with change in educational content over the last decade of the second

millennium or considered this issue in the context of other topics, such as descriptions of comprehensive educational reform. Inasmuch as the reports deal with the curriculum change at all, they generally addressed the issue of the reasons for planning, launching or even accomplishing reforms in the 1990s.

Each report reflects a unique national education system. Correspondingly, we expected the motives of curricular reform to emphasize unique features of the educational institutions, stakeholders and pressure groups, as well as the discourse on education typical of individual national contexts. Within each country the discourse on educational content is made up of many different voices all striving to obtain public acceptance for their proposals. State authorities will take these voices into account and refer to them selectively when giving a rationale for policies related to curricular issues. In order to gain legitimacy for curricular decisions, they will relate them to widely accepted values that are assumed to be better achieved through a change of educational content. As will be shown later on in this chapter, national development and individual self-direction and empowerment are among the values receiving most emphasis when curricular policies are being reviewed.

While in that sense the reports reflect the particular situation in individual countries, they simultaneously describe them on behalf of a transnational audience. Though mainly national in scope, they contribute to a more general, global discourse on education. As Baker and LeTendre (2005: 3) state, "there are all kinds of trends suggesting that ideas and demands and expectations for what schools can, and should, do for society have developed well beyond any particular national context." We may reasonably assume that these expectations will be reflected in national actors' reasoning about why educational, and in particular curricular, change should occur in their countries. Thus, the reports both contribute to and draw from a discourse that is no longer simply the expression of some idiosyncratic national need or interest.

Cross-national analysis of the rationales given for curricular reform offers the opportunity to derive some features of the global narrative from statements about the driving forces in specific countries. After a brief overview of international comparative research on curricula and curriculum-making, this chapter describes state-based curriculum-making as the institutional frame of both decisions on curricular stability or change, and the discourse that gives legitimacy to such decisions. As the subsequent section suggests, the latter is organized on three levels, each of which dealing with different issues of the curriculum: classroom teaching; management of the education system; and educational policy.

The findings are presented in two sections. We first discuss the distribution of statements across categories pertaining to the level of institutional and political discourse. In the first one we find an interesting tendency to explain the need for curriculum reform in terms of a change in the relationship between individual learners and educational content. While a few decades ago the idea of a canon of knowledge to be acquired by all students of a given grade was prevalent, now the selection and organization of educational content should instead provide an opportunity for self-directed learners to construct knowledge according to their individual needs and

interests. Moreover, the datum point of individual citizenship, which has been a focal issue of education since national school systems were created in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, appears to have shifted markedly in recent years. Competent citizens of nation-states have been at the core of education for a long time. While this national citizen is not absent in the reports, the most recent values to be developed through education also reflect a far more cosmopolitan view of the individual.

Statements pointing to the political discourse relate curriculum reform to individual countries' development and adaptation to social change. While the latter mainly describes change occurring within an individual country, a considerable number of reports also emphasize the need for adaptation to external change.

In the subsequent section, groups of countries are compared according to the world regions to which they belong and their national income, as well as their status as transition countries or their membership of OECD. While the overall distribution is generally reproduced in the different groups, some interesting variations can also be observed.

State-based curriculum-making in an international comparative perspective

Since education has become institutionalized in sovereign nation-states or their constituent jurisdictions, the curriculum itself, as well as its development and implementation, has generally been considered to be an internal matter. Educational content was thought to reflect an individual society's concern about transmitting its unique heritage to the next generation and preparing for the future. Educational research has generally accepted this assumption and studied the curriculum, as well as its development and implementation, i.e. curriculum-making, as a national issue explained by the situation existing within that state. It is only in the past two decades that the curriculum has gained attention as a topic of international comparative research. In a pioneering study, Meyer, Kamens and Benavot (1992) showed an increasing standardization of the structure of primary school curricula across nations and decades. And while Benavot (2002b) concludes that the trend is still continuing on the primary school level, another study (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996) identifies a similar tendency for academic secondary education.

Scholars in agreement with this line of research argue that standardization must be explained by the worldwide diffusion of a cultural model presenting society as a highly rationalized structure, committed to common modern values, such as development, democracy and social justice. Education itself reflects these values through universal participation and emphasizing rationality (McEneaney and Meyer 2000). Correspondingly, educational content as presented in textbooks increasingly transmits—besides disciplinary knowledge—a new conceptualization of the learner as a participating rational actor (McEneaney 1998; 2002). According to this institutionalist approach, the curriculum and its changes must be understood as the

result of exogenous, worldwide forces acting on national education systems (Meyer et al. 1997).

This view has been challenged by other authors, who emphasize the internal dynamics of educational institutions as they have developed within nation-states (Cummings 2003). While acknowledging that a semantic construction of world society exists, Schriewer insists that "there is an abstract universalism of transnationally disseminated models, which fans out into multiform structural patterns wherever such models interact, in the course of their intellectual adoption and/or institutional implementation, with differing state-defined frameworks, legal and administrative regulations, forms of division of labor in society, national academic cultures, context-bound social meanings and world views shaped by religious beliefs, philosophical traditions, or ideological systems" (Schriewer 2003: 273). This view would suggest that endogenous forces and interrelationship networks (Schriewer 2000b) lead to a high degree of variety, instead of isomorphism.

While this research and debate has considerably increased knowledge of the outcomes of curriculum-making in terms of structure and content, less is known across countries with respect to processes enacted in order to select, organize and implement content in schools. Until recently, international comparative studies, such as TIMSS or PISA, largely neglected both the institutional frameworks in which such outcomes are produced and differences in subject-matter content covered by school levels and grades in different countries (Westbury 1994). Research on the stability and change of the curriculum generally focuses—as does its structure and content—on determinants inherent in nation-states or smaller units (see, for example, Pinar 2003a; Rosenmund, Fries and Heller 2002). Only in recent years have there been some attempts, within the context of IEA studies, to relate educational outcomes to curricular content and the institutional framework in which decisions about selection and organization of educational content are made (Schmidt et al. 2001; Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta and Schwille 2002).

One may define the construction of the school curriculum as the overall social process of valuing and selecting elements of the collective memory, as well as of organizing it as educational content and applying it in teaching practice. One should assume that this process occurs in every society perceiving itself as 'historic', i.e. as changing over time. Findings in a study by Le Métais (2003) for a group of highly developed countries reveal that reviews of educational content occur periodically. As far as the system of public education is involved, the process becomes institutionalized within the framework of the political, administrative and educational structures of nation-states or smaller sovereign societal units. On the one hand, this state-based curriculum-making encompasses the whole set or arrangement of organizations, professions and roles involved in the shaping and re-shaping of the curriculum as it is supposed to be enacted in schools. On the other hand, it includes all routine and non-routine processes, including the discourse on educational goals and educational content as they should be formally expressed in the curriculum.

The curriculum-making process takes on a considerable variety of forms, involving all sorts of organizational frameworks, stakeholders, their interests and activities and so forth. While in some cases a radical renewal of educational content in all school subjects occurs in the context of an overall reform of the education system, in others smooth changes in a single subject pass almost unnoticed. And while some curriculum reforms evolve in the framework of complex project organizations, involving all sorts of actors—educational researchers, teachers, teacher trainers, politicians and the general public—in other cases the curriculum is developed by a highly restricted group of specialists. Furthermore, in many cases the definition of an intended curriculum gives rise to major controversies and discussions among stakeholders within the society where a curriculum-making process occurs (Goodson 1998). Debate may focus on issues such as to what extent the curriculum should be organized according to a model of individual development or on what social actors see as the functional needs of society, whether these needs should be conceived in terms of the transmission of a cultural heritage or the creation of the prerequisites to cope with future challenges, or whether some core knowledge has to be acquired by all students as a common cultural base. There is also the matter of the extent to which learners themselves should be allowed to shape their own learning trajectory.

An issue deserving particular attention is curriculum stability and change over time: what factors account for curricular change and stability in districts, schools and classrooms? Cuban (1992) suggests adopting a political perspective when explaining curriculum change. He argues that "economic, demographic, political, social and cultural changes mediated by groups and individuals reshape schooling inexorably and alter policies and practices at the district and school levels" (Cuban 1992: 215-216). Later in his analysis, this strong emphasis on the external pressures that the education system is exposed to becomes attenuated by the distinction between coercive (external), bargained (external/internal) and voluntary (internal) forces. Seen in this perspective, curriculum-making appears as an adaptation or response to changes occurring both within the education system and in society at large, and the new curriculum itself looks like a selection of knowledge whose acquisition enables individuals to master their everyday lives and to contribute to social well-being and democracy. While in this view knowledge is seen as a tool for structuring individuals' relationships with their natural and social environment, a different approach treats knowledge as an important means for shaping cognitive and motivational patterns of the individual, linking him/her *to* politics, culture, economy and the modern state (Popkewitz 1991). Rather than simply adapting school knowledge to a changing world, the change in educational content appears driven by power relationships and social regulation and as "a strategic site in which the modernization of institutions occurs" (Popkewitz 1991: 13). From this standpoint, curriculum change cannot simply be seen as a planned 'technocratic' reform to improve the productivity of the education system, but should also be understood as a political measure that re-shapes relationships between individuals and institutions of the nation-state through the selection and organization of school knowledge.

Rationales for changing educational content

The reports analyzed in this study deal with the issue of change when answering the question about 'motives' for curriculum-making in the 1990 to 2000 period. The question about 'motives' for curriculum reforms refers to reasons and rationales given by social actors for their own practices. In the context of this study, the issue concerns situations or events that, in the view of actors themselves, have caused state agencies to start a process that should lead to changes in the content and structure of knowledge schools are supposed to transmit to their students. Answering the question of why the process of curricular reform had been set in motion, our respondents not only presented 'objective' information about the 'real' reasons for curriculum-making processes but also, even more frequently, interpretations or rationalizations for these processes. It is highly probable, however, that the respondent interpretations are shared by many other actors in the field and accepted as legitimizing the action of different agencies involved in the process. We assume this sharing of a consensual view is possible because interpretations or 'explanations' refer to a more general social discourse on education.

As Hopmann (1999) suggests, this discourse can be divided into three distinct parts: the political, administrative or 'programmatic', and classroom or 'practical' levels. In his view, reconciling social expectations concerning the effects of education and teachers' views on what can and should be done in everyday classroom practice is an almost impossible enterprise. Therefore, societies tend to create separate arenas for different discourses. Within these arenas different sets of arguments are developed to address the curriculum issue. We should expect this to be reflected in national reports on education as pointing either to the level of the education system itself (institutional level) or to the relationship between education and society (political level).

One major distinction should be made as far as the institutional level is concerned. Education displays an inherent tension between the teaching profession, which attempts to defend its autonomy and has developed and cultivated its own specific knowledge base and rationales for everyday classroom practice, and the state bureaucracy that governs the education system. Teachers believe that they know what is best for their students and what really 'works' in the teacher/learner relationship. For this reason, they also have clear ideas about what educational content can and should be transmitted in school. This may be expressed—in terms of a critique of the existing curriculum or as a shift in the perception of the student, the teacher and their relationship—as the need for curriculum change. Administrators, on the other hand, need to organize and co-ordinate a complex system consisting of different school types, levels and grades, assessment systems, teacher education, textbook production and so forth. Moreover, they are often under pressure to increase the overall effectiveness of the system. Both co-ordination and pressures about educational outcomes may strongly affect administrators' expectations about the curriculum. For that reason, teachers' interests in a curriculum in accordance with what they perceive as the classroom reality, and administrators' concern about co-ordination and the education system's outcomes, may

be expressed in terms of a need to change the school curriculum. Both justifications may be offered when a rationale for curriculum reform is required.

Productivity aside, although the relationship between education and society at large is usually absent in the institutional discourse on educational content, it is clearly the main focus of the political discourse. In the political arena educational content is evaluated in terms of what part of its cultural heritage society wishes to pass on to the next generation. And it becomes particularly related to what a society perceives as an improvement of its situation. As is well known, there are strong convictions that education has an important impact on the attainment of that goal. Generally, such expectations become expressed either in a narrow-minded sense or as generalized expectations. On the one hand, discussions start with specific social problems, such as youth unemployment, AIDS or violence, and/or claims that education does not sufficiently address this kind of 'real' problem. On the other hand, we find more generalized beliefs: that education is an institution that helps societies and their inhabitants to deal adequately with social, economic, technological, political and cultural progress, and contributes to social development on some or all of these dimensions. When applied to statements about the need for curricular change, this distinction between specific and generalized societal expectations seems to be useful to distinguish two categories of statements: (a) about the relationship between the curriculum and specific social issues; and (b) curriculum and social development or progress.

Obviously, by the end of the twentieth century social change cannot be conceived of as strictly 'homemade', i.e. resulting exclusively from the internal dynamics of an individual society. As McEneaney and Meyer put it:

> The model of the modern society increasingly locates this society in a global context, economically, politically, socially and culturally. Emphasis on national autonomy, autarky and tradition is weakened. Thus, the curriculum must be globalized, to create a broader understanding. (McEneaney and Meyer 2000: 199-200)

The relationship of the single nation-state with its globalized environment has become an important topic in the political discourse of most societies. This is symbolically expressed in the interest attracted by the yearly World Economic Forum in Davos (Switzerland) and its counterpart, the Social Forum in Porto Alegre (Brazil). We should expect this to be reflected in the current discourse on necessary changes in educational content. First, advocates of curriculum reform may simply point to globalization as an important change of the environment we are living in and infer from this a need to adapt the curriculum to that new reality. In a second way, direct reference may be made to challenges individual societies are confronted with as a result of globalization in the realms of economy, society, culture and communication. This kind of reasoning is quite similar to claims that curricular reform is needed for society's adaptation to social change and for societal development. The difference lies in the fact that the source of

Table 10.1: Rationales for curriculum change

Levels	Issues	Articulated in terms of …	Examples from national reports
1. Institutional discourse (education system)	1.1 Curriculum and classroom practice	Critique of the curriculum itself: • Obsolescence; • Overload; • Lack of coherence within and across subjects and grades. Incongruence of the curriculum with: • (new) learners' needs; • (new) approaches to teaching.	"The existing curriculum was overloaded." "At the beginning of the 1990s the scope for adapting education and training to various kinds of pupils' needs was deemed insufficient."
	1.2 Curriculum and education system	Need to adjust the curriculum to changes in: • structure of the education system; • approaches to system control. The need to improve academic outcomes and quality of education.	"The overall reform in the education has then led to curriculum change." "… faced with the need to overcome articulated insufficiencies and to meet the demand for education services and to raise the quality of education."
2. Political discourse: single national society	2.1 Curriculum and specific social issues	Mismatch of educational content and the social reality of learners. Expectations to resolve specific problems (AIDS, unemployment) by changing educational content.	"The curricula and the content thereof are not generally integrated with or related to the realities of the learner and the society at large." "Emerging issues such as the HIV/AIDS pandemia, gender imbalance, environmental issues, drug education."

2.2 Curriculum and social development	The need to change the curriculum in response to fundamental (social, economic, political, cultural) change. The need to change educational content to support national development.	"Educational content also needs to be aligned with emerging and developing needs of society." "Education programs are designed for the overall development of the country … economic development, socio-cultural development, and political independence."
3. Political discourse: world society	3.1 Globalization	New (global) social environment common to all countries. Global problems (health, environment, etc.).	"… dominance of communication and information systems which has resulted in the whole world becoming a global village."
	3.2 National adaptation to global development	The need to deal with: • global markets; • global communication; • global culture.	"Information and communication revolutions have started to influence our daily life in all fields … necessary for us to initiate a comprehensive process of adaptation with the new technological environment."
	3.3 International exchange and integration	Prerequisites for: • transnational exchange; • integration in networks of nation-states.	" … accession to the international processes of integration."
Not specified	Secular trends		"… almost explosive production of knowledge."

change is seen in the global environment. Finally, the need for curricular changes may be related to an emphasis on active participation of one's own society in a globalized world.

When running the content analysis of the national reports[2], a framework of categories was used reflecting the above discussion. In the first and second columns, Table 10.1 summarizes the categories used for coding aspects of the institutional and political discourse, thereby differentiating, in the latter case, between the societal and the global frame of reference that statements are related to. The third and last columns then give a general explanation of what is meant by each category and illustrate this with examples of statements found in the reports.

Institutional and societal pressures on educational content

In Table 10.2 the overall distribution of statements is presented, first in the form of the percentage of reports referring to the levels of discourse and then as the percentage of reports containing statements pertaining to individual categories. It becomes clear from the condensed presentation in the third column that both institutional and political arguments have high impact in the social discourse on the need for curriculum change. And it becomes equally obvious that, while statements relating education to the situation and development of each society clearly dominate this discourse, a considerable set of arguments considers this relationship against the background of a globalized world of which this society forms part.

Within the institutional discourse, emphasis is quite balanced between statements referring to the classroom and the educational administration. This is not surprising since, as a closer examination of the reports reveals, they are closely connected. Rather than as separate entities, they should be understood as focusing on one single object—the educational institution.

> The subject area objectives are such that they do not indicate the interrelatedness and integration with the subject areas within the same class or level.
>
> (National report of Ethiopia)

> A major task of the educational reform will be the curricular reform—whereby a new National framework needs to be defined, new standards set, the appropriate procedures for educational content regulation and roles of diverse actors in the future decentralized system defined, as well as capacity for school or local curriculum design developed.
>
> (National report of Yugoslavia)

Table 10.2: Percentage of reports including statements referring to levels and categories of discourse

Levels	Categories	% reports	% reports
Institutional discourse		61	
	Curriculum and classroom practice		46
	Curriculum and education system		43
Political discourse: individual society		62	
	Curriculum and specific social issues		32
	Curriculum and social development		50
Political discourse: global society		33	
	Globalization		14
	National adaptation to global development		22
	International exchange and integration		14
Level of discourse not specified		21	

They all focus on changes needed in institutional arrangements for the transmission of knowledge in the framework of schools. In a more in-depth analysis, however, at least two transversal patterns show up. In the introductory remarks to this section, it was hypothesized that the motives emphasized by the authors of the reports should be viewed as expressions of a more general discourse on education and the education system. We suggest that the statements in this analysis should accordingly become interpreted as elements in this same kind of discourse. We may refer to the patterns mentioned above as typical forms or 'figures' characterizing the discourse, i.e. the way social actors think about and justify educational issues.

> There is a great deal of interaction between the two aspects of school development and curricular reform, i.e. the one concept almost inevitably gives rise to impulses for the other.
>
> (National report of Germany)

> Predominance of the transmission of information over the development of skills and the shaping of personalities […] To change the teaching philosophy and culture of schools.
>
> (National report of Poland)

In a first pattern, the change in educational content is presented as continuous adjustment to the development of socially available knowledge on the one hand and changing structural arrangements within the education system on the other. We may label this pattern of reasoning as that of *routine, ongoing reform,* explaining and justifying the adaptation and renewal of knowledge transmitted in classroom teaching. A second pattern—clearly distinguishable from the one above—points to more fundamental transformation of the premises for the transmission of knowledge in schools. It is clearly expressed in the numerous statements dealing with the learner and the teaching/learning relationship. The discourse accompanying this pattern, which we may refer to as the *qualitative shift* pattern, may be described as follows: it is generally acknowledged that the availability and accessibility of knowledge has increased tremendously due to the spread of information and communication technologies. At the same time, it has become more difficult to anticipate what kind of knowledge and competencies schoolchildren will need in the future. In this situation, a radical shift must be envisaged with respect to the knowledge transmitted by the school. Curricula should be lightened to give learners the opportunity to develop their knowledge base and competencies in a self-directed way. The autonomous learner becomes the new centre of the teaching/learning process. This topic is in accordance with McEneaney's (1998; 2002) findings on the development of textbooks.

> According to the new view, while not overlooking the subject areas, the focus of the teaching programmes should be the student, not the content.
>
> (National report of Chad)

> At the beginning of the 1990s the scope for adapting education and training to various kinds of pupils' needs was deemed insufficient. […] efforts have to be made through the reforms to develop better ways of encouraging pupils' participating in their own learning and of expanding their opportunity to take charge of their own personal development.
>
> (National report of Norway)

> […] the apparition of new concepts of learning that define it as a process not of mechanical appropriation of pre-established truths, but of personal construction of knowledge. […] And […] they make relative the traditional means of transmitting knowledge.
>
> (National report of Peru)

> Introduction in the curricula of inter-disciplinary activities to develop skills/abilities for current needs/realities.
>
> (National report of Cyprus)

The shift of perspective from a content-centered to a student-centered approach in the organization of educational knowledge is pervasive throughout the reports. It is expressed in different ways. Some authors refer directly to the need for student orientation or child orientation and reject the outdated teacher- and content-oriented models. Others emphasize the active, autonomous and creative contribution learners (should) make to the accumulation of knowledge and competencies. Still others point to curriculum-making in their country being based on the constructivist paradigm. Consequently, many reports criticize the traditional rigid selection of compulsory teaching content and emphasize the need for a flexible curriculum providing scope for the individualization of the learning processes. Obviously, this approach implies significant changes in the teachers' role and tasks. Several reports point to the challenges that the new paradigm presents in terms of teachers' qualifications and training.

A complementary principle which is repeatedly mentioned assumes that learning should no longer be understood as the acquisition of knowledge structured according to separate disciplines or subjects, but increasingly as an understanding of topics, themes or problems based on elements drawn from different disciplines. Correspondingly, the reports reveal a growing tendency to establish trans-disciplinarity as a main principle orienting curriculum-making and giving it concrete form. This may be achieved, for instance, by combining several subjects into larger subject areas, by fostering a problem-oriented approach to teaching and by recommending teaching based on the students' everyday experience, including methods such as projects, experiments and so forth.

> Since many school leavers failed to get employment the curriculum was blamed for unemployment.
>
> (National report of Zimbabwe)

> Since the content of most curricula is subject matter-based, students do not acquire a variety of skills directly related to real-life situations and to their lifelong needs.
>
> (National report of the United Arab Emirates)

> Laying a foundation for life-long learning in students and helping them
> to become good workers and members of the community is certainly a
> crucial aspect that will need to be taken into consideration when
> developing the system of education.
>
> (National report of the Czech Republic)

This imagery of the autonomous learner is clearly related to the concept of the competent individual, one who is expected to deal actively and rationally with his/her environment. Helping students develop the necessary competences to deal actively and successfully with social change, for example in science, technology or the labor market, is an idea that can be found in the narratives on curriculum-making all over the world. While in some reports it becomes expressed in terms of a need to transmit competencies enabling one to cope with social reality in the narrower social context, in others the need to prepare young people for lifelong learning is emphasized. A term covering both ideas can be found in many reports: 'life skills'.

But curriculum-making is not solely concerned with knowledge and skills. According to the reports, it should also consider a wide variety of values to be instilled in students through education. These may be summarized as universalism, individualism and identity. Universalism is expressed as the need for students to develop a sense for justice, human rights and responsibility. Students should learn to participate in society as responsible citizens. They should develop respect for others, openness toward the world and an intercultural perspective. Peace education is mentioned here, as well as environmental education. Furthermore, young people should develop a sense of social cohesion and integration and contribute to the development of national culture. This may imply, depending on the specific case, learning the national language, developing patriotism, adhering to Islamic values or developing a socialist consciousness. Finally, the reports put considerable emphasis on individualism during curriculum-making. Education should be directed toward personal development in terms of self-esteem, self-confidence and self-direction. Creativity and critical thinking are essential 'ingredients' mentioned in this realm.

> Educational content also needs to be aligned with emerging and
> developing needs of society.
>
> (National report of Namibia)

> Education programmes are designed for the overall development of the
> country […] economic development, socio-cultural development, and
> political independence
>
> (National report of Pakistan)

The political discourse at the societal level relates curriculum-making to features typical of the society in which the process occurs. As Table 10.2 reveals, the need to change educational content becomes predominantly 'explained' in terms of general

social development. This may be expressed in a more 'reactive' way: as a necessity to adapt curricula in response to economic, social, political or cultural changes that a given society has to deal with. To a lesser extent, it is also expressed 'proactively': as an attempt to use curriculum-making as an instrument to lay the groundwork for planned social development. In any case, reforms are clearly more related to societal change than to a static social reality. And although a number of reports relate curriculum-making directly to some important problems, such as AIDS or unemployment, a simple problem-solving approach in curriculum-making is certainly not the main issue.

It should be emphasized that the adaptation-to-change approach shows up in two distinct varieties. Generally, developments—such as changes in the economic structure, especially the labor market structure, and the concomitant shifts in qualifications, or new challenges of everyday life and political developments—are mentioned. A different pattern can be found in some countries formerly belonging to the soviet bloc, especially most Eastern European countries. In these cases, the fundamental transition toward a market economy, western-style democratic regimes and new citizens' rights are presented as an overall pattern, which inevitably brings about profound changes in educational content and in the education system in general.

> […] imperious need of social and cultural mutations for the transition period as an irrevocable passage from the centralized and authoritarian educational system to an educational system appropriate for a society based on individual freedom, political pluralism, legitimate state and a market economy
>
> (National report of Romania)

Many changes mentioned when describing social change in an individual country have their roots in developments occurring on a global scale, such as scientific progress and technological development. They affect all countries indifferently. In Table 10.2, references to that kind of driving force in curriculum change are summarized in the bottom row. Although they imply processes occurring outside national borders, at least in part, they should be distinguished from those that present an individual country in its relationships with the global system as a system of nation-states. Globalization is seen as a system exerting pressures to which individual countries need to respond, or as the integration of independent countries in international networks or political entities, such as the European Union.

> Internationalization of the employment market […] Political developments on a global scale such as the international nature of almost all aspects of life.
>
> (National report of Germany)

> Social ideologies and political changes that emerged in the world and their influence on life aspects in Egypt which requires including such changes in the education curriculum.
>
> (National report of Egypt

> […] the globalization and the 'educational response' to it […] the internationalization of education.
>
> (National report of Bulgaria)

> To prepare the nation for global competitiveness that will be started in early years of the twenty-first century.
>
> (National report of Indonesia)

> […] integration in the European and global economy and communications […] Having gained its independence Slovenia decided to seek integration into global economic and communication trends. […] In education this calls for closer links with European countries and the co-ordination of curricula.
>
> (National report of Slovenia)

As shown in Table 10.2, the reality of worldwide interconnectedness does not yet have the highest impact on (national) discourses on educational content and the need for change. Just one-fifth of the reports explicitly refer to secular processes and about one-third relate curriculum reform to a country's external relationships, sometimes in quite vague terms.

> Scientific novelty and rapid changes witnessed in modern technology, particularly in the fields of informatics, communications, genetic engineering and space science.
>
> (National report of Syria)

We may summarize this section as follows. The contemporary narrative on curriculum reform relates education and school knowledge mainly to two issues: (a) the self-directed, competent and rational individual; and (b) societal development. Not much remains of the more traditional approaches to educational knowledge. A few decades ago educational knowledge was seen as a canon, framed by erratic disciplines and transmitting school subjects indifferently to all young people in a country. In our account of mass education the picture is quite different: acquisition of knowledge is not an end in itself (for instance, in the sense of the German idea of *Bildung*), but is a means for human beings to cope with change and to act as responsible citizens—and for society to develop wealth, democracy and equity. This comes close to what neo-

institutionalist theorists claim to be a worldwide cultural model to which nation-states' policies are committed, at least symbolically (Fiala and Lanford 1987).

Motives for curriculum change in a cross-national perspective

What kind of variance, and how much, should we expect in this pattern between countries? Assuming a global cultural model shaping education worldwide, we should expect it to be particularly reflected in two ways in the narrative on curriculum change. First, although different semantics will be used across cultures to express that model, the general pattern found in Table 10.2 should not vary in a systematic way between groups of countries characterized by different economic, political or cultural situations. For example, the pattern should be reproduced in the core group of countries forming OECD, as well in the countries not belonging to that group. Second, since education itself is thought, according to the model, to be a crucial vehicle for attaining modernization and participation in global politics, we might expect those countries which perceive themselves as 'backward' with respect to some features of the model to emphasize some institutional and/or societal expectations related to curriculum change more than others.

In Table 10.3 the data set is broken down by different groupings of countries. Values in the cells express the percentage of reports within each group in which a reference to a single category could be detected. Overall, a majority of groups reproduce the basic pattern shown in Table 10.2. Issues relating the need for curricular reform to national development are prevalent, whereas the main features of the institutional discourse retain a high and generally equivalent importance.

However, the table also reveals some interesting types of 'deviance' with respect to the overall picture, in the sense that stronger emphasis may be put on the institutional discourse and/or aspects of the global discourse. In looking at the Arab world (Middle East and North Africa), the data show that, in this group, changing the educational content is not only more connected to political discourse at the level of each state, but also to the issues of adaptation to globalization and international exchange and integration. It would appear that existing curricula are perceived not only as obstructing societal development, but also as inadequate for these countries to cope with globalization and for their involvement in a larger community. This does not necessarily imply the acceptance of a standardized dominant model of education and an indiscriminate adjustment of educational content in accordance with this model. As Ramírez and Meyer (2002b) suggest, the Islamic world may strive for distinctiveness, i.e. for an alternative model of education and a different selection of educational content. They argue, however, that today it is 'difficult to imagine a competitive alternative [to the dominant model] that does not emphasize globally legitimated core goals such as socio-economic progress and justice' (Ramírez and Meyer 2002b: 11). This is reflected in the Middle East/North Africa group by a considerable number of statements emphasizing those values and other statements pointing to the need for more integration in the community of Arab countries.

Table 10.3: Percentage of reports where types of motives are mentioned,

	World regions					
	South-East Asia	Eastern Europe/ Central Asia	Latin America/ Carib-bean	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East/North Africa	Western Europe/ North America
(n =)	*(11)*	*(19)*	*(12)*	*(28)*	*(15)*	*(16)*
Institutional discourse:						
Curriculum and classroom practice	55	58	33	43	47	44
Curriculum and the education system	18	47	33	54	40	44
Political discourse: single society						
Curriculum and specific social issues	27	21	17	50	40	19
Curriculum and social development	45	53	50	46	67	44
Political discourse: global society						
Globalization	18	10	0	11	13	31
National adaptation to global development	45	16	17	7	40	25
International exchange and integration	9	26	0	7	27	12
Not specified						
	18	10	17	21	40	19

by groups of countries

	Income groups				Transition country		OECD		Overall
Low	Low – middle	Middle – high	High	Yes	No	Yes	No	
(31)	*(28)*	*(17)*	*(25)*	*(17)*	*(84)*	*(17)*	*(84)*	*(101)*
45	36	71	44	65	43	47	46	46
42	28	59	48	53	40	47	42	43
48	11	35	32	24	33	24	33	32
52	46	59	48	59	49	47	51	50
13	7	6	28	12	14	35	10	14
13	21	29	28	18	23	24	21	22
6	7	24	24	29	11	12	14	14
19	21	14	20	12	23	24	20	21

A second type of 'exceptionalism' is characteristic for the group of transition countries. Here, the same or even greater importance is attributed to institutional arguments for curricular change than to societal development arguments which in turn are revealed to be over-represented. Moreover, arguments related to international exchange and integration are particularly emphasized. It is almost a tautology to say that transition countries are not only undergoing fundamental changes to their political and economic systems, but also experience strong pressures to conform to some worldwide norms of behavior. It is less obvious, however, that such pressures equally relate to the organization of education systems and to the educational content transmitted by them. Indeed, they translate into perceptions of a need for transforming all aspects of the educational institution. To meet world standards through changing the educational content with respect to the education system and classroom practice appears to be a prerequisite for participation in the larger community of nation-states. A more detailed examination of the reports reveals that this is exactly what many countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia are striving for.

When classifying countries by their economic strength, other interesting findings emerge. In wealthier countries the discourse on curriculum change is largely shaped by arguments relating this change to the global environment. While in the middle-to-high income group this applies mainly to arguments about a country's adaptation to world-scale developments and the need for international exchange and integration, several countries in the high-income group also emphasize globalization as a property of the contemporary world. They describe globalization as a new reality they are used to dealing with actively for their own profit. Correspondingly, the relationship between globalization and educational content becomes expressed more as a matter of fact, which should be taken into consideration in curriculum reforms, than in terms of the need to adapt to developments in the international arena. Knowledge transmitted by schools has to account for a new global environment. In sum, comparison across the national-income variable reveals a considerable cleavage as to the extent curricular reforms become justified by the countries' relationship to world society.

We would expect this finding to be confirmed by comparing OECD countries, most of them belonging to higher-income groups, with the majority of countries not belonging to this organization. Surprisingly, the only significant difference refers to the 'globalization' variable. One interesting feature deserves special attention, however. As part of its educational policy, OECD places high emphasis on the issue of the effectiveness of education systems. We would therefore expect the discourse on the curriculum to reflect the need to improve the productivity of the system, resulting in a higher score on the curriculum-and-education-system variable. However, neither in Table 10.3 nor in a more differentiated analysis where the efficiency issue was treated as a separate variable can the expected relationship be detected.

Conclusion

Educational policy does not only deal with strategies and decisions affecting stability or change of the education system. It is equally concerned with the problem of making strategies and decisions look reasonable and meaningful. This particularly applies to the selection of educational content and its distribution and organization across school levels and grades, i.e. curriculum-making. In order to make curricular decisions meaningful, attempts have to be made to relate them to the desired outcomes of the school system for individuals and society. Not surprisingly, when describing the rationale for curriculum development, decision-makers predominantly focus on the desired outcomes for individual learners and for the national society as a whole.

The impact of education on individuals and societies cannot be assessed within an abstract frame of reference. It must be related to some ideas or models of what the individual and society should be like if it is to make given ways of education appear meaningful. And while the assumption of desired outcomes of schooling may be an invariant feature of the educational institution, the specific ideas or models mentioned above may change over time. As our analysis suggests, the patterns found in analyzing reports from 2001 probably differ with respect to the reasoning we might have detected a few decades before.

Most remarkably, there seems to be a good deal of agreement across nations about desired outcomes of education in general and about the curriculum in particular. Educational content should help in shaping the autonomous and, to some extent, cosmopolitan citizen, improving national development and welfare and connecting these nation-states with global interchange. While there is variance across individual cases with respect to the features emphasized when explaining the reasons for curriculum change, there is considerable homogeneity between groups of nation-states with respect to the emphasis on the general pattern.

Notes

1. 102 countries presented a National Report on Education to the IBE in 2001 (available online at: www.ibe.unesco.org/International/ICE/46english/46natrape.htm). The size of the texts varies from about 10 to over 150 pages. In order to obtain comparable information, the IBE had invited Member States' ministries of education to organize the reports according to a structure indicated by guidelines (IBE-UNESCO 2000). The first part should give an overview of the education system at the end of the twentieth century and its development between 1990 and 2000. The second part should deal specifically with the renewal of educational content within that period, i.e. the curriculum, in view of the challenges of the twenty-first century. Analysis presented in this chapter concentrates on the second issue. Consequently, it mainly draws on the second part of the reports. The first part could not be entirely neglected, however, for a number of reasons. First, as several authors mention explicitly, the development of educational content cannot easily be separated from other developments and reforms taking place within the education system and affecting structures,

the distribution of responsibilities, forms of school management, etc. Accordingly, information concerning the development of content may already be found in the first part of a report. Moreover, there are countries where development of educational content has actually been a main focus of educational development in the last decade of the twentieth century. In these cases, obviously, the whole report refers, in one way or another, to curriculum-making. Finally, some authors have adhered less scrupulously than others to the guidelines recommended by the IBE, organizing their report according to their own desires. In these cases, a search for information pertaining to curricula and curriculum-making must necessarily be extended to the whole text in order to identify elements relevant to the development of educational content. The most important point creating difficulties for content analysis relates to the problem of different understandings among authors of seemingly identical concepts, such as 'curriculum' or 'syllabus'. While in some reports 'curriculum' is obviously used to designate the overall selection and organization of content transmitted in schools, in others the term is used in a narrower sense to describe only the temporal distribution of subjects between grades. Still other authors seem to understand the concept as synonymous with 'textbooks'. In sum, the database consists of texts whose format has not been entirely standardized by the IBE's questions.

2.   It should be noted that both data collection and content analysis of statements related to curriculum change were of a highly exploratory character. The authors of reports had to deal with questions of a highly general nature. Since questions were submitted to national ministries of education, which appointed authors according to their own requirements, in most cases nothing is known about the social status and intellectual background of the reporters. As a result, the degree of standardization across countries is very low.

In defining the criteria for composing the categories, inductive and deductive steps were combined in an interactive approach. As a result, statements relating to the reasons for undertaking curriculum reforms were first classified into twelve categories, four relating to features of the *educational system*, four to issues of the *individual society*, three to a *relationship between that society and the global system* and one residual category. In a subsequent step, both the categories for the educational and the individual-society level were condensed to the categories presented in Table 10.1. Since coding was done by one person only, it was not possible to evaluate the reliability of the ratings.

11

The Dynamics of Curriculum Design and Development: Scenarios for Curriculum Evolution

Juan Manuel Moreno

> After her six years' residence at the Mall, I have the honour and happiness of presenting Miss Amelia Sedley to her parents, as a young lady not unworthy to occupy a fitting position in their polished and refined circle. Those virtues which characterize the young English gentlewoman […] will not be found wanting in the amiable Miss Sedley. […] In music, in dancing, in orthography, in every variety of embroidery and needlework, she will be found to have realized her friends' fondest wishes. In geography there is still much to be desired; and a careful and undeviating use of the blackboard for four hours daily during the next three years is recommended as necessary to the acquirement of that dignified deportment and carriage, so requisite for every young lady of fashion. In the principles of religion and morality, Miss Sedley will be found worthy […]. (*Vanity Fair*, Thackeray 1848: Chapter I)

Introduction

Curriculum is a socio-historical construction which is expressed through general systems of knowledge characterization and hierarchy; these systems are in turn translated and transformed into legislative and administrative regulations, academic/achievement standards, textbooks and teaching aids, and the practice of teaching and learning in classrooms and schools. Goodson (2000) claimed that curriculum researchers should aim to comprehend how particular forms of knowledge are canonized and how power consolidates them. This chapter presents and deals with two fundamental dynamics of curriculum design and development—the very processes whereby curriculum is constructed as a social institution—change/control, on the one hand, consensus/conflict, on the other. This chapter will analyze specific elements of

curriculum policy that allow us to have a deeper understanding of such dynamics. Stemming from the contrast and intersection between the dynamics of both curriculum design and development, four different scenarios of curriculum evolution and change can be identified and used in the analysis of current worldwide trends of curriculum reform. The resulting analytical framework will be supported and illustrated with specific curriculum trends and country examples from different regions of the world.

The dynamic of change/control in curriculum development

Alternative policy choices with regard to curriculum design and development can be accounted for in the light of a dynamic of change/control, which operates as a sort of engine for such processes. A comprehensive/explanatory model of this dynamic has been used in different ways by many authors in the field of educational change and innovation, school improvement and educational reform. Rodriguez Romero (2001) carried out a literature review in this regard, where the issue is presented in terms of the stability/change dynamic. Quoting Popkewitz, the author states that "the study of stability has been traditionally absent from research on educational change" (Popkewitz 1983: 175). Nonetheless, and even if it emerged in another context and with very different policy intentions, research on the implementation of educational reforms and, more specifically, on *factors* affecting such implementation has been informing us for decades about the individual and institutional dimensions of change, innovation and reform in education, and about the conditions in which such stability is expressed and assured.

In the context of a comparative study of secondary school-leaving examinations (Moreno 1992), I suggested that, instead of stability and control, the specific dynamics involved in curriculum design and development were rather of *change and control*. National/public examinations are the best possible example of this dynamic: external examinations are used in many countries as tools to steer the curriculum in the desired direction, creating a whole system of incentives for students, parents, teachers and local education administrators. Curriculum change and control have a radically dialectic relationship with great potential to understand and explain the issues at stake; this vision of curriculum dynamics, in addition to accounting for the phenomena, processes and levers of curriculum change and control as such, allows for the analysis of more complex issues involved in the *control of change* initiatives and, naturally, in the *change of control* mechanisms.

Using external examination as a policy tool, educational authorities can propel the school curriculum in the most desired direction: more generalist or specialized, more vocational or academic oriented, more or less demanding in terms of performance standards, and with stronger emphasis and premium on selected knowledge areas, competencies and skills. External examinations can simultaneously fulfill the functions of innovation and reproduction, curriculum change and curriculum control (Eckstein and Noah 1993). In other words, examinations are particularly amenable to political utilization, both in terms of political debate, or as Tyack and Cuban put it (1995)

political chat, and from the governance standpoint, to control and change the school curriculum at each and every level of decision-making.

As for their potential as instruments of curriculum change, it is remarkable how external examinations can be effectively used to legitimize and consolidate new subjects and knowledge areas, pushing up their market value, while usually (though not always) devaluing others. Granted, this is the way examinations reflect wider and stronger socio-cultural, economic and political trends; yet there is little doubt that the strong presence—or the explicit elimination—of any given subject in a secondary school-leaving examination confirms its social status as a knowledge area. And this has a number of important effects and implications on the corresponding status of the related professional families. Hence, the fact that most of the struggle to obtain—and to keep—a recognized place in the school curriculum has occurred in the context of external and public examinations faced by students at critical points during their school experience. In this regard, for instance, the multiplication and diversification of examinations in many education systems in order to integrate and mainstream new vocational tracks in upper secondary education has played a crucial role in their development, consolidation and increased recognition within both secondary and tertiary education.

In parallel, the evolution of both the content and the format of examinations may lead to changes in pedagogical methods and strategies used by teachers. Thus, teachers tend to make different curriculum and pedagogical decisions, depending on whether the upcoming external examinations for their students are going to be a standardized multiple test, an essay test, an oral examination or a practical test—to name but a few examples. In those different testing scenarios, schools and teachers tend to select and arrange curriculum content, design activities and choose materials that are going to better ensure the success of their students. In other words, the potential attributed to textbooks and other curriculum materials in shaping the curriculum in action may be dwarfed by the shaping power to be found in external tests and examinations. *Teach to the test* is the short way to describe what happens in primary and secondary schools, especially during the years immediately before external testing and high-stakes examinations take place. The trend to multiply the number of theses texts and to enhance their diagnostic reach obviously has to do with increased demand for school and teacher accountability but, as we argue here, also with an important capacity to shape the curriculum.

The agenda-setting function of curriculum design and development

The function of curriculum control is complementary and runs parallel to the one of curriculum change. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this lies in the crucial relationship between the content and results yielded by examinations and public perception about the overall level of student performance. Increasing publicity and media attention devoted to examination and test results and its political utilization—especially in the context of international comparative studies of student performance—have become one

of the key issues not only in the professional or the academic education debate, but in the mainstream political debate as well. Thus, the content, format and specific arrangements of tests and examinations have a strong shaping influence on quite a few other elements of what is commonly understood as the process of curriculum design and development. As a result, both teachers and students need to align their curriculum choices with the features and specific incentives implicit in tests and examinations (thus blocking potential change initiatives). Schools and local education authorities have to carefully weigh the available options when they use their autonomy in curriculum matters, and even textbook publishers take external examinations and tests—their format, content and priorities in terms of examined skills and competencies—as the guiding criteria to design their products. In addition, tests and examinations, as quality-assurance mechanisms, fulfill a control function for the uniformity and consistency of the curriculum delivered by every school under any given administration.

When it comes to the dynamics of change and control, school curricula seem to fit the principles of the agenda-setting theory. This theory was put forward by McCombs and Shaw (1972) in the field of mass-media communication. It provides evidence to state that mass media are not quite so successful at telling us what to think as they are at telling us what to think about. As a result, the theory goes, it is assumed that if people are exposed to the same media, they will place importance on the same issues, i.e. will have a similar agenda, even if their personal stances for each of the agenda items differ sharply. Transposing the theory to the curriculum field, one can argue that the school curriculum sets the agenda for students, teachers, parents, employers and the other educational stakeholders. Even if specific contents and dominant classroom practices of curriculum areas differ sharply, the overall framing of the curriculum tells everybody what to think about and to what extent it is important. And disciplinary-based interest groups assume that if students are exposed to the same curriculum, they will develop a similar mind frame about what is worthwhile knowledge, a certain hierarchy of knowledge areas, and a set of specific conceptions and beliefs on each of them.

This leads us to the second and complementary dynamics of curriculum design and development.

The dynamic of conflict/consensus in curriculum development

Curriculum can also be defined as a public space of debate; as a matter of fact, curriculum development could be depicted as an ongoing public, policy and even electoral arena; also as a process of professional deliberation between teachers, their representatives and education managers and administrators; it is also a process of social debate among the different stakeholders of the educational community at local, regional and national levels. As an arena of ideological confrontation and political struggle, the school curriculum reflects ideological, religious, professional, economic, corporate and strictly academic interests.

To be sure, the school curriculum features high in the political debate and, in many countries, even in election campaigns. This necessarily implies ideological clashes, conflicts of interest and difficult processes of consensus building. Ever since education has been publicly and politically conceived as a strategic sector of the economy, it is possible to better understand nowadays frequent political statements that link educational performance and outcomes not just with national economic competitiveness but with national defense interests as well. Slogans and political labels in that regard are just the mass-media translation to the world of politics of the perennial issues that traditionally occupy educational debate. If we were to collect all these slogans and electoral campaign stereotypes related to education, we could put together a 'repository' of standard arguments, sometimes very strongly rooted in our societies and cultures. At other times, it is just a product of the 'political chat' about the school curriculum and the set of practices related to it.

So, for instance, we have to mention one of the most recurrent—and resilient— educational slogans and discourses that have existed ever since formal school systems were set up (and even before then): complaints and accusations about the 'lowering of standards' in schools and student performance as a result of allegedly mistaken policies and interventions or, sometimes, just as a token of the overall *decadence and degradation of education* and the urgent need to go 'back to basics'. If effectively handled, such discourse can have a huge impact on public opinion, even to the point of creating a certain awareness of national emergency. The United States is probably the most visible national example in this regard, where education reform has been presented—at least since the late 1950s and the 'Sputnik Shock'—as a key issue in terms of national defense (i.e. the now legendary National Education Defense Act). More recently, the results of PISA studies are being used by the media and some politicians in a similar way, especially in countries like Germany, Chile and Spain.

The struggle for a recognized place in the curriculum

Parallel to the dynamic of change/control, there is also a dynamic of consensus/conflict as an explanatory model of curriculum design and development. In this case, the constant succession of conflicts, confrontations and pressures, and the necessity to reach agreements and consensus, no matter how provisional they may be, not only refers to the macro-political dimension of curriculum design and development, but especially to the micro-political dimension of each school community, teaching staff and individual classrooms (curriculum in action). The school curriculum emerges there as a space of deliberation in which all stakeholders try to build consensus on the best possible arguments at any given time to back and support decisions to be made. Thus, curriculum design and development become a cyclical, evolutionary and deeply situational process, since the task is about constructing and reconstructing, through complex plans, the curriculum of a particular school. Deliberation and—as a potential outcome thereof—consensus turn curriculum design into a matter of practical problem solving. Senge (1994) identifies two types of consensus, namely, a leveling consensus,

which looks for the minimum common denominator out of multiple individual perspectives, and a forward-looking consensus, which aims to reach beyond the perspective of each individual stakeholder. Thus, consensus can be pursued as a conservative search for the minimum common denominator, or it can be understood as a more risky bet to accomplish a *moral commitment* among those involved in curriculum decision-making. To be sure, it is this second type of consensus that is sought after in the framework of deliberative rationality or, in the words of Habermas, 'communicative rationality'.

However, despite these principles, mostly related to curriculum *in action*, the dynamics of consensus/conflict have to do mainly with the fact that the *struggle* for a recognized place in the curriculum is at the core of political debate and confrontation at various levels and instances of public life. In our societies, perhaps one of the most frequent ways for groups and individuals to claim that some knowledge area or particular skill is of utmost importance and should be seen as a priority is, precisely, to say that 'it should be taught at school'; or to put it in our academic jargon, that it should enter the school curriculum as worthy knowledge that should be part of the common experience of all citizens. Thus, to give but a few examples, it is common currency in the media, NGO communiqués and in political campaigns to read or to hear that schools should be teaching cinematography, chess and HIV & AIDS prevention. Schools should also devote time—and therefore money—to prevent smoking and alcoholism, and to teach children what to do in case of a natural disaster. Students should be working with the Internet; there should be a poetry workshop in every classroom; and at least two foreign languages should be taught as compulsory subjects from as early an age as possible. The school curriculum should also deal with selected democratic values that need to be taught within every subject and as cross-curricular themes. This entails gender equality, environmental education, citizenship ethics, consumer education—and even driver training. Schools should also address the issues of racism and xenophobia and, in so doing, they should highlight studies on ethnic minorities, countries, languages and cultures that are not mainstream. Schools need to teach students to think but also to develop competencies that go beyond cognitive skills; and, of course, the curriculum has to be relevant to the labor market if schools are going to remain attractive and meaningful to many students and to their families. This last means that the applied dimension of all subjects, even the most academic ones, should be stressed. This list, as we know well, could go on for several pages!

The most important nuance, though, is not the increasing number of demands on what should schools deal with and how. Rather, the key is that such demands, in most cases, tend to be formulated in quite a radical way, that is to say, their promoters are not only asking for it to have a place into the curriculum, they are also claiming that the new area or skill should be *compulsory for all students*. Hence, it is a part of the common experience that every citizen should have access to. The more importance and relevance is assigned to a particular area, the greater curriculum centrality and duration is going to be claimed for it. A good historical anecdote that fits well here is brought by Tanner and Tanner (1980: 218) and refers the case of a state governor in the United

States in the nineteenth century who forcefully defended before the state capitol that the penal code should be adopted as a mandatory textbook in all secondary schools.

The pressure on the school curriculum comes from new contents, skills and knowledge areas that are being promoted by different groups. These new *entrants* seek more curriculum time, more human and material resources and, ultimately, more social recognition and economic reward. But time and space in the school curriculum are not endless; on the contrary, financial constraints in many countries are actually limiting them more and more. As a result, there is a harsh struggle among all those claims, forces and pressures. Behind the struggle, there are interests of all kinds, beginning with professional and corporative ones. Let us look at some basic examples. Behind the demands to introduce cross-curricular themes, one finds, first of all, the *experts* in each of those areas who see their specialized knowledge more demanded and, therefore, more rewarded. Behind the demand to increase the number of compulsory and optional foreign languages, one can see philologists and foreign-language teachers, especially those of minority languages. It is not difficult to figure out who is behind the drive to introduce ICTs, both as curriculum content and as teaching/learning materials. In short, acquiring a recognized place in the school curriculum equals—or is closely related to—occupying a recognized place in the patterns of socio-economic reward and recognition and, as a result, in the labor market and occupational hierarchy.

Furthermore, in all of the previous examples, there are also political interests and goals of a quite different nature and reach: There is data available on the social and financial impact of HIV & AIDS preventive education in secondary schools in Africa (World Bank 2005a). The increase of *collective competency* in foreign languages is nowadays considered one of the best indicators of national competitiveness and, in particular, the marketing capacity and tourism potential of any given country. The penetration and, more specifically, the effective use of computers in secondary schools is an indicator that matches almost perfectly the national competitiveness index. And it would be perfectly possible to come up with a quantitative estimate of the benefits and externalities (including budgetary savings) derived from the introduction of chess in the school curriculum, in terms of reduction of impulsivity and increases in reflexivity of pupils (among many other possibilities).

Conversely, if and when a decision is made to drop classical languages as compulsory subjects in the secondary school curriculum—or even to eliminate them altogether—the interests of educators and researchers of Latin and Greek are seriously threatened. Their realm of work is devalued and job opportunities become severely endangered. Ensuring a recognized place in the curriculum leads to creating the conditions to attract the more able students, so that the related occupations in the job market maintain or increase their status. Shaping and developing in students what Bernstein (1977) called 'disciplinary loyalty'—specialization, to use a not so literary and less-precise word—would be one of the most relevant and interesting correlates of the dynamics of curriculum conflict and consensus. Studies about the formation of school subjects could be framed in the context of this particular dynamic (Goodson 1985; 1987b).

Schooling and the construction of individual and collective identity

In the framework of the dynamics of conflict and consensus, the main challenges our school systems are facing are the dilemmas emerging from globalization and related to the role of educational institutions in the construction of personal and collective identity in a multi-ethnic and culturally plural society, which aims to continue to exist as a democracy. The dialectic play between consensus and conflict, both as it refers to policy decision-making and to the daily life of schools, is now under unprecedented pressure and tensions in the history of our school systems. Such pressures and tensions even go beyond the realm of the curriculum that has been dealt with so far in this chapter.

Against the fading away of national identities as a result of globalization, there is the paradoxical emergence of a series of local identities underpinned in religion, language and ethnic background. Thus, the more globalization advances, the greater the resurgence of local identity as a way of not giving in to the logic of homogeneity. As a reaction to the identity crisis brought about by globalization, many contemporary education systems tend to highlight local cultures as a way to offset the fading national identity. Local and regional administrations, taking advantage of the leeway created by educational reforms promoting decentralization, are keen on pushing traditional contents and even new subjects based on local cultural traits into the school curriculum. Ironically, many of these attempts at restoring traditions and reconstructing knowledge related to the local heritage indirectly reinforce the academic side of the most traditional school subjects. One of the paradoxical consequences of globalization is that schools in many countries find themselves compelled to adopt a defensive stance embracing parochial and self-centered values.

Globalization has definitely changed the conditions of personal and collective identity formation. For those with less success in the global market, the search for identity is now taking very different directions. Religious fundamentalism is one of the alternatives now chosen by those who do not know how—or do not want—to be successful in that market. Religious fundamentalism is also, paradoxically, a globalization phenomenon to the extent that it is an identity culture that transcends any national project. Cultural identity, be it religious, ethnic or gender-related, local, national or global, is an antidote against the complexity and the cruelty of the global market as the ultimate judge on the value of each and every individual. If schooling—increasingly democratic and massive throughout the world—is presented as a market and takes on the role of being the *first measure* of success and competence in that global market, then it is only normal that those who fail that test may tend to build and shape their identity through one of the 'antidotes' mentioned above, thus abandoning the school as the source of collective identity. Speaking again of religious fundamentalism, it is no coincidence that a good part of its confrontation with secular states takes place precisely around public schooling.

Yet, despite all of the above, to the same extent that schools are the arena for struggles about the definition of culture, they also represent, for those not included in

the global economy, the most important route to access relevant knowledge and key competencies. For minorities of all kinds, there is a dilemma between being acknowledged as different and, at the same time, that active recognition not standing as an obstacle to access the traits of a global identity, including the competencies and skills of high value in the global economy. There is sharp paradox in the fact that the hegemony of meritocracy as an ideology, based on the ethos of the free market, overly harms those minorities and disadvantaged groups. At the same time, it may be the only available vehicle for the inclusion and upward mobility of those minorities and collectives.

Scenarios of curriculum evolution

The discussion on both dynamics creates a new analytical framework with some potential as a general explanatory model for the processes involved in curriculum design and development. A very basic graphic representation is shown in Figure 11.1.
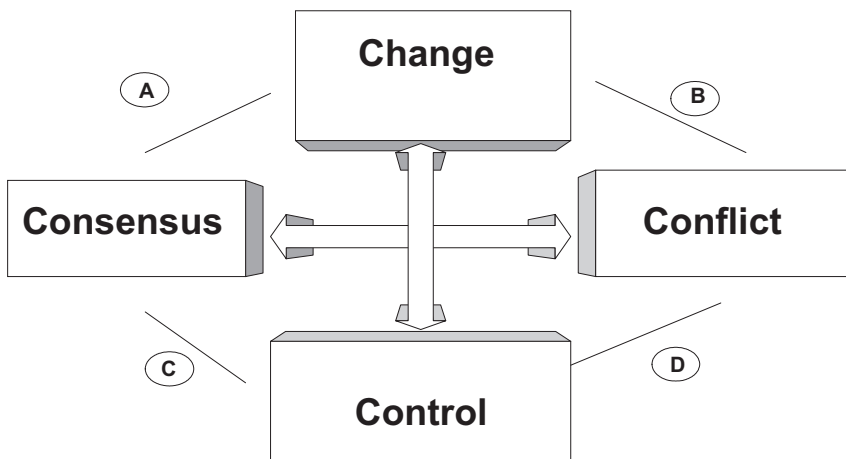
Figure 11.1: Four scenarios of curriculum evolution

Despite the need for a more careful *fine-tuning* of this model in order for it to clearly distinguish and effectively reflect the macro aspects of curriculum policy and the micro dimension of curriculum in action, we can tentatively suggest that four different scenarios of curriculum evolution and change emerge from the contrasting dynamics of change and control on the one hand, and consensus and conflict, on the other. These are: (a) scenarios of change/consensus; (b) scenarios of change/conflict; (c) scenarios of control/consensus; and (d) scenarios of control/conflict.

Scenarios of change/consensus

The best examples here are to be found in the *big-bang* large-scale education reforms of the 1960s and 1970s around the world. Also, the legendary literacy campaigns in some developing countries—Nicaragua, South Africa—would fall under this heading. Scenarios of change and consensus tend to emerge around initiatives of curriculum reform related to and aligned with simultaneous changes in the process of constructing and defining a new national identity in a country or a given community. In contemporary times, the national projects of post-conflict reconstruction of education in countries such as Kosovo, Sierra Leone or Cambodia are the most visible national cases in that regard (World Bank 2005b).

But scenarios of change/consensus also belong within the realm of the well-known comparative assertion that there are world patterns of educational institutionalization that include an increasingly uniform and converging school curriculum (Boli, Ramírez and Meyer 1985; Meyer and Ramírez 2000). To be sure, it is quite remarkable that our knowledge society—or *late modernity*, in Giddens' vocabulary—has produced such a wide consensus on a number of new skills and competencies that are said to be crucial for individual socialization and national competitiveness in the twenty-first century. All over the world, government reports and white papers cluster around the need to implement a competency-based curriculum in secondary education, where emphasis is placed on problem-solving, teamwork, peaceful conflict resolution, dealing with complexity and living with ambiguity, thriving with change, becoming lifelong learners, etc. (See Table 11.1 with a summary from the Definition and Selection of Competencies Project—DeSeCo.) Nevertheless, while there seems to be consensus on the competencies, there is still profound disagreement as to what is the right balance of disciplines and pedagogical approaches for students to acquire such competencies. Or, in other words, the challenge remains as to how to integrate the discourse and the substance of the key competencies in a traditionally framed school curriculum. Key competencies are certainly at the top of the curriculum agenda—to bring back our agenda-setting function of curriculum design and development—but school systems, especially at the secondary level, are far from being able to align their implemented curricula with them.

The second global trend in the curriculum scenario of change/consensus is the introduction of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in schools. Nearly all countries in every world region are investing heavily, setting ambitious targets in providing Internet connectivity to every school and lower and lower ratios of available computers per student in primary and secondary schools. Yet, even in developed countries, the outcomes of those huge investments seem to be quite frustrating or, in OECD terms, 'disappointing' (OECD 2004). In an apparent paradox, as skepticism mounts concerning the potential impact of ICTs on educational quality and student performance, governments in both the developed and developing world continue to increase their investment in ICTs for education (World Bank 2005c). The issue here is not the often-alleged resistance of teachers to use ICTs in the classroom; the difficulty

is rather how to carry out the curriculum integration of ICTs. The secondary education curriculum has a *grammar* that does not easily let these changes take hold and this constraint on the curriculum integration of ICTs is probably the key in explaining low levels of use—and also irrelevant use—of ICTs in schools.

Table 11.1: Key competencies (Definition and Selection of Competencies Project)

Interacting in socially heterogeneous groups	Acting autonomously	Using tools interactively
Relating well to others	Acting within the big picture or the larger context	Using language, symbols, and text interactively (written and spoken communication, and mathe-matical skills in multiple situations)
Co-operating	Forming and carrying out life plans and personal projects	Using knowledge and information interactively
Managing and resolving conflict	Defending and asserting one' rights, interests, limits and needs	Using technology interactively (understanding the potential of technology and identifying technological solutions to problems)

Source: Rychen and Salganik 2003.

Scenarios of change/conflict

As suggested above, the school curriculum, particularly at the secondary level, is a political battlefield, where different and opposing interests clash with each other, often turning curriculum reform efforts into political nightmares for Ministers of Education. Scenarios of change/conflict in the evolution of curriculum reflect and project power struggles that go well beyond the arena of education policy decision-making. Thus, one can speak of the existence of 'curriculum lobbies', both national and international, as the active players in the change/conflict scenario of curriculum development.

The first illustration of curriculum evolution within this scenario has to do with the massive and increasingly democratic nature of contemporary education systems. In such a context, curriculum change and reform become ever more challenged with the issues of student cultural, ethnic, linguistic, cognitive, sexual and religious diversity

and, as a result, is turned, *de facto*, into a social artifact designed either to include or to exclude people. The most significant changes taking place in the curriculum nowadays have to do with the *politics of difference*, i.e. with attempts at the mainstreaming of cultural and knowledge traits of marginalized groups and, therefore, utilization of the school curriculum as a tool to combat social exclusion. Some seemingly technical issues are involved here, since it would appear that both interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary approaches have failed to accomplish this goal, and contra-disciplinary approaches would be required instead (Giroux 1994).

A related manifestation of the scenario of change/conflict is to be found in what one may call the *textbook wars*. Usually—but not only—in the field of civics, history and social studies in general, textbook wars reflect the wider curriculum wars already referred to above. Examples can be drawn from many countries, from the banning of evolution theory in science textbooks in many states of the United States to the strong resistance to authorize alternative history books in Romania. Strikingly enough, textbook wars have recently become internationalized, when changes in Japanese history textbooks concerning the Second World War led to street riots and demonstrations in the Republic of Korea and China in April 2005.

Finally, it can be argued that efforts to reduce curriculum overload are probably the best illustration of the change/conflict scenario. In practice, curriculum overload may work as a device for student drop-out and failure and, therefore, exclusion. For example, in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, curriculum overload is a critical issue that stands on the way of successful secondary education reform. During the early 1990s, the focus in the region was on cleaning up the ideological slant embedded in official curricula and on reviewing textbooks in some key curricular areas. A few years later, traditional subjects were revisited to introduce national elements, and new subjects were added in line with curriculum reforms then being carried out in countries of the European Union. Currently, reformers are incorporating the discourse of standard-based, skill-centered and outcome-oriented curricula. Despite the appearance of curriculum modernization, the practical outcome has been widespread curriculum overload and a *de facto* increase in academic demands and requirements for secondary school students. In Ukraine, secondary students deal with up to seventeen different subjects, and in some tracks or streams almost half of the students receive only one hour or class session per week in some subjects. In Uzbekistan, the average secondary school student may be taking twenty-eight different subjects (World Bank 2005a). While these are extreme cases, the fact is that most students in upper secondary schools throughout the world are faced with overloaded timetables and with encyclopedic curricula (McLean 1995).

Scenarios of control/consensus

Curriculum development processes resulting from decentralization reforms, enhanced school autonomy and increased accountability may be identified within this scenario of control/consensus. These reforms have been strongly pushed in both the developed and

developing world over the last couple of decades on the assumption that interventions that focus on improving governance in general and governance of social services in particular may be the most cost-effective way to increase student retention and student learning for the society of the twenty-first century. Moreover, the discourse of devolution of power to regional and local authorities and some approaches to teachers' new professionalism have also boosted this 'zero-cost education reforms', as Carnoy (1999) calls them.

Among others, school-based curriculum development, school-based review and school-based management are all trends reflecting the drive for more local and institutional control of the curriculum in a frame of the overall steering control on the part of the state (Caldwell and Spinks 1998). Australia and Canada, among OECD countries, and Chile, El Salvador and South Africa in the developing world may be the most representative national examples. The emphasis in this scenario lies in the production of school curriculum projects as a result of local professional consensus among teachers and with local stakeholder participation, including parents, employers and sometimes even students.

School improvement policies, including competitive grants and the creation of networks of innovation, are also to be mentioned here, linking teachers' professional development needs with the process of curriculum design, adaptation and innovation in school contexts. In such a context, services and institutions of external support to schools become crucial, as they function as *controlling* buffer bodies between local and regional education authorities and teachers and schools (Moreno 1999). In short, it could be argued that control/consensus scenarios seem to be the ones creating the space and the opportunity for grass-roots and bottom-up curriculum change and innovation.

Scenarios of control/conflict

The movement towards curriculum standards is the global trend at the core of scenarios of control/conflict. To be sure, curriculum standards mean very different things in the United Kingdom, in France or in the countries of the former USSR. But, in all of them they reflect a growing stress on the outcomes of schooling, and the corresponding decline in public and political attention to input and process variables. The legal enactment of standards as the drivers of curriculum-making implies that national tests and examinations, as suggested earlier this chapter, are really steering the implemented curriculum in the classroom.

Test results are demanded and valued as the grounds for informed decision-making on the part of educational authorities, and as the substance of how educational providers are made more accountable to tax payers. Policy-makers use them to close down schools and to fire principals and teachers; or as a justification to hire new inspectors, superintendents and school principals, to change textbooks or to retreat to back-to-basics curriculum approaches. In an increasingly complex world, decision-makers, media and public opinion are craving for simple and, most of all, nuance-free information. And what is more nuance-free than a ranking? This is probably why the

publication of school league tables at the national level and of country rankings stemming from the results of international comparative studies of student achievement has such a remarkable impact on the media and public opinion at large.

These policies, because of the incentives they create among all educational stakeholders, are leading to a *de facto narrowing* of the implemented curriculum in many countries. Moreover, the narrowing of the curriculum, as reflected in standardized tests, leaves out of the public and political focus everything that goes beyond basic knowledge and basic competencies. In other words, it pushes down to a nearly invisible position most of what schools are actually doing and teaching to students. This may end up consolidating a much more restricted and artificial hierarchy of worthwhile school knowledge, apart from strongly limiting the public view on the desired effects of schooling. On the positive side, however, the standards movement could potentially serve as a radical measure against curriculum overload. Once again, the perennial curriculum question of 'what counts as good education' emerges here.

External tests and examinations can be used—and in fact have been used in some countries—to claim (with quite fragile evidence, by the way) that public delivery of education is inefficient, almost by definition. But, obviously, tests and examinations may also be used to identify districts, schools and even individual students in need of more attention and targeted resources. The political utilization of tests and examinations implies that they may become a regulatory practice which allows investing more and spending better in education, and not as an alibi to invest less.

Conclusion

Education reform all over the world is increasingly curriculum-based, as mounting pressures and demands for change tend to target and focus on both the structure and the very content of the school curriculum. At the same time, school curricula show high levels of stability and resilience and it is indeed difficult to name a country where the majority of education stakeholders are not complaining about the irrelevance of the curriculum, especially in secondary education (World Bank 2005a). Thus, it is quite perplexing—and sometimes even alienating, especially for teachers—to watch the contrast between the nonstop curriculum reform initiatives and *moves* on the part of successive education administrations and the fundamental conventionality and traditionalism of the implemented curriculum—the grammar of the school—when seen in historical perspective. There seems to be extreme volatility on the one hand; and extreme stability, on the other. The chapter by Kamens and Benavot in this volume provides convincing evidence of such paradox when the authors report that between 1980 and 2000, 41.7 percent of the countries in the world decided to move from a comprehensive secondary curriculum to a 'multi-track' model while a strikingly identical percentage of countries were making exactly the opposite reform, i.e., adopting a comprehensive curriculum in secondary education, exactly over the same time period. As far as curriculum reform is concerned, there seems to be a lot of movement but not much progress; lots of *chat* but not much discourse; lots of

declarations of intent, but not that many full-fledge and long-term policies. One could even argue that the keys to the governance of the school curriculum appear to be similar to those of, for instance, monetary policy so that Curriculum Development Centers at Ministries of Education would behave pretty much like Central Banks, which raise or lower interest rates depending on context-specific circumstances within different and evolving economic scenarios. In that regard, the key issue is not just some sense of 'progress' implicit in a series of reforms but rather the extent to which curriculum policy—and the resulting curriculum change in historical perspective—is responsive to the evolution of the needs and demands of any national society and, in turn, contributes to shape and steer those demands.

The analytical framework presented in this chapter has attempted to elicit and then make sense of all those paradoxes. The contrasting dynamics of change- control and consensus- conflict enable the mapping of curriculum evolution in a systematic way, accounting for the tensions, dilemmas, contradictions and *games* involved in curriculum design and development processes in contemporary education systems. A whole research program can be envisaged in that regard, one which is equally relevant for sociologists and historians of the school curriculum, curriculum policy analysts and comparative and international educators: For a start, it would be interesting to identify which of the four scenarios prevails in different world regions and countries, according to development levels and other political, economic and strictly educational variables. A second issue open for future research is the use of this analytical framework based on the dynamics of curriculum change to determine indicators of democratization of the curriculum, and the analysis of the concrete policy interventions which appear to lead to such democratization in different countries and world regions.

12

Socio-historical Processes of Curriculum Change

Ivor Goodson

Most recent school restructuring initiatives have combined a series of features. They have adopted a posture of 'optimistic newness': an amnesia which focuses on the spontaneous creation of solutions, of new 'change forces'. Above all, they have shown an almost willful disregard for previous change efforts and of the embedded contexts and frames of schooling which are historically sedimented.

In some ways, it may be sensible to view 'change' and 'reform' as themselves aspects of culture. They represent, in a sense, cultures of disavowal and denial. They wish for the 'end of history', and proclaim that end by denying the forces of history: 'change forces', not 'historical forces'; new standards, not old human agency.

A good example of such a proclamation of newness was the British National Curriculum, announced as a major new initiative of a triumphalist Thatcher government in 1987. Educational theorists often uncritically accepted this ideology of newness. Much of the curriculum theory at the time adopted the 'new' triumphalist tone and sought to construct new 'guides' as to how to 'implement' this new panacea. It was thought 'inappropriate' to provide a more analytical and historical approach. The work of Bob Moon is a classic example of such 'implementationist myopia'. I warned at the time:

> As the study of the National Curriculum confirms, it is easy to be beguiled by the frantic activity in the foreground. To be drawn into the contemporary foreground is to run the danger of ignoring the continuities in the background. Being drawn into the frenetic foreground, curriculum study and curriculum theory can forego much of their potential to provide independent scholarship (Goodson 1995: preface, xvii).

In fact, the National Curriculum produced a wide range of problems, from teacher discontentment, through to a debilitating narrowing of curriculum opportunities and growing student disaffection. The British Government is now trying to loosen the hold

of the National Curriculum and develop again broader curriculum opportunities to try to reverse teacher and student disaffection. As the fate of the National Curriculum (and indeed British Mad-Cow Disease) confirmed, independent scholarship does not equal left-wing 'carping criticism'. It is what it pronounces: 'independent scholarship', providing analytical advice that might save huge sums of money being wasted on ill-conceived and under-prepared new initiatives. Governments would do well to retain independent advisory forces in the face of the global spin-doctors they will increasingly confront. Educational changes of course are subject to similar global forces. When change theorists adopt only the foreground of contemporary implementation they ignore the continuities in the background.

As we shall find, history does not 'end' and change forces will, ultimately, have to negotiate with other historical forces. It would be better to begin that negotiation from the earliest stages in defining change theory, not leaving it until the changes are themselves subverted and inverted in the melting pot of human actions.

Interrogating change theory

In historical terms, it is not at all surprising that 'change forces' and pervasive restructuring initiatives should be sweeping the world at the moment. Since 1989, we have seen a seismic shift in the world in terms of the dominant political ideologies. Beyond the triumphalist 'end of history' line peddled by camp followers, lies the belief that American democratic and business values have now vanquished all alternative political and economic systems. Behind this ideological shift is, of course, a massive technological transformation, which many believe puts us within a 'third industrial revolution'. Such huge transformations, quite understandably, lead to a passing belief that history is now irrelevant, suspended—over.

But in the everyday world of social life and social institutions, this glib dismissal of history does not stand scrutiny for a moment. Can the situation in Kosovo, Rwanda or Northern Ireland really transcend history? In the end, will not the change forces, with all their smart bombs and surveillance technology, nonetheless have to confront human and historical fabric? The answer, of course, is inevitably that transformational change forces will have to confront existing patterns of life and understanding. This will also be the case with regard to change forces in our schools. Schools are great collectivizing and socializing areas where our social memory is deeply embedded. Restructuring schools may not prove a great deal simpler than restructuring Kosovo.

Meyer, Kamens and Benavot (1992) talked about school reforms as 'world movements' that sweep across the global arena: invented in one country, they are rapidly taken up by political elites and powerful interest groups in each country. But what then becomes clear is that these world movements of school reform 'embed' themselves in national school systems in very different ways. The national school systems are *refractors* of world change forces. Our task is to understand this process of social refraction, for only then can we develop a change theory that is sensitive to the circumstances—albeit deeply changed circumstances—of schooling.

In his book, *Fluctuating fortunes,* Vogel (1988) documented the changing cycles of power in global business. In periods of high business power, schooling tends to be driven towards business values. These periods move educational policy and economic policy into close harmony. At such times, educational questions tend to be driven hard by vocational questions; issues of competitiveness and economic efficiency are widely promoted. But the educational and the economic are, as a matter of fact, not synonymous. Sometimes they can be performed in harmony, but at other times they lead in very different directions if the educational needs of school students are scrutinized in their own right. At times, when business power is held in balance by other forces, the 'internal' professional power of educator groups can emerge as a major defining force.

Such a period began in the years after the Second World War. This period of 'Cold War' between political ideologies set capitalist business values against systems of communist production. In the west, egalitarian social policies were pursued and public education systems were heavily promoted as vehicles of common purpose and social good. Business values and the private sector lived in 'mixed economies' where public sectors provided a good deal of the 'public services' of national systems.

In this period, which lasted well into the 1970s—even into the 1990s in some countries (e.g. Canada)—educators were seen as having large amounts of professional autonomy. Much educational change was, at this time, left to internal educational experts to initiate and define.

In these historical circumstances of substantial professional autonomy, change theory looked for the sources of initiation and promotion of change to the educator groups 'internal to the school systems'. In conceptualizing curriculum change in the 1970s, I developed a model which scrutinized the 'internal affairs' of change and set this against the 'external relations' of change.

Internal educational change

One example of the internal patterns, which predominated in the 1960s and 1970s, were the models of curriculum change developed in a range of work that I conducted at that time. For instance, the model of school-subject change, which provided a four-stage evolutionary pattern, was defined in Goodson (1995) in the following way:

1. *Invention* may come about from the activities or ideas of educators; sometimes as a response to 'climates of opinion' or pupil demands or resistance or from inventions in the 'outside world':

   > The ideas necessary for creation … are usually available over a relatively prolonged period of time in several places. Only a few of these inventions will lead to further action. (Ben-David and Collins 1966)

2. *Promotion* by educator groups internal to the educational system. Inventions will be taken up 'where and when persons become interested in the new idea, not only as intellectual content but also as a means of establishing a new intellectual identity and particularly a new occupational role'. Hence, subjects with low status, poor career patterns and even with actual survival problems may readily embrace and promote new inventions such as environmental studies. Conversely high-status subjects may ignore quite major opportunities as they are already satisfactorily resourced and provide existing desirable careers. The response of science groups to 'technology' or (possibly) contemporary mathematics groups to 'computer studies' are cases in point. Promotion of invention arises from a perception of the possibility of basic improvements in occupational role and status.

3. *Legislation.* The promotion of new inventions, if successful, leads to the establishment of new categories or subjects. Whilst promotion is initially primarily internally generated, it has to develop external relations with sustaining 'constituencies'. This will be a major stage in ensuring that new categories or subjects are fully accepted, established and institutionalized. And further, that having been established, they can be sustained and supported over time. Legislation is associated with the development and maintenance of those discourses or legitimating rhetorics which provide automatic support for correctly labelled activity.

4. *Mythologization.* Once automatic support has been achieved for a subject or category, a fairly wide range of activities can be undertaken. The limits are any activities which threaten the legitimated rhetoric and hence constituency support. The subject at this point is mythological. It represents essentially a licence that has been granted (or perhaps a 'patent' or 'monopoly rights'), with the full force of the law and establishment behind it. At this point when the subject has been successfully 'invented', the process of invention and of establishment is completed (Goodson 1995: 193-194).

It is possible to restate this model of school subject change as a more general educational change model. Hence:

1. *Invention might be seen as change formulation;*
2. *Promotion as change implementation;*
3. *Legislation as policy establishment;*
4. *Mythologization as established or permanent change*

But, the most important conclusion from studying these patterns of change in the 1960s and 1970s is to evidence how internally generated change works its way towards external legitimation. Of course, it is true that such internally generated change exists in externally contrived climates of opinion, but the important point is that the invention and generation of the change idea begins internally and then works for external legitimation. As we have seen, during the period following the Second World War, and well into the 1970s and 1980s, public service provision was left largely in the hands of professional groups. In this sense, education was left in the hands of teachers and educationalists to initiate and promote educational change. Whilst, occasionally, these changes were responses to external stimuli, by and large, the development of external opinion came in the later states of change establishment. Educational change was, therefore, defined, instigated and promoted internally, and then went on to sustain and win external support in order to ensure establishment and legislation.

External relations of change

Until the late 1970s, internally generated change remained the lynchpin of the change theory that was subsequently codified and written. Since the triumph of western corporatism in 1989, it is important to revisit the assumption that change is internally generated and analyze the kinds of patterns of educational change that now prevail.

I recently argued that internal change agents faced a 'crisis of positionality' (Goodson 1999). This crisis of positionality prevails where the balance of change forces is substantially inverted. Now change can be seen as invented and originating within external constituencies. In this situation, internal change agents find themselves responding to, not initiating, changes. Thus, instead of being progressive change agents, they often take up the role of conservative respondents to the externally initiated change. Since educational change is not in line with their own defined missions, it is often seen as alien, unwelcome and hostile. The crisis of positionality for internal change agents is, then, that the progressive internal change agent can become the conservative, resistant and reluctant change agent of external wishes.

For these reasons, above all, change theory has to now develop a finer sense of history. Where change was the internal mission of educators and external relations were developed later, educational goodwill and a sense of purpose and passion might be assumed. Now the educator groups are less initiating agents or partners and more deliverers of externally defined purposes.

For this reason, Andy Hargreaves and I have been working on a new multi-site project examining change in American and Canadian schools. Our primary concern has been to analyze and historically compare the changing *conditions of change*. Our methodology has, as a result, been both historical and ethnographic (see Hargreaves 1994; Goodson 1995).

In the schools we are studying, we have developed a historical archive of the changes and reforms that have been attempted within the school. We have begun to see how educational change follows a series of cycles, not unlike that of the economy.

Indeed, we begin to see how, just as Kondratiev (1984) argued, economic change often went in long—as well as short-wave cycles—so too does educational change.

In these cycles, the powers of internal professional groups and external constituencies oscillate quite markedly and, in so doing, affect the change forces and associated change theories that we analyze and define.

Let me provide an example: Durant School in an industrial city in upper New York State was initiated and promoted by internal educator groups in the late 1960s. One group was concerned to establish an urban learning environment of a broadly progressive character and began to build up a new educational infrastructure in the city centre. A student clientele was attracted as the educators defined and promoted their educational mission. In due course, a loose coalition of like-minded schools grew up and ideas and materials were exchanged. The change forces, then, had some of the features of a social movement. In the later stages, the school began to negotiate with external constituencies—parents, local business, school boards—and, in due course, became a member, albeit a radical one, of the local school system.

More recently, though, the patterns of change have begun to change fundamentally towards the pattern of inversion noted earlier. Now the school primarily responds to change developed by external groups.

For instance, in the sponsorship of new buildings and resources, the role of local business, e.g. Citibank, has been central. There, the consent and collaboration of local business interests have begun to influence school policy. Moreover, local business groups have been hugely influential in pushing for new educational 'standards' and in initiating and promoting major educational changes. The idea of 'schools without walls' has followed progressive practice in stressing course work and project work as a way of assessing student achievement. The school is now challenged by the new mandate pushed by the school board commissioners to have students sit the Regents' examination. This will transform the context and control of the school's curriculum and, in doing so, change the teaching/learning milieu. In the new change dispensation, change is externally mandated and only then internally negotiated.

In the contemporary conditions of change, combining ethnographic and historical methods of inquiry provides us with the database to develop new contextually sensitive change theory. This new theory allows us to arbitrate between the changing balance of external relations and internal affairs in contemporary historical circumstances. I have recently defined a reformulated change model based on the evidence gathered in our recent research projects (Goodson 2001):

1) *Change formulation*. Educational changes are discussed in a variety of external arenas, including business groups, associated think-tanks, new pressure groups like 'standards mean business', and a variety of relatively newly formed parental groups. Often these changes resemble world movements that can be traced back to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Torres 2000). Much of the change is driven by a belief in marketization of education and the delivery of

educational services to parental 'consumers' who are free to choose and to bargain over their provision (Kenway 1993; Whitty 1997; Robertson 1998).

2) *Change promotion* is handled in a similar fashion by external groups with varied internal involvement. As Reid has written:

> … external forces and structures emerge, not merely as sources of ideas, promptings, inducements and constraints, but as definers and carriers of the categories of content, role and activity to which the practice of schools must approximate in order to attract support and legitimization. (Reid 1984: 68)

3) *Change legislation* provides the legal inducement for schools to follow externally mandated changes. In some countries, schools are evaluated by examination results (which are published in league tables). Measures also exist or are under way to link teachers' pay to teachers' performance in terms of students' examination or test results (Menter et al. 1997). Such legislation leads to a new regime of schooling, but allows teachers to make some of their own responses in terms of pedagogy and professionalism. Overall, school change policy and curricula and assessment policy is thereby legislated, but some areas of professional autonomy and associated arenas for change can still be carved out. In certain countries (for example, Scandinavia), this is leading to progressive decentralization and a push for new professional autonomy. Again, the world movements for change are historically refracted by national systems.

4) *Change establishment*. Whilst external change has been established systematically and legally, the power resides mostly in the new *categorical* understandings of how schools operate—*delivering* the mandated curriculum, being assessed and inspected, responding to choice and consumer demands (Hargreaves et al. 2001). Much of the marketization of schools is taken for granted now in many countries and, in that sense, has achieved mythological status. (Goodson 2001: 51-52).

Change versus continuity: External versus internal

In the contemporary conditions of change, educational change forces are mainly driven by external constituencies. These external forces have essentially followed the seismic shifts of the decade since 1989 in promoting globalization and marketization. In the

triumphalist period of the 1990s, this appeared to be the end of the story—or 'the end of history' in Fukuyama's (1993) felicitous phrase. As our combined ethnographic and historical work focuses on the longer cycles of change, it becomes clear that, in fact, the apparent triumph of markets and globalization in schooling is likely to be a temporary phase. Schools themselves are major repositories of institutionalized practices, social memories, and the procedures and professionalisms that have been historically constructed and embedded over many centuries. Hence, the apparent triumphalist externally mandated changes confront what might be called the contextual inertia of the existing school system. The changes that will actually emanate in the post-millennial period will come from a collision between externally mandated change forces and the existing historical context of schooling.

Already, the optimism of externally mandated change in many western countries can be seen to be weakening in the face of the continuity of school practice. In many countries, there is a moral panic because so much financial and political capital has been expended on educational reform for such little apparent result that a delicate game of 'blaming and shaming' is often played out. The teachers are blamed or the pupils are blamed, or the families are blamed; what is seldom blamed is the poorly articulated external change program.

To analyze *change sustainability*, we have to understand the *conditions of change*, and to do this we have to develop our historical and ethnographic studies. That is why this chapter argues so consistently for a sense of history in our analyses—not out of some obscure scholarly belief, but because, quite simply, we cannot pursue *change sustainability* without such understandings. Without context sensitivity, the new change forces may be shipwrecked in the collision with the hard sedimentary rocks of existing school context. Externally mandated change forces are all very well as triumphalist symbolic action pronouncing the new world order, but unless they develop context sensitivity, the triumph may be short-lived and unsustainable. In this sense, a more historical understanding of change theory is a deeply pragmatic project.

I have argued recently, in The Lawrence Stenhouse Lecture at the British Educational Research Association, that one of the problems of new market triumphalism is *overreach* in a number of areas. Most notably, the new marketeers have, I believe, overreached themselves in the attempt to direct and diminish professional agents, whether they are doctors, social workers or teachers. Professional groups are vital agents in delivering professional services, and their missions need to be sensitively and seriously negotiated and defined. Triumphalist overreach leads to systematic professional under-performance, when change forces act with external force but internal ignorance.

Again, let me provide an example. Lessons from history are instructive but must be read with the warning that past historical experiences are, themselves, embedded in different political and social contexts. Nonetheless, the example comes from an early period of triumphalism in English schooling. The British state had recently developed a national system of 'state schools' and, in the period 1892–1895, began to demand that teachers were prescribed a syllabus and paid according to their success in teaching it. It

was, in short, an instance of controlling schools and teachers as a 'symbolic action', to show who was boss and to insist on a particular and closely defined form of schooling. Holmes (1912) has given his contemporary opinion of what happened, and it illuminates some of the dangers of external change forces acting with internal context insensitivity:

> The state, in prescribing a syllabus, which was to be followed, in all the subjects of instruction, by all the schools in the country, without regard to local or personal considerations, was guilty of one capital offence. It did all the thinking for the teacher. It told him in precise detail what he was to do each year in each 'Standard', how he was to handle each subject, and how far he was to go in it; what width of ground he was to cover; what amount of knowledge, what degree of accuracy was required for a 'pass'. In other words, it provided him with his ideals, his general conceptions, his more immediate aims, his schemes of work; and if it did not control his methods in all their details, it gave him (by implication) hints and suggestions with regard to these on which he was not slow to act; for it told him that the work done in each class and each subject would be tested at the end of each year by a careful examination of each individual child; and it was inevitable that in his endeavour to adapt his teaching to the type of question by which his experience of the yearly examination led him to expect, he should gradually deliver himself, mind and soul, into the hands of the officials of the Department—the officials at Whitehall who framed the yearly syllabus, and the officials in the various districts who examined on it.
>
> What the Department did to the teacher, it compelled him to do to the child. The teacher who is the slave of another's will, cannot carry out his instructions except by making his pupils the slaves of his own will. The teacher, who has been deprived by his superiors of freedom, initiative, and responsibility, cannot carry out his instructions except by depriving his pupils of the same vital qualities. The teacher who, in response to the deadly pressure of a cast-iron system, has become a creature of habit and routine, cannot carry out his instructions except by making his pupils as helpless and puppet-like as himself. But it is not only because mechanical obedience is fatal, in the long run, to mental and spiritual growth that the regulation of elementary or any other grade of education by a uniform syllabus is to be deprecated. It is also because a uniform syllabus is, in the nature of things, a bad syllabus. (Holmes 1912: 103-104)

In the event, payment by results was rapidly abandoned, but interestingly enough, given the historical amnesia of educational policy, the British Government is again promoting payment by results, as are some states and districts in the USA. In the

nineteenth century episode, in due course, a more sensitive balance between external prescription and internal expertise was negotiated. As some of the current initiatives begin to founder, I suspect that the same re-negotiation will take place as 'external' change theory begins to confront the challenge of sustainability and generalizability. Already, in some countries, we can see how overreach has led to a progressive handing back of professional power to internal practitioners and educationists.

In England, for instance, the Private Finance Initiative has allowed private sector entrepreneurs to build and lease schools and provide a range of associated services. They have, however, been reluctant to enter the professional terrain of teaching and learning. Here, new funding for developing 'pedagogy' and internal expertise is becoming available. Hence, in this new discussion, a good deal of professional power to initiate change is left to internal agents. Once again, change theory will need to concentrate on those changes that are being internally generated, as well as externally mandated. I believe we shall, once again, see 'bottom-up' change, internal to the school, generating new agendas of change for a time, maybe alongside 'top-down' externally mandated change. Those different models and sequences of change will now be tested for their crucial capacity to sustain and generalize school change.

For this reason, in the last section, I want to revisit our models of school change to point to a few lessons from past change initiatives.

Conclusions and complexities

The moving matrix of change models and theories has taken us from a confident belief in professionally generated internal change to triumphantly proclaimed externally mandated change. The move is now well enough established for us to begin to interrogate externally mandated change for its capacity to sustain new reforms. The acid test is *the sustainability of change.*

The key lacuna in externally mandated change is the link to teachers' professional beliefs and to teachers' own personal missions. In the previous model of change, this was built in as an integral part of the model; in the externally mandated model, it is merely *assumed.*

All the evidence that is now gathering shows this assumption to be patently false. The personal and professional commitment that must exist at the heart of any new changes and reforms is absent. Not only is it neutrally absent, it is in fact positively absent in the sense that there is a mixture of profound indifference and active hostility to so many changes and reforms.

There is profound indifference, in the sense that many teachers report a moving of their centre of gravity towards personal and social missions *outside* their professional life. There is active hostility, because so many changes seem ill-conceived, professionally naïve and against the heart and spirit of professional belief.

13

New Proposals for Upper Secondary Curricula in Four Latin American Countries, 1990–2005

María de Ibarrola

Most recent school restructuring initiatives have combined a series of features. They have adopted a posture of 'optimistic newness': an amnesia which focuses on the spontaneous creation of solutions—of new 'change forces'. Above all, they have shown an almost willful disregard of previous change efforts and of the embedded contexts and frames of schooling

This analysis focuses on new proposals for upper secondary curricula in four Latin American countries (1990–2005): Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico. It aims to enrich the content and debate on upper secondary education curricula—a level of education disregarded until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

This chapter is organized into two major sections. Section I deals with changes in structure and curriculum,[1] discussing two main ideas:

1. A redefinition of secondary education in order to clarify a new 'universal' level with goals and objectives that: (a) include a changed 'secondary'[2] education; and (b) integrates the 'double track' of preparing students for entry into higher education and the labor market.
2. Specific analysis of the curricular proposals in these four Latin American countries showing: different curricular structures and similar replications of the universal possibilities of school curriculum; and a new general education that integrates vocational education.

Section II looks at the possibilities of educational change viewed from two perspectives:

3. An exploration of two key questions regarding the structural changes and curricular proposals: their external validity; and the actual possibilities of educational change.

4.   A consideration of educational institutions: their role in implementing the new proposals and thus in achieving the new goals of upper secondary education in the four countries of study; and their influence on the actual proposals according to differing institutional histories.

Section I. Changes in structure and curriculum

During the twentieth century, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico all consolidated a 'double track upper secondary system', in contrast to a 'multi-track system' or a 'comprehensive system' (see chapter by Kamens and Benavot) between grades 7-8 until grades 11-12. One track led to university and the other prepared young people to enter a 'mid-level technician' position in the labor market. These two secondary education tracks with different objectives, implemented in different and separate institutions, enrolling students from different social strata, offering different certifications, eventually had different effects on the students' futures.

The students enrolled in the second track had no chance of meeting the requirements to pursue a university education. The vocational/technical secondary education track, internationally recommended at the time, would prepare young people for immediate entry into the labor market with a higher qualification than their parents. This promoted a democratization of secondary education, a certain social mobility and an answer to a perceived national economic need for modern mid-level technicians. At the same time, it was a legitimate way of rerouting students from what was then considered a 'massive' demand for university education.

Changes in structures[3]

During the 1990s, the political decision of reforming upper secondary education in all four countries was implemented in the two great spheres of decision-making proposed by Cox: the structure and the curriculum. As I will argue later in this paper, a third great sphere of decision-making was not taken into account: the educational institution.

Cox defines structure as the configuration of the school system in a determined sequence of years, a sequence that may or may not offer branches, thereby defining the major boundaries of the system (Cox 2001a). According to this definition, the relative position of upper secondary education changed in Argentina and in Mexico. Moreover, in all four countries, new definitions, objectives and curricula for upper secondary education have been officially approved.

Argentina
As of April 1993 (Ley Federal de Educación 24.195), the Argentine education system established a new general basic education structure consisting of three cycles of three grades each—a total of nine grades. That, together with one grade of pre-school education, constitutes ten-grade compulsory basic education. After this basic education, a new *polimodal* (comprehensive with multiple tracks) secondary education (grades 10-

12) was designed that devotes about 50 percent of curricular time to a general basic education ensuring the acquisition of basic competencies, 30 percent to an education oriented towards five different areas (natural sciences; economy and management of organizations; humanities and social sciences; production of goods and services; communication, arts and design), and 20 percent to complementary contents defined by the establishments themselves. This upper secondary education may articulate with the 'technical/professional itineraries', where some 1,200 to 1,800 additional hours offer options in four different economic sectors and eleven vocational profiles.

Brazil

A new educational reform was approved in Brazil in 1996: Secondary education would no longer be an intermediate level of schooling between elementary and higher education and the education system would be defined in two levels only: basic (now including grades 9 to 11) and higher. New national curriculum parameters for improving secondary education were established by the Law of Directions and Bases for National Education (LDB, Law 9394/96). There is also a new conception of a parallel vocational/technical education structured in three levels as shown in Table 13.1. A very recent Presidential decree (5.154) establishes alternatives to integrate general and technical secondary education in the same establishments, facilitate vocational and general education, and allow schools to provide more choices to students in terms of general and technical education.

Chile

In Chile, the same general structure of the school system remains in use to date—with some interesting changes: there is a common general curriculum for the first two grades, together with some freedom for each school to decide on curricular definitions. After grade 11, a differentiated education starts, covering the two traditional tracks: humanistic/scientific and technical/vocational. Since 1998 a decree has been adopted establishing the fundamental aims and minimum contents for secondary education. In May 2003 compulsory and free of charge secondary education ('*liceo* for everybody' up to 21 years of age, grades 9-12) under state responsibility was established as a constitutional reform.

Mexico

In 1993 a change in the national constitution established nine grades of compulsory (and free of charge) basic education in Mexico, including the three grades of lower secondary education (grades 7-9).[4] The importance of upper secondary education was recognized only after 2000, when the National Plan for Education 2001-2006 included proposals to increase coverage of the age group to at least 60 percent of the potential demand, and to integrate the three different modalities existing since the 1970s in order to offer equivalent opportunities for every young person. All modalities will pursue three main objectives: education for further studies, education for work and education

Table 13.1: Place and position of lower and upper secondary education

Ideal cohort age	Argentina			Brazil			
	1990	**2004**		**1990**	**2004**		
1				Day care or nursery			
2							
3	Pre-primary education	1					
4		2		Pre-school			
5		3 comp	Preschool 3 comp				
6	Primary education (comp.)	1	Ten grades of basic compulsory education 1st cycle				
7		2		First grade education (comp.)	1	Compulsory education	Parallel vocational/ technical education in three levels, basic-non formal; technical secondary education; technologic higher education
8		3			2		
9		4			3		
10		5	2nd cycle		4		
11		6			5		
12		7			6		
13	Secondary basic education	1	3rd cycle		7		
14		2			8		
15		3	*Polimodal.* Five basic modalities. Additional technical itinerary	Second grade education: vocational education integrated	9	Upper secondary education. Part of Basic education of 11 grades	
16	High school degree, commercial or technical modalities	4			10		
17		5			11		
18	Higher education						
	Higher education						

within compulsory education, 1990 and 2004

Ideal cohort age	Chile				Mexico			
	1990		2004		1990		2004	
1	Nursery				Initial education			
2								
3	Infant courses				Pre-school	1	Twelve grades of basic compulsory education	Three grades of pre-school (comp.)*
4						2		
5						3 (gene-ralized)		
6					Primary education (comp.)	1		Elementary education (comp.)
7	Primary compulsory education	1	Twelve grades of basic compulsory education up to 21 years of age	Primary education		2		
8		2				3		
9		3				4		
10		4				5		
11		5				6		
12		6			Secondary education or upper basic education	1		Compulsory secondary education
13		7				2		
14		8				3		
15	Lyceum : human-istic scientific or technical profess-ional	9		Lyceum: common courses	Upper secondary education: general, bivalent, professional	1	Upper secondary education: general, bivalent, mid-level technician	
16		10				2		
17		11		Lyceum: two branches		3		
18		12			Higher education			
	Higher education							

* Implementation to be completed by 2008.

for citizenship. As of 2003, all of the different modalities have been providing new study plans and programs. However, in 2002, a surprising congressional decision established three grades of compulsory free pre-school for populations aged 3, 4 and 5, to be implemented in a phased way and completed by 2008. This constitutional reform shifted compulsory education towards early childhood, leaving an open question as to what the priorities and new opportunities for young people will be.

Enrolment and access

There is a common recognition among different Latin-American specialists that upper secondary education originated as an opportunity for the elite, both in enrolment and contents (Cox 2001a: 31; Rama 2001; Belleï 2003; Gallart 2003). Nevertheless, during the twentieth century, various efforts were made to democratize access. At the end of the century, all four countries had significantly increased enrolment, although data show varied results.

Table 13.2: Enrolment distribution in upper secondary education, ca. 2000

	Argentina (2001)	Brazil (2000)	Chile (2002)	Mexico (2003)
Enrolment rates [a]	80.3%	37%	87%	53.5%
General academic [b]	48.9		60.4	60.1
Commercial	22.2			
Technical/vocational	28.9		39.6	10.8
Bivalent				29.1
Total number of students (in thousands)	1,618	9,169	896	3,295

Table notes:

a. Sources for enrolment: Argentina, 2001, age group 15-17: Dirección Nacional de Información y Evaluación de la Calidad Educativa. Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología, *Tendencias recientes en la escolarización y la terminalidad del nivel medio de enseñanza.* 2002. Brazil: Data provided by the Pesquisa Nacional por Amostragem de Domicilios, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e de Estadistica, 2001. Age group: 15-17; about 10 percent of the age group is still enrolled in primary education or in adult or vocational courses. Chile: 2002; age group 14-17. Ministerio de Educación, *Indicadores de la educación en Chile, 2002*. México: 2003. Secretaría de Educación Pública. *Sistema educativo de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Principales cifras del ciclo escolar 2003-2004.*

b. Sources for enrolment distribution. Argentina: Gallart et al. (2003). At that date, the new *polimodal* education covered only 37.4 percent of enrolment in secondary education in the country. The distribution corresponds only to that percentage. Chile: Cariola et al. (2003); México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, *Sistema Educativo de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Principales cifras del ciclo escolar 2003-2004.*

Inequality, the more prevalent trait of all four countries, is expressed in many ways within the education system. A significant number of young people are still not enrolled in school, particularly in Mexico and especially Brazil. Other sources (SITEAL 2003) reveal extremely high socio-economic and cultural differences among students. Due to the increasing number of school opportunities, for example in Brazil where most secondary courses take place in night shifts, a growing number of young students are now able to work and study (Barolli, Da Silva Dias and Almeida de Souza 2003). However, recent research shows a new kind of social stratification taking place as differences in achievement are becoming evident between full-time students and students who are working and studying at the same time.

Young people not in school may be working from age 12, or even before. Entering the informal labor market sector at that age will in all likelihood imply precarious working conditions and little opportunity for training in the future, perpetuating another structural expression of inequality (Tokman 2004; Gallart 2004; Ramírez Guerrero 2004; de Ibarrola 2004). Furthermore, researchers have identified a significant number of young people (around 5 million in the region) who are neither in school nor working; a new type of social exclusion where young people—particularly boys—are literally 'not doing anything' (Jacinto and Gallart 1998; Jacinto 2002).

Changes in the curriculum

New objectives for upper secondary education

As officially stated, all upper secondary education is aimed at reaching the two formerly separate objectives of: (a) education for further academic study, and (b) education for immediate entry into the labor market. New objectives are also made explicit—mainly education for citizenship and education for lifelong learning. Objectives are declared in a relational fashion: 'Prepare for the exercise of rights [...] in a democratic modern society […] committed to the adoption of ethical social behavior' or 'satisfying vocational interests, bringing harmony between personal decisions and the requirements of the national culture and the economic and social development of the country'.

The sources of change

According to different authors (Braslavsky 2001a), changes in the socio-economic, political and cultural context are demanding a radical change in secondary education in Latin America. Cox identifies five sources of change with regard to existing secondary education institutions that seemed somehow 'out of line' with their external milieu:

- Mass enrolment and changes in the type of student now entering secondary education.
- The knowledge society and the necessary redefinition of the curriculum.

- The youth scene and young people's pressure for a new and significant educational experiences.
- The world of work and its requirements.
- The condition of anomy in turn-of-the-century modernity. (Cox 2001b)

The official documents in each country are not so thoroughly conceptual about these 'axes of change', and all four countries can only identify two major sources:

1. The recognition and definition of new social demands for education and the need of secondary education to fulfill them:
    a. "The new challenges: deep cultural change, social and economic crisis in the country, increasing social vulnerability and poverty" (Ministry of Education and Culture, Argentina).
    b. Structural changes stemming from the so-called 'knowledge revolution'; the 'information technology revolution' that has brought radical changes in knowledge-related fields; changes in the mode of labor organization and social relations (Federal Ministry of Education, Brazil).
    c. Changes in society, knowledge and students as derived from specific research requested by the ministry at the beginning of the 1990s (Chile).
    d. New demands stemming from the knowledge society and sustainable development (Mexico).

2. The diagnosis of secondary education: lack of opportunities for the whole age group, especially now that more young people have the legitimate credentials to enter education at the upper secondary level due to the increased provision of basic education. High levels of dropout in the cycle, low quality, low performance, lack of relevance in relation to labor market needs, inadequate facilities. In addition, new thresholds on school certificates, international standards on school achievement and recent international evidence on a new curriculum for secondary education are recognized.

Curricular structure and the definition of the school subjects
The curricular structure selected for the new upper secondary education demonstrates the differences among the four countries within this general universal delimitation of three to four year-long grades of education for students aged 16 to 18/19, who have completed a new and longer compulsory education (see Table 13.3). There are differences in the way flexibility is implemented in each national institution, in the place and range of a general common education for all students, and in the way education is differentiated according to either academic or vocational orientation. There

Table 13.3: Basic curricular structure

	Argentina: Grades 10, 11, 12	Brazil: Grades 9, 10, 11	Chile: Grades 9, 10, 11, 12	Mexico: Grades 10, 11, 12 General high school degree	Mexico: Grades 10, 11, 12 Bivalent high school degree	Mexico: Grades 10, 11, 12 Vocational education
Common education	*Polimodal:* 18–20 curricular spaces common for all	Common national base	Grades 9-10: Common Education: General curriculum	Common education for all students: grades 10 and 11	Common education for all students: grades 10 and 11	Common subjects for all students: 35% of curricular spaces
Diversified education	Five different modalities, up to 7 curricular spaces		Grades 11,12 Two tracks: Scientific/humanistic Technical/vocational (10 hours/week)	Seven optional academic areas at grade 12 (12 hours/week)	Three optional academic areas at grade 12 (12 hours/week)	
Free disposition for schools	Free disposition for schools, between 3-5 curricular spaces	Diversified portion of the curriculum aimed at meeting regional and local needs	Free disposition for schools (9 hours/week)	Extra curricular activities, 2-4 hours/week all semesters. Specific academic areas to be chosen by school	Specific academic areas to be chosen by school	Specific professional options to be chosen by each school
Education for work	Professional itineraries: 1200-1800 Additional hours	Parallel system of technical education	Grades 11-12 Technical/vocational Track	7 hours/week at grade 12	17 hours/week at grades 11, 12	65% of curricular space

are also differences in the place of optional education according to local demands or school opportunities, or in the place accorded to further extra-curricular activities.

Indeed, the changes are more consistent with the history of the educational institutions than with the demands of the new sources of change.

The definition of subjects and time allotted show that there are not many options within the universal curricular structure of the school systems and are a clear demonstration of the limits of translating ambitious objectives into existing curricular possibilities. According to Benavot's classification (Benavot and Amadio 2004), all four countries place importance on language, mathematics, sciences, social sciences and computers, thus giving a very strong priority to cognitive development, as codified and recognized by scientific disciplines. On the other hand, civics, environmental education, religion and moral education, aesthetic education and sports are not granted the same importance in all countries (see Table 13.4).

Language

As regards language, it is important to note the approach to a functional use of the national language, the underlying principle being to communicate and understand all types of documentation. The role of literature is substantial to achieving this objective. Previous emphasis had been on learning the structure of the language and the grammatical rules, part of the 'unbearable irrelevance of the secondary school curriculum' (World Bank 2005a).

Computers are more identified with a 'language' approach than with a techno-logical approach. In Brazil and Argentina, there is a clear reference to sports/physical education as corporal or body language. Furthermore, artistic education is classified as a language or code, which has the advantage of giving these subjects a higher 'status' within the curricula.

In all countries, *the second language* is English, although in all of them the reference to a 'foreign language' may also optionally be French. There are no references at all to local indigenous languages.

Mathematics and sciences

Mathematics, chemistry, physics and biology all occupy important positions in the curricular structure. However, it is interesting to note that in Argentina and Mexico mathematics are not present throughout the entire cycle, as in Chile and Brazil. Hard science definitions seem to give the same status to the three classic subjects: chemistry, physics and biology. Again, in Argentina and Mexico each subject is taught in one school year, while in Brazil and Chile all three subjects are taught throughout the whole cycle. In the later grades, there are references to specialized knowledge within the general subject matters, such as trigonometry, biochemistry or biotechnology. Only in Mexico are specific curricular spaces available for ecology and environmental education.

Social sciences

It is not possible to define the kind of historical competencies or citizenship education proposed by the new curricular structure—that is to say history and geography (see chapter by Braslavsky et al.; Cox 2002)[5]—without further analysis of content, approaches, teaching strategies and interactions with other subjects. In each country, these subjects acquire different emphases and denominations. Argentina seems to award the least amount of curricular space for both history and geography. Brazil and Chile have annual courses at every grade in both subjects, and Chile also includes a curricular space for religion. In Mexico, the vocational stream includes only one semester of curricular space for both history and geography combined, one for human rights and one for philosophy, while the bivalent general high school diploma proposes a bizarre new subject entitled 'Science, technology, society and values', to be taught at every grade. None of the countries made a curricular space available for civics at this upper secondary education level.

Other subjects

In each subject there is a definition of the corresponding skills and competencies that have to be acquired. Only in Mexico are there unassigned curricular spaces for additional non-school activities, such as sports and arts.

These slight differences in curriculum design could become meaningful if analyzed from the perspective of different results in international examinations. However, the existing tests, such as PISA or TIMSS, evaluate younger students and are not aimed at assessing upper secondary curricula. In each country, national examinations might also give an idea of the effect of these changes on students' academic performance.

Vocational training

The curricular treatment for vocational training is the one that has undergone the most changes. This education is now labeled 'vocational education' or 'education for work', in the interest of eliminating previous limitations attributable to the concept of 'training'. The underlying principle is to develop basic competencies and a more creative and entrepreneurial attitude towards work. Education for work will be integrated as a common objective in all upper secondary institutions and not only in technical schools. Thus, it will have a better chance of being integrated with a more academic and general education that will benefit all students (see Table 13.5).

There are some common traits among these differences. Curricula are organized in 'fields' or 'sectors', as opposed to training in a specific field of labor or of qualification. Flexible relations between school training and other work experiences are foreseen. Legal possibilities for certifying the competencies at any time and new links between schools and the labor market are established.

Table 13.4: Specific expression of subject selection, according to Benavot's coding [a]

Subjects	Argentina [b]	Brazil [c]	Chile [d]	Mexico [e]
All language		Languages, codes and related technologies; Art; Information technology; Physical education		
• National language	Language and literature Communication	Portuguese	Spanish language and communication	Reading and writing workshop; Literature
• Foreign language	Foreign language	Modern foreign language	Foreign Language: English or French	Additional language
• Local Language				
Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics	Sector of Mathematics: Mathematics	Mathematics
Sciences	Biology; Physics	Biology; Physics; Chemistry	Natural Sciences: Biology; Chemistry; Physics	Chemistry; Physics: Biology
Computers and technology	Information and communication technology	(as languages, codes and related technology)	Technological education, Scientific and humanistic; Technological educational; Technical professional; Technological projects	Informatics
Social science education		Human sciences and related technology	History and social sciences	
• History	History	History		History of Mexico; Modern contemporary history
• Geography	Geography	Geography		Geography
• Social studies	Psychology	Sociology, anthropology, and politics	Philosophy and psychology	Introduction to social sciences; Mexican socioeconomic structure; Research methodology; Philosophy
• Civics				
• Environmental ed				Ecology and environment

Table 13.4 continued. (Specific expression of subject selection, according to Benavot's coding)

Subjects	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Mexico
Religion and moral ed				
• Religion			Religion	
• Moral				Ethics and Values
Aesthetic education			Sector of artistic education: Visual arts; Musical arts	
Sports/physical education	Physical education		Physical education	
Skills and competencies				
• Hygiene/health				
• Vocational				Training to work
• Agriculture				
Elective/options	Variations according to each modality, each professional trajectory and each institution	Diversified portion of the curriculum aimed at meeting regional and local needs	Differentiated education, starts at the third grade, two major modalities: humanistic/ scientific and technical/ professional. Free curricular disposition for each school	Variations according to specific preparatory education; Additional non-school activities

Table notes:

a. For more detailed information on levels of schooling and hours taught per subject, see additional bibliography by the author.

b. Common curricular spaces to all modalities, I, II, III grades (hours per week), in Gallart, Oyarzún, Peirano and Sevilla (2003).

c. Many subjects in the Brazil curriculum begin with "Knowledge of."

d. General formation establishes the same formative and thematic spaces for all students, basic competencies for all (Cariola, Belleï and Prieto 2003).

e. General High school degree. The curriculum is organized by semesters, but usually each subject lasts two continuous semesters. 30-32 hours per week.

Table 13.5: Structure and organization of professional education

ARGENTINA
Complementary to *polimodal* education, there are eleven technical/vocational itineraries (1,200 to 1,400 additional hours) that may start at the first grade of the *polimodal*.

- Those who follow the technical/vocational itinerary for the three grades of the *polimodal* achieve a certificate as assistant technician, as well as the *bachillerato* degree.
- Some itineraries require another year of study (the 13th grade) conducive to a certificate of mid-level technician.

BRAZIL
There are three levels of vocational education in the country:
- Basic (non-formal education), not subject to curricular regulations;
- Technical*, situated at the same level as secondary education;
- and Technological, subject to higher-education regulations.

* The technical level is destined to offer vocational education to students enrolled in or graduating from secondary education: twenty vocational areas—800 to 1,200 hours minimal study. This education, leading to the certificate of mid-level technician, may be offered in a parallel or a sequential program within secondary schools or elsewhere, is modular in curricular organization and may be evaluated and certified in different ways.

CHILE
After completing the first cycle (grades 9 and 10) of general education for all, upper secondary students have to choose either humanistic/scientific education (leading straight to higher education) or technical/vocational education (more oriented towards immediate entry to the labor market).

- Technical/vocational education offers forty-four different specializations.
- Both trajectories allow continuing higher education.

MEXICO
All three upper secondary education institutions in the country have to offer specific education for work.

- General *bachilleratos* provide a curriculum of seven hours/week for the last three semesters of a six semester cycle.
- Bivalent *bachillerato* provides seventeen hours/week of curricular time for the last four semesters of the six semester cycle, leading to a certificate of mid-level technician.
- Vocational education dedicates 65 percent of curricular space to vocational training, leading to a certificate of mid-level technician: some subjects are common to different professions, some are specific to a certain profession and some are destined to answer specific regional occupational demands. The institution grants the bivalent degree of mid-level technician—*bachiller*.

The extent of structural and curricular change

In all four selected countries, upper secondary education is identified now as the last moment of a general and integral education for young Latin Americans. As stated in the message of the 2005 World Bank report, secondary education in the four countries 'has emerged with a mission of its own, reflecting the peculiarities of being at the same time terminal and preparatory, compulsory and post-compulsory, uniform and diverse'. This tendency may even alter the general structure of the school systems into a system with only two structural divisions: a common basic education from pre-school to grade 12, and a highly differentiated higher education as of grade 13. This new structure has already been made explicit and legal in Brazil.

All countries manifest radical new approaches to each one of the selected subjects due to new contexts of work and the knowledge society (World Bank 2005a). Although these changes share universal limits of school curricular organization—content based in academic disciplines and time established as an hourly unit—each country has put forward the new structure and curricular proposals according to the previous history of its own upper secondary education. It follows that each national proposal is different.

The new educational policies in each of the four countries also address the worldwide twin challenges of secondary education: 'expanding equitable access and improving quality' (World Bank 2005a).

1. *Issues on universal access to upper secondary education*. In all four countries, there is recognition of the growing importance of attending school for the age-group 15-17 (Chile, to 21), as opposed to the post-Jomtien years when primary education was almost the sole priority. All countries have declared an explicit stance in favor of achieving universal access to upper secondary education. In Chile, a constitutional reform makes that level compulsory, as well as the obligation of making it available for all young people up to 21 years of age.

   In all countries, there are strategies for promoting secondary education: compensatory programs, scholarships, night shifts and flexibility in access, open education by television or the Internet. These different strategies recognize the cultural, economic and social heterogeneity of this age group (specifically the unequal educational climate at home) and the fact that an important percentage of young people work and study at the same time.

2. *Issues on quality and relevance*. The curricular reform, as previously described, is the main policy for increasing the quality and relevance of upper secondary education. Flexible answers to local, regional and individual demands are supposed to be better attained by a multi-structured curriculum within each school.

Individual schools now have more autonomy to take a wider range of decisions that can take into account personal and regional needs in order to augment the quality and

relevance of education. They may choose the basic modality and the vocational itinerary, a percentage of the curriculum, and the individual tailoring of general and technical education in the same establishments. New learning spaces outside the school buildings are favored, as well as new relationships between the schools and enterprises or different workspaces. National and regional governments have new normative, regulation and co-ordination roles; schools take charge of the daily operation, while the participation of non-school local actors is highly recommended as a result of a strong decentralizing policy implemented during the 1990s.

Additionally, there are external measures envisioned to enforce better quality: ISO-type certification of school processes; assessment in the perspective of international standards; new types of knowledge and competencies; certifying and evaluating performance according to national and international standards.

Section II. New proposals and the actual possibilities of change

After describing the new proposals for upper secondary curricula in four Latin American countries, and confirming the way they are reflecting worldwide changes, there remains the question as to 'what efficiency-enhancing measures should be considered for secondary education reforms to succeed?' The World Bank proposes three: (a) qualified and motivated secondary schoolteachers; (b) multiple sources of funding; (c) reform of the traditional modes or state intervention and public management strategies.

I would like to consider this question in a non-prescriptive way.

External validity of the proposals

First, it is important to consider the *external validity of the proposals*: Were the 'demands arising out of the successful expansion or primary education and the socio-economic challenges presented by globalization and the knowledge-based economy' (World Bank 2005a: xii) properly identified or just imported from other countries? In other words, were the changes proposed in fact the changes needed?

There seems to be some distance between the *five core changes* identified by Cox (2001b), the notion of *radical changes* proposed by Braslavsky (2001a), and the actual legislated changes. The documents analyzed for this chapter do not make any radical proposals for citizenship education and democratic behavior. Neither do they mention the cultural reality of youngsters, the condition of disorientation at the turn of the new century, cultural diversity and plurality, although some specific subjects touch on those issues.

On the other hand, new ways are proposed to face changes in the labor market structure and in the knowledge and informatics revolution, and also to encourage higher enrolment and open opportunities for all young people. However, even in this respect, the proposals do not take into account the specific conditions in each country. For instance, changes in the labor market are defined in terms of the technological and

computer revolution and the re-engineering of global enterprises. They do not consider the structural co-existence of formal and informal labor markets in Latin American countries, and the fact that the formal work positions sought by students with at least a secondary level of education are far more limited than the number of school graduates. Inequality within the countries is a major factor still opposing the overall validity of a national educational proposal.

The actual possibility of change?

The second point is the matter of how all these measures actually change education. Even assuming that the identified challenges are valid and that the proposals put forward are the best way to tackle them, there is still a long way to go before actually achieving educational change.

Goodson's chapter (p. 212) states: "When change theorists adopt only the foreground of contemporary implementation they ignore the continuities in the background." He examines internal educational change through a four-stage evolutionary pattern: *invention*—that may be seen as change formulation; *promotion*— as change implementation; *legislation*—as policy establishment; and *mythologization* —or established/permanent change. I would like to refer to the stages proposed by Goodson, while also taking into consideration a theoretical approach achieved through previous research on Mexican upper secondary institutions.[8]

Movement for change

There certainly has been a movement for change. The proposals, already legally accepted, were initiated by an interesting mixture of international advisors and national experts, a large number of federal government officers, together with important and powerful new actors in educational policy in all four countries: educational researchers with high national and international prestige.

It is a basic principle of change that implementation has a better opportunity of succeeding if major actors take part in the planning stage. Opportunities have been created for the participation of teachers—the most important actors for implementing change—as well as consultations with employers and professional associations, all of whom play an important role at this particular level.

However, as we are dealing with national policy, questions may arise as to whether all interested actors are in fact effectively represented and whether individual opinions are taken into account in the decision-making process. It is equally important to analyze the interests of different stakeholders, and the kind of power that professional groups or teachers unions may exercise in the consultation. All proposals may in fact be better understood as the result of important open negotiations and subtle transactions.[7] As a result, no policy will come from a proposal that is purely academic or be necessarily consistent or congruent as resistances arise at all stages of the decision-making process.

Latin American countries have a deep tradition regarding formal legislation. In all countries, the proposals are always explicit in laws—although perhaps in different legal hierarchies—constitutional changes, national laws, presidential decrees or agreements taken by the minister of education—that give them a compulsory status. A traditional pattern in these countries has been to decide on the proposal legally and later to implement it through a teacher-training program. This is when the majority of teachers first learn about the proposals for change. As a result of being informed late in the process, teachers have usually opposed the new proposals.

Although an in-depth analysis of actual budgetary allocations to the new proposals is beyond the scope of this chapter, it goes without saying that this is one of the most important steps (and possible hindrances) to bringing about actual change at the secondary level in all developing countries. In addition, the complexity demanded for implementing the upper secondary school curricula in each school poses the risk that federal governments will find it cheaper to fund and administer these new proposals only when financial responsibilities fall on local governments, individual schools and local private actors.

Two important concepts to be worked out in the formulation of change are: the 'national preparation of a new socio-educational project' and the 'institutional construction of curricula'.

The first implies the need to identify *the way a national problem is defined in educational terms*, to identify the groups participating in the definition of the new proposal, and to foresee any interference by certain ideological groups and their political strength in educational matters. It also requires an analysis of key aspects of new educational institutions: where and why schools are actually built, and how well equipped are they. It is most important to register those who are hired as teachers,[6] as well as the socio-economic and academic background of the student population and also if the goals of the new proposal are actually being achieved by graduates.

The second concept, the *institutional construction of curricula* (de Ibarrola 1987; de Ibarrola and Bazán 1992) has proved very useful for understanding and evaluating what Goodson's defines as the fourth stage of change, and also for identifying the 'continuities' and the contradictions that may be found in the 'background' of upper secondary curriculum implementation.

According to this concept, the difference between curricula—a very ambitious concept—and study plans and syllabuses must be recognized. The latter refer to the formal proposal of content selection, the way content should be organized and interrelated and the time allotted to each fraction of content.

Official changes in the courses of study do not bring about immediate educational changes, but still they are not useless discourses. On the contrary, they are major institutional delimitations (structures) of the possibilities of further legitimate decisions on the different basic elements of the educational activity: the selection of teachers; the construction of daily lesson plans; the use of time and space; the selection of teaching materials. They are the legitimate reference to performance evaluation and legal

certification.[9] In fact, a study plan *may be considered hypothetical, although an enforceable hypothesis.*

Institutional factors

Many decisions have to be taken and many processes have to be carried out in order to fill the proposal with daily content. The need to create a specific amount of academic work is part of the history of the institution. This will involve coordinating teachers and each teacher's daily practice, and establishing the teaching routines and interactions, fully supported by the rest of the school organization with accepted norms, authority and values. The institutional history is built according to different criteria—educational, pedagogical and even ideological principles—but also taking into consideration teachers' interests, the union's political power, budgetary constraints or available resources.

Teachers

The first and most important legitimate decision naturally concerns the teachers who will be responsible for the new subjects or the new approaches. Developing academic profiles, training and recruiting teachers, but also negotiating working conditions, are major steps in the implementation of the curriculum. However, in the proposals put forward by the federal governments of the selected countries, the professional expertise of the educator groups (see chapter by Kamens and Benavot) is not the main element of the change process.

The number of qualified teachers has always been less than the actual demand in all four countries (de Ibarrola 1996; Núñez Prieto 2003). Thus, many serving teachers have not had specific training, either to be teachers or for the educational level or the age group with which they are in contact. Teachers in all four Latin American countries are hired on an hourly basis, often referred to as the 'blackboard hour'. This means that they are paid just for the amount of time they spend in front of the class with the students and hardly ever enjoy the conditions for a good collegiate input.[10] This is perhaps the main explanation of the weakness of their professional power and also of their intrinsic academic and teaching authority. However, the strong union power of Latin American teachers may defend the personal and work interests of teachers by opposing the legitimate changes required. Proposals have to cope with what the teachers do control: the subject matter they are prepared to teach and not ready to change, not to mention the working schedules they have created over a long period of time.[11]

Teaching methods

Beyond the formal delimitation of courses of study, there is the actual construction of everyday teaching knowledge and strategies: the 'didactic transposition'[12] of new contents and knowledge. Even the most innovative documents framing new curricula

do not contain teaching contents in ready-made packages all set for delivery and consumption within the daily and hourly organization of subject matter in schools.

Teachers need then to find ways to incorporate 'competencies' of academic and pedagogical content into day-to-day teaching and learning activities and also to master for themselves the new interdisciplinary content. (What is, for instance, the day-to-day content of a new subject labeled 'science, technology, society and values I, II, III'?) Teachers have to find appropriate linkages between different and even contradictory rationales: the logic of the discipline, the principles of teaching or the learning theories, in order to meet the individual and collective demands and backgrounds of hetero- geneous students, using the available resources and new technologies and in the allotted time—and so forth.

Time

The use of time, the scarcest resource of education, is perhaps the most challenging of the overall educational situations. The duration of intended teaching time is assigned theoretically. It is based perhaps on venerable pedagogical criteria (how long can you sustain pupils' attention) and, of course, the importance attributed to the content. However, the actual distribution of time among subjects and teachers on a weekly, semester or yearly basis has to take into account all manner of personal interests and administrative constraints. One of the most important restrictions for educational change is the overall educational 'hour' (or 50-minute) unit of teaching time. In all four countries, this unit of teaching time has determined the teachers' engagement and labor contract, and has been extremely useful for the most exhaustive utilization of teaching time in order to increase coverage. Teachers may be hired to teach up to forty-eight 'blackboard' hours per week, according to labor laws.

Time also has an influence in another most important dimension: the actual length of time it takes to implement an educational reform, not to mention changes in policy decisions due to changes in government regimes. Gallart, for instance, discovered that after ten years only 37 percent of secondary schools in Argentina had actually implemented the *polimodal* proposal that took the central Ministry of Culture and Education some three to five years to prepare.

Space

The space assigned to the teaching of specific contents also imposes constraints and pedagogical demands. One of the most common complaints in upper secondary schools is the lack of laboratories, workshops and proper teaching materials. It is a gross mistake to suppose that each and every school will have the minimum facilities (laboratories, workshops, computers, internet facilities) necessary to reach all of the objectives of the new proposals, but also to suppose that teachers require the same qualifications for the classroom and for the workshop.

Of course, each of these factors has specific traits and displays enormous variations, but it is mainly the interaction among them that brings about different effects. The different organization of these structural elements of the curriculum may

enrich or, on the contrary, may impoverish learning situations. Different examples found in direct research on Mexico's upper secondary schools set up during the 1970s illustrate this concept. It was frequently possible to discover, for example, equipment that had never been used because teachers had never learned how to use it. Or to find that an existing regulation, such as allowing students to take examinations as many times as they wished until they got a pass mark, was a barrier to implementation of the new proposal, i.e. the evaluation of a foreseen creative approach to knowledge.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the third big sphere of decision-making for an educational reform in upper secondary education—decisions regarding the institutional organization of secondary education—has not been dealt with in all four countries beyond recognizing teacher-training programs *ex post*. The proposals preserve the different existing upper secondary institutions and the institutional conditions they have acquired over a long history. There are explicit references to the fact that individual schools will have a wider range of free curricular definitions and the autonomy to define specific aspects of the daily operation of education, as long as they respect the main objectives and the minimum contents. The need for a stronger faculty in each establishment does not include changing the working conditions of the hired teachers.

Epilogue

Actual change and the results obtained will not be visible for some time. In the meantime, it is important to recognize that the proposals do not deeply implicate all of the sources of change identified by experts on the matter, although they do try to respond to changes in labor organization, the knowledge revolution and the broadening demands of young people. The proposed changes in structure and the curriculum do not efficiently cover the ambition of the objectives proposed. Finally, the proposals disregard the institutional sphere, delegating the actual implementation of the new curricula to individual schools without any changes in institutional support.

The national co-ordination effort guaranteeing equivalent quality to all schools and, at the same time, reinforcing the academic capacity of the teachers (and improving their working conditions) so that they can actually implement the proposed changes within each school is perhaps the most important requirement.

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Notes

1. Cox proposes these two spheres where decisions may be taken on educational change.
2. The literal translation of this term in Spanish is 'middle education' [educación media].
3. Basic information on the changes in structure was obtained from the official web page of each country's Ministry of Education: Argentina: www.me.gov.ar; Brazil: portal.mec.gov.br; Chile: www.mineduc.cl; México: www.sep.gob.mx. The search was made under different keywords: educación polimodal, ensino medio, escolaridad obligatoria, liceo para todos, reforma curricular del bachillerato, and so forth. Specific bibliography referred at the end of the volume was also consulted.

4.   Proposals for the curricular and institutional reforms of secondary education have been debated since that time and no consensus has been reached over all these years.
5.   It surprises me that these authors do not consider literature as a curricular space for education on historical competencies and citizenship.
6.   In developing these concepts, I was indebted to Burton Clark's internal approach to academic organizations (Clark 1983).
7.   The debates around 'sensitive subjects', such as history or natural sciences, are always a matter of national interest.
8.   The phrasing of this sentence refers to identifying the kind of persons who are enrolled as teachers: university students? Local technicians?
9.   Although it may also happen the other way around: external evaluation measures may force a curricular change, as Moreno proposes in this volume (Chapter 11).
10. The number of students that upper secondary teachers may teach per week in different courses and even in different schools may be close to 300 in Mexican institutions.
11. In my experience of curriculum reform, these have been very important obstacles to change.
12. This concept, created by Yves Chevallard (1991), turned out to be very useful in mathematics education.

School Curricula in Perspective:

Reflections on the Past, and
Directions for the Future

14

Cecilia Braslavsky and the Curriculum: Reflections on a Lifelong Journey in Search of Quality Education for All

Cristián Cox

It can be said that the curriculum was the greatest passion of the exceptional intellectual and educational reformer Cecilia Braslavsky. The selection and organization of educational knowledge, condensing as it does central relationships between society and education, attracted her natural inclination towards a broad and profoundly political understanding of knowledge and educational processes. This approach to education was the key to her vision and subsequent impact: first as an educational analyst, then as leader of an ambitious curriculum reform in her country, and later, in the international arena, as head of UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE) with its agenda of creating and developing capacities for curriculum evaluation, design and implementation at a worldwide level, but especially in developing and poorer countries. As a '*little girl of the South—a great lady of education*',[1] her work and efforts embodied the universal tensions found in contemporary curricular change processes in an extraordinarily honest and fruitful fashion.

From academia to policy-making; from the nation to the world

Cecilia Braslavsky's intellectual production and professional commitment span a trajectory that is remarkable in its breadth and scope. As she moved away from the production of knowledge as a researcher, and takes up an authority position in her country's Ministry of Education, there was a shift from analysis and criticism to activities of convening, persuading and obtaining consensus from key stakeholders to transform the school curriculum. Following this intense experience of deliberating upon and designing a major curricular reform—one of the most ambitious and comprehensive in Latin America in its will to achieve change, though problematic in its implementation (Dussel 2003; Ferrer 2004)—she assumed the directorship of the IBE, UNESCO's institute responsible "for teaching/learning contents, methods and

strategies, through curricular development" (IBE-UNESCO 2002c: 4). At this juncture in her professional evolution, the nation and Latin America cease to be the main referents; her centre of interest evolved from the nation to the global society, from issues related to the curriculum as a product to the processes by which the curriculum was developed and the professional and institutional capacities required to achieve this.

Braslavsky's career originated in a society noted for its sophistication, but with enormous economic inequalities and marked institutional weaknesses—typical of Latin America and other developing regions. She had direct experience of the cognitive and political benefits of trespassing frontiers—national, institutional and between domains such as research and policy-making—to attain an increasingly inclusive and balanced view of an issue. Her perspective was lucid but never cynical, and was capable of providing ever better analytical insights and vision for action. She acted as a curriculum reformer with a state-centric, public perspective, rooted in a clear ethical commitment to the poorer sectors in society. In the framework of her activities as IBE Director, her vision broadened to view education as an important instrument for helping societies and individuals to live together in peace. This vision about the possibilities and potentialities of education remained resilient, despite her profound awareness of its limitations.

Braslavsky's professional evolution was intimately interwoven with the curricular trends, issues and dilemmas examined in the present volume. Citizenship education was the area of the curriculum of most interest to her. From the curricular reforms she oversaw in Argentina in the mid-1990s (especially in the areas of social science and civics education) to the arguments she advanced about historical competence as a basic foundation for global citizenship in her last written work (see chapter by Braslavsky et al.), her deep, abiding interests in this area are clear. As a leading proponent of major curricular reforms, she directly experienced the dialectics between international curricular reform movements and the realities of local schools in countries where such "world movements of school reform 'embed' themselves" and act as "*refractors* of world change forces" (see chapter by Goodson: 212). Her journey as an intellectual and as an institution builder also reflects her approach and responses to the dilemmas emerging from secondary education reform (see chapters by Kamens and Benavot; Moreno). In short, she acutely experienced, grappled with and learned from the basic problem of implementing curricular reforms at the turn of the century: the relationship with a teaching profession that perceives such reforms as coming 'from outside' and to a significant extent estranged from it (see chapters by Moreno; Goodson; de Ibarrola).

In this chapter, I focus on the main milestones in Braslavsky's journey through the curriculum. In the first section, I briefly refer to her role as an educational reformer in Argentina and evoke some questions concerning the *process* of curriculum reform emerging from this experience. In the second section, I address her conception of the four key issues dealt with by the curricular reforms of the 1990s: control; contents; curricular change and teachers' identities; and curricular change in secondary education. In section three, I discuss her views on global pressures and national responses relating to the curriculum. In the final section, I address her thinking and actions in relation to

the conditions and processes required for the building of capacities to confront constructively the tension between global pressures and national realities.

Curriculum reform processes: lessons learned about gaps between design and implementation

Cecilia Braslavsky's thinking about the curriculum was initially influenced by her research on schooling in Argentina during the 1980s. She investigated and made observations about the increasing lack of meaningful contents in the educational experience offered to most children, as well as a view of democracy that emphasized the participation of actors but minimized discussions of how politics can become an effective basis for improving the quality of people's lives. In contrast to the almost exclusive focus on 'conviviality' by significant groups of teachers during the transition from military regime to democratic polity, she stressed the essential function of the schools as frameworks that enable learning by providing access to universal codes and knowledge unavailable in local contexts, and decisive for individual action (Braslavsky and Tiramonti 1990).

Her pivotal experience, however, was not as a research analyst but as the leader and head of the newly established curriculum development program for the state school system at the Argentine Ministry of Culture and Education (1993–1998). Despite enormous pressure from the political arena and her many executive responsibilities, she formulated, together with her colleagues at the ministry and a diverse array of top academics from different disciplines, a new framework of goals and contents for the national curriculum, which she guided politically through a broad, unprecedented and difficult participatory process. The pillars of this framework consisted of a deeply informed view of the needs of society, a high valuing of knowledge and the role of academics in the formulation and production of curricular contents, and recognition of comparative international information on curriculum trends. Furthermore, in the curriculum designers' field of vision, teaching characteristics and requirements and the actual institutional conditions of curricular implementation are background elements rather than the focus of attention (see chapter by de Ibarrola). As a result, the curriculum framework she constructed was innovative, ambitious and comprehensive, but raised real difficulties in implementation (Dussel 2003; Ferrer 2004).

The strategy undertaken by Braslavsky and her teams, which gained the approval of the political authorities, focused on identifying the new requirements of the school curriculum in the light of national and global society, and then designing the curriculum in line with such requirements. Such efforts took up most of their energy. This approach was validated through broad and protracted participatory processes, in which thousands of teachers took part. However, teacher trade-union leaders asserted that the curriculum reform was 'externally mandated' and not 'internally generated' and therefore declined to participate (see chapter by Goodson). At the same time, Argentine federal institutions required three levels of curriculum specifications

(national, provincial, institutional), thereby generating enormous demands on implementation capacities which, in reality, varied significantly throughout the country.

One cannot overestimate the value of what transpired: the curriculum was placed in the public arena for debate and deliberation, and a consensus was achieved regarding proposals for the future that went beyond the views of each individual actor (see chapter by Moreno). And yet, the unprecedented way in which contents were presented—minimally prescriptive and at the same time clear and consistent for setting higher and more demanding standards—created a substantial schism between the intended reforms and the institutions and practices in place at the time. Even today, almost a decade later, there is still discussion in Argentina as to whether these processes boosted or inhibited appropriate pathways for change. I believe that this schism or gap between the intended and the implemented curriculum had profound consequences on Braslavsky's strategic view of curriculum reform. Between relinquishing her ministerial responsibilities in Argentina and taking up her role as IBE Director, there was a shift in her thinking and action on curriculum reform issues. Rather than concentrate on the interpretation of society/knowledge nexus and the process of curricular selection, she underscored the value of capacity-building within education systems, not only at the level of national curriculum design and management but also at the level of local schools. She sought to build capacities for understanding new societal demands, as well as capacities for translating these emerging social imperatives into effective learning opportunities in the classroom.

Curricular vision developed in action

Below, I will refer to four dimensions of the curriculum to indicate what I consider to be Cecilia Braslavsky's defining ideas regarding key issues in contemporary curricular reform. Immediately apparent are the relationships between the general and global tendencies observed in the last twenty years of curriculum evolution—examined in depth in this volume—and her ideas on appropriate curriculum reform for developing countries. First, the control dimension, where the core concept is flexibility; then the contents and learning it defines, where the proposed shift, in line with contemporary trends, is from concepts to competencies; third, the categories into which the contents are organized, where the trend is towards the weakening of the traditional boundaries between disciplines; and, finally, the characteristics of its broad framework or structure, which she approaches with reference to her country's secondary education and focuses on the concept of *polimodal* (comprehensive with multiple tracks) education.

A flexible curriculum
The public regulation or control of the curriculum itself is a fundamental dimension for processes of curricular reform in contemporary Latin America. From the earlier model of centralized curriculum control, where study plans and syllabi were laid down by Ministries of Education and applied throughout the nation, countries are increasingly establishing a distinction between the national curriculum framework and the study

programs or syllabi that are defined with inputs from different administrative levels (state, provincial, municipal and/or the schools themselves).

This is a very significant transformation for countries with long traditions of centralized curricula. It is a direct reflection of a new vision of the relations between national curricula and quality education and equity in the social distribution of learning. Equity had traditionally been considered in Latin America in terms of legal assumptions regarding equality before the law, where states were primarily concerned with establishing a uniform, standardized curriculum to be offered as a learning opportunity to all pupils. The emerging paradigm guiding reform efforts in the 1990s is based on principles of positive discrimination and seeks to achieve equal results for pupils from diverse origins and with different educational needs. Hence, the characteristics of learning opportunities provided can and should vary. The necessary variations—whether regional, ethnic, cultural or social—cannot be produced by high-level officials at the education system's centre, but rather require the active participation of stakeholders at other decision-making levels, whose location is closer to where the teaching and learning actually takes place (Cox 2001b).

The new curricular double structure of a *national curriculum framework* and *institutionally defined syllabi or programs* was therefore a response to the dual need of today's education systems to provide learning of what is common to all, defining a national identity and at the same time educational contexts that recognize pupils' diversity in order to strengthen their learning.

Braslavsky saw in the new structure of national control of national curricular definitions—more flexible and open to specifications arising from the diverse institutional areas and actors—the possibility of dealing with diversity at the same time as ensuring equity and social cohesion: "…everything leads us to think that today it is necessary [...] to draw up flexible but at the same time rich curricular frameworks: to facilitate the construction of institutional identities and young people's personal choices, without losing sight of obligations regarding educational equity and the development of shared values aimed at social cohesion and the strengthening and deepening of a democracy centred on the promotion of human rights" (Braslavsky 2001c: 248).

From concepts to competencies

In Braslavsky's view of the curriculum, knowledge, organized in longstanding disciplines and cultivated within their confines by academia, occupies a central place. This core position is not, however, synonymous with a traditional academic view of the curriculum. What articulates and drives the innovation she led was the concept of competence.

Her analysis of the curricular reform processes in Latin America during the 1990s showed that, although the concept of competence draws together different notions on the expansion of curricular objectives and contents, from concepts to skills and attitudes, at the same time it did not reflect 'sufficient consensus or experience' within its definition nor in how it was put into practice (Braslavsky 2001c: 249). Based on

curricular materials from the Southern Latin American countries, she stated that competence was understood as "knowing how to act with knowledge and awareness of the impact of that action; [...] a competence should always have a double reference: to a dimension of a person's capacities and to the contexts of interaction of all persons" (Braslavsky 2001c: 249).

The concept of competence, particularly developed in the international field and later established in the OECD project *Definition and selection of competencies: theoretical and conceptual foundations* (DeSeCo) (Rychen and Salganik 2003), allowed official curricula to become significantly more flexible, with the notion that different contents could contribute to develop the same competences. "The educational principle behind the choice of competencies as a starting point for the development of curricular materials and target for the educational process in secondary education is that the same competencies can be developed with different contents, methodologies and institutional models" (Braslavsky 2001c: 250).

In her last work, she considered the outcomes of the OECD's DeSeCo project (Rychen and Salganik 2003) as key to the clarification of the concept of competence, but stressed what was absent from this conclusive construction: historical competence. This was defined as the personal or group capacities for acting on present history by using history as a narration of what was happening and influencing what was to come. For her, there appeared to be a need to place training in this historical competence as a universal priority (see chapter by Braslavsky et al.). I further elaborate this notion below, as well as Cecilia Braslavsky's view of the competencies required for global citizenship.

Are the competencies defined by the OECD universally valid? Indeed, this question was asked by the authors of the DeSeCo project themselves:

> There are at least three trends that support the hypothesis that DeSeCo's three-fold categorization (of key competencies) is also a useful conceptual tool for developing and transition countries. First, the ongoing globalization and standardization process; second, the influences of international organizations, such as the World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, or ILO, which emphasize competence development and lifelong learning; and, lastly, the widespread adoption of a number of universal objectives, as expressed by the international conventions that form the normative basis for the competencies defined in DeSeCo. However, the extent to which these concepts have global validity or relevance is a topic that needs further research (Rychen and Salganik 2003: 106).

As such research enfolds, each developing and transition country needs to confront, analyze and answer how the learning opportunities that are offered should be defined regarding this critical issue, how the right mix is to be achieved that answers both global pressures and national and local history, contexts and demands.

What happens when what is taught in relation to the future and to the 'knowledge economy' does not fit with the national economy and society? For developing and transition countries with different labor markets and relatively weak or incipient knowledge-driven economies, questions arise about the key features of their curricula. They have to respond to global society and national needs. It is extremely difficult to strike a delicate balance between global influences and national realities, but if such a balance is not attempted, is there not a risk of '*contents* (globally referred or aligned) *without contexts* (national socio-economic realities)'? As Braslavsky wrote, "One of the intriguing problems of the Latin American education systems could have been that, precisely, they attempted to teach everyone to think, but thinking is impoverished when not deployed in the context of economies with growth potential" (see chapter by Braslavsky et al.: 98).

Curricular integration and 'hardness' of the teacher/curriculum isomorphism

At the constituent unit level of the curriculum, be they subjects, subject areas, cross-cutting dimensions, or projects, fundamental dilemmas revolve around two criteria for change that are present in one way or another in most contemporary curricular reforms: *integration* and *curricular contextualization*. Integration refers to a redefinition of the boundaries between the traditional curriculum disciplines, or the 'weakening' of such limits to neutralize their segmentation.[2] Contextualization is a response to the need to bring the school experience closer to the issues and problems of young people, the community or local contexts and particular groups.

It is most likely that there is no other sphere of discussion on the curriculum where academic discourse and actual practice within the system are more openly in contradiction. The former argues the need for curricular integration, the latter finds it extremely difficult to implement, due to the cultural 'hardness' of the organizational categories of knowledge and the isomorphism observable between such structuring and teachers' professional identity. This means that an attempt to change the frontiers between disciplines also implies redefining teachers' positions and identities (Braslavsky 2001c).

From this perspective, the secondary education curricular reform process in Argentina during the 1990s is eloquent. The new official curriculum in 1997 proposed that part of school study time would be organized in curricular categories relating to applied problems and projects and not to disciplines.[3] However, when it was put into practice, the authorities were forced to propose a structure based on traditional curricular categories linked to teachers' knowledge and professional identities.[4]

This experience led Braslavsky to focus her thinking on the issue of teaching and curriculum isomorphism, or the homology between teachers' initial training, their professional identity and the school curriculum. This homology has fundamental consequences when proposing changes to the curriculum, particularly at the secondary level, because it determines constraints that in this case can be properly labeled as 'structural'.

She thus diagnoses the fact that the above-mentioned isomorphism is the cause of inflexibility, narrowness and fragmentation in the curriculum and in teachers' work, and that there is no solution to this problem without consistent action at the level of their basic training. "In order to adopt *rich*, *flexible* and *heterogeneous* curricula, containing a variety of different curriculum areas, it will be necessary to *overcome isomorphism* as the principle linking teacher training to secondary education, and to offset the effects of its longstanding acceptance by means of strategies introduced in the training of practising teachers" (Braslavsky 2000: 25). The need to 'overcome isomorphism' contributed to a shift in her focus of interest and priorities regarding curriculum change: from knowledge and society relations and their translation into organizing categories of school experience, to the creation of deliberation, design and curriculum implementation capacities.

Polimodal secondary education

In the case of young people's education, the crucial issues addressed by contemporary reforms are the 'unbearable irrelevance' (World Bank 2005a) of the traditional secondary curriculum (abstract, academic, alien to current social and economic needs), and the need to redefine the separation between general and vocational education. The curriculum reform headed by Braslavsky addressed both problems by establishing a *polimodal*—that is, comprehensive with multiple tracks—curriculum for Argentine secondary education. This corresponded to a comprehensive model that simultaneously addressed the need for a higher level common cultural basis for all and more choice at a level that used to be selective but was now massive and diversified (see chapters by Kamens and Benavot; de Ibarrola).

Of course, the decision on the structure of secondary education with the greatest impact or influence is the one regarding the definition of limits—curricular, temporal, and institutional—between general or academic secondary education, on the one hand, and vocational or technical secondary education, on the other. The *polimodal* education proposed in Argentina in 1997 for years 10, 11 and 12 of schooling, seeks not to be a replica of traditional academic education, nor of vocational education, but rather attempts a new pedagogical and curricular synthesis between theoretical and practical knowledge. This combined approach very explicitly and consistently seeks contextual and generational meaning for its objectives and contents, and prepares 'for life': both for work and for further studies, for productive performance as citizens and individuals rather than for specific destinations.

Regarding the traditional functions of secondary education—education of citizens, preparation for higher studies, and training for work—the curricular reform document argues that the changes in contemporary society have transformed the way in which such functions are conceived:

> The limits between them have been blurred and it is increasingly clear
> that the knowledge, values and skills considered necessary for fulfilling
> each of these functions starts to play a key role in the others. The

traditional forms of diversification in secondary schools are thus difficult to sustain. Societies demand from their education systems a kind of training that will develop and strengthen *the same core basic competencies* in all students to enable them to act and learn in the various spheres of performance, addressing complex, changing and uncertain situations with responsibility, a critical spirit and practical skill. (Argentina Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1997: 19)

However, this movement towards a *comprehensive* model of secondary education could not escape the need for some kind of curricular differentiation, universally demanded by the diversity of interests and aptitudes of young people, as well as by the diversity of 'destinations' of its graduates in a complex society. The response of the Argentine reform to this reality was to diversify the curriculum into five 'orientations': natural sciences; economics and organizational management; humanities and social sciences; production of goods and services; communication, art and design. Each orientation had a second level of diversification to be defined by each institution (see chapter by de Ibarrola).

Years later, no longer exercising government functions, and in a work conducting a comparative analysis of secondary education reforms in the Southern Cone of Latin America, Braslavsky referred to the key concepts of *polimodal* education in terms of its common component rather than the differentiated aspects, thus revealing, I believe, both her basic humanistic and egalitarian inclinations, and her honesty regarding changes which—as she herself had apparently accepted—did not have adequate foundations to be implemented.

> In the circumstances, the combination of a solid general education with humanistic, scientific, technological, and context-related components would constitute the only possible alternative allowing all young people to have access to the types of jobs that will endure and for the performance of which they will need to know both how to think and how to do. That combination would also enable the young people to learn how to think better and do better. (Braslavsky 2000: 8)

More explicitly regarding specialization in the secondary curriculum:

> It would be contrary to all principles in the search to develop a just society to promote specialization in some competencies by giving up others or making reference to one area by also giving up others early on. All young people should have opportunities to continue educating their intellectual, emotional, social, ethical, aesthetic, physical and practical capabilities to perform in natural, symbolic, social and technological fields, which can only be differentiated analytically but would always be interrelated. (Braslavsky 2001c: 249).

Global pressures and national responses

From her position as Director of the UNESCO institute responsible for the curriculum, Cecilia Braslavsky found herself in a paradoxical situation: heading an institution with potentially worldwide standardizing (or 'isomorphic') influence with regard to the curriculum, and at the same time being acutely sensitive to the risks such an influence may run, particularly for the poorer countries. She discovered the research tradition led by John Meyer, Francisco Ramírez, Aaron Benavot, David Kamens and others, on world patterns of curriculum development[5] and, with her 'Southern' experience and perspective, had to accommodate the evidence that showed that the broad patterns of world curriculum development 'are less affected by economic development, political forces and national educational expansion than by the major currents of world history and the nation's position in that history' (Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996: 138). Research into 'world society' argues that the poorest societies and the most precarious education systems have less ability to manage global influence and—given their history and problems—are not capable of selecting and filtering the most adequate and relevant of the models that are perceived worldwide as the most desirable. The effects of not having those capacities are manifestly negative.[6]

   Are the challenges for educational development in general and therefore those for the curriculum the same for poor, developing and developed countries? The immediate answer is 'no'.

> …it is a risk for Africa, Asia or Latin America to reproduce institutional models that are not related to their current economies and societies. The risk is especially high in after conflict societies, where funds are being provided by countries with systems and educational methods that were successful for them, but might not always be 'universal'. [...] The idea of privatization of education is being widespread in countries without a private sector capable to provide enough educational opportunities. (Braslavsky 2002a: 10)

The definitive answer is that all education systems today bear the dual task of responding to requirements that are local and nationally specific, and requirements that are global and common to world society. The latter include not only world trends linked to technological and organizational innovations that transcend frontiers, but also imagined forms of progress with striking similarity throughout the world.

> Some research has already shown marked similarities (and isomorphic changes) between different countries and it seems that education systems are constructed more for imagined societies than for real societies, and these imagined forms of progress seem to be similar throughout the world. In more recent decades there has been the impact of globalization on the development of new curricula based on the image of a global

society. In various countries, the approach to curricular development ceased to focus on the idea of constructing nationality so as to come closer to the construction of a global approach to culture, languages, history, art and even science. Furthermore, the new curricular models promote global human rights, ecological principles and notions of a world with egalitarian cultures and interdependent societies. (Braslavsky 2004a: 38)

Education systems, regardless of their levels of development or region, will need to be reorganized to respond simultaneously to local needs and global demands. In curricular terms, Braslavsky labeled this dual demand as a requirement for a *glocal* curriculum whose articulating focus is multicultural. "The construction of glocal identities by everyone therefore requires the creation of a new world concept of multicultural and multi-ethnic education, promoted through a curriculum capable of meeting both global and local challenges" (Braslavsky 2004a: 36-37).

She argued that the sources of such a multicultural education were the right of each individual to diversity, the importance of knowledge of cultures for the enrichment of humanity, as well as accepting the fact of migration and nomadic workers. To this was added the major factor, due to its obvious impact on the dynamics of work and employment, that integration or articulation with the most dynamic sectors of the world economy required knowledge, skills and intercultural values. She would also warn of two risks of 'inter-cultural' dimensions in education: "The risks are the paradoxical promotion of 'westernization' or the 'Americanization' of the world or, on the contrary, devoting a great deal of time to a teaching/learning process guided by a 'romantic idea of popular culture', through the superficial incorporation of popular songs, regional dishes and other such elements" (Braslavsky 2004a: 38).

At a deeper level than the proposal for a multicultural education, Braslavsky argued that the dilemma referred to can only be addressed by a historical competence of a *genealogical* nature, whose distinctive feature is that it uses both tradition (inherent in the *traditional* type of historical competence), the examples of other nations or cases (inherent in the *exemplary* type of historical competence), criticism (inherent in the *critical* type of historical competence), and interpretation and creation to build future realities. Furthermore, for her this competence tends to be synonymous with political competence. As discussed in the chapter by Braslavsky et al., the construction of alternative possibilities and styles is only possible by joining together the above-mentioned competencies.

Dialogue and comparative evidence for the construction of capacities

How should we act in relation to the curricular dilemma of cosmopolitan education and its demands, and national education and its requirements of identity? How should we respond to this fundamental dilemma of the school curriculum of our times, which does

not allow responses of the *'yes/no'* type and instead demands difficult processes of construction of *inclusive* responses from opposing poles?

The inclusive nature of the required responses, as well as the acknowledgement that its construction demands a new set of capacities in the actors and institutions responsible for the curriculum: these are pillars of Braslavsky's last activities in the world education arena. I see in her IBE years a commitment to making it an effective institution for creating and strengthening design, evaluation and curricular implementation capacities in the world, so that each country and region may acquire and strengthen the analytical bases to seek and construct their own responses to the new dilemmas. And, in my opinion, there is a crucial contribution in her way of seeing the curricular reform process and its requirements in terms of capacities, which relates to her reforming experience in Argentina and completes and gives full meaning to the trajectory described between Buenos Aires, Geneva and the world by her reflection and professional practice in relation to the curriculum.

Politicians, experts, officials and teachers: four kinds of logic, four times

In an analysis of the decision-making process on educational reforms in the Southern Cone of Latin America, Braslavsky and Cosse (1996) asserted that the four basic actors—politicians, experts (professionals-researchers), civil servants, and teachers—regardless of countries and political contexts, have their own characteristic logic for action and timing, whose harmonization or linkage is basic to the effectiveness of the educational reform processes. Political logic is governed by calendars outside the reform processes and is the most short-lived and unpredictable; that of the experts is easier to plan because it follows the logic of the research and reasoning processes necessary to construct a convincing knowledge product; that of civil servants is defined by the legal and administrative process of transforming innovation into laws and standards. Teachers' logic for practical absorption of innovation proposed by the state is usually the longest of all to mature and the least considered in decision-making processes of the state (Braslavsky and Cosse 1996).

The need for 'linkage' between these four actors and their respective contexts or fields of reference—political, academic, bureaucratic, school, respectively—to produce effective reforms requires processes of dialogue between the different 'cultures' represented by the actors and contexts mentioned. It also requires new capacities if this dialogue is to obtain results. First is a dialogue between political authority and the world of knowledge (experts and researchers), who tend 'not to understand each other'.

> But the problem is that if the high-level decision makers 'just don't understand' scientific knowledge, they run the risk of underestimating the importance of empirical evidence, historical analysis or systemic approaches. On the other hand, if researchers 'just don't understand' the ministers and other high level decision makers, they may underestimate field experience and especially the importance of processes, of resistance to change, of the power and value of interpersonal relationships, lobbies,

institutional cultures and other 'soft' aspects of educational development.
(Braslavsky 2002b: 13)

Second is a dialogue between governments and the teaching profession, which to a
large extent has to do with creating capacities that Braslavsky labeled as
'*institutionalism*'. This dialogue aims at teachers' understanding of the larger picture of
the interdependent relations between institutions and systems. This both explains and
provide the framework for society's pressure for curriculum change and changes to the
school system in general, on the one hand, and the obstacles teachers encounter to carry
it out in their daily teaching practice, on the other. This is what could break the vicious
circle of mutual demands between governments and teachers.

> Understanding the articulation between the system's overall policies,
> school and classroom sectoral policies, may allow the whole education
> sector to break the vicious circle of reciprocal demands made by
> governments on teachers and by teachers on governments, thus
> establishing a fruitful tension between, on the one hand, self-assertion
> and self-discipline and, on the other, the restrictions imposed on other
> actors in the complex educational process at all its particular levels. [...]
> Various strategies can be used to develop this competence, such as case
> studies, policy follow-up, report preparation and comparative analysis of
> trends based on statistics and comparative studies. (Braslavsky 2001b: 5)

Dialogue on the empirical evidence of curricular reforms, international comparisons,
and joint reflection by the actors on whose agreement and co-operation skills the
success of curricular change depends, are the components of the strategy Braslavsky
considered necessary for the educational field to be able to respond adequately to
contemporary challenges. Accordingly, the IBE evolved under her leadership to
consolidate three programs that today contribute to countries' curriculum work: a
resource bank and observatory on trends; capacity-building; and policy-dialogue.

Conclusion

In her last work, Cecilia Braslavsky argued that *genealogical historical competence*
would make it possible for individuals:

"to believe in the importance of human action [...] construct their own story of how
they have arrived at the situation they are in [...] define their own direction of where
they want to be in the future [...] put themselves in the place of each individual in each
period and place and […] define an effective course of action to arrive there while
taking others into account." (See chapter by Braslavksy et al.: 98)

I see in these points, written at the end of her exceptional journey through reflection and public action in contemporary education in both Southern and Northern contexts, the most eloquent synthesis of what I believe was her original inspiration: her faith in education to re-create politics and improve collective life.

The educational construction of a global citizenship through curricula capable of developing the competencies required by a world model that condenses visions of a democratic society open to diversity, and with human rights and science as the moral and cognitive basis for its development, demands from the developing world much more than the alternatives of naive acceptance or obstinate rejection. In this context, present conditions require of each national context in the poor and developing world that Braslavsky chose to serve, ever higher and more complex technical and political capacities, as is eloquently shown by her theoretical explanation of historical competence.

In order to draw up constructive answers to global pressures, as well as to obtain a new kind of integration of 'externally mandated' curricular reforms and teachers—the two main tensions of all curricular reform at the start of the century—Cecilia Braslavsky's ideas and actions offer us a profound and demanding vision of inclusion, tools and a model of exemplary energy and commitment.

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Notes

1. Pierre Luisoni, *In Memoriam of Cecilia Braslavsky*, IBE-UNESCO, Geneva, 3 June 2005.
2. On the notion of rigid or flexible (weak) limits between categories of knowledge and their consequences for types of school organization and the identity relations they produce, I consider that Basil Bernstein's article 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge' (Bernstein 1975) still offers the fundamental concepts.
3. For example, in the curriculum for the last three years of higher secondary education (years 10, 11 and 12), are offered options such as: Environmental problems in urban areas; Actions for promotion and prevention in health; Agro-ecosystems and new farm production technologies (Argentina Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1997: 391-396).
4. This is visible in the contrast between the 'curricular spaces' defined in the document *Basic contents for polimodal education* (Argentina Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1997: 391-396) and those defined in the official document that defines a curricular matrix for the implementation of the new curriculum (Argentina Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1998).
5. Isomorphism, in this case, is the result of curriculum homogenizing influences at world level based on a world-society, which act over and above regional and national economic and socio-political factors (Benavot et al. 1991; Meyer, Ramírez and Soysal 1992; Kamens, Meyer and Benavot 1996; Benavot and Amadio 2004).
6. See, for example, the striking analysis by Barbara Nykiel-Herbert on the effects of constructivism misunderstood and misapplied by primary education teachers in South Africa (Nykiel-Herbert 2004).

15

World Models, National Curricula, and the Centrality of the Individual [1]

John W. Meyer

The studies in this book examine school curricula and curricular change, worldwide, from many different perspectives. Some chapters look at long-term global stability and change. Others focus on curricula in particular countries or regions, with shorter time perspectives. Most of the chapters focus on the substantive content of intended curricula, but a few attend mainly to processes of curricular reform or change.

Common themes appear in many of the analyses and, in the latter parts of this chapter, I review them. They focus principally on the observation that the contemporary school curriculum is supposed to broadly develop and empower the individual student for the benefit of a society conceived to be very open. This society is envisioned as more or less global, and as capable of rapidly expanding and developing. The individual student is not to be prepared for a fixed and limited place in a stably structured society. The student has unconstrained capacities for growth and development, and fulfilling these will benefit social progress.

This story line, which seems to be a standardized world vision (it can be found in many UNESCO or even World Bank documents), tends to be taken for granted, both in the chapters in this book and in the world of national curricular policy itself. In one version or another, the story is repeated over and over again in the studies reported here. It has some very optimistic properties, suggesting a very positive world-wide development toward 'Progress'. But, in a number of chapters, authors are pessimistic about its actual enactment in the real classroom world, beyond rhetorical and reformist curricula, and also about its actual impact if enacted.

The cumulative impact of the studies in this book is greater if we step back and reflect on once-obvious curricular themes that now do not appear, or appear little, in the observations and analyses of our studies. We can imagine what a collection of comparative curricular studies might have looked like fifty or one hundred years ago, and what themes that are now largely missing might once have been much more central.

Thus, before turning to the modern curricular themes that dominate this book, I review themes that are not here, or are present only in very muted ways.

Missing themes in the contemporary curricular account

Mass schooling arose in conjunction with the rise of the nation-state and, generally, has had close relations with this institution throughout history and across national societies. Typically, mass schooling is organized by the national state, and curricula, as well as enrolment patterns, are structured by the state. Even though curricular forms have always shown a good deal of world-wide standardization, they tended historically to emphasize the dominant reality of national society, community and culture, and the polity of the national state. So, common emphases were given to matters now believed to be irrelevant—or perhaps even offensive.

Nationalism

Given the history, it is surprising and notable that the chapters of this book need to give so little attention to the unique, primordial and muscular national state whose history, culture and socio-economic needs had such priority in the curricula of the past. State officials still play the central roles in curricular decisions (see the chapters by *de Ibarrola; Goodson; Moreno; Oelkers and Larcher Klee*). But they do so, apparently, as creatures of a very general and perhaps global good, not as heroic carriers of the spirit of the nation. The contrast between the historical account of *Gvirtz* and the contemporary one of *Rosenmund* is illustrative. The former studies a Peronist regime trying to beat the nationalist drum in a way that now seems almost comically out of control, while the latter chapter reports on the efforts of the most civil, sober and reasonable educational officers trying to fit their students and society into a progressive world.

Thus, we do not find in the chapters included here accounts dramatizing the need for students to acquire a really patriotic sense of the glories and tragedies of national military and political history. Battles and wars and enemies lose their centrality. And we see few emphases on teaching the student a distinctive national culture, either high (art and music) or low (folk culture). Beyond a narrow nationalism, we also do not find accounts stressing particular civilizational histories or cultures.

Similarly, the once-stressed putatively primordial roots of the nation in ethnic or racial or tribal traditions or in cultural mythologies seem to get little attention in modern curricular reforms. The anxieties that drove the high nationalist curricular efforts of a century or two ago seem subdued—or even suppressed. In the same way, the old nationalist drama about the high national language seems strangely muted: the anxiety to enforce correct usage rarely appears in the accounts. Nations can build several official languages into their curricula. And they accede easily to the world trend in favor of early instruction in English, as *Cha* emphasizes.

Religion

Zia tells a curricular story with a familiar outline, in which the national education system is linked—as all sytems at one time were—to cultural understandings of a religious nature. In the other chapters, including those that comment, with Zia, on Islamic cases, the topic barely comes up. It is not that transcendent moral themes are missing from curricula, but rather that these are seen from a universal and global, rather than a local and particular, perspective.

Issues about values, and to some extent religious ideas, appear in modern curricula. But they tend to stress that all virtuous religious systems have a great deal in common. To emphasize anything else, in the older style, would look like bigotry. The evils of alien religions are not stressed, even when other religions are among those formerly considered primitive or savage, and completely lacking in civilizing influences.

National ontology

At one time, mass educational curricula often paid substantial attention to the physical world of the nation. Such geographical features as rivers and mountains were emphasized, along with particularities of national resources, population distributions and cities, boundaries and subdivisions. It was reasonable for students to study in detail the plants and animals common in their local and national ecosystems. It seemed an urgent matter for students to learn the particular properties of their national (and sub-national) spaces.

All this is greatly attenuated now. Students should feel at home in 'society', certainly, but society is not a specific place with a particular location and population. It can, indeed, be the whole world.

Social structure

It once seemed important in many or most countries for schooling to prepare students for their specific roles in society: (a) children should, first of all, learn obedience—to their parents and, of course, also to the state, and probably to the requirements of industrialism or capitalism; (b) girls should learn the roles of women and boys those of men; (c) students should learn to fit in to the occupational structure of their communities.

It is striking how little such issues are emphasized in the chapters of this book. The need for obedient children and students is by no means stressed. And early curricular differentiation by gender receives almost no emphasis, nor does differentiation in terms of the occupational futures available in the community or to the particular student. The student appears to be seen as a person over and above age, gender and the constraints of basic occupational (or social class) roles.

One indicator of the change is in the decline of strong and exclusionary systems of tracking at the secondary level (*Kamens and Benavot*). At one time, tracking systems were deeply institutionalized in education systems, with sharply defined distinctions in terms of rights and duties and future prospects: they were tied to social class categories,

for instance. All this seems to have been greatly attenuated: curricular differentiations can come and go with seemingly little drama. And the possibility that special curricula might be needed for females, or for persons of very low status, no longer seems to arise.

Concrete and local knowledge

Historically, school curricula emphasized bodies of relatively specific and local knowledge. There were histories of definite places, with specific dates, named heroes and villains, dramatic and particular events. Geography and botany and zoology had similarly specific and particular referents: one should know the length of the Nile, the properties of a tree or leaf or mammal, and the names of types of clouds (see Drori and Moon 2006; Frank and Gabler 2006; Gabler and Frank 2005 for discussions of the issue in higher education). Language was similarly definite, with elaborate standards of linguistic correctness, and with definite lists of important high languages (culminating in the dead classics). Literature and art and music came with names and lists making up canons of proper taste. The physical sciences had definite laws and a good many facts. Even mathematics was embodied in fairly concrete forms and rules.

Such matters seem to be of little concern in the current curricular discourse. There is emphasis, for example, on human rights education (*Ramírez et al.*), but not lists of human rights (or rights of local citizenship) that the child should be compelled to memorize. Future citizens are members of society and of the world, both seen abstractly, rather than of tangible and bounded political communities (*Soysal and Wong*). Historical knowledge should be a matter of reflection and interpretation, not of dates and names and factual details (*Braslavsky et al.*; see also the chapter by *Cox*). Aesthetic education should target the development of the student, not the artistic canon (*Oelkers and Larcher Klee*). Curricular reforms are rarely about anything related to the installation of bodies of facts and concrete or local knowledge in the student (especially *Rosenmund*, but also *Moreno, Goodson* and *de Ibarrola*).

The exception to this account—meaningfully—is the historical chapter by *Gvirtz*. In the very concrete school notebook should be found definite knowledge. It should reflect a definite concrete curriculum. And it should be *correct*: the student should *get it right*, and the teacher should *make sure of it*. And then an *inspector* should probably check on the whole thing. *Gvirtz's* data reflect a world in which something close to objective knowledge takes precedence over the expanding personal development of the student.

In schooling systems in a good many countries, especially in the Third World, one can still observe this kind of focus on getting the facts correct. But this attitude is far removed from modern curriculum policy and reform at national and international levels.

Summary

A past curricular agenda is clearly disappearing from view (see also Meyer et al. 1992). It was built around the idea that the student was to be made a member of (and in good part subordinated to and constrained by) a particular local and national political

community. At the most local level, this involved the family, and roles built around age and gender rights and obligations. At one time educational curricula would have emphasized these. But in the studies of this book, the family and its age and gender roles rarely appear; so also with religious community, operating a level or two above the family. As we have noted, religious aspects are rarely emphasized in the studies here. And at the highest level, came the dominating national state. This modern or modernizing nation-state was organized around a definite history, culture (usually including religion) and structure, and the student was to learn about them. As a modern entity, the nation-state's culture certainly included a good deal of objective knowledge about nature (science, traditionally conceived) and rationalized structures like a high national language and some mathematics. But the national state was primordial too, with meanings and cultures beyond rational analyses—after all, the student was supposed to be prepared to die for, and kill for, the state (no longer family and church). Primordial national meanings could be found in religion, tradition, history (e.g. in the American case, the experience of the frontier) and civilizational culture (e.g. in a European sacred thread running back to the Greeks). They could also generally be found in individual or group biology—racial or ethnic underpinnings were common parts of the understanding of the special status of the people of the nation.

The whole agenda, thus, naturally generated a set of curricular emphases. They varied across periods and countries, with distinct elements peculiar to particular places, but there was a great deal of commonality. New national states, with shortages of history and tradition and high language, were quick to develop as best they could and to install curricula that paralleled those of older countries. Colonies, on the other hand, were required to borrow core cultural and historical elements from their metropolitan countries, and often continued to do so after independence. Thus, even long after independence, the American school curricula gave extra emphasis to English history and literature and culture. Later waves of decolonization produced new national curricula more rapidly, but do so under global conditions stigmatizing aggressive nationalism. In our own world, English history is a central curricular topic in a very few countries (Frank et al. 2000), but so is the old-style nationalistic history celebrating triumphant violence and war.

Explanatory ideas

We have reviewed above many curricular themes that seem to recede in centrality in the contemporary discourse reflected in the chapters of this book. Below, we review the themes that now dominate policy concerns and discourse. Before doing so, we will briefly consider the causal reasoning implied in the empirical studies describing the changes. Most of the studies here are empirical descriptions and analyses. They do not principally focus on abstract causal analyses. But ideas along these lines run through the book, and deserve attention here. Almost all of them can be covered by the loose modern notions about 'globalization', a term with a good many meanings that are relevant here.

The meanings of 'globalization'

Globalization is commonly discussed as involving increased economic exchanges among countries in the world: more trade, more open trading rules, more investment, rapid flows of technology, increased direct or indirect labor flows, international production and commodity changes, and the like. Closely linked to all these changes are changes in mentalities, as social consciousness about involvement in the world society rises sharply. Globalization of an economic sort is both a reality about increased exchange and a cultural consciousness of increased interdependence, as both a reality and a prospect (Meyer 2000b). In any event, this type of globalization is certainly involved in the analyses of chapters in this book. It presses national education systems to try to prepare students to compete or participate in a much bigger world than in the past, and helps support ideological changes (*Fiala; Ramírez et al.; Rosenmund*), as well as concrete policy changes (*Cha; Soysal and Wong; Moreno; de Ibarrola*).

Beyond changes in economic exchange and consciousness, globalization has pronounced political and cultural meanings (some of which come to be organized, ironically, as 'anti-globalization', connoting resistance to the impact of economic globalization). The Second World War and its aftermath define the great turning points here. National rather than global foci had created massive disasters: a great depression; a massively destructive war; gigantic waves of genocide and extreme racisms; and the continuing prospect of global nuclear destruction. A western (and world) system that had pretended to celebrate the individual person had generated the wanton destruction of tens of millions of them. And following on the war, reactions generated a huge Cold War, and a global wave of disorderly decolonization. All these events were global— rather than national—in character, and all called for the reorganization of imagined human society in more global terms. The old celebration of the primordial nation-state, and the subordination of the human person to such an entity, was no longer acceptable. The reform of school curricula was thus driven in several directions, emphasized in the chapters of this book. There is the rise of the individual person seen as a member of global society (*Fiala; Ramírez et al.;* and others). There is the decline in the legitimacy of the primordial national state (*Soysal and Wong;* and others). And there is, consequently, the need to reorganize the conceptions of national society around notions of it being embedded in a world society, its capacity to progress in that world society, and its support for expansive ideas about individual human development.

Propositions

Thus, the explanatory ideas about modern worldwide curricular reform implied in the studies of this book come down to a few general ideas about the impact of political, economic and cultural globalization.

First, there is the idea that the modern world society is built around an expansive conception of the rights and capacities of the individual human person, seen as a member of human society as a whole rather than principally as the citizen of a nation-state.

Second, there is the idea that the nation-state is reinterpreted as an organized instance of a human and world society, with standard properties and operating under standard rules, rather than principally a primordial entity rooted in a unique religious, historical or ethnic identity matrix.

Third, there is the idea that the nation-state, in building and managing education systems, is carrying out standard policies that will help both individuals and national society participate successfully in a larger world economy and society.

Finally, as a qualification on the first three ideas, there is the idea that nation-states continue to vary in organizational forms and to some extent in policy agendas, and thus that there is a good deal of variation in the implementation of rather globally standardized educational and curricular operations. After all, curricula tend to be worked out in national organizations. And it is also true that researchers who focus on national case studies are essentially compelled to find unique arrangements in their cases: all of the chapters in this book that focus on particular national cases find distinctive features for each of their cases. But note that national structures have much less primordiality (or charisma) than in the past, so the tendency to legitimate variations extends down to sub-national levels, too. Modern educational doctrines tend to legitimate nominal autonomy far down into local and school and classroom contexts.

Themes of modern curricular reforms and changes

In the first sections of this chapter, we reviewed curricular themes that seem to have receded in importance, and the roots of such changes in contemporary actualities and the myths of globalization. We now turn our attention to the major themes that dominate the discussions in the preceding chapters.

The curriculum is to empower the individual

The single most common theme in the studies reported here is the emphasis on education as improving and empowering the individual human person. There is little hint of any constraint—for instance, the idea that there might be such a thing as over-education (as in once-common images of things like the Ph.D. taxi driver), or too much education for available social needs, or the idea that some kinds of persons do not benefit much from expanded education. In the modern vein, humans are not to be fitted into a fixed social order (which would endorse the conception of over-education). They carry human, social, cultural, economic and political capital—and more of it is good (Chabbott 2003). Constraints in terms of the needs of the nation-state, seen as a bounded and primordial entity, are unacceptable. Even the simple old goal of instilling obedience rarely comes up in professional discourse.

Simply put, educational ideology and policy emphasize individual development (*Fiala; Ramírez et al.; Soysal and Wong; Braslavsky et al.; Kamens and Benavot; Rosenmund; de Ibarrola; Cox*). The desired effects go far beyond the acquisition of some knowledge or particular skills. The aim is to produce generalized competence, general empowerment and all-purpose skills.

Individuals are to have curricular choice: decentralization is needed

If the empowered individual person is central in modern curricular thinking, some organizational consequences follow. Four appear in the chapters of this book, though none is given great emphasis.

First, empowered individual students should obviously have more curricular choice. They can choose curricula overall (*Kamens and Benavot*), and they can choose topics (i.e. electives) that reflect their tastes and interests within curricula. And, indeed, it is clear that modern curricular arrangements cater to student choices and interests.

Second, empowered individual students should have much greater freedom to interpret the realities they are being taught in their own terms. History, thus, is not a received tradition, but a set of materials from which the student is to form his or her own interpretation (*Braslavsky et al.; Cox*). The same points can be made about aesthetic education (*Oelkers and Larcher Klee*).

Third, curricula should interest students. This once-problematic idea now seems obvious, and the point is central to practically all modern pedagogical thinking. It is now so obvious that it is assumed more than discussed. It was once by no means obvious and, indeed, student interest was in some traditions an indicator that a subject was debased. Education, in this older tradition, should involve some suffering of a monastic sort: education should not be childish, but should reflect the great exigencies of adult life, which probably would not interest children without a good deal of extra coercion. But in the modern thinking that permeates the chapters of this book, students should not only have choices, but should make these choices in terms of their own interests, which may even take precedence over the needs of communities and states.

Fourth, parents and local communities are persons too, and their views should be incorporated in curricula and in educational management. Liberalized educational decentralization is a dominant emphasis in modern education—it is promoted by international organizations like the World Bank and is supported both by the political right and the left. The issue shows up in several chapters here (*Moreno; Goodson; de Ibarrola*). One should note that there are odd dialectics to modern decentralization—it is commonly forwarded and adopted as compulsory national policy. But, of course, this dialectic is built into modern education itself, which is both an individual right and a compulsory duty.

The curriculum should prepare the individual for supra-national society

The new individual is supposed to be able to function in, and contribute to, a social and economic system that transcends the national state (*Rosenmund*). Sometimes, explicit imagery about globalization is involved, but it is almost always at least implicitly present. The individual's rights need to be located in the global system itself (*Ramírez et al.*). The individual needs to know a world language—almost certainly English (*Cha*). The individual should be able to function as a supra-national citizen (*Soysal and Wong*), and to reflect from a more universal point of view on local and national history (*Braslavsky et al.; Cox*). In other words, the individual student is to become a member of a newly-developing identity called 'humanity'.

Two sets of cultural assumptions seem to be involved here. One set has to do with the properties individual persons are imagined to possess as they approach the great world society. Some of these properties are to be created by the modern education system, but there is also the idea that the properties are natural to human purposes. The person is thought to be inclined to tolerance, co-operation and good global citizenship, rather than naturally attached to primordial groups that are hostile to each other. The human person is interested in distant others, and able fairly quickly to understand them. Naturally, the curriculum should reinforce these tendencies, and provide substance and experience in working them out (*Soysal and Wong*).

A second set of assumptions has to do with the imagined nature of global society. It appears, in the modern curriculum, to be a friendly sort of place, and one with a great deal of natural equality among people and groups. This depiction of world society is, of course, at some odds with the extreme levels of inequality and cultural diversity (and conflict) that most descriptions of world society emphasize. But typical curricula do not emphasize either the great inequalities in power or resources (e.g. few curricula seem to emphasize that young people around the world should face the realities of American economic and military power). Nor do curricula now emphasize the hostilities and conflicts among different cultural groups that would once have been seen as the core dramas of global society (*Soysal and Wong; Braslavsky et al.; Rosenmund*). In the modern curriculum, global war is and should be seen, by and large, as a mistake, not a natural emanation from human diversity.

The nation-state should be a good citizen in supra-national society
Just as with the globalized individual in the modern curriculum, the national-state is to celebrate, not its primordiality, but its responsible citizenship in world society. It must organize its educational arrangements so as to enable individuals to effectively join the world economy, society and political system, and not bind them in a closed corporate society.

So the national education system will help individuals and nations to progress, participate and compete in global society by linking up to this society. Broad cultural involvement (*Oelkers and Larcher Klee*) rather than narrow canonical instruction is needed. Individuals should be linked into, and made members of, world society (*Fiala; Ramírez et al.; Braslavsky et al.; Soysal and Wong*). And it is the business of national educational framers to facilitate this—it is in both the individual and the collective interest to do so, according to modern thinking.

Educational policy reform, thus, naturally takes rationalistic forms, maximizing the nation's linkages to world society rather than to its own history and tradition (*Moreno; de Ibarrola; Rosenmund*). The idea is to use the unique organizational arrangements particular to each national state to facilitate in very professional ways a sort of global curriculum.

Taming the nation-state to be a good citizen of global society requires rendering it in terms of the standardizing language of rationalized analysis. And indeed, most chapters of this book emphasize and illustrate the long-term rise of the social sciences

in the curriculum. In both mass and higher education, these fields tend to be the most expansive successes in the long-term development of the curriculum (for data and analyses, see Drori and Moon 2006; Frank and Gabler 2006).

The globalized world is a livable place for individuals and nations
Many or most educational traditions, dating back to the Middle Ages, emphasize the virtues of transcending mundane reality and experience. The world is a contaminated place and the educated person should somehow rise above it, in a transcendental or withdrawn state, or in some sort of superior monastic order. Similarly, many educational traditions oriented toward particular societies emphasized the need for these societies to be autarchies—fenced off from a bigger world and preserving their own cultures and values. Society needed to be purified and separated from the world, as was the case with some Communist thinking in our immediate past, or as in the colonizers of America's New England believed some centuries ago.

Practically nothing of this sort appears in the accounts of modern curricular change in this book. Instead, it is emphasized that national society can and must function in the context of the bigger world—and do so successfully. This is a main aim of the modern curriculum. It is to be accomplished by empowering the student to act as a modern individual in a modern society in a global world (*Rosenmund; Braslavsky et al.; Soysal and Wong; Ramírez et al.*).

It is interesting and striking that, at the end of a twentieth century that has been filled with the most horrifying global evils and disasters, the world's curricular impulses are to celebrate the confident possibilities for universal individual and social progress. The individual can move ahead through schooled learning contributing to an enhanced career. This will benefit the national society, which will prosper in the world (*Fiala*; and many other chapters). Neither individual nor national success is at odds with the possible success of other individuals or nations—all can progress together.

The cultural assumptions that support this world view seem to be central to the modern curriculum. They are assumptions about the nature of the world, and conceptualize the world in a way that permits universal individual and social progress through education.

The modern curricular vision of the world
The world, as presented to the student, is a place where general rules apply. These general rules are world-wide. They define individuals, generally, as authorized to, and capable of, great success in action. They define environments governed by general scientific principles understandable by everyone and that can be used to achieve success. And they define environments that have very general principles of social rationality, and which similarly enable individual and national success.

Human rights
More concretely, the modern curriculum is built on the principle that individuals matter. As we have already discussed above, almost all the chapters of this book describe

curricula that are to empower individuals (see especially *Fiala; Ramírez et al.; Soysal and Wong; Braslavsky et al.*). Individual actions determine their own prospects and collectively drive national ones. Three broad elements are involved here. First, the student should learn that he/she is the main determinant of a successful life course. Social constraints and conforming to them are unimportant. Second, all individuals are and should be in the same position. They control their own actions and futures, should be allowed to do so, and generally live in a world where individual rights are valid. Third, national societies progress inasmuch as their individuals do. This idea contrasts sharply with views that national development results from the efficient placing of individuals in a fixed or planned social order.

Scientization

Further, the world is a rather lawful place, where individual knowledge and calculation are likely to succeed. The core imagery here is scientific (*Rosenmund; Fiala*). Three basic elements are involved (Drori et al. 2003). First, scientific laws undergird the empirical world. Second, schooled human individuals can understand and use these. Third, societal success accumulates depending on individual choice and action.

Rationality

Finally, human society, embedded in lawful nature and populated by authorized and schooled individuals, is itself something of a standardized operation, subject to some laws that are partly scientific and partly a product of the intrinsic rationality of human persons (*Soysal and Wong*; and, by implication, *Braslavsky et al.; Cox*).

An idealized world

It is important to stress that the taken-for-granted curricular vision here is importantly counterfactual. As always, school curricula partly prepare students and society for a real world, but mostly for an imagined one. And the imagined society and world and individual of the future are those filled with individual and collective progress, harmony and conformity to basic principles of equality, rationality and scientific reason. None of the chapters in this book describe curricula that might prepare students for a world in which they and their countries are destined for failure and complete subordination—a very realistic world. Many chapters display prominent doubts about educational progress (see especially *Fiala; Oelkers and Larcher Klee; Goodson; de Ibarrola*). None of them entertain a clear educational alternative. The old curricula of human 'original sin', 'church authority', 'class oppression', and so on, are not on the modern table. It would take more than foundation grants to rebuild them.

So, the curricular world is very different from the practical or real world that societies and individuals might experience. The world of experience is one of very great inequality, and one in which most individuals have few prospects of success acting as individuals (rather than as persons immersed in group or national life). It is a world in which there is very great cultural diversity, uncontaminated by either

rationalistic or scientistic principles, and in which many or most persons gain by avoiding acting on such general principles.

None of this appears in the curriculum, which stresses: (individual and national) human equality in contrast to our experienced extreme inequalities; commonality in contrast to our experienced extreme diversity; and an overriding rationality in contrast to our experienced extreme individual and collective a- or ir-rationality. We can illustrate the point by noting the modern curricular obsession with individual and national opportunity and progress, and avoidance of international stratification, and by noting the modern curricular inattention to the historical importance of national war.

The faith underlying the modern curriculum involves the belief that if every student learns to act on counterfactual principles, things would go better for students themselves, their societies and the world. Students should learn to believe they are free and empowered actors, and that their societies are open to expansion and improvement, and that the world is a congenial place for such rules to operate generally.

It is quite impressive that the chapters of this book display (*Gvirtz*' historical data aside) no real alternative to this brave new world. Or any real reason why there should be an alternative. And, indeed, in the modern world's legitimated curricula, there are few examples. Perhaps this is a short-term effect of the breakdown of official Communist equalitarianism—a number of interesting curricular alternatives, naturally unrepresented in this book, died with the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

Of course, the real alternatives, summarized at the beginning of this chapter, are dead in curricular terms. Racism, for example, survives as a recurrent idea in human life and history—for example, in marginal neighborhoods everywhere in Europe, America and elsewhere. But the glorious days in which it could be celebrated in the curriculum (with scientized bases in the thinking of the leading intellectuals) are gone. Other serious cultural and categorical differentiations have similarly disappeared, or returned to the locker rooms of social life. Think how difficult it would be now, in curricular development programs, to support a genuinely distinct set of alternative curricula for males and females (let alone more recently legitimated categories like gays, lesbians, transgender people and so on).

Summary review

The chapters of this book document a set of world-wide curricular trends. Everywhere, it appears, school curricula are supposed to encourage and develop an expanded model of the individual person as an empowered actor. All societies, in the modern vision, will benefit and develop out of the actions and choices of these new individual members. Both individuals and societies are now elements of an expanded and globalized world society. World society carries broad doctrines about the rights and capacities of individuals everywhere, the equality of individuals and societies, and the importance of various natural laws of science and of reason.

In the emergent world curriculum, older models of closed and conflicting national states, the primordial origins of national identities and the subordination of individuals to these states are all greatly weakened.

The national states, with their authority over education, continue to manage the enterprise. And they do so with a great deal of variation, depending on national structure and history. But despite all the organizational variation, the core substantive message about the importance of the empowered individual comes through practically everywhere. The nation-states now do their educational work, in this and other ways, under the social controls of deeply institutionalized models, carried by the educational professionals as well as by such international organizations as UNESCO, the IBE, or the World Bank. The wider world thus provides much advice and help. And some scrutiny.

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Notes
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